

GOVERNMENT CRIME REPORTING & XENOPHOBIA: AN EXAMINATION OF THE
EFFECTS OF PERPETRATOR DEPICTIONS IN KUWAITI NEWS

by

Kawther Albader

Copyright © Kawther Albader 2023

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

In the Graduate College

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

2023

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
GRADUATE COLLEGE

As members of the Master's Committee, we certify that we have read the thesis prepared by Kawther Albader, titled *Government Crime Reporting and Xenophobia: An Examination of the Effects of Perpetrator Depictions in Kuwaiti News*, and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement for the Master's Degree.



Kate Kenski Date: August 8, 2023



Jake Harwood Date: August 8, 2023



Dam Hee Kim Date: August 8, 2023

Final approval and acceptance of this thesis is contingent upon the candidate's submission of the final copies of the thesis to the Graduate College.

I hereby certify that I have read this thesis prepared under my direction and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the Master's requirement.



Kate Kenski Date: August 8, 2023 
Master's Thesis Committee Chair
Department of Communication

ARIZONA

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the endless guidance and support I received from my thesis committee.

First and foremost, thank you to my advisor, Dr. Kate Kenski, for trusting me to take on a thesis project that is centered around my home country. There are many things I admire about Dr. Kenski, but something I find myself reflecting on often is her commitment to our research team and the amount of respect and trust she has for her advisees. Thank you for your guidance throughout my entire thesis journey — particularly for supporting me in the method that I chose and for making me a stronger writer. Your feedback has been so critical to this project, and I feel very fortunate to have you as my advisor.

Dr. Jake Harwood, thank you for your constant support throughout my thesis, particularly throughout the theorizing process. Thank you for being such an incredible resource on social identity theory and for being so open to talking through my hypotheses. Your comments and feedback have undoubtedly made this project stronger and have made me a more insightful researcher.

Dr. Dam Hee Kim, thank you for reviewing the earliest version of this thesis and for bringing such thoughtful observations to my defense. Your class is what inspired this project, and for that I will forever be grateful.

Dedication

For my family, who have been so supportive and understanding as I continue to pursue higher education abroad.

And for Abdullah, who has continuously encouraged me to become a better version of myself.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	8
Crime Reporting & Xenophobia: An Examination of the Effects of Perpetrator Depictions in Kuwaiti News.....	9
Background.....	10
Crime Reporting in Kuwait.....	10
Foreigners in Kuwait: “Expatriates” versus “Immigrants”.....	12
The Present Study	13
Social Identity Theory & Intergroup Evaluations.....	14
Social Identity & Complexity-Extremity Theory	16
Xenophobia.....	17
Ingroup Transgressions & Outgroup Blame.....	19
Perceptions of Expatriate Criminality.....	21
Social Media News Consumption.....	22
Method	25
Sample.....	25
Independent Variable	27
Dependent Variable	28
Xenophobia.....	28
Mediating Variable	29
Perceptions of Expatriate Criminality.....	29
Moderating Variable and Demographics	29
Social Media News Consumption.....	29
Demographics	29
Analytical Procedures	30

GOVERNMENT CRIME REPORTING & XENOPHOBIA

	6
Results.....	30
One-way ANOVA	31
Mediator Analysis.....	32
Moderator Analysis.....	34
Discussion.....	35
Evaluations of Ingroup v. Outgroup Perpetrators	36
Ingroup Portrayals & Outgroup Perceptions.....	38
Perceptions of Criminality & Social Media News Consumption	39
Limitations	40
Future Research	43
Conclusion	45
Appendix A (Pilot – Content Analysis).....	46
Appendix B (Intercorrelations Between Study Variables)	48
Appendix C (Survey Measures and Items).....	49
References.....	53

List of Figures/Illustrations and Tables

List of Figures

Figure 1. Examples of News Stories that Explicitly Mention Expatriate Ethnicity.....	11
Figure 2. Hypothesized Model Depicting the Relationship of the Inclusion of Perpetrator Ethnicity in Crime News on Xenophobia.....	14
Figure 3. Sample Stimuli.....	28
Figure 4. Exposure to Kuwaiti and Asian Perpetrators Does Not Mediate the Relationship between Perceptions of Expatriate Criminality and Xenophobia.....	33

List of Tables

Table 1. Means and Standard Deviations of Study Variables – Total Sample and Study Conditions.....	31
Table 2. Xenophobia Levels Across Conditions.....	32
Table 3. Hierarchical Regression with Predictors of Xenophobia.....	35
Table 4. Perpetrator Ethnicities Depicted in the Kuwaiti Ministry of Interior’s Instagram, April 2021 - October 2022.....	47
Table 5. Intercorrelations for Study Variables (Total Sample).....	48
Table 6. Intercorrelations for Study Variables Disaggregated by Asian and Kuwaiti Perpetrator Conditions.....	48

Abstract

Drug crimes are one of Kuwait's major social issues, comprising the majority of crimes in the country. Despite both Kuwaitis and expatriates committing drug crimes at almost equal rates, the onus of criminality perceptions has fallen predominantly on expatriates. With social identity theory as the guiding framework, this study examines the effects of the inclusion of ingroup and outgroup perpetrator ethnicities in government crime news on xenophobia with an experiment. The study also explores whether the relationship between perpetrator identity in crime news and xenophobia is mediated by perceptions of expatriate criminality and moderated by crime news media consumption, finding no significant effect for either variable. Notably, the study explores ingroup members' exposure to ingroup versus outgroup perpetrators, finding that exposure to outgroup perpetrators results in significantly higher levels of xenophobia compared to both the ingroup perpetrator and control (no stimulus) conditions.

Keywords: drug crime, criminality, expatriate, journalism, media effects, Kuwait

Crime Reporting & Xenophobia: An Examination of the Effects of Perpetrator Depictions in Kuwaiti News

According to 2022 population estimates, there are approximately 2,796,064 non-Kuwaitis (expatriates) and 1,420,836 Kuwaitis living in Kuwait as of January 1, 2022 (Central Statistical Bureau of Kuwait, 2022). Although the country has been exerting active efforts to rely less on expatriate labor, expatriates make up a majority of the private sector workforce and almost 30% of the public sector workforce (Al-Hattab, 2021). Kuwaitis currently make up an estimated 32% of the population, an imbalance attributed to the country's reliance on foreign labor in the construction and service industries, both sectors that are notorious for their low wages and strenuous workloads (Westall & Hagagy, 2013). The ratio of Kuwaitis to expatriates has been called everything from a demographic imbalance (*Arab Times*, 2022) to the "expat debate" (Gulf Bank Economic Research Unit, 2020, p. 1).

Despite a heavy reliance on expatriate labor, expatriates have been blamed for a variety of social, economic, and political issues (Associated Press, 2017). Notably, expatriates have not escaped being made the scapegoat for drug crime, one of the country's major social issues. According to a *Gulf News* report, 65% of crimes in Kuwait are drug-related, with both Kuwaitis and expatriates allegedly committing drug crimes at almost equal rates (Al Mulla, 2021). Despite both Kuwaitis and expatriates being accused of drug crimes at almost equal rates, the onus of public criminality has fallen predominantly on expatriates, as illustrated by public communications from the Ministry of Interior in Kuwait. A cursory examination of drug crime-related Instagram posts by the Ministry of Interior reveals that for the period of April 2021 to October 2022, 51% of drug crime posts referenced expatriate or stateless (i.e., individuals who

are not recognized as citizens of any country) ethnicities in their headlines or captions, and only 11% of drug crime posts explicitly referenced Kuwaiti citizens.¹

This study uses an experiment to examine the effects of local crime news on xenophobia. Using social identity theory and cultivation theory as its theoretical framework, this study explores how the inclusion of perpetrator ethnicity in crime news reports can lead to xenophobia. By manipulating crime news content to depict varying perpetrator ethnicities, this study explores whether the inclusion of an ethnicity marker in local crime news influences xenophobia and whether this relationship is mediated by perceptions of expatriate criminality and moderated by news consumption. Considering recent changes toward more equitable and fair reporting of alleged crimes (Patterson & Fullerton, 2021; Truong, 2021), this study looks at how discrepancies in the framing of alleged perpetrators shape attitudes toward expatriates.

Background

Crime Reporting in Kuwait

In Kuwait, drug crime is reported by the Ministry of Interior and republished on its social media pages (Ministry of Interior, n.d.). This study focuses on the Ministry of Interior's drug communications for two reasons. First, the Ministry of Interior is the primary governmental front dedicated to maintaining public security, with a specialized department devoted to combatting drug crime and drug trafficking (Ministry of Interior, n.d.). As such, announcements made by the Ministry of Interior carry weight in an official capacity, as ministries are an extension of the Kuwaiti government (Naar, 2022). Second, local newspapers also tend to publish the same crime

¹I undertook a brief content analysis pilot study of 61 Instagram posts featuring drug crime perpetrators to assess the presence or absence of ethnic references in drug news headlines and captions using the English version of the Ministry of Interior's Instagram account. An additional coder and I independently assessed the headlines and achieved 96.7% agreement. See Appendix A for more.

beats announced by the Ministry of Interior, making it a primary news source for the general population’s crime news.

As for the stories themselves, a typical crime story published by the Ministry of Interior’s social media pages will likely include: a) a headline explicitly mentioning the perpetrator’s ethnicity and a brief description of the crime, b) a picture of the alleged perpetrator(s) with their face(s) either digitally blurred or masked, surrounded by a visual representation of the crime in question (e.g., the drugs allegedly being sold by the perpetrator, and/or their alleged co-conspirators), and c) a brief description of where and how the perpetrator(s) was arrested, as illustrated in Figure 1. Moreover, Kuwaiti mugshots include both the perpetrator and the crime. The perpetrator is almost always depicted kneeling in front of their alleged criminal activities; although the perpetrator’s face is pixelated, their race is typically revealed in the news headline.

Figure 1

Examples of News Stories that Explicitly Mention Expatriate Ethnicity



Kuwait's periodic drug crime report attributes the rise in abuse, possession, and trafficking of drugs primarily to rapid social change and the influx of immigrant workers (Ministry of Justice of Kuwait, 2020). The annual drug crime report by the Ministry of Justice in Kuwait (2020) found that there were approximately 16,145 registered drug-related cases between 2009-2018. During that period, there were approximately 22,840 accused perpetrators: 10,898 Kuwaitis, 10,951 expatriates, and 991 unknown or unregistered nationality at the time of reporting. That is, the report depicts both Kuwaitis and expatriates as being accused of drug-related crimes at almost the same rate, with Kuwaitis and expatriates each making up about 48% of total accused perpetrators. Given that Kuwaitis make up only about a third of the country's population but they are the accused perpetrators in nearly half of drug-related cases, they are more likely than expatriates to commit drug crime. Yet, the country's public drug communications highlight expatriate or stateless perpetrators, with little focus given to Kuwaiti perpetrators. Between April 2021 and October 2022, the Ministry of Interior's English Instagram account identified expatriate identity in 51% and Kuwaiti identity in 11% of drug crime posts that mentioned race or ethnicity in their headlines (see Appendix A).

Foreigners in Kuwait: "Expatriates" versus "Immigrants"

In Kuwait, the term "expatriates" (or "expats" for short) is predominantly used to refer to non-Kuwaitis citizens living and/or working in the country. Namely, the definition of expatriates is closely related to that of sojourners, or temporary residents in a foreign country (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). One common distinction between expatriates and immigrants is based on their intention to seek permanent residence; that is, immigrants arrive at a foreign country with the intention of seeking permanent residence, whereas expatriates do not or cannot (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). In Kuwait, permanent residence is notoriously difficult to attain, as the pathway

to naturalization is nearly impossible for most foreigners (McCamy, 2019). According to the Nationality Law of 1959, non-Kuwaitis can formally start the application process for citizenship after living in Kuwait for 20 years (15 years if they are from an Arab country); yet, receiving citizenship is not guaranteed and is conditional upon an official decree from the Minister of Interior (Nationality Law, 1959). Furthermore, foreigners cannot own property in Kuwait (Othman, 2022). Thus, the term “immigrants” may not apply to foreigners living in Kuwait as permanent relocation is not a realistic goal.

