

Who Do You Believe?

Effects of English, Cape Coloured and Gay Accents on perceived witness credibility

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Abstract

In a country where discrimination remains as Apartheid by-product, it is important to consider how an accent can give away one's identity more accurately than skin colour, which can result in biased treatment. An exploratory-mixed-method study at the UCT focused on whether and how accents influence the credibility of a witness. Results of an online questionnaire ($N=295$) suggest that race does significantly influence which witness was deemed most believable ($\chi^2(4) = 9.875, p=.043$). Focus group interviews ($N=18$) suggested that perceived education-level was the biggest factor in determining credibility. The Gay witness was deemed most believable and rated highest on intelligence, although qualitative findings suggest he would not be believed in criminal justice settings due to homophobia and assumed likelihood to exaggerate. The Cape Coloured witness was deemed less believable due to associations with lack of education, crime, and 'dangerousness'. The English witness was rated highest on reliability, likeability, confidence, and honesty, and perceived as being educated, professional and important. Additionally, findings suggest 'white guilt', resulting in counter-acting, to be a significant factor. Implications and suggestions for future research are also discussed.

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Effects of English, Cape Coloured and Gay Accents on perceived witness credibility

Reporting a crime is a first - and crucial phase of the criminal justice system. An individual, often a vulnerable victim, gives their subjective account of an event in the hope that the police will believe them and agree that a crime has been committed. However, these officers carry with them biases and stereotypes, just like every other citizen (Wilson, Dunham, & Alpert, 2004). Apartheid's inequalities remain in modern-day South African society. This is still reflected in our day-to-day casual interactions, business transactions, and service delivery, where people are often treated according to value judgments of their group's worth (Adjari & Lazaridis, 2013). Considering this widespread bias, a question arises of its effect in policing: Are individuals of certain ethnicities and accents more likely to be believed when reporting crime?

Studies have examined the role of extralegal factors within the justice system and have recognized that linguistic style influences judgments (Anderson, Downs, Faucette, Griffin, & King, 2007; Dixon & Mahoney, 2004; Dixon, Tredoux, Durrheim, & Foster, 1994; Jules & McQuiston, 2013). However, few study crime-reporting (Wilson, *et al.*, 2004) and even fewer consider accents (Dixon & Mahoney, 2004; Frumkin, 2007).

Attitudes towards the English-accent has been studied before (mostly in the US and the UK), and the Cape Coloured accent has only been associated with crime in one study before (rated as '*more guilty*' than an English mock-witness in Dixon, Tredoux, Durrheim, and Foster, 1994). Additionally, none have studied the "*Gay accent*" (associated with homosexual men) (Campbell-Kibler, 2007) within the legal system. With our unique socio-political history, it is important that research is undertaken to better understand if and how personal judgments made on the basis of ethnicity and sexual orientation could lead to justice not being dispensed equally.

This study attempts to address this gap in the literature, by exploring accent-evaluation in determining witness credibility both in both quantitative and qualitative investigation. Whilst considering its intersection with ethnicity, this study will focus on Cape Coloured, English, and Gay accent.

The influence of accent

How something is communicated is just as important as *what* is communicated. People often evaluate witnesses on extralegal variables such as accent, as people instinctively evaluate a person's credibility before believing their testimony (Jules & McQuiston, 2013).

An accent is a pattern of pronunciation used by a particular speaker that indicates group identity (Wells, 1982) that "*triggers categorization in a prompt, automatic and occasionally unconscious manner*" (Rakic, Steffens, & Mummendey, 2011). Differences in accents are differences in duration, pitch and intonation pattern, and phonemic structures (Yan & Vaseghi, 2002). Although not aware of their own, people are sensitive to others' accents, to the extent that they can frequently identify an accented speaker's ethnic membership as soon as they say "hello" (Wells, 1982, Baugh 2000). Accents are usually characterized by duration of vowels and consonants in pronunciation, features retained from their native language (Ioup, 2008), which do not pertain to grammar or diction (Wells, 1982).

Speaking with a particular accent could lead to (1) accent detection, (2) diminished acceptability, (3) diminished intelligibility, (4) appearing 'typically criminal' (in criminal investigations) and (4) negative evaluation (Munro, 2008; Wang, Arndt, Singh, Biernat, & Liu, 2013). This may lead to the existence of accent-based discrimination with people regarding their own accent and ethnic background as 'superior to others' (Frumkin, 2007). Language and accent are not merely ways to communicate, but ways for listeners to judge, form opinions, and determine believability (Frumkin, 2007; Lambert, 1967; Nesdale & Rooney, 1995). Attitudes towards a group have been shown to significantly correlate with comprehension (Anderson-Hsieh & Koehler, 1988; Bresnahan, Nebashi, Liu, & Shearman, 2002), and subsequently influence how said group is received and treated (Frumkin, 2007). Therefore, this study will investigate attitudes towards the following groups, focussing primarily on how this influences their credibility as a witness.

Only two other similar studies have been undertaken (Ederra, Junco, & Fernandez, 1994; Frumkin, 2007), which found significant differences among eyewitnesses with different accents regarding favourability and credibility. Mock jurors tended to feel more favourably disposed towards eyewitnesses who had accents similar to their own (or from their native region), and the less a dialect had in common with the participant's own, the less likely he/she was to trust the testimony. Accent also had an influence on eyewitness favourability variables (credibility,

judgement of accuracy, deceptiveness and prestige), while ethnic background significantly interacted with results.