Although previous studies have focused predominantly on the study of immigrants, this study examines whether similar effects may apply to expatriates. Despite the country’s strict restrictions on naturalization and property ownership, expatriates work and live in Kuwait similarly to how immigrants work and live in other countries. In Kuwait, expatriates spend years (and sometimes decades) working and living in Kuwait as semi-permanent residents, perpetually renewing their work visas until it is time to retire and move back to their countries of origin (Holtmeier, 2022).

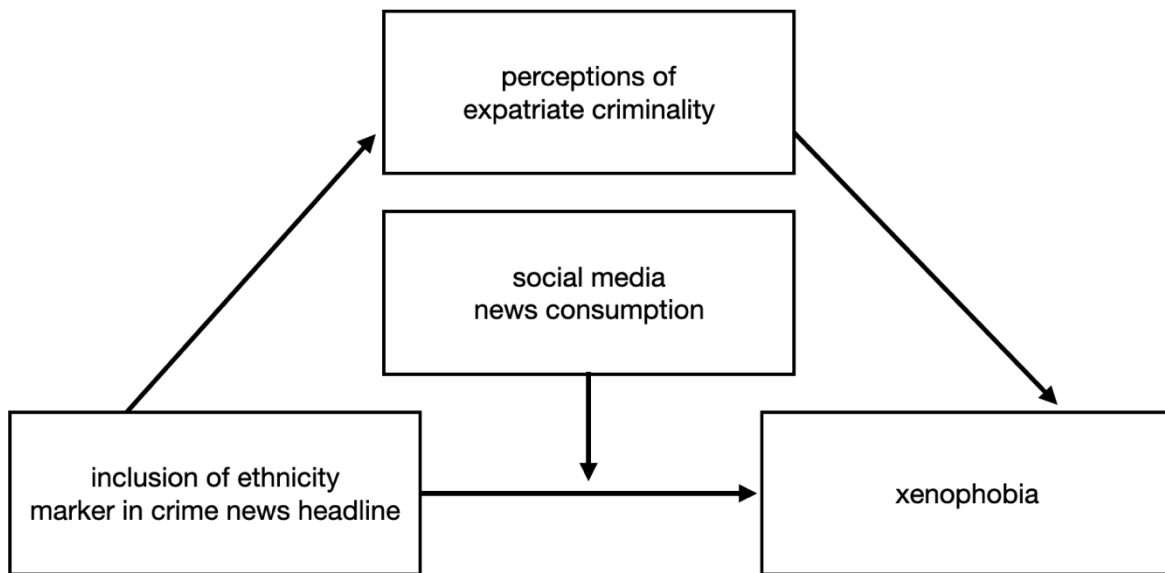
The Present Study

This experiment exposes participants to three conditions: an outgroup perpetrator (Asian expatriate), an ingroup perpetrator (Kuwaiti citizen), and a control condition (no stimulus). The study examines how the inclusion of outgroup and ingroup ethnicity in current criminal reporting standards contributes to xenophobia, how these standards may affect perceptions of expatriate criminality, and how social media news consumption may moderate these relationships, as illustrated by the hypothesized model in Figure 2. The study also makes recommendations on how journalists should approach reporting on local crime and how official governmental

communications can employ a more humane (or, at the very least, more neutral) criminal communications approach.

Figure 2

Hypothesized Model Depicting the Relationship of the Inclusion of Perpetrator Ethnicity in Crime News on Xenophobia



Social Identity Theory & Intergroup Evaluations

Social identity theory (Tajfel, 1979) helps to explain the complicated relationship between ingroups (groups to which a person feels like they belong) and outgroups (groups to which a person feels like they do not belong). According to the theory, people gravitate toward likeminded groups to develop their social identity, or a sense of who they are, and divide the world into “them” (i.e., outgroups) versus “us” (i.e., the ingroup) through a process of social categorization. Through this process, individuals identify as members of a social group to orient their identities in relation to other identities (Tajfel, 1979). Positive self-concept, or the favorable feelings that arise when one belongs to an ingroup, is at the heart of the theory, cementing

individuals' sense of belonging to the ingroup and possibly explaining ingroups' tendencies to favor their ingroups and/or disparage their outgroups (Harwood, 2020; Mummendey et al., 2000; Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

People also tend to exaggerate the differences between their ingroup and outgroup, resulting in the perception of higher levels of difference between the two groups than there may be in reality (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). According to social identity theory, the more distinctly different two groups are, the higher the likelihood of ingroup bias and outgroup denigration (Tajfel, 1979). An ingroup's sense of positive social identity relies heavily on the social comparisons it makes with a relevant outgroup, allowing ingroup members to categorize others into social groups that help ingroup members make sense of the social world around them (Tajfel, 1979). Social categorization allows ingroup members to classify others as being more or less similar to themselves, resulting in a social comparison process that is necessary for ingroup members to heighten evaluations of their self-esteem.

When applied to the context of this study, social identity theory can explain why Kuwaitis may evaluate the outgroup (i.e., expatriates) more harshly than their ingroup (fellow Kuwaitis), with these evaluations further cementing their ingroup identities and disconnecting them from the outgroup. Critically, ingroups compare themselves to outgroups primarily on differences that are salient to the ingroup (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In the case of Kuwaitis and expatriates, nationality is the key difference that distinguishes between the groups on a variety of important social, legal, and political factors and forms the basis for the Kuwaiti ingroup's sense of social identity. Naturalization is notoriously difficult in Kuwait (McCamy, 2019), making nationality a salient distinguisher between the two groups, accentuating the ingroup/outgroup distinction between Kuwaiti citizens and expatriates.

Social Identity & Complexity-Extremity Theory

Social identity theory has widely established that ingroup members will evaluate outgroups more harshly than fellow ingroup members (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The theory describes how ingroup membership may explain a tendency to allow for more leniency when evaluating ingroup perpetrators compared to outgroup perpetrators (Mastro et al., 2009). When presented with information that paints fellow ingroup members in a negative light, social identity theory predicts that ingroup members “will strive either to leave their existing group and join some more positively distinct group and/or to make their existing group more positively distinct” (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). That is, ingroup members who are exposed to information that threatens their self-concept will either put in effort to maintain their self-esteem or join another (more positive) ingroup.

Complexity-extremity theory (Linville, 1982; Linville & Jones, 1980) provides a social identity-related explanation as to why people evaluate ingroup members more favorably than outgroup members. That is, because people spend more time with their ingroup members, they are more likely to formulate experiences, or dimensions, on which to evaluate them. Because people have more contact with fellow ingroup members, they are less likely to assign extreme evaluations to ingroup members compared to outgroup members (Linville & Jones, 1980). Ingroup members align on a variety of social categories, and sharing a social bond “leads to more complex (and sometimes more biased) information processing” (Baumeister & Leary, 1995, p. 504). In an experiment in which participants evaluated applicants’ credentials, Linville and Jones (1980) found that ingroup members’ appraisals of weak outgroup applicants were harsher than those given to weak ingroup applicants. In another experiment, Linville (1982) found that participants evaluated unfavorable outgroup members more negatively than

unfavorable ingroup members. These findings suggest that, in a negative context, ingroup members will evaluate transgressing outgroup members more harshly than transgressing ingroup members.

Given that the primary dependent variable in this study is xenophobia, it is important to distinguish between ingroups' appraisals of *individual* outgroup/ingroup perpetrators and appraisals of the outgroup *as a whole* (e.g., by measuring xenophobia). Because ingroup members interact more frequently with their group, they are more likely to perceive their ingroup as being more complex or heterogenous compared to an outgroup (Linville & Jones, 1980). The outgroup homogeneity hypothesis states that one's ingroup or outgroup status heavily influences the degree of intragroup variability (Park & Rothbart, 1982). That is, for a given attribute, ingroups are likely to perceive outgroups as being more homogenous than fellow ingroups. In the case of this study, the outgroup homogeneity hypothesis would state that for the given attribute of criminality, ingroups would be more likely to assign higher homogeneity to outgroups by assuming they should be placed into the criminal category than they would ingroup members to whom they would allot more variability. Because ingroups are more likely to view outgroups as being homogenous, exposure to a criminal outgroup member may result in the tendency to view the whole outgroup as being inherently more criminal than the ingroup, thereby increasing fear of the outgroup, or xenophobia.

Xenophobia

In this study, outgroup evaluations are measured in terms of xenophobia, characterized as an aversion or fear of foreigners and foreigners' cultures and customs (Ortona, 2017). In the Middle East, these negative attitudes toward foreigners are characterized by a heavy reliance on temporary contract labor and preferential treatment for citizens, often resulting in the allocation

of menial or blue-collar work to foreigners (Jureidini, 2005). An increasingly competitive job market coupled with limited welfare resources shared by both citizens and expatriates also leads to an environment in which xenophobia thrives (Ullah et al., 2020).

The perceived social and economic threats posed by outgroups play a role in forming ingroups' attitudes toward outgroups (Riek et al., 2006). A meta-analysis found that intergroup threat led to negative attitudes toward outgroups (Riek et al., 2006). That is, the more ingroup members perceive intergroup competition and infringements on ingroup values, the more likely they are to experience negative attitudes toward outgroups. In Kuwait, expatriates are routinely marginalized and negatively represented in local news, having been made the scapegoat for a variety of social, economic, and political issues (Al-Qatari, 2017). Thus, they comprise a sizeable outgroup that may be perceived as infringing on ingroup values, which may in turn lead to negative attitudes toward expatriates. An outgroup's infringements on an ingroup's values will likely lead to negative perceptions of the outgroup (Riek et al., 2006). Because crime infringes on Kuwaiti citizens' societal values, an outgroup's association with crime news will likely lead to negative attitudes toward the outgroup.

In line with social identity theory, people are likely to evaluate outgroups more negatively than ingroups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In line with complexity-extremity theory and the outgroup homogeneity hypothesis, people are likely to evaluate unfavorable outgroup members more negatively than they will unfavorable ingroup members (Linville, 1982; Park & Rothbart, 1982). Exposing ingroup members to negative depictions of an outgroup member (i.e., in the context of a drug crime) increases the ingroup anxiety, threat, and emotional hostility felt about the outgroup (Conzo et al., 2021). Because ingroup members are likely to view outgroups as homogenous (Park & Rothbart, 1982), the association of individual outgroup members with

crime may also signal to ingroup members that the entire outgroup is inherently more criminal, thereby increasing fear of the outgroup. Therefore, ingroup members evaluating an outgroup perpetrator will likely report higher xenophobia levels compared to the control condition.

Ingroup Transgressions & Outgroup Blame

This study seeks to also tackle how ingroup members will evaluate perceptions of an *outgroup* (e.g., xenophobia) after exposure to an *ingroup* member's transgression. Predicting how an ingroup member's transgression will influence evaluations of the outgroup is relatively more challenging. This study theorizes that social identity mechanisms come into play when an ingroup member is challenged by a negative portrayal of a fellow ingroup member. Tajfel and Turner (1979) outline how ingroup members who are exposed to ingroup transgressions may split their ingroup into sub-classes: a sub-class of ingroup members that are model citizens, and a sub-class of ingroup members that are transgressors. In this sense, Kuwaitis may create a new sub-class of criminal ingroup members, a necessary step in order for the non-criminal ingroup to establish salient differences between themselves and the criminal ingroup and maintain the necessary levels of self-esteem.

In the context of crime news, Holt and Carnahan (2020) found that people prefer perusing crime news that features members of their ingroup compared to news featuring outgroup perpetrators. The researchers rationalize that, in line with social identity theory, ingroup members prefer learning about ingroup transgressions as an act of ingroup preservation. That is, ingroup members prefer reading about ingroup crime to monitor their ingroup's social image and evaluate whether ingroup transgressors require corrective action so as not to further damage the ingroup's status (Holt & Carnahan, 2020).

This process is seen as a self-preservation strategy, leading ingroups to blame outgroups in situations in which ingroups feel a loss of control (Hirsch et al., 2020). According to social identity theory, people tend to gravitate toward identifying with an ingroup that bolsters self-esteem, a process which in turn increases feelings of control (Fritsche et al., 2013; Stollberg et al., 2015; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). When an ingroup's positive identity is threatened, feelings of control are also threatened; when this happens, the ingroup may blame the outgroup so as to increase feelings of ingroup control and preserve a positive ingroup social identity (Hirsch et al., 2020). Furthermore, because ingroup members are more familiar with fellow ingroup members compared to outgroup individuals, they are more likely to judge ingroup members less harshly than the outgroup (Linville, 1982). Because ingroup members view each other as more heterogeneous, or varied, compared to outgroup members (Park & Rothbart, 1982), they may view a transgressing ingroup member as an anomaly, and not the average representation of the ingroup.

As for how an ingroup member's transgression may affect perceptions of the outgroup via xenophobia, this study theorizes that ingroup members, viewing an ingroup perpetrator as a one-off, may attribute the downfall of the ingroup perpetrator to external factors, including the influence of outgroup values. That is, because ingroups are seen as sharing a core group of common values (Tajfel, & Turner, 1979), any major deviance from these values may be seen as an infringement on ingroup norms, a phenomenon that may be blamed on the outgroup. Indeed, Kuwait's periodic drug crime report outright blames the rise in drug crimes on the influx of immigrant workers and the changing demographic makeup of the country (Ministry of Justice of Kuwait, 2020).

Thus, ingroup perpetrators will likely influence perceptions of an outgroup (e.g., xenophobia), such that the effect will likely be higher than a control condition in which ingroups are not exposed to any ingroup or outgroup perpetrator. The effect of the ingroup perpetrator on xenophobia will likely not be stronger than that of an outgroup perpetrator due to complexity-extremity theory and the outgroup homogeneity hypothesis.

Therefore, the primary hypothesis guiding this study is:

H1: Exposure to the outgroup perpetrator ethnicity condition will result in the highest levels of xenophobia among ingroup members, followed by the ingroup condition, which will result in a positive, but weaker, level of xenophobia, and then followed by the control condition, which will result in the weakest levels of xenophobia.

This study examines this hypothesis with the addition of the hypothesized mediating variable of perceptions of expatriate criminality, and the hypothesized moderating variable of social media news consumption.

Perceptions of Expatriate Criminality

Prior research has examined ingroups' perceptions of outgroups' criminality, blaming the rise of crime on the influx of foreigners into the country. In the U.S., a sizable minority (42%) of Americans believes that immigrants are exacerbating the crime situation in the country (Gallup, n.d.). In Germany, 73% of citizens attributed heightened crime rates to the rise of refugees in the country (Faus & Storks, 2019). Despite both Kuwaitis and expatriates committing an almost equal amount of drug crime, the official governmental drug crime report in Kuwait blames the rise in drug crime on the influx of immigrant workers into the country (Ministry of Justice of Kuwait, 2020).

This study hypothesizes that the inclusion of ethnicity in crime news may lead to higher perceptions of expatriate criminality. Peffley and Hurwitz (2007) found that, when exposed to information regarding the disproportionate Black crime rate, Black subjects were more likely to attribute the crime rate to external factors (e.g., a lack of fairness in the judicial system) compared to White subjects, who were more likely to internal causes. That is, White subjects were more likely to believe that Black people committed more crimes because they were inherently more criminal. Because ingroups may be likely to perceive outgroups as being inherently more criminal, the inclusion of perpetrator ethnicity in crime news may lead ingroup members to evaluate outgroup perpetrators as being inherently more criminal than they are. Similarly, the inclusion of perpetrator ethnicity in this study may cue a response among Kuwaiti (ingroup) members to evaluate the expatriate outgroup more extremely, assigning them more polarized criminality appraisals, which would lead to higher levels of xenophobia.

H2: The effect of the inclusion of perpetrator ethnicity in crime news on xenophobia is mediated by perceptions of expatriate criminality, such that the inclusion of ethnicity in crime news will positively predict perceptions of expatriate criminality which, in turn, will positively predict xenophobia.

Social Media News Consumption

Media exposure plays a large role in determining ingroup members' perceptions of outgroup criminality. Media depicting outgroup members in a positive light can reduce stereotypes and prejudice against outgroups, but such portrayals are far and few between (Allport, 1954; Harwood 2020). Foreigners are considerably more likely to appear in crime news compared to nationals (Im et al., 2017; Kakavand & Trilling, 2022). Expatriates' imbalanced portrayal in local crime news is likely contributing to locals' heavy exposure to news content in

which the perpetrators are expatriates. In Kuwait, the marginalized outgroup is typically either underrepresented or negatively represented in local media (Al-Qatari, 2017).

Dixon and Azocar (2007) conducted two experiments to examine the effects of perpetrator race and news viewership on capital punishment, criminal culpability, and perceptions of whether Black people face structural limitations in life. The researchers exposed (predominantly White) participants to one of four conditions (Black suspects, White suspects, unidentified race suspects, and non-crime stories) and found that heavy news viewers in the non-crime stories condition were more likely to indicate that Black people faced structural limitations in life compared to their counterparts in the unidentified race condition. In addition, the researchers found that participants in the Black suspects condition were more likely to find criminals (whose races were made salient) more culpable compared to respondents in the non-crime news condition, and that this effect was particularly strong among heavy news viewers.

Thus, news consumption plays a moderating role in evaluations of outgroup perpetrators (Dixon, 2008; Dixon & Azocar, 2007; Dixon & Maddox, 2005; Ortiz & Harwood, 2013). Dixon and Maddox (2005) examined participants' emotional discomfort and memory after exposure to a crime story featuring perpetrators of various races and skin tones. The researchers found that television news viewership moderated race and crime judgments, with heavy television news viewers being more likely to experience emotional discomfort after exposure to a dark-skinned Black perpetrator. News consumption may also influence racial evaluations, with heavy news consumers reporting more negative evaluations of Black people than people who do not watch news as often (Dixon, 2007). These studies highlight how news consumption functions as a moderator in evaluations of the outgroup such that both heavy and light news consumers

experience some degree of an effect, noting that heavy news consumers experience a stronger effect than light consumers.

Notably, the effect of media consumption on attitudes toward criminality and punishment is not exclusive to TV media as an increasing number of scholars are examining the effects of social media consumption on attitudes toward foreigners. Ahmed et al. (2021) found that social media news consumption was positively associated with negative stereotypes and unfavorable feelings toward immigrants. Other studies have also examined how social media consumption differs from traditional media consumption, finding that social media consumers are more likely to report xenophobic attitudes compared to traditional media users (Soral et al., 2020).

The study focuses on social media news consumption because an increasing amount of people are getting their news from social media. In the U.S., about half of adults reported that they got their news from social media at least sometimes, with Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, and Instagram being the main social media news sources for American adults (Walker & Matsa, 2021; Liedke & Matsa, 2022). According to the Kuwaiti Government Communication Center, Kuwait has also witnessed an increase in social media users, especially on Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and Snapchat (Omar, 2022).

The study proposes that social media news consumption will act as a moderator in the relationship between the inclusion of perpetrator ethnicity in crime news and xenophobia, exacerbating the hypothesized findings of H1. News consumption is negatively associated with positive outgroup evaluations because of outgroups' negative portrayal in news stories, indicating that the more an individual is exposed to news stories, the more likely they are to perceive outgroups negatively (Dixon, 2008; Dixon & Maddox, 2005). In Kuwait, media's tendency to assign social and economic blame on expatriates (Al-Qatari, 2017), coupled with

official communications condemning the influx of expatriates for causing the country's drug crime issues (Ministry of Justice of Kuwait, 2020), may result in higher levels of xenophobia among the two stimuli conditions compared to the control condition. This study hypothesizes that social media news consumption will moderate the relationship between the inclusion of perpetrator ethnicity in crime news and xenophobia such that heavy news consumers will experience higher levels of xenophobia compared to light news consumers.

Therefore, the third and final hypothesis guiding this study is:

H3: The effect of perpetrator ethnicity in crime news on xenophobia will be stronger (and more positive) for heavy social media news consumers than for light social media news consumers.

Method

The present study is an experiment examining the effects of local crime news on perceptions of expatriate criminality and xenophobia in Kuwait. By manipulating crime news content to depict varying perpetrator ethnicities, the study explores whether local crime news influences xenophobia and whether this relationship is moderated by social media consumption and mediated by perceptions of expatriate criminality.

Sample

Respondents were recruited using convenience sampling by way of a survey that was disseminated primarily through the social media platforms of WhatsApp and Instagram. Participants were recruited with the goal of a sample size of 252 subjects for a medium ($f = 0.25$) effect ($\alpha = 0.05$, power = 0.95). Study participants completed a 15-minute Qualtrics online survey (see Appendix C), and data were collected from March 11 to April 18, 2023.

A total of 230 cases were deleted from the original data set for either a) not passing the attention check, b) completing 79% of the survey or less (these cases were missing key items such as nationality), and c) not being Kuwaiti (these cases were not analyzed for the purposes of this study). At the onset of the survey, respondents were asked an attention check question. Participants who failed the initial attention check question were given a chance to answer a second attention check question; those who failed the second question were not allowed to complete the survey, and their data were not used in the analysis. Participants who passed the attention check were randomly assigned to one of three conditions: Asian expat perpetrator ($N = 136$), Kuwaiti citizen perpetrator ($N = 135$), and a control condition (no stimuli, $N = 136$).

For the two stimuli conditions, a manipulation check question (“What was the race/ethnicity of the perpetrator in the news stories?”) was used. Participants who failed the manipulation check were kept in the study as the main purpose of the manipulation check was to ensure the perpetrator’s ethnicity was made salient among the majority of respondents.² In the Asian expat condition, 97.06% of respondents answered the manipulation check correctly; in the Kuwaiti citizen condition, 80% of respondents answered the manipulation check correctly.

Participants’ answers were also screened for the presence of extreme univariate outliers ($z > |3.29|$) across the study variables. Extreme outlier responses across the xenophobia scale ($N = 1$) and social media news consumption item ($N = 8$) were Winsorized to the second lowest or highest value. No participants had extreme univariate outliers on more than one variable.

² The study also explored the deletion of participants who had failed the manipulation check ($N = 31$) from the dataset, which resulted in similar results reported in this study. In this scenario (and after eliminating participants who failed the manipulation check from the dataset), 108 participants were randomly sampled from each condition using the random sampling feature in SPSS in order to establish the same number of participants across the three conditions.

The final participants ($N = 407$) consisted of Kuwaiti nationals (male: $N = 213$, 52.30%; female: $N = 194$, 47.70%) residing in Kuwait ($M = 23.47$ years old, $SD = 7.95$, Range = 18-65 years old). After being randomly assigned to their conditions, participants completed questions about perceptions of expatriate criminality, xenophobia, social media news consumption, and their demographics.