Cape Coloured. This accent is native to the Cape Coloured communities of the Western and parts of the Eastern Cape. Cape Coloured individuals, because of the socio-political history, tend to be working class, and are commonly associated with gangs, crime, and substance abuse, making them a highly stigmatized group (Dixon, *et al.*, 1994; Leggett, 2004; Swart, Christ, Hewstone, & Voci, 2011; Wicomb, 1998).

The language attitude barriers forged in the Apartheid era, with its inequality, discrimination and segregation, still remain and influence the way we relate and evaluate others (De Klerk & Bosch, 1995). The Coloured-identity, being neither white nor black, reflects the brand of racial thinking particular to South African society, and is argued to be a product of Apartheid category-building (Adhikari, 2005). Originally deemed a catch-all net for any racial groups between the margins of white and black, today people's sense of 'Coloured' has been moulded by an interplay of marginality, racial hierarchy, assimilationist aspirations, negative racial stereotyping, physical (demographic) displacement, class divisions, and ideological conflicts (Adhikari, 2005; Leggett, 2004; Wicomb, 1998). Current literature and media frequently paint a bleak picture of this stigmatized and marginalised group, arguably resulting in them disproportionately representing the majority of victim *and* perpetrator statistics in South Africa (Leggett, 2004).

English. British English speakers have a much steeper pitch rise and fall pattern and lower average pitch in most vowels than other English accents (e.g. American, Australian) (Yan & Vaseghi, 2002) and is the most favourably perceived of any English accent (Anderson, *et al.*, 2007; De Klerk & Bosch, 1995). Cape Town's so-called 'Southern Suburbs English', will be the dialect used in the study, which is commonly spoken on and around UCT, referred to by some as the 'UCT-accent' (Zuma, 2013).

In comparison to Afrikaans, English speakers are rated as having higher education, honesty, intelligence and reliability, and are associated with kindness, attractiveness, likeability and high-status employment (De Klerk & Bosch, 1995; Carron, 2005). Historically seen as the language of commerce, entertainment and the anti-government press, today it is considered the

language of urbanization, progress and upward social mobility (De Klerk & Bosch, 1995). This was confirmed and exemplified in a recent study, where Zuma (2013) showed how, “*drawing on historical and present day race-class relations*”; a good command of English is associated with quality education, and therefore linked to socio-economic upward mobility. A command of English is so linked to class, that fluency indicates middle-class status, while a poor English command indicates a working-class status.

Gay. The Gay accent is the “recognizable” accent of some homosexual men, often associated with effeminacy and suggestions that Gay men signal their sexual identity in their speech patterns (Sisson, 2003; Campbell-Kibler, 2007). Despite being called the Gay-accent, it does not always correlate with a speaker’s sexuality; listeners perceive/assume this, often resulting in discrimination and stereotyping (Castle, 2013; Babel & Johnson, 2006).

Recent research has suggested a link between intelligence and homosexuality, in which gay people are typically born with more intelligence than the average heterosexual (Kanazawa, 2012), and that Gay people are significantly overrepresented among the ‘genius’ – category (Stern, 2013). Additionally, Gay males have higher college grade point averages and perceive their academic work as more important (Carpenter, 2009), and Gay couples tend to be more educated and have higher income than heterosexual couples (Prudential, 2013).

It is identified by wider pitch, higher frequency, longer vowels and the prominent /s/-sound (compared to the average heterosexual male) (Sisson, 2003; Babel & Johnson, 2006). In countries where open homosexuality is less common, its users are more stigmatized, as in South Africa where it’s often seen as a sickness, sin, and as a Western-phenomenon, associated with criminality and HIV AIDS, and by traditional communities as “un-African” and “against nature and God” (Anderson et al., 2007; Grazio, 2004; Organisation for Refuge, Asylum & Migration South Africa, 2008). The LGBTQI (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer and Intersex) community frequently state that discrimination against them is still rampant, with reports to the police often not taken seriously or not sufficiently attended to, especially when reporting sexual violence (Organisation for Refuge, Asylum & Migration South Africa, 2008), and report being sexually and physically assaulted for challenging the heterosexual status quo (Graziano, 2004).

Who do we believe?

People are more likely to believe individuals of their own ethnic background and accent (Frumkin, 2007; Lev-Ari & Keysar, 2010), who speak with confidence (Erickson, Lind, Johnson, & O'Barr, 1978; Perez-Sabater, Montero-Fleta, & Perez-Sabater, 2014), are of high occupation status (Jules & McQuiston, 2013), and who are attractive (Todorov, Pakrashi, & Oosterhof, 2009; Gross & Crofton, 1977).

Ethnicity, race and prejudice. Accents mediate judgments based on ethnicity (Anderson *et al.*, 2007). Race is an important factor in assuming credibility as our minds adds a human face to each accent (Lindholm, 2005). Racism, homophobia and negative stereotypes are still strongly embedded in our society and influence who we trust (Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa, 2010), which is potentially highly problematic within the justice system.

Gaps and weaknesses in the current literature

People determine favourability and credibility in the first few seconds of observation (Todorov, *et al.*, 2009). The Dangerous Decisions Theory holds that judgments of trustworthiness occur immediately upon seeing a defendant's face, potentially leading to numerous wrongful convictions (Porter & Ten Brinke, 2009). Research has suggested that judgements of eyewitness accuracy based on transcripts rather than live testimony would increase quality of legal decisions (Lindholm, 2008), but unfortunately this is not currently possible in South Africa, making research that considers human influences and interferences within policing and the criminal justice system crucial.

When a witness makes a statement to a police officer, judgments are made and acted upon much faster than a judge, who has more time to evaluate the credibility of a witness. Although research that has participants evaluate mock-witnesses by rating them on numerous traits is the usual method, one might argue that research that investigates the immediate judgment or impression of a witness would be equally – if not more - appropriate. This study therefore investigates both.

With our ever-developing socio-political landscape, research on attitudes towards ethnicity is quickly outdated and should be updated regularly. Additionally, attitudes towards Gay accents have not yet been researched in South-Africa, despite their being a vulnerable group, often harassed and neglected by the justice system. Outgroup-homogeneity-bias and

prejudice are threats to equality in service delivery from the criminal justice system that deserve investigation.

Conclusion

With a focus on the Cape Coloured Afrikaans-, British-, and Gay-accent and their intersection with ethnicity, literature on accent-evaluation show how subconscious prejudices have the power to influence the evaluation of certain groups. The question remains to what extent this exists within the criminal justice system, more specifically, in the process of reporting crime, that should offer equal treatment and attention to all. We have seen that a police officer may or may not believe a statement due to the witness' characteristics, leading to the officer not investigating the case seriously, not investigating it at all, or reporting even being associated with harassment of the witness (as has been reported to be the case with homosexual victims of sexual violence (Organisation for Refugee, Asylum & Migration South Africa, 2008)).

Specific Aims and Hypotheses

This study sought to determine whether speaking with a certain accent can make an ostensible witness more or less believable, focussing on the Cape Coloured, English and Gay accent, and how such reasoning is formulated. Specific emphasis was given to examining the influence of own-group bias and exploring attitudes towards the Gay accent.

The goal was to uncover if and why an accent may influence believability and reliability in giving a witness statement. My objectives were to test the following hypotheses:

- The English accent is rated better than the Cape Coloured accent on reliability, believability, intelligence, honesty and likeability.
- The English accent is rated most credible by all participant groups.
- Own-group bias is the strongest significant predictor in rating an accented simulated-witness.

I also explored and articulated on the following with focus groups, and qualitative methods:

- How is the Gay accent perceived within a crime-witness setting?
- How do people explain their rating/reaction to an accented simulated-witness?

Quantitative methods were utilised where grounded theory and previous research offered hypotheses (as with the Coloured and English accent), and qualitative methods where more exploratory investigation was required.

Methods

Research Design and Statistical Analysis

I used an explanatory mixed methods design; the qualitative findings will be used to help clarify the quantitative results. The quantitative results will provide a general picture of the problem and the qualitative results explain, refine and extend the general picture (Creswell, et al., 2012).

This study could be considered applied research in that it aims to contribute towards practical issues of problem solving, decision making, and community development by investigating how an accent may be grounds for discrimination. The study has elements of a grounded theory nature in that it will consider and explore phenomena in a multidimensional way, and then lead to theory delimitation and definition, in contrast to the scientific method which seeks theory first and then tests (Creswell et al., 2012). Additionally, utilising a mixed-method research approach allows the researcher to construct knowledge about real-world issues based on pragmatism, which places more emphasis on finding the answer to research questions than on the methods used (Creswell et al., 2012).

Quantitative. Collected data was analysed with one-sample t-tests, chi-square, and ANOVA, which focused on descriptive, correlation and inferential statistics in deductive data analysis. I used G*Power to determine the number of participants required. My effect size was set at small (Cohen's $f^2 = 0.10$) with the dependent variable as the believability of each simulated-witness (operationalised as measuring the perceived intelligence, honesty, likeability, confidence and reliability) (Bruin, 2006). Additionally my power set at standard 0.8 (Ellis, 2010) and alpha at 0.05 (Stangor, 2011), with results indicating that I required at least $n=163$.

Qualitative. Due to the exploratory nature of this study, a qualitative approach was deemed appropriate to obtain in-depth understandings of people's experiences and perceptions

(Parker, 2005). More specifically, I decided on using focus groups which would provide opportunities for the discussion of complex and contradictory ideas, allowing for a variety of views to be explored (Runswick-Cole, 2011). I implemented an interpretive paradigm in two qualitative focus groups that were audio-recorded and transcribed for analysis and interpretation. I used an exploratory approach to evaluate attitudes towards the Gay accent within the crime-witness setting and to investigating the reasoning behind why differently accented individuals may be treated differently. I took a somewhat participatory moderator role instead of that of observer to guide the interaction, exploring subjective feelings and assumptions that participants may have in a non-judgmental atmosphere (Runswick-Cole, 2011). Inductive, thematic data analysis helped identify the multiple themes and points of view present in the data, while discourse analysis (more appropriate to a social constructionist epistemology) allowed me to take into consideration both content, and interaction processes (Millward, 2012).

Sampling

Any student currently enrolled at UCT, and who was willing and able to give consent, could participate.

Pilot study. For the first stage, five students ($N=5$) were sampled using convenience sampling by simply approaching them and asking if they would be willing to participate.

Quantitative. I required a minimum of 163 students to achieve the desired level of statistical power. I used convenience sampling by sending an invitation over Vula's SRPP page, thereby collecting 299 questionnaires. Three were excluded for violating the terms of participation (i.e. no participation on a mobile device), ending with a total sample size of $N=295$.

Qualitative. Everyone who completed the previous stage was sent a debriefing email, which also invited them to attend focus groups. I scheduled two sessions, with a cut-off of 10 participants each (5-10 as ideal according to Kreuger & Casey, 2008). The first session had two students drop-out at the last minute, therefore, overall $N=18$.