Independent Variable

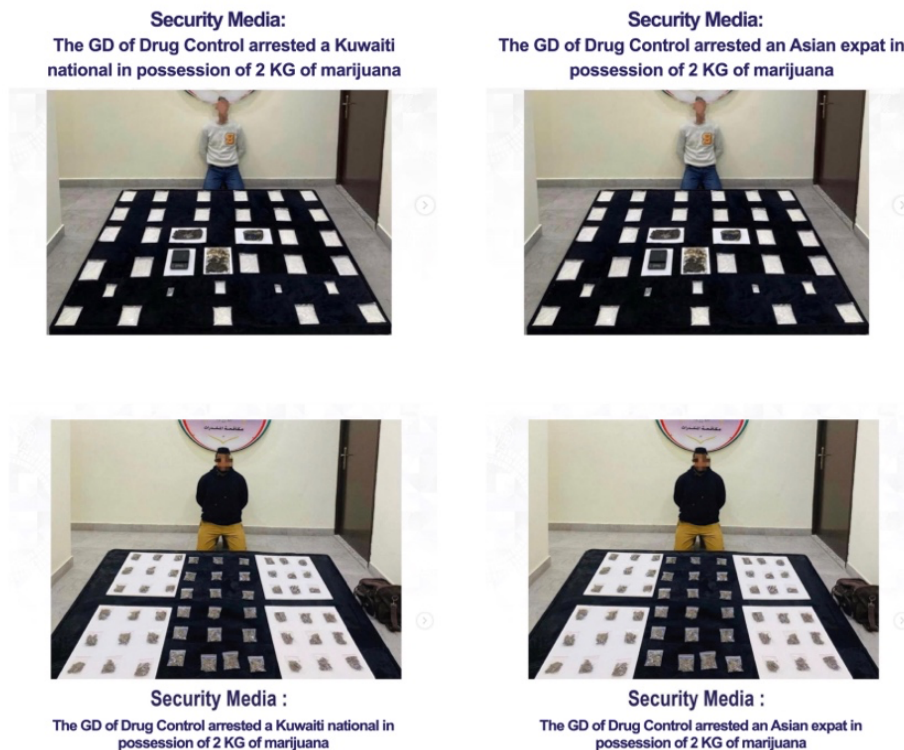
The manipulation for this study was the ethnicity of the perpetrators. Participants were randomly assigned to one of three treatment conditions: Asian perpetrators (i.e., South Asian and East Asian perpetrators), Kuwaiti perpetrators, and a control condition (which received no stimulus). The conditions, shown in Figure 3, were selected to mirror social media posts predominantly posted by the Kuwaiti Ministry of Interior's current Instagram and Twitter accounts. The same images were used in the Asian and Kuwaiti perpetrator conditions and only the headlines were manipulated to reflect the ethnicity of the perpetrator. In all conditions apart from the control, participants were exposed to three posts per condition, followed by a manipulation check question to gauge whether they gleaned the correct perpetrator ethnicity from their assigned conditions.

Posts by the Kuwaiti Ministry of Interior that explicitly mention perpetrator race mention classify perpetrators as either: Arab expats (generally referring to non-Kuwaiti Arabs, including Gulf Cooperation Council citizens, Levantine Arabs, Iraqis, and Yemenis), Asian expats (generally referring to either South or East Asian nationals), Kuwaiti citizens (referring to Kuwaiti nationals), or stateless persons (also known as "bedoon" or "bedoun," stateless individuals are not recognized as citizens of any country). The Asian expat perpetrator condition was selected as the outgroup condition in this experiment because East and South Asian expats

are the most culturally different outgroup (compared to a Kuwaiti ingroup condition) highlighted in the Ministry of Interior's communications. The Kuwaiti citizen perpetrator condition represented the ingroup condition.

Figure 3

Sample Stimuli



Dependent Variable

Xenophobia

Xenophobia was assessed using an adapted form of the scale developed by Hjerm (2005) and responses were given on a 5-point Likert-type scale (-2 = *strongly disagree* to 2 = *strongly agree*). Although the original scale included seven items, two of those items (“Expatriates should not be allowed to participate in political activities” and “If there are too many expatriates it is difficult for a country to stay united and patriotic”) substantially reduced reliability and were

eliminated. The remaining five items were reverse scored, including: “Expatriates should be able to keep using their own language/accent” and “Expatriates in Kuwait should be able to celebrate their traditions, beliefs, and way of life.” The remaining five-item scale had a Cronbach’s α of .59.

Mediating Variable

Perceptions of Expatriate Criminality

Participants answered questions regarding specific criminality of expatriates compared to Kuwaitis using an adapted version of the “perceptions of specific [immigrant] criminality” scale developed by Kulig et al. (2021). Responses were given on a 5-point Likert-type scale (-2 = *extremely unlikely* to 2 = *extremely likely*) with seven items (Cronbach’s α = .90). Sample questions included: “Compared to Kuwaitis, how likely are expatriates to traffic or sell drugs?” and “Compared to Kuwaitis, how likely are expatriates to embezzle money from where they work?”

Moderating Variable and Demographics

Social Media News Consumption

In keeping with the approach developed by previous scholars (Intravia et al., 2017; Roche et al., 2016), participants were asked how many hours they spent reading or watching news stories on social media in a typical day ($M = 4.38$, $SD = 4.85$, Range = 0-19 hours).

Demographics

Demographics included: (a) sex, (b) age in years, (c) education, (d) nationality, and (e) country of residence. Nationality was used as a screener to ensure the resulting sample was comprised of Kuwaiti citizens only.

Analytical Procedures

H1 was tested with a one-way ANOVA, comparing xenophobia levels across each of the three conditions. For H1 to be fully supported, participants assigned to the Asian expat condition would need to report significantly higher levels of xenophobia than those assigned to the Kuwaiti citizen condition. In turn, those assigned to the Kuwaiti citizen condition would need to report significantly higher xenophobia levels than participants assigned to the control condition.

H2 was tested using Model 4 in PROCESS (Hayes, 2018) to assess whether perceptions of expatriate criminality mediate the relationship between the inclusion of perpetrator race in crime news and xenophobia. H2 was tested individually for each of the three conditions: control condition, Asian expat condition, and Kuwaiti citizen condition. For H2 to be supported, a relationship between the independent variable (i.e., conditions) and perceptions of expatriate criminality would be significant and the relationship between expatriate criminality and xenophobia would be significant. The direct effect of the independent variable and xenophobia would be explained by perceptions of expatriate criminality.

H3 was tested with a hierarchical regression analysis. Both the Asian expat and Kuwaiti citizen conditions were dummy coded and two interaction variables (Asian expat x social media news consumption, Kuwaiti expat x social media news consumption) were created and entered into the model. Xenophobia was the dependent variable in the model. For H3 to be fully supported, both interaction terms would need to significantly predict xenophobia in the model.

Results

Means and standard deviations of the study variables are reported in Table 1, available for the total sample and disaggregated by condition. Intercorrelations between study variables are reported in Appendix B.

Table 1*Means and Standard Deviations of Study Variables (Total Sample and Study Conditions)*

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>
1. Xenophobia	0.19	0.66	407
Control condition	0.06	0.64	136
Kuwaiti citizen condition	0.18	0.64	135
Asian expat condition	0.34	0.66	136
2. Perceptions of criminality	0.84	0.90	407
Control condition	0.78	0.89	136
Kuwaiti citizen condition	0.84	0.97	135
Asian expat condition	0.88	0.83	136
3. SM news consumption	4.38	4.85	405
Control condition	4.63	4.87	134
Kuwaiti citizen condition	5.11	5.25	135
Asian expat condition	3.40	4.27	136
4. Age	23.47	7.95	407
Control condition	23.49	8.83	136
Kuwaiti citizen condition	22.90	6.66	135
Asian expat condition	24.02	8.20	136
5. Political ideology (conservatism)	4.31	1.88	407
Control condition	4.45	1.78	136
Kuwaiti citizen condition	4.31	1.96	135
Asian expat condition	4.16	1.89	136

Note. Means and standard deviations for the total sample are reported in the top row of every variable.

One-way ANOVA

H1 was explored with a one-way ANOVA comparing the three conditions on their levels of xenophobia. The three groups differed significantly in their xenophobia levels, $F(2, 404) = 6.66, p = .001, \eta^2 = .03$.

In partial support of H1, those assigned to the Asian expatriate condition reported the highest levels of xenophobia, followed by those assigned to the Kuwaiti citizen condition, and followed by those assigned to the control condition. As illustrated by Table 1, Fisher's LSD post

hoc comparisons indicated that those assigned to the Asian expat and control conditions differed significantly from each other ($p < .001$), as did those assigned to the Asian expat and Kuwaiti citizen conditions ($p = .033$). Those assigned to the control and Kuwaiti condition did not differ significantly ($p = .139$) from each other.

Table 2

Xenophobia Levels Across Conditions

	Control	Kuwaiti Citizen	Asian Expat
Xenophobia $M (SD)$	0.06 (0.64) _a	0.18 (0.64) _a	0.34 (0.66) _b

Note. Means that do not share subscripts are significantly different ($p < .05$, Fisher's LSD comparison).

Mediator Analysis

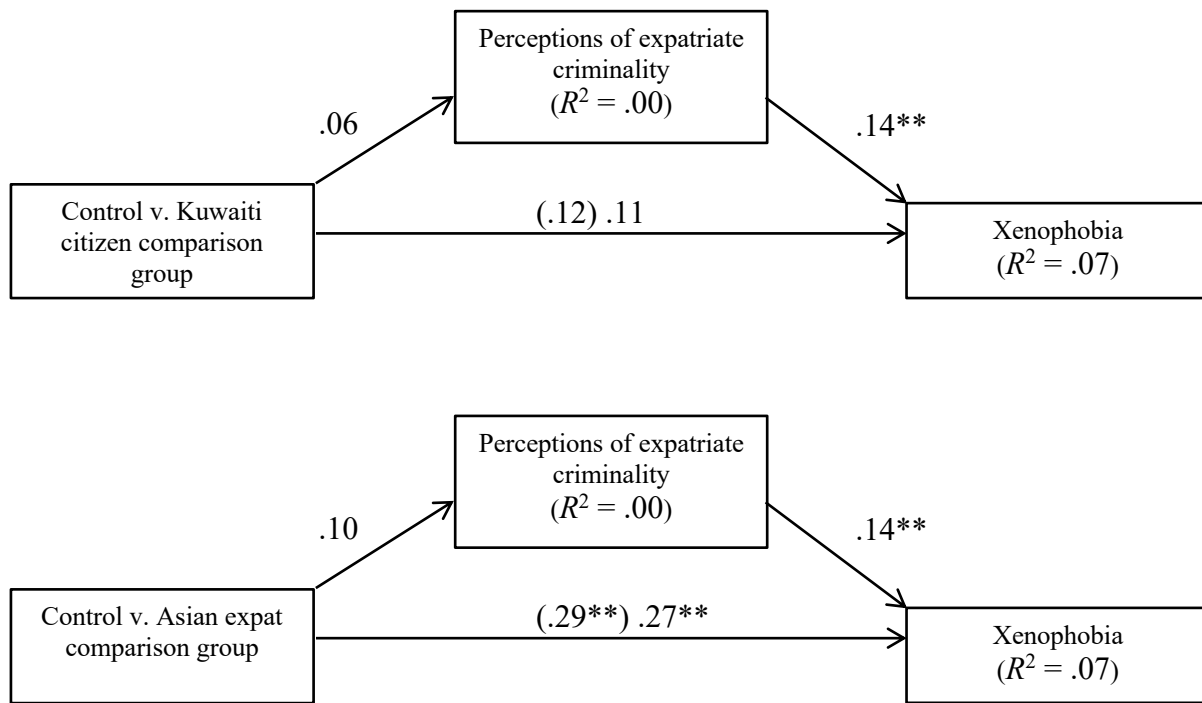
The mediator hypothesis (H2) assessed whether perceptions of expatriate criminality mediate the relationship between the inclusion of perpetrator race in crime news and xenophobia. The indirect effect was tested using Model 4 in PROCESS (Hayes, 2018), with the three conditions as the predictor (0 = control condition, 1 = Kuwaiti citizen condition, 2 = Asian expat condition), perceptions of expatriate criminality as the mediator, and xenophobia as the outcome. Perceptions of expatriate criminality did not significantly mediate the effects of the inclusion of ethnicity markers in crime news headlines on xenophobia in any of the conditions, however, it did positively and significantly influence xenophobia across all conditions, $B = .14, p < .001$.