Procedure and Instrumentation

Preparation. I selected one voice actor for each group (3 mock-witnesses), each from the respectable group. I approached acquaintances who I identified as Southern Suburbs English, and Gay, respectively. In Stellenbosch I met my Coloured-Afrikaans ‘witness’. I met each individually and explained the nature of my research before asking if they’d be willing to be my voice actors. I offered reimbursement of R20.00, which was only accepted by the Coloured-Afrikaans witness. I recorded each saying giving various prepared statements that were equal in length and detail (either: [A] “I was driving by on my way to work, when I heard a cry and saw the broken gat”, [B] “I was walking my dog when I heard a women scream and glass break”, or [C] “I was jogging by the house when I saw two figures arguing in the window”). The statement that sounded the most natural and clearest was selected for each, which were English-British: [A], Coloured-Afrikaans: [B], and Gay: [C]. Different statements were required to help elude participants from the true nature of my research.

From this I used *Polldaddy’s* online software and created a fictional game-type questionnaire (<http://melissauct.polldaddy.com/s/do-you-have-what-it-takes-to-be-a-detective>): “Do you think you have what it takes to be a detective?” in which participants had to put themselves in the role of detective, suggesting steps and procedures (for layout and questions, see Appendix C). At two occasions I suggested that a witness has come forward and that the participant had to rate them on believability, reliability, honesty, intelligence and confidence in statement (believability conceptualised).

Phase 1: Pilot. The pilot study’s aim was to do a suspicion-check: determine if the demand characteristics are too prominent and give away the true nature of the study in the game-like quantitative questionnaire (see Appendix C). In the post-experimental interview, I asked whether they became aware of the nature of the study, and all 5 participants suggested that the theme of the study was along the lines of how well the average person would be at being a detective. After a full disclosure of the real hypothesis, I invited any remarks, criticisms or suggestions to ensure fair, ethical treatment of participants. I addressed minor issues brought up, revising the questionnaire accordingly before the next stage.

Phase 2: Quantitative. Although the questionnaire had numerous questions designed to be entertaining and distracting, only certain answers (bold questions, Appendix C) were used. Unfortunately, the software used did not allow the audio clips to be counterbalanced, which would have been ideal.

The instrument, a voluntary, game-like questionnaire, was formulated to be based on current knowledge from a review on relevant research and literature. The most important information the game requested were the following:

- Consent;
- Biographical information;
- A rating on a scale from 1 to 10 on (1) reliability, (2) honesty, (3) likeability (4) Confidence and (5) Intelligence towards each of the three mock-witness video-clips.
- The choice between the three witnesses as to whom they believed (as the three witness' statements differed).
- In trying to understand why they feel they can or cannot trust a certain witness, a 5-point Likert scale is used to measure how much weight participants would put on various factors that may affect the credibility of a witness' statement (New York Courts.gov, 2008).

Phase 3: Qualitative. In the final stage, I held two focus groups to discuss (1) significant findings from the quantitative stage and how these are formulated, (2) attitudes towards the Gay accent and (3) generally how accents may influence believability within a crime-witness setting. The format was semi-structured (for outline, see Appendix E), allowing for free sharing of ideas and feelings with the interviewer and each other, allowing for probing of in-depth information that may produce ideas for further research.

The first group was quite varied in race, gender and studies; however the second was majority white female students, studying drama and psychology. To increase the diversity of the groups, RainbowUCT was contacted via their Facebook page, and agreed to post an advertisement for the focus groups. This was not carried out however, despite repeated attempts at reminding.

Ethical Considerations

My research proposal was approved by the UCT Department of Psychology Research Ethics Committee. In studying perceptions that may derive from stereotypes and discrimination, awareness about the nature of the study before measurement could result in unreliable data as it may lead to unnatural, altered responses, tainting data with social desirability (Stangor, 2011). The ‘game’ in no way stipulated what was being studied; instead distracting the participant into thinking it may be about determining detective-skills. After the questionnaire closed, participants were debriefed about the true nature of the study in an attempt to counter any harmful after-effects associated with participation (see Appendix D).

Additionally, the following measures were taken:

- a) In each phase was clearly communicated that participation was purely voluntary, that there would be no compensation for participation. Participants were reminded that they were free to terminate participation at any time without any negative consequences.
- b) In the quantitative stage, all data was confidential as participants gave their email addresses (for the debrief email) and student numbers (for SRPP points).
- c) Data was treated with respect and the identity and dignity of participant protected.
- d) A consent form needed to be read and signed before any participation (Appendix A and B).
- e) In the case of the qualitative study, the participants were informed that they would be recorded, and therefore that their participation would not be anonymous.

Results and Discussion

Quantitative Analysis

My study sample (see Table F1) consisted of 241 female students (81.7%) and 54 male students (18.3%) ages 17-54 ($M=20.62$, $SD=3.62$). Of the participants, 12 were White-Afrikaans (4%), 141 were White-English (47.8%), 21 were Indian (7.1%), 57 were Coloured (19.3%), 54 were African (18.3%), and 10 were other or mixed race (3.4%). Two hundred and fifty three were from urban origin (85.8%) and 42 from rural origin (14.2%). Ninety five percent of participants were identified as heterosexual ($n=282$), 2.7% as homosexual, and 2.7% as ‘other’ (both $n=8$).

To what extent do you believe this witness?

Participants had to score each accented witness out of 10 for reliability, likeability, intelligence, honesty and confidence. In accordance with previous literature, I hypothesized that the English accent will be rated higher than the Coloured in all regards. Due to its exploratory nature, I did not hypothesize regarding the Gay accent. The hypotheses were tested using repeated-measures ANOVA.