For the control versus Kuwaiti citizen comparison group, the indirect effect was not significant, indicating that perceptions of criminality did not act as a mediator, $B = .01, 95\% \text{ CI } [-.03, .04]$. For the control versus Asian expat comparison group, the indirect effect was also not significant, indicating that perceptions of criminality did not act as a mediator, $B = .01, 95\% \text{ CI }$

[-.02, .04]. As Figure 4 illustrates, the regression coefficient between the independent variable and perceptions of criminality was not significant across conditions, however, the regression coefficient between perceptions of expatriate criminality and xenophobia was significant. In the control v. Asian expat comparison group, both the total effect and direct path were significant.

Figure 4

Exposure to Kuwaiti and Asian Perpetrators Does Not Mediate the Relationship between Perceptions of Expatriate Criminality and Xenophobia



Note. Coefficients are unstandardized. The total effect is shown in parentheses on the direct path. The 95% confidence interval for the indirect effect in the control v. Kuwaiti citizen comparison group is [-.03, .04]. The 95% confidence interval for the indirect effect in the control v. Asian expat comparison group is [-.02, .04].

Moderator Analysis

A hierarchical OLS regression was used to test H3³. To test for moderation, two interaction terms were created: Kuwaiti citizen condition x social media news consumption, and Asian expat condition x social media news consumption. The first block controlled for the Kuwaiti citizen condition (0 = control and Asian expat conditions, 1 = Kuwaiti citizen condition) and Asian expat condition (0 = control and Kuwaiti citizen conditions, 1 = Asian expat condition). The second block controlled for social media news consumption, which was mean-centered. The third block for perceptions of expatriate criminality and the fourth and final block included the two interaction terms. Xenophobia was the criterion, and all results are reported in Table 2.

In the first block, only the Asian expat condition predicted xenophobia. In total, the first block was significant, $R^2 = .03$, $F = 6.48$, $p = .002$. In the second block, the addition of social media news consumption did not explain significant additional variance, $R^2_{\text{change}} = .00$, $F_{\text{change}}(1, 401) = 0.15$, $p = .696$, and only the Asian expat condition significantly predicted xenophobia. The addition of the mediating variable, perceptions of expatriate criminality, in the third block explained significant additional variance, $R^2_{\text{change}} = .04$, $F_{\text{change}}(1, 400) = 15.32$, $p < .001$. In the third block, both the Asian expat condition ($p < .001$) and perceptions of expatriate criminality ($p < .001$) were significant. The addition of the interaction terms in the fourth block did not explain significant additional variance, $R^2_{\text{change}} = .06$, $F_{\text{change}}(2, 398) = 0.93$, $p = .394$. The entire model (with all six predictors) explained significant variance, $R = .27$, adjusted $R^2 = .06$, $F(6, 398) =$

³ Demographics [e.g., age, sex (0 = *female*, 1 = *male*), and political ideology] were investigated as potential control variables but were not statistically significant. Perceptions of expatriate criminality was also investigated as an independent variable in Block 2 but was not statistically significant. Since they did not affect the findings, they were removed from the model. The final model, shown in Table 3, does not include any demographic indicators.

5.12, $p < .001$. Because the addition of the interaction terms did not significantly predict xenophobia, H3 was not supported.

Table 3

Hierarchical Regression with Predictors of Xenophobia

Variable	β	t	p -value	$r_{ab.c}^2$
Block 1				
Kuwaiti citizen condition	.08	1.45	.147	.01
Asian expat condition	.20	3.58	< .001	.03
Block 2				
Kuwaiti citizen condition	.08	1.43	.153	.01
Asian expat condition	.21	3.60	< .001	.03
SM news consumption	.02	0.39	.696	.00
Block 3				
Kuwaiti citizen condition	.08	1.34	.180	.00
Asian expat condition	.20	3.48	< .001	.03
SM news consumption	.02	0.38	.707	.00
Perceptions of expat criminality	.19	3.91	< .001	.04
Block 4				
Kuwaiti citizen condition	.08	1.45	.148	.01
Asian expat condition	.21	3.61	< .001	.03
SM news consumption	.04	0.52	.606	.00
Perceptions of expat criminality	.18	3.76	< .001	.03
Kuwaiti x SM news consumption	-.06	-0.90	.371	.00
Asian x SM news consumption	.03	0.47	.638	.00

Note. SM = Social media; β = standardized beta coefficient; $r_{ab.c}^2$ = partial r^2 value.

Discussion

This study highlights the effects of crime news depictions on perceptions of the outgroup. While previous studies have focused on the effects of outgroup perpetrator depictions on perceptions of outgroup criminals, this study delves deeper into exploring how ingroup transgressions may also affect perceptions of the outgroup via xenophobia. These findings

support previous literature in that they demonstrate that exposure to outgroup perpetrators can result in negative attitudes toward one's outgroup.

This study did not find a significant impact of exposure to ingroup perpetrators on xenophobia. Despite those in the Kuwaiti citizen perpetrator condition reporting a higher xenophobia mean ($M = 0.18$) than those in the control condition ($M = 0.06$), the two groups did not significantly differ in their xenophobia levels, indicating that exposure to the Kuwaiti perpetrator condition did not have a significant effect on xenophobia.

Evaluations of Ingroup v. Outgroup Perpetrators

The study contributes to the ever-growing literature on social identity theory, complexity-extremity theory, and the outgroup homogeneity hypothesis. According to social identity theory, people divide others into ingroups and outgroups as a means of bolstering their social identities, or sense of who they are, and as a means of making sense of the world around them (Tajfel, 1979; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). In this sense, the theory posits that our social identities are always relational, depending on the existence of a comparable outgroup. Without a comparable outgroup, our social identities are somewhat lost; to develop and nurture our social identities, social comparisons between one's ingroup and outgroup are necessary (Tajfel, 1979; Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

Extensions of social identity theory like complexity-extremity theory (Linville, 1982; Linville & Jones, 1980) and the black sheep hypothesis (Marques et al., 1988) have examined ingroup evaluations of fellow ingroup members and arrived at opposing conclusions. Complexity-extremity theory posits that unlikeable ingroup members will inspire less denigration compared to equally unlikeable outgroup members (Linville, 1982). Conversely, the

black sheep hypothesis posits that unlikeable ingroup members should inspire more extreme negative evaluations than equally unlikeable outgroup members (Marques et al., 1988).

This study aligns more with complexity-extremity theory and the outgroup homogeneity hypothesis primarily because of the socio-economic relationship shared between Kuwaitis and expatriates. Both the theory and hypothesis stipulate that ingroup members have a wider range of experiences with which to evaluate fellow ingroup members compared to outgroup members (Jussim et al., 1987; Marques et al., 1988; Park & Rothbart, 1982). Although expatriates in Kuwait make up most of the country's population, Kuwaitis primarily interact with fellow Kuwaitis for a variety of social, economic, and cultural reasons. Expatriates live and work in sectors that are starkly different from their Kuwaiti counterparts, often taking on low-paying blue-collar professions that Kuwaiti nationals would not consider (Westall & Hagagy, 2013). Expatriates in Kuwait are also less likely to interact with Kuwaitis, as evidenced by InterNations' (2022) report, which named Kuwait the worst country in the world for expatriates. Namely, expatriates in Kuwait cite issues with their social lives and perceive local Kuwaiti residents as unfriendly and unwelcoming (InterNations, 2022). Because Kuwaitis are less likely to form meaningful social interactions with expatriates, they will also be less likely to develop meaningful dimensions with which to evaluate expatriates. According to complexity-extremity theory, the fewer dimensions someone has with which to evaluate another person, the more likely they are to assign extreme evaluations to the other person — both positive and negative (Jussim et al., 1987; Linville, 1982). In the case of drug crime news, and as evidenced by this study, an ingroup member who is exposed to both an ingroup and outgroup perpetrator will likely assign the harshest evaluations to the outgroup perpetrator. Because ingroups are more

likely to view outgroups as homogenous (i.e., outgroup homogeneity theory), the attribute of criminality may extend beyond the individual to the whole outgroup (Park & Rothbart, 1982).

Interestingly, ingroup members are likely to blame outgroups for a multitude of societal issues, including, but not limited to, drug crime. In the U.S., 31% of Americans believe immigrants are making the economy worse, and 42% of Americans believe immigrants are exacerbating taxes (Gallup, n.d.). In Kuwait, the tendency to blame expatriates is not exclusive to drug crime in the country, as a recent study also found that almost 65% of Kuwaitis blamed the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic on expatriates (Abu Sulaib, 2020). This statistic may not be crime-related, but it can serve as a proxy that highlights Kuwaitis' general attitudes toward foreigners, and the tendency to assign blame to the outgroup in situations (Al-Qatari, 2017).

Ingroup Portrayals & Outgroup Perceptions

The effect of ingroup portrayals on *outgroup* perceptions is a relatively understudied area of communication and media effects research, with past studies primarily focusing on the effect of outgroup portrayals on outgroup perceptions. Tajfel and Turner (1979) suggest that when ingroup members are exposed to ingroup transgressions, they may divide their ingroup into subcategories to maintain a positive social identity. In turn, the lack of control experienced by ingroup members may cause them to blame outgroup members as a means of remediating the ingroup's social identity (Hirsch et al., 2020).

In the case of this study, blame may not be the exact phenomenon at play, as participants in the Kuwaiti citizen perpetrator condition did not differ significantly in their xenophobia levels compared to the control group. These findings indicate that when exposed to ingroup transgressions, fellow ingroup members may not necessarily blame others for their ingroup member's downfall. In their study on group entitativity, or the degree to which groups think of

themselves as one coherent unit, Seate and Mastro (2015) found that ingroups' exposure to ingroup transgressions resulted in lower perceptions of outgroup entitativity. These findings suggest that, in line with social identity theory, ingroup members who are exposed to ingroup transgressions may very well split their ingroup into subcategories to preserve self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). More importantly, they indicate that ingroups' exposure to ingroup perpetrators may also encourage ingroups to think of outgroups in a more nuanced manner, allotting them a similar level of complexity formerly reserved for ingroup members. In terms of complexity-extremity theory, exposure to ingroup criminals may signal to ingroup members that outgroups have more meaningful dimensions with which they can be evaluated, diminishing the tendency to "lump" all expatriates into one homogenous criminal outgroup.

Perceptions of Criminality & Social Media News Consumption

Interestingly, neither the hypothesized mediating variable of perceptions of expatriate criminality nor the hypothesized moderating variable of social media news consumption resulted in any significant results.

Although perceptions of criminality were hypothesized to act as a mediating variable, they did not engender a mediated model in this study. One explanation is that people may not perceive outgroups as being inherently more criminal than ingroup members; however, they may assign them harsher and more punitive sentences regardless. In their study on primarily White respondents, Costelloe et al. (2018) found that perpetrator nationality determined the degree of punishments doled out by participants (such that ingroup perpetrators received less punitive punishments compared to ingroup perpetrators), but nationality did not predict perceptions of criminality. That is, White (ingroup) perpetrators were significantly less likely to receive a

punitive sentence than Mexican or Arab (outgroup) perpetrators, even though both the ingroup and outgroup criminals were perceived as being more or less equally inherently criminal.

Another reason that perceptions of expatriate criminality may have failed to function as a mediator is that the measure asks participants to report views that may be perceived as being highly sensitive. This may have resulted in participants' misreporting or underreporting their perceptions of expatriate criminality, resulting in a socially desirable response bias that is common among highly sensitive questions in self-report research (Johnson & Fendrich, 2005; Tourangeau & Smith, 1996).

While past studies have found that social media news consumption is associated with more negative views of outgroups (Ahmed et al., 2021; Soral et al., 2020), this study did not find that social media news consumption moderated the relationship between the inclusion of perpetrator identity in crime news and xenophobia. One reason for this finding is that a more specific measure of social media news consumption could have been used. Namely, Intravia (2018) outlines how it is better to use social media consumption measures that are specific to crime news. In his study on the effect of social media consumption on penal attitudes, Intravia (2018) demonstrates that people who consume punishment-specific social media content are more likely to have stronger penal attitudes than those who consume general social media content. Future studies measuring social media news consumption could do better to include a measure that is specific to the target area of research.

Limitations

This study is not without limitations. For one, the study focuses primarily on drug crime news, a social issue that was selected because of its importance in the country in which the study was performed. Future studies would do well to explore a variety of crime stimuli, examining

whether different crimes have the same effect on ingroup evaluations of ingroup and outgroup perpetrators.

Despite having had a high reported reliability in previous studies, the adapted version of Hjerm's (2005) xenophobia scale used in this study resulted in relatively low reliability. One reason why the xenophobia scale had low reliability could be attributed to the fact that the scale, like most xenophobia scales, measures attitudes toward immigrants or immigration (Ommundsen & Larsen, 1999; van der Veer et al., 2013). Although one could replace "immigrants" with "foreigners" in most scale items, the conceptual difference between immigrants and foreigners remains, especially in Kuwait; immigrants are more likely to have and pursue a pathway to naturalization; foreigners (specifically, sojourners or expatriates) are rarely afforded that opportunity (McCamy, 2019).

Context may also have been an issue with the xenophobia scale. This study was conducted in an Arab country, whereas most xenophobia scales have been created and tested on non-Arab samples (Ommundsen & Larsen, 1999; van der Veer et al., 2013). Hjerm's (2005) xenophobia scale (the one used in this study) was originally tested on a Swedish sample and reported a Cronbach's alpha reliability score of .90. Differences in a scale's reliability are common when conducted on international samples, a phenomenon that has been attributed at least in part to variations in cultures (Dolnicar & Grün, 2007; Hui & Triandis, 1989). One way to combat this phenomenon is to use scales with wider response ranges; Hui and Triandis (1989) demonstrated that although Hispanic participants reported more extreme responses compared to non-Hispanic participants on survey items using 5-point scales, the use of 10-point scales substantially reduced the difference between the two groups' answers.

Xenophobia scales, including the one used in this study, could be conflating general attitudes towards foreigners with measurements of willingness to grant non-Kuwaitis political rights, two aspects of xenophobia that may function quite differently from each other. For example, a Kuwaiti may be more than open to the idea of foreigners celebrating their traditions and beliefs but may be unwilling to grant foreigners the legislative right to become Kuwaiti citizens — the former requires little to no political sacrifice while the latter does. In Kuwait, granting foreigners political rights via immigration and/or naturalization is a highly contentious issue, and one that the country has not made marked progress on in decades (Amnesty International, 2022; Nationality Law, 1959). The xenophobia scale used in this study may have had low reliability for these reasons, and future studies would do well to ensure any xenophobia items distinguish between willingness to grant political rights to foreigners and general attitudes toward foreigners.

The social media news consumption variable also resulted in a wider range of responses than expected. One reason could be the increasing trend, especially among younger audiences, to prefer accessing news via social media instead of traditional news sources (Newman et al., 2023). In fact, video-based social media platforms such as YouTube, Instagram, and TikTok have been steadily rising in popularity as news sources over the past few years, in stark contrast to news websites and apps which have been steadily declining in usage (Newman et al., 2023). People are also visiting social media platforms at least once a day, with youth being the most likely to visit social media platforms multiple times daily (Auxier & Anderson, 2021). In a 2019 survey conducted by Northwestern University in Qatar across several countries in the Middle East (which, unfortunately, did not include Kuwait), researchers also found that 60% of adults got their news from social media at least once a day, with 97% of adults in Saudi Arabia (the

surveyed country closest in physical proximity to Kuwait), reporting that they get their news from their smartphones at least once a day (Dennis et al., 2019). Since the average age of respondents in this study was 23.47 years old, surveyed participants might be more likely to spend more time both perusing social media per day and getting their news from social media.

Another plausible explanation could be that some respondents interpreted “social media news” as being all kinds of news information that one may stumble across on social media, including personal news that may be posted by a close friend or political news that may be posted by a news outlet. Today, around 70% of Americans use social media for a variety of reasons, including to peruse news content, connect with friends, and share information (Pew Research Center, 2021). Moreover, social media news consumption is not limited to mainstream news outlets’ social media channels. Across the world, social media news consumers pay the most attention to internet personalities (e.g., influencers, celebrities, and reality stars) and ordinary people (e.g., family and friends) — far more than mainstream news outlets and politicians on social media (Newman et al., 2021). Since people’s social media feeds are very likely to include a mix of media personalities, family members, and friends, they are also very likely to stumble upon newsworthy posts by influencers, ordinary people, and more.

Despite these limitations, the study contributes to the growing literature on theories regarding social identity and complexity-extremity, investigating the effects of ingroup versus outgroup perpetrators, as well as the effect of ingroup perpetrators on outgroup evaluations.

Future Research

Future research would do well to expand studies on the effects of negative ingroup depictions on outgroup evaluations. Although this study did not find that exposure to an ingroup

perpetrator resulted in higher levels of xenophobia compared to the control group, the explanation for this phenomenon should be explored further.

Future studies could measure threat, fear, nationalism, and patriotism as added variables that may explain if and why some ingroup members may resort to blaming outgroups for fellow ingroup members' wrongdoings. Intergroup threat and competition lead to negative attitudes toward outgroups (Riek et al., 2006). Threat has also been shown to lower feelings of control among ingroup members, leading ingroup members to develop negative feelings toward outgroup members (Fritsche & Jugert, 2017). Past studies have examined how blaming foreigners can increase a sense of national identity among ingroups and preserve an ingroup's positive social identity, a necessary condition of social identity theory (Hirsch et al., 2019). Thus, nationalism and patriotism could also be key variables that could extend future versions of this study.

Researchers would also do well to replicate this study in other countries with both similar and dissimilar social contexts shared between citizens and foreigners. Although this study takes the case of Kuwait as an example, similar studies can be applied to the context of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) region. Migrants make up almost half of the total population of GCC countries, including Bahrain, Kuwait, Iraq, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates (Khoja et al., 2017). Although each country is distinct in its own way, there is an underlying fabric connecting migrants and migrant experiences that is unique to the Gulf region (Jureidini, 2005; Ullah et al., 2020). Moreover, similar results may also apply outside of the Arab region, as outgroup criminals are likely to be overrepresented in news media across the world (Im et al., 2017; Kakavand & Trilling, 2022).

Conclusion

This study examines the effects of the inclusion of ingroup and outgroup ethnicity markers in crime news on attitudes toward the outgroup and finds that ingroups' exposure to crime news that highlights outgroup perpetrators has a significant positive effect on xenophobia. Exposure to crime news headlines concerning expatriate perpetrators is correlated with higher levels of xenophobia among Kuwaiti citizens and exposure to crime news headlines highlighting fellow ingroup perpetrators was not correlated with higher levels of xenophobia compared to the control condition. As of now, Kuwaiti drug crime news media disproportionately feature expatriates, perpetuating the myth that expatriates are predominantly responsible for drug crimes in the country despite both Kuwaitis and expatriates committing an equal amount of drug crimes (Al Mulla, 2021; Ministry of Justice of Kuwait, 2020). This study demonstrates how current reporting standards may serve to increase xenophobia levels among Kuwaitis.

Appendix A

Pilot – Content Analysis

A pilot content analysis was conducted to determine which perpetrator ethnicities are highlighted in social media posts by the Kuwaiti Ministry of Interior’s Instagram account. Coders (the principal investigator and an additional coder) were tasked with coding for the race/ethnicity of the perpetrator(s). Posts that explicitly mentioned Arab expatriates, Asian expatriates, and Kuwaiti citizens were classified as such. Posts that referenced expatriates but did not mention ethnicity were classified as “expatriate” posts, posts that did not specify a perpetrator race/ethnicity were classified as “unspecified” posts, and posts that referenced stateless (i.e., individuals who are not citizens of any country) persons were classified as “stateless” posts. Intercoder reliability was assessed, resulting in a Krippendorff’s alpha of .92.

This sampling frame for this pilot was the population of drug crime posts that mention race or ethnicity in their headlines and were published from the inception of the Instagram account in April 2021 to October 2022. All posts were manually extracted from the Ministry of Interior’s English Instagram account, and the population included a total of 61 posts.

The unit of analysis for this pilot were the post headlines, captions, or image text. Coders were instructed to read everything from the post’s headline to the caption of the post, scrolling through all carousel (i.e., multi-image) posts whenever necessary to ensure any perpetrator ethnicities were gleaned. As indicated by Table 4, 51% of drug crime posts referenced expatriate or stateless (i.e., individuals who are not recognized as citizens of any country) ethnicities in their headlines or captions, and only 11% of drug crime posts explicitly referenced Kuwaiti citizens.

Table 4

Perpetrator Ethnicities Depicted in the Kuwaiti Ministry of Interior's Instagram, April 2021-October 2022

Ethnicity	Number of Posts	Percentage of Total Posts
Arab expat	8	13.11
Asian expat	18	29.51
Expat	3	4.92
Stateless	2	3.28
Kuwaiti Citizen	5	8.20
Mix (Kuwaiti + expat)	2	3.28
Unspecified	19	31.67

Appendix B

Intercorrelations Between Study Variables

Table 5*Intercorrelations for Study Variables (Total Sample)*

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Xenophobia		.20**	-.01	.06	-.01	.07
2. Perceptions of criminality			.00	.03	-.08	.09
3. SM news consumption				-.05	-.04	.06
4. Age					-.11*	.04
5. Sex (male)						-.04
6. Political ideology (conservatism)						

Note. Spearman r correlation results are shown for all variables. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 6

Intercorrelations for Study Variables Disaggregated by Asian and Kuwaiti Perpetrator Conditions

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Xenophobia	-	.29**	.11	-.07	-.03	.16
2. Perceptions of criminality	.22*	-	.09	-.11	-.12	.16
3. SM news consumption	-.09	-.12	-	-.09	-.01	.05
4. Age	.12	.14	-.02	-	-.16	.01
5. Sex (male)	-.18*	-.01	-.06	-.12	-	-.14
6. Political ideology (conservatism)	-.04	.03	.03	.09	-.09	-

Note. Spearman r correlation results for the Asian expat condition ($n = 136$) are shown above the diagonal. Spearman r correlation results for the Kuwaiti citizen condition ($n = 135$) are shown below the diagonal. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Appendix C

Survey Measures and Items

Informed Consent Form:

University of Arizona
Consent to Participate in Research Study

Title: Perpetrator Attitudes Evaluation
Principal Investigator: Kawther Albader, Graduate Student at the University of Arizona,
kawtheralbader@arizona.edu, 520-302-9266

You are being asked to participate in a research study. Your participation in this research study is voluntary. This page contains important information about this study and what to expect if you decide to participate. Please consider the information carefully.