Reliability. This factor is associated closely with believability. Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated, $\chi^2(2) = 21.82, p < .001$. Therefore, degrees of freedom were corrected using Huynh-Feldt estimates of sphericity ($\epsilon = .94$). The repeated-measures ANOVA revealed that accent had a significant influence on reliability ratings, $F(1.88, 544.04) = 13.04, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .04$. Because the omnibus F was significant, I ran a series of Bonferroni post-hoc pairwise comparisons. These analyses indicated that the Coloured witness ($M = 5.00, SD = 2.17$) was rated significantly less reliable than the English witness ($M = 5.67, SD = 1.95$), $p < .001$, and then the Gay witness ($M = 5.55, SD = 2.15$), $p < .001$. However, there was no statistically significant difference between the English and Gay reliability scores for the English and Gay witnesses, $p = .77$. See Table F2.1 – F2.4, and Figure F1.

Likeability. Not liking a person may also influence perceived credibility. Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated, $\chi^2(2) = 222.18, p < .001$. Therefore, degrees of freedom were corrected using Huynh-Feldt estimates of sphericity ($\epsilon = .94$). The repeated-measures ANOVA revealed that accent had a significant influence on reliability ratings, $F(1.87, 545.43) = 28.46, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .09$. Because the omnibus F was significant, I ran a series of Bonferroni post-hoc pairwise comparisons. These analyses indicated that the Coloured witness ($M = 4.78, SD = 2$) was rated significantly less reliable than the English witness ($M = 5.78, SD = 1.95$), $p < .001$, and then the Gay witness ($M = 5.66, SD = 2.05$), $p < .001$. However, there was no statistically significant difference between the English and Gay reliability scores for the English and Gay witnesses, $p = 1.00$. See Table F3.1 – F3.4, and Figure F2.

Confidence in Statement. Previous studies have repeatedly shown confidence to be a major predictor of perceived credibility. Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of

sphericity had been violated, $\chi^2(2) = 45.24, p < .001$. Therefore, degrees of freedom were corrected using Huynh-Feldt estimates of sphericity ($\epsilon = .88$). The repeated-measures ANOVA revealed that accent had a significant influence on reliability ratings, $F(1.78, 515.28) = 18.57, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .06$. Because the omnibus F was significant, I ran a series of Bonferroni post-hoc pairwise comparisons. These analyses indicated that the Coloured witness ($M = 5.39, SD = 2.46$) was rated significantly less reliable than the English witness ($M = 6.23, SD = 2.05$), $p < .001$, and then the Gay witness ($M = 6.08, SD = 2.17$), $p < .001$. However, there was no statistically significant difference between the English and Gay reliability scores for the English and Gay witnesses, $p = .57$. See Table F4.1 - F4.4, and Figure F3.

Intelligence. More intelligent people are generally considered more reliable. Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated, $\chi^2(2) = 86.76, p < .001$. Therefore, degrees of freedom were corrected using Huynh-Feldt estimates of sphericity ($\epsilon = .80$). The repeated-measures ANOVA revealed that accent had a significant influence on reliability ratings, $F(1.60, 463.68) = 176.67, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .38$. Because the omnibus F was significant, I ran a series of Bonferroni post-hoc pairwise comparisons. These analyses indicated that the Coloured witness ($M = 4.22, SD = 1.77$) was rated significantly less reliable than the English witness ($M = 6.17, SD = 1.72$), $p < .001$, and the Gay witness ($M = 6.37, SD = 1.95$), $p < .001$. Although there was no statistically significant difference between the English and Gay reliability scores for the English and Gay witnesses, $p = .57$, the Gay-witness was rated higher. See Table F5.1 – F5.4, and Figure F4.

Honesty. It seems that just because a witness is perceived as honest, does not mean he will be believed. Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated, $\chi^2(2) = 22.18, p < .001$. Therefore, degrees of freedom were corrected using Huynh-Feldt estimates of sphericity ($\epsilon = .94$). The repeated-measures ANOVA revealed that accent had no significant influence on reliability ratings, $F(1.87, 541.46) = 176.67, p < .31, \eta_p^2 = .004$. Despite this, it is interesting to note that the Gay accent was rated least honest ($M = 5.48, SD = 2.24$), followed by the Coloured accent ($M = 5.55, SD = 2.39$), with the English accent first once again ($M = 5.71, SD = 1.97$). See Table F6.1 – F6.3, and Figure F5.

The overall mean average for the Coloured witness is 5/10, against 5.92/10 for the English, confirms the hypothesis that the English accent is generally considered more favourable and credible than the Coloured accent. The Gay witness' overall average mean is 5.83/10, which is not far behind the English accent. This might possibly be due to an overlap of Gay and English accents, but this will be further investigated in the focus groups.

That the Gay accent was rated most intelligent, is in agreement with literature that shows that Gay males tend to have higher grade point averages, earn more money and be more intelligent (Kanazawa, 2012; Prudential, 2013). That the Gay accent was deemed least trustworthy required qualitative investigation. Generally the pattern of English > Coloured was upheld, which is in accordance to previous literature.

Who do you believe & own-group bias

I also hypothesised that own-group bias will be the strongest predictor in rating the witnesses. However, due to unequal groups within the sample, not all groups were considered for this analysis. Groupings below $n=50$ were excluded. Sexual orientation was not considered (straight $n=282$, Gay $n=8$, bisexual $n=8$), neither was origin (urban $n = 253$, rural $n=42$). Male participants were excluded (18.3% of n), as was white (Afrikaans) (4%), Indian (7.1%), and other/mixed (3.4%). This leaves us with $n=234$, comparing the scores of white (English), African and Coloured females.

In this section, I asked participants to choose which witness they believe to be most credible. A LR Chi-square indicated a statically significant association between race (White-English, Coloured and African), and selecting which of the three witnesses is most believable, $\chi^2(4) = 9.875$, $p=.043$. The effect size was small, Cramer's $V = .138$. Cell counts and the percentage frequencies are displayed in Table 1 and Table 2.

Table 1

Crosstabulation Statistics: Race x Who do you Believe Ratings

			WhoDoYouBelieve				
			Coloured	Gay	English	Total	
Race	White	Count	16	73	34	123	
		(English)	% within Race	13.0%	59.3%	27.6%	100.0%
		Std. Residual	-1.0	-.2	1.3		
African	African	Count	11	38	5	54	
		% within Race	20.4%	70.4%	9.3%	100.0%	
		Std. Residual	0.7	0.9	-2.0		
Coloured	Coloured	Count	12	32	13	57	
		% within Race	21.1%	56.1%	22.8%	100.0%	
		Std. Residual	0.8	-0.5	0.1		
Total	Total	Count	39	143	52	234	
		% within Race	16.7%	61.1%	22.2%	100.0%	

Table 2

Chi-Square: Race x Who do you Believe Ratings

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Likelihood Ratio	9.875	4	.043*

*Significant at $p < .05$

The majority vote went to the Gay (143, 61.1%), followed by English (52, 22.2%) and lastly Coloured witness (39, 16.7%). A very noteworthy finding is that significantly fewer African female participants voted for the English witness than was expected, with only 2.1% (5) of votes.

A one-tailed bivariate correlation also suggested that race and witness-selection is significantly correlated, $r_s = -.124$, $p = 0.29$ (see Table F7 and Figure F6).

This disproves the hypothesis that the English accent will be rated highest by all participant groups. Additionally, from this we can conclude that race does significantly influence who a person finds most believable, although own-group bias is not a strong predictor

(disproving that hypothesis as well). In addition, it is very interesting that the great majority of votes went to the Gay witness.

Qualitative Analysis

A qualitative approach was required to investigate how perceptions about the accents are formulated, to help us understand the quantitative findings discussed above. Additionally, the study's exploratory approach on attitudes towards the Gay accent warrants a qualitative element. From the quantitative analyses we found that own-group bias seems to have no effect as predictor, which allows for exploration into other factors that might influence perceived credibility. Additionally, although the English accent was generally rated higher than the Coloured accent, the Gay accent was rated most believable and African participants rated the Coloured and Gay accent significantly more credible. This requires further investigation as it disproves the hypotheses (that the English accent will be rated higher than the Coloured accent).

The aim of qualitative research is not to generalize findings; instead, the flexible data collection and analysis techniques allow the researcher to adapt to uncover and tap into new insights not previously uncovered or identified in research (Millward, 2012). Although there is no 'right way' to go about focus group data analysis (Millward, 2012), a social constructionist approach to the thematic focus group data analysis allowed me to investigate individual factors and contextual influences, which brought up several themes. The following themes and subthemes are organised to illustrate the associations tied to each accent, and how this influences perceptions of credibility.

A. Witness factors that influence perceived credibility.

Various factors were identified that significantly influenced how credible the accented witness is considered. To make it easier for the reader, they are grouped by accent. They are as follows:

A1. Stereotypes

PQ1¹: We are making our judgements based really on race and education.

Just working off the small clips from the study (I played each accent-recording from the questionnaire, followed by discussion of the accent), the participants were asked to describe the

¹ Participant quotes are numbered (PQ#), in italics and shaded.

‘typical’ Cape Coloured/English/Gay person, which then lead to the discussion. These illustrations were formulated and suggested as follows:

The dangerous Coloured. Associations commonly made with the Cape Coloured (hereafter referred to as ‘Coloured’, as participants preferred) accent were: lack of education, prison gangs, drugs, violence, humour, low income, low intelligence, and bad neighbourhoods.

PQ2 I immediately picture Mitchell’s Plain and dodgy people.

PQ3: And I think one assumes poor education levels immediately.

A strong theme arose regarding the stigma surrounding the Cape Flats as a no-go zone, where crime is rampant and the people are bad. Two participants who are not native to the Western Cape shared how family and friends warned them about the Cape Flats and “Coloured areas” as being “dangerous”.

PQ4: That accent carries with it that stereotype where you listen to the person but think: I cannot believe this person because they are Coloured, and everything that is associated with the Coloureds. So for all I know he could be lying, he could be the one who killed the woman.

The educated Englishman. The English accent was generally considered the ‘standard’ or ‘norm’, against which all other accents are measured. Participants associated the English male with high-income, high-education, sophistication, being civilized and important. Generally, the image participants suggested from the accent was that of a busy, rich, successful businessman who demands respect. It was even suggested that he had an arrogance to him that seemed to judge the police for dragging him into the scenario (in the game’s scenario, see Appendix C), and that he would be believed by the police – even if he were guilty.

PQ5: I get the picture of someone with a fancy car, and a man in the seat. This is below him, this little incident -like he’s annoyed.

PQ6: Another thing that influences the accent is that it’s coming from a male – it kind of demands your state in a way. I think sub-consciously are used to taking that person seriously, believing them because you wouldn’t want to doubt that person. Like he is taking the time of his busy day to talk to you, you should listen.