The purpose of this study is to evaluate attitudes about perpetrators of crime. If you agree to participate, you will be asked to fill out an online survey that will take around 5-10 minutes. Participating in this study is not associated with any expected risks or cost other than your time. You may also withdraw from this study at any time without penalty.

The information that you give in the study will be anonymous. Your name will not be collected or linked to your answers, and the information that you provide in the study will be handled confidentially. However, there may be circumstances where this information must be released or shared as required by law. The University of Arizona Institutional Review Board may review the research records for monitoring purposes.

Please note that although not all elements of this study have been fully explained in this consent form, we will fully explain the study at the end of your participation.

For questions, concerns, or complaints about the study you may contact Kawther Albader at kawtheralbader@arizona.edu, or contact her advisor, Dr. Kate Kenski, at kkenski@arizona.edu. For questions about your rights as a participant in this study or to discuss other study-related concerns or complaints with someone who is not part of the research team, you may contact the Human Subjects Protection Program Director at 520-626-8630 or online at <https://research.arizona.edu/compliance/human-subjects-protection-program>.

An Institutional Review Board responsible for human subjects research at The University of Arizona reviewed this research project and found it to be acceptable, according to applicable state and federal regulations and University policies designed to protect the rights and welfare of participants in research.

Signing the consent form

I have read (or someone has read to me) this form, and I am aware that I am being asked to participate in a research study. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have had them answered to my satisfaction. I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

I am not giving up any legal rights by signing this form. I can be given a copy of this form upon email request to the principal investigator.

By clicking on the “accept” button below, I am consenting to participate in this study.

Attention Check 1:

As a survey participant, you will be expected to read the questions and instructions carefully and thoroughly. Do you plan on reading each question carefully? For this segment, please select “strongly agree” regardless of how you actually feel about the question. Please remember to read every question carefully and thoroughly.

Attention Check 2:

The question that you just completed is called an attention check. Its purpose is to let the researcher know whether the participant is reading questions carefully and thoroughly.

You **did not** follow the directions on the question, which indicates that you need to slow down and read the questions carefully. Please remember this survey will only take you 5-10 minutes.

For this question, please choose “strongly disagree” regardless of how you actually feel. Please remember to read every question carefully and thoroughly. Remember, other attention check questions may be given during this survey.

Attention Check 3:

The question that you just completed for a second time is called an attention check. You did not follow the directions on the question again, which signals to the researcher that you are not reading the questions carefully and thoroughly. Because you are not reading the questions carefully, you will be removed from the study and your data will not be used.

Attention Check 4:

You have successfully completed the attention check measure.

Other attention checks may be given throughout this survey, so please continue to read every question carefully and thoroughly.

Control Condition (Instruction):

Thank you for accepting to participate in this survey. Please continue to get started.

Expat Stimuli Conditions (Instruction):

You will be reading three local crime news headlines. Please read the headlines carefully.

Manipulation Check:

What ethnicity/nationality was the perpetrator in the news stories?

Asian
Kuwaiti
African

Xenophobia - 5-point Likert scale (*strongly disagree to strongly agree*):

There are different opinions about expatriates living in Kuwait. (By ‘expatriates’ we mean non-Kuwaiti people who live in Kuwait.) How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

1. Expatriates should be able to keep using their own language/accent.*
2. Children of expatriates should have the same opportunity as children of Kuwaitis.*
3. Expatriates who have lived in a Kuwait for an allotted time period should be entitled to vote.*
4. Expatriates in Kuwait should be able to celebrate their traditions, beliefs, and way of life.*

5. All countries should grant asylum to refugees from war or political repression.*
6. Expatriates should not be allowed to participate in political activities.**
7. If there are too many expatriates it is difficult for a country to stay united and patriotic.**

*reverse-scored

**eliminated

Perceptions of Expatriate Criminality - 5-point Likert scale (*extremely unlikely to extremely likely*):

Compared to Kuwaitis, how likely are expatriates to...

1. Exceed their legally permitted residency/stay in the country
2. Traffic or sell drugs
3. Use wasta (i.e., take advantage of a powerful or influential social connection)
4. Shoplift
5. Commit serious crimes like murder
6. Embezzle money from where they work
7. Commit sexual assault crimes

Social Media Consumption/News Exposure (measured with sliding scale, 0 to 24 hours):

In a typical day, how many hours do you spend reading or watching news stories on social media?

Political Ideology (measured with sliding scale):

How conservative or liberal would you say your personal ideology or political views are? On a scale of 1-7 (1 = liberal, 7 = conservative), how liberal/conservative are your political views?

Demographics:

What is your ethnicity/nationality? (In case of dual ethnicity/nationality, select all that apply.)

- GCC National (i.e., Saudi Arabian, Emirati, Bahraini, Omani, Qatari)
- Non-GCC Arab (i.e., Egyptian, Jordanian, Lebanese, Syrian, Palestinian, Yemeni, etc.)
- African
- East Asian (i.e., Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, etc.)
- South Asian (i.e., Indian, Pakistani, Nepalese, Bangladeshi, Sri Lankan, Bhutanese, etc.)
- Kuwaiti
- Other

I identify as:

Male/Female

What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- No schooling completed
- Grades 1 through 11
- 12th grade—no diploma
- Regular high school diploma
- Some college credit, but less than 1 year of college
- 1 or more years of college credit, no degree
- Associates degree (for example: AA, AS)
- Bachelor's degree (for example: BA, BS)
- Master's degree (for example: MA, MS, MEng, MEd, MSW, MBA)
- Professional degree beyond bachelor's degree (for example: MD, DDS, DVM, LLB, JD)
- Doctorate degree (for example, PhD, EdD)

Please select your country of residence.

- Kuwait
- Other

Debrief:

Thank you for your participation in this research.

You have participated in a research survey designed to examine the relationships between exposure to crime news stories and attitudes towards expatriates. As a participant, you were randomly assigned to one of three conditions: (a) exposure to news stories about Asian expatriates, (b) exposure to news stories about Kuwaiti nationals, or (c) no exposure to news stories.

If you have any questions about your participation in this study, please email Kawther Albader at kawtheralbader@email.arizona.edu or contact her advisor, Dr. Kate Kenski, at kkenski@arizona.edu. Thank you again.

References

Abu Sulaib, F. (2020). Kuwaiti public opinion trends during coronavirus crisis. *Center for Gulf & Arabian Peninsula Studies*.

http://cgaps.ku.edu.kw/content.php?tbl=tbl_category&bc=from_edition&parent_id=62

Ahmed, S., Hsueh-Hua, V. C., & Chib, A. I. (2021). Xenophobia in the time of a pandemic: Social media use, stereotypes, and prejudice against immigrants during the Covid-19 crisis. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 33(3). 637–653.

<https://doi.org/10.1093/ijpor/edab014>

Al Mulla, Y. (2021, July 12). Drugs are behind 65% of crimes in Kuwait. *Gulf News*.

<https://gulfnews.com/world/gulf/kuwait/drugs-are-behind-65-of-crimes-in-kuwait-1.80610112>

Al-Hattab, K. (2021, January 16). 83,000 expats permanently left Kuwait across a three-month period. *Al-Qabas*. <https://alqabas.com/article/5832560-83->

<https://alqabas.com/article/5832560-83-%D8%A3%D9%84%D9%81-%D9%85%D9%82%D9%8A%D9%85->

<https://alqabas.com/article/5832560-83-%D8%A3%D9%84%D9%81-%D9%85%D9%82%D9%8A%D9%85-%D8%BA%D8%A7%D8%AF%D8%B1%D9%88%D8%A7->

<https://alqabas.com/article/5832560-83-%D8%A3%D9%84%D9%81-%D9%85%D9%82%D9%8A%D9%85-%D8%BA%D8%A7%D8%AF%D8%B1%D9%88%D8%A7-%D9%86%D9%87%D8%A7%D8%A6%D9%8A%D8%A7-%D9%81%D9%8A-3->

<https://alqabas.com/article/5832560-83-%D8%A3%D9%84%D9%81-%D9%85%D9%82%D9%8A%D9%85-%D8%BA%D8%A7%D8%AF%D8%B1%D9%88%D8%A7-%D9%86%D9%87%D8%A7%D8%A6%D9%8A%D8%A7-%D9%81%D9%8A-3-%D8%A3%D8%B4%D9%87%D8%B1>

Al-Qatari, H. (2017, February 20). In Kuwait, ‘too many foreigners’ becomes a frequent refrain. *AP News*. <https://apnews.com/article/61c3598c251d4e68999089b7e3c97b7a>

Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Addison-Wesley.

Arab Times (2022, March 6). Demographic imbalance in expats has exhausted Kuwait’s services and facilities. *Arab Times*.

<https://www.arabtimesonline.com/news/demographic-imbalance-in-expats-has-exhausted-kuwaits-services-and-facilities/>

Auxier, B., & Anderson, M. (2021). Social media use in 2021. *Pew Research Center*.

<https://www.pewresearch.org/internet/2021/04/07/social-media-use-in-2021/>

Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological Bulletin*, 117(3), 497–529. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.117.3.497>

Blakinger, K. (2020, February 11). Newsrooms rethink a crime reporting staple: The mugshot.

The Marshall Project. <https://www.themarshallproject.org/2020/02/11/newsrooms-rethink-a-crime-reporting-staple-the-mugshot>

Central Statistical Bureau of Kuwait. (2022). *Population estimates in Kuwait by age, nationality and sex at 1-1-2022*.

<https://www.csb.gov.kw/Pages/Statistics?ID=67&ParentCatID=1>

Costelloe, M., Stenger, M., & Arazan, C. (2018). Punitiveness and perceptions of criminality:

An examination of attitudes toward immigrant offenders. *Race and Injustice*, 11(4), 363–283. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2153368718797168>

Daniszewski, J. (2021, June 15). Why we're no longer naming suspects in minor crime stories.

The Associated Press. <https://blog.ap.org/behind-the-news/why-were-no-longer-naming-suspects-in-minor-crime-stories>

Dennis, E. E., Martin, J. D., & Hassan, F. (2019). Media use in the Middle East, 2019: A seven-nation survey. Northwestern University in Qatar. www.mideastmedia.org/survey/2019.