Students who were from the Southern Suburbs and surrounding areas had trouble discussing this witness, claiming that they did not really hear the accent. This is understandable

as the witness was identified as having a Southern-Suburbs accent. This was argued by likening it to the ‘UCT-accent’ (Zuma, 2013): non-white, non-English students change the way they talk, due to an unexplained pressure they feel at UCT to sound a certain way. Additionally, it seemed that most white participants native to Cape Town denied knowing about the ‘UCT-accent’. These findings corroborate very well with that of Zuma (2013), on what he calls a ‘psycho-social white normativity’: a belief that ‘whiteness’ (and all associated with it, such as middle-class, English fluency) is right, burdening those “*who emerge from contexts that still maintain an apartheid script*”, sometimes even inducing feelings of shame (as we will see here with PQ11, pp. 25).

The fun Gay guy. The Gay accent was met with lightness, jokes and words such as ‘fun’, ‘flamboyant’, ‘dramatic’, ‘high-pitch’, and ‘exaggerated’. It was suggested that you do not only hear Gay, you also see Gay, and that separating the one from the other (how Gay looks and sounds) might be an unrealistic venture for study. This stemmed from several participants claiming that they didn’t notice that the witness was Gay by his accent. However, the students who suggested this were also quick to mention that in hindsight they could hear it, and that they had been exposed to Gay males a lot, while non-white (especially African) students were quick to say they could tell he was Gay by his accent.

PQ7: It’s interesting that we immediately know what someone is saying if they say he has a very Gay accent.

PQ8: You can almost like imitate it.

A negative stigma to the Gay community also arose and was investigated. Participants suggested that certain groups are not open to homosexuality, calling them ‘*moffies*’, and openly discriminating against them.

PQ9: In South Africa we have a society that is still highly intolerant of almost a charity of any kind of sexual orientation that seems to be deviant from what we consider to be the norm. It’s either you’re a girl or a boy, you can’t be both. You can’t be a boy who behaves like a girl or vice versa.

This was suggested as especially risky in the traditional African cultures, which are considered not open to homosexuality.

PQ10: If you are dealing with a police officer that is a black guy – it's against his culture. He's not understanding, and will look at you like you're weird. Also, culture is a big part of different stereotypes and understand of other people and where they come from.

A2. Choice, consequence and culture

It seems a crucial and interesting finding that both the Gay and Coloured accents were considered a choice, suggesting that negative reactions to them were therefore a consequence they themselves had to take responsibility for; that 'they brought it on themselves'. The Coloured and Gay cultures were considered risks in themselves to crime and police brutality, but participants emphasised that 'it is their choice to look, act and talk the way they did'.

PQ11: It's really about what you grew up with. I grew up in Lentegeur and I went to a Coloured school where my teacher spoke like that. So when I was growing up I would prefer the Cape Coloured accent and talking style, but now that I am older, I don't know why, but I would also look down upon the accent. I really think it is what you grew up with. The accent, it comes with language as well, the prison language. I have a few friends in UCT that, when we talk to friends from white backgrounds or whatever who haven't been expose to that accent, we speak in that language just to make fun. We will talk like this and they find it funny. I think it's a degrading word [Coloured], we are degrading our own background. With the accent comes things like pulling of the front teeth...it's a cultural thing, they would prefer to do it like this. I'm not saying all of them are bad, but it's just a person's livelihood. Some preferred to not be educated, it's their choice, and I think that's really not good because if you have a choice to succeed in life, why talk like that.

PQ12: I have quite a few Coloured friends from the Cape Flats, the difference is that is they are in a certain environment, they completely change their accent, then they sound more – this will sound racist – but more like, English; more like civilized almost. But then as soon as they are around people from Mitchell's Plain...they change completely because they almost immediately want to identify with those other people.

PQ11 was a Coloured girl, who shared her testimony in an almost shameful tone, which, along with her words, suggests that the Cape Coloured people are the lowest level group – and that they know it. She states that speaking with the Coloured accent (which she believes is a 'choice') will associate you with the group, hindering your chances at succeeding in life. Again,

the UCT-accent phenomenon showed how non-white, non-English students are under pressure to talk in a certain way; to talk in a way that would hide their culture. However, when they go back home, if they kept up this accent, they were met with reactions of: “*Why are you speaking like that, do you think you are better than me?*” It was therefore interesting that the English accent was not considered a choice by native English speakers, while all non-English students agreed to some degree of accent-change to ‘fit in’. This reinforces English as a norm – a standard people will be measured by.

Similarly, the Gay accent was considered a choice to signal one’s sexual orientation. Emphasis was placed on considerations of ‘appropriateness’, suggesting that it would not be appropriate in certain places and settings. This was generally associated with African culture, as African students shared how Gay black students completely change their style of speech and appearance when they’re at home, in comparison to their ‘open selves’ at UCT.

PQ13: A Gay community isn’t something you necessarily grow up in; it’s a community that you choose to be part of. If you’re Gay you don’t have to surround yourself with other Gay people and talk like that. You have a choice, and when you choose to speak like that and choose to live with that identity, you like choose like: ‘I’m going to be the fun Gay guy; I’m going to speak with a high accent’. It is kind of associated with the fun type of person.

A3. How said > what said

PQ14: You will be judged according to how you speak.

Participants suggested that the way we talk does have an indisputable effect on how we will be perceived. It was suggested that how credible a witness is deemed, is determined by (1) their command of English, and by (2) the factors associated by the group he/she identifies with.

PQ15: There are certain stereotypes that you already carry, so it makes it very hard to believe you. You just judge a person by his accent rather than searching for the truth because they speak in a certain way that is associated with certain behaviours.

PQ16: It is hard to separate accent and what is actually being said. It is how society kind of stigmatizes them and makes you think in a way that you’re not really listening to what the person is saying, it’s more like how they say it. You rate their background and what you preconceive about their background.

The extent of the influence of an accent was illustrated by two participants who study speech-therapy. They explained how parents bring their children to them, asking them to rid the child of his/her Cape Coloured accent and teach him British English.

PQ17: These people came from Cape Coloured areas, and the parents already knew that their three year old is not going to be taken seriously when they are older. Get this accent out now, change it from the beginning.

B. Formulation of perceived credibility

B1. The first impression

Following suggestions by students that they ‘counter-act’ their reactions, I guided the conversation towards the first image that immediately enters the mind when they heard the clips (versus the digested, counter-acted response). It clearly arose that most students had images such as those previously described (stereotypes), but that they preferred convincing themselves that ‘*this is not who I am*’. The following was said:

PQ18: What’s interesting is that that leads to the conclusion that we associate honesty with a certain socio-economic bracket.

PQ19: That we assume that if someone is underprivileged, that they are naturally more likely to commit crime.

PQ20: And be dishonest.

Three students aggressively opposed this, calling it inappropriate and wrong for people to make such assumptions and that accent has nothing to do with how believable they deem a person. To which another replied:

PQ21: As soon as you hear the accent, there is an image that pops into your head and there is a stereotype. And thereafter everything you hear you try to see as some sort of evidence to counter that image. But, the fact is, that that image is there until proven wrong. So I think that does affect us, whether we want it to or not, because that image is immediately there with the accent even if we are not aware of it.

B2. Counter-acting and reverse-racism

PQ22: That’s another thing my mind does- if I have a group of people and they said there’s a Coloured guy, a black guy and a white guy, I will immediately know, like, this guy [Coloured] is in prison because of drugs, the white guy is because like drunk driving. I

immediately make that assumption on my experience. It's usually completely wrong, but I immediately do that like the Coloured guy's definitely drugs and like the white guy drunk driving or some other thing; and I do that a lot. So if for example, the scene was a woman got stabbed - I would immediately assume: yes, there is definitely a Coloured guy, because that's just... If she was shot it's like, now you need a weapon, and these weapons are expensive. It's the way I would think about it.

A major theme that arose was that of counter-acting and reverse-racism: being disgusted by their own immediate racist reactions, participants counteract and even over-compensate to try dismiss/correct that behaviour. Interestingly, this only came from white participants, suggesting that a form of 'white guilt' might still be at play.

P23: [In referring to the question on rating the intelligence of the Coloured witness]: I was like, am I supposed to say that they are not very clever, which is what you would kind of do in that situation. You start overthinking, especially being a psychology student.

PQ24: The minute I heard it I was more suspicious, but then I kind of counteracted that – I kind of became aware of the fact that: oh I'm thinking he is guilty because of his accent!

PQ25: I immediately don't want to sound racist in my own head. It's like; I don't want to be like that person, so I would rather trust this guy more than the white guy. My mind went straight to like let's focus on the white guy. I mean, according to my race – it's like sort of defence mechanism.

PQ26: That second guessing is important, it gets us to think wait why am I just assuming this, like where is this coming from, and that's really important to actually figure out. We would all probably say we're not racist, but end up in those three seconds - our reactions were very racist in many ways. Through broader systems this is fed into me. We would all probably say I'm not racist yet inherently in the way that we react, it seems to be some element of it. I think that accents are very often, very automatically like racism.

C. The verdict: Who do you think the police will believe?

PQ27: In the justice system, people feel unable to go and be witnesses to crimes because they feel that, as soon as they open their mouth they will be judged.

Cape Coloured: In referring to who they believe, the participants regularly referred to who they ‘*take seriously*’, suggesting that generally people with an African or Cape Coloured accent are not taken seriously.

PQ28: For me it's very difficult to take that person [Coloured witness] seriously – like what they are saying. I'll rather be like: no I'm not going to listen to you.

PQ29: You think that lying is a part of their culture, then obviously they come across differently as not so believable.

[Compared to:]

PQ30: They [people with English accent] are more educated.

PQ31: And they are taken far more seriously. They're more believable.

In asking students whether they think the Coloured witness would be believed by the police, the resounding reaction was that he would not, but that it depended on where he reported the crime, reemphasising the issues of geography – especially in Cape Town.

PQ32: If he went to the police in Cape Town, he might be believed, but if he went to the one in Sea Point – then maybe not.

My research findings on attitudes towards the Cape Coloured accent has to stipulate whether it corroborates the hypothesis that, within a crime-witness setting, the accented individual would be met with suspicion and would be rated very low on reliability and intelligence, especially when compared to someone with an English accent (De Klerk & Bosch, 1995; Dixon, *et al.*, 1994), and indeed it does. Not much seems to have changed between now and studies done before 1995, the Cape Coloured group is still just as marginalized and stigmatized – if not worse. With the rise of gangsterism, and the media's coverage thereof, attitudes towards this group might be increasingly negative (although further research is needed to prove this).

English: When asked whether they believe the police will believe the English witness, the reaction was a resounding yes. However, on whether they believe him, the reaction was mixed. Some suggested that he is not just lying, but guilty of the crime; although this was commonly admitted to be brought on by counter-acting (attempts to neutralise first impression). Due to his importance and intelligence, the general verdict was that he was either telling the

absolute truth (which annoys him because he is a busy man) or he's telling a complete lie (which he knows he will get away with).

Previous research suggested that the English accent is associated with having higher education, intelligence, kindness, attractiveness, likeability and high-status employment, and that the positive