Dixon, T. L. (2007). Black criminals and White officers: The effects of racially misrepresenting law breakers and law defenders on television news. *Media Psychology*, 10, 270-291.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/15213260701375660>

Dixon, T. L. (2008). Crime news and racialized beliefs: Understanding the relationship between local news viewing and perceptions of African Americans and crime. *Journal of Communication, 58*, 106-125. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2007.00376.x>

Dixon, T. L., & Azocar, C. L. (2007). Priming crime and activating Blackness: Understanding the psychological impact of the overrepresentation of Blacks as lawbreakers on television news. *Journal of Communication, 57*(2), 229-253. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2007.00341.x>

Dixon, T. L., & Linz, D. G. (2000). Overrepresentation and underrepresentation of Blacks and Latinos as lawbreakers on television news. *Journal of Communication, 50*(2), 131–154. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.2000.tb02845.x>

Dixon, T. L., & Maddox, K. B. (2005). Skin tone, crime news, and social reality judgments: Priming the stereotype of the dark and dangerous Black criminal. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 38*, 1555-1570. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2005.tb02184.x>

Dolnicar, S., & Grün, B. (2007). Cross-cultural differences in survey response patterns. *International Marketing Review, 24*(2), 127–143. <https://doi.org/10.1108/02651330710741785>

Faus, R., & Storcks, S. (2019). Das Pragmatische Einwanderungsland [The pragmatic immigration country]. <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/fes/15213-20190402.pdf>

Fritsche, I., Jonas, E., Ablasser, C., Beyer, M., Kuban, J., Manger, A.-M., & Schultz, M. (2013). The power of we: Evidence for group-based control. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 49*(1), 19–32. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2012.07.014>

- Fritsche, I., & Jugert, P. (2017). The consequences of economic threat for motivated social cognition and action. *Current Opinion in Psychology, 18*, 31–36. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2017.07.027>
- Gallup. (n.d.). *Immigration*. <https://news.gallup.com/poll/1660/immigration.aspx>
- Gulf Bank Research Unit (2020). *The expat debate: A balancing act in which technology and skills form the key to the solution*. https://www.e-gulfbank.com/en/media/expat-demographics-in-kuwait-070720-27704_v10_tcm27-27704.pdf
- Harwood, J. (2020). Social identity theory. In J. van den Bulek (Ed.), *International encyclopedia of media psychology*. Wiley. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119011071.iemp0153>
- Hjerm, M. (2005). What the future may bring: Xenophobia among Swedish adolescents. *Acta Sociologica, 48*(4), 292–307. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0001699305059943>
- Hui, C. H., & Triandis, H. C. (1989). Effects of culture and response format on extreme response style. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 20*(3), 296–309. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022189203004>
- Holt, L. F., & Carnahan, D. (2020). Which bad news to choose? The influence of race and social identity on story selections within negative news contexts. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 97*(3), 644–662. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699019892632>
- Holtmeier, L. (2022, January 25). Kuwait will again issue work visas to expats over 60 years old. *Arabian Business*. <https://www.arabianbusiness.com/politics-economics/kuwait-will-again-issue-work-visas-to-expats-over-60-years-old>
- Im, Y.-H., Cho, Y. Y., & Kim, E.-M. (2017). Portrayals of foreign-born residents in South Korean crime news. *Korea Observer, 48*(2), 361-385.

<https://ezproxy.library.arizona.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/portrayals-foreign-born-residents-south-korean/docview/1929000777/se-2>

InterNations. (2022). *The best & worst places for expats in 2022*.

<https://www.internations.org/expat-insider/2022/best-and-worst-places-for-expats-40242>

Intravia, J. (2018). Investigating the influence of social media consumption on punitive attitudes among a sample of U.S. university students. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 63(2), 309-333.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0306624X18786610>

Intravia, J., Wolff, K. T., Paez, R., & Gibbs, B. R. (2017). Investigating the relationship between social media consumption and fear of crime: A partial analysis of mostly young adults. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 77, 158-168.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2017.08.047>

Johnson, T., & Fendrich, M. (2005). Modeling sources of self-report bias in a survey of drug use epidemiology. *Annals of epidemiology*, 15(5), 381–389.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annepidem.2004.09.004>

Jureidini, R. (2005). Migrant workers and xenophobia in the Middle East. In: Bangura, Y., Stavenhagen, R. (eds) *Racism and Public Policy*. Palgrave Macmillan.

https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230554986_3

Jussim, L., Coleman, L. M., & Lerch, L. (1987). The nature of stereotypes: A comparison and integration of three theories. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 52(3), 536–

546. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.52.3.536>

- Hayes, A. F. (2018). Introduction to mediation, moderation, and conditional process analysis: A regression-based approach. The Guilford Press.
- Kakavand, A., & Trilling, D. (2022). The criminal is always the foreigner?! A case study of minority signification in German crime reporting. *International Journal of Communication, 16*, 28. <https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/17319/3696>
- Khoja, T., Rawaf, S., Qidwai, W., Rawaf, D., Nanji, K., & Hamad, A. (2017). Health care in Gulf cooperation council countries: A review of challenges and opportunities. *Cureus, 9*(8), e1586. <https://doi.org/10.7759/cureus.1586>
- Kulig, T. C., Graham, A., Cullen, F. T., Piquero, A. R., & Haner, M. (2021). “Bad hombres” at the Southern US border? White nationalism and the perceived dangerousness of immigrants. *Journal of Criminology, 54*(3), 283–304. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0004865820969760>
- Linville, P. W. (1982). The complexity–extremity effect and age-based stereotyping. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 42*(2), 193–211. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.42.2.193>
- Linville, P. W., & Jones, E. E. (1980). Polarized appraisals of out-group members. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 38*(5), 689–703. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.38.5.689>
- Marques, J. M., Yzerbyt, V. Y., & Leyens, J.-P. (1988). The black sheep effect: Judgmental extremity towards ingroup members as a function of ingroup identification. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 18*, 1–16.
- Mastro, D., Lapinski M. K., Kopacz, M. A., & Behm-Morawitz, E. (2009) The influence of exposure to depictions of race and crime in TV news on viewer's social judgments.

Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 53(4), 615–635.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/08838150903310534>

Merriam-Webster. (n.d.). *Expatriate*. Retrieved October 2, 2022, from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/expatriate>

Merriam-Webster. (n.d.). *Sojourner*. Retrieved October 2, 2022, from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/sojourner>

McCamy, L. (2019, September 13). 8 of the countries where it's hardest to become a citizen.

Business Insider. <https://www.businessinsider.com/8-of-the-countries-where-its-hardest-to-become-a-citizen-2018-9>

Ministry of Interior. (n.d.). *State of Kuwait Ministry of Interior*. Retrieved October 2, 2022, from <https://www.moi.gov.kw/main>

Ministry of Interior. (n.d.). *General Dept. of Anti-Drug Trafficking*. Retrieved October 2, 2022, from <https://www.moi.gov.kw/main/sections/anti-drug>

Ministry of Interior. (n.d.). [@moi_kuw_en] Instagram.

https://www.instagram.com/moi_kuw_en/

Ministry of Justice of Kuwait. (2020). *Drug and psychotropic substance crimes and their impact on Kuwaiti society - 2009 to 2018*.

<https://www.moj.gov.kw/AR/Apps/Statistics/census2018-2019Drug.pdf>

Mummendey, A., Otten, S., Berger, U., & Kessler, T. (2000). Positive-negative asymmetry in social discrimination: Valence of evaluation and salience of categorization. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 26(10), 1258–

1270. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167200262007>

- Naar, I. (2022, August 21). Kuwait establishes new government with 12 ministers. *The National News*. <https://www.thenationalnews.com/gulf-news/2022/08/01/kuwait-issues-decree-establishing-new-government-with-12-ministers/>
- Nationality Law. (1959). <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b4ef1c.html> [accessed 4 May 2022]
- Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Eddy, K., Robertson, C. T., & Nielsen, R. K. (2023). Reuters Institute digital news report 2023. Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. <https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/digital-news-report/2023>
- Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Schulz, A., Andi, S., Robertson, C. T., & Nielsen, R. K. (2021). *Reuters Institute digital news report 2021: 10th edition*. Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism. <https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/digital-news-report/2021/>
- Othman, M. (2022, May 23). Experts say Kuwait ban on expats buying property hinders efforts to lure investors. *Kuwait Times*. <https://www.kuwaittimes.com/experts-say-kuwait-ban-on-expats-buying-property-hinders-efforts-to-lure-investors/>
- Ommundsen, R., & Larsen, K. S. (1999). Attitudes toward illegal immigration in Scandinavia and United States. *Psychological Reports*, 84(3, Pt 2), 1331–1338. <https://doi.org/10.2466/PRO.84.3.1331-1338>
- Ortona, G. (2017). Xenophobia is really that: A (rational) fear of the stranger. *Mind & Society*, 16, 37–49. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11299-016-0190-7>
- Ortiz, M., & Harwood, J. (2013). The subjective group dynamics of inter- and intragroup criminality in the news: The role of prior television news viewing as a moderator. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 90(3), 540–558. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077699013493786>

- Park, B., & Rothbart, M. (1982). Perception of out-group homogeneity and levels of social categorization: Memory for the subordinate attributes of in-group and out-group members. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 42(6), 1051–1068.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.42.6.1051>
- Patterson, M. J., & Fullerton, R. S. (2021, July 29). The largest news agency in the US changes crime reporting practices to ‘do less harm and give people second chances.’ *The Conversation*. <https://theconversation.com/the-largest-news-agency-in-the-us-changes-crime-reporting-practices-to-do-less-harm-and-give-people-second-chances-165158>
- Peffley, M., & Hurwitz, J. (2007). Persuasion and Resistance: Race and the Death Penalty in America. *American Journal of Political Science*, 51(4), 996–1012.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4620112>
- Pew Research Center. (2021). Social media fact sheet.
<https://www.pewresearch.org/internet/fact-sheet/social-media/>
- Riek, B. M., Mania, E. W., & Gaertner, S. L. (2006). Intergroup threat and outgroup attitudes: A meta-analytic review. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 10, 336–353.
https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr1004_4
- Roche, S. P., Pickett, J. T., & Gertz, M. (2016). The scary world of online news? Internet news exposure and public attitudes toward crime and justice. *J Quant Criminol*, 32, 215–236.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10940-015-9261-x>
- Seate, A. A., & Mastro, D. (2015). The effect of media exposure on perceptions of group entitativity: A preliminary investigation. *Communication Research Reports*, 32(1), 29–34. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08824096.2014.989972>

- Soral, W., Liu, J., & Bilewicz, M. (2020). Media of contempt: Social media consumption predicts normative acceptance of anti-Muslim hate speech and Islamoprejudice. *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*, 14(1), 1–13.
<https://doi.org/10.4119/ijcv-3774>
- Stollberg, J., Fritsche, I., & Bäcker, A. (2015). Striving for group agency: Threat to personal control increases the attractiveness of agentic groups. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 6, 649.
<https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2015.00649>
- Tajfel, H. (1979). Individuals and groups in social psychology. *British Journal of Social & Clinical Psychology*, 18(2), 183–190. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8260.1979.tb00324.x>
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986) The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In: Worchel, S. and Austin, W.G., Eds., *Psychology of Intergroup Relation*, Hall Publishers, Chicago, 7–24.
- Tourangeau, R., & Smith, T. W. (1996). Asking sensitive questions: The impact of data collection mode, question format, and question context. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 60(2), 275–304. <https://doi.org/10.1086/297751>
- Truong, D. (2021, June 22). It's time for journalism to break the cycle of crime reporting. *Poynter*. <https://www.poynter.org/ethics-trust/2021/its-time-for-journalism-to-break-the-cycle-of-crime-reporting/>
- Ullah, A. K. M. A., Lee, S. C. W., Hassan, N. H., & Nawaz, F. (2020). Xenophobia in the GCC countries: Migrants' desire and distress. *Global Affairs*, 6(2), 203-223.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/23340460.2020.1738951>

van der Veer, C. G., Ommundsen, R., Yakushko, O., Higler, L. E. A., Woelders, S., & Hagen, K. A. (2013). Psychometrically and qualitatively validating a cross-national cumulative measure of fear-based xenophobia. *Quality and Quantity*, 47(3), 1429-1444. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-011-9599-6>

Westall, S., & Hagagy, A. (2013, June 12). Economic, social pressures behind Kuwait crackdown on foreign workers. *Reuters*. <https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-kuwait-labour/economic-social-pressures-behind-kuwait-crackdown-on-foreign-workers-idUKBRE95B0N420130612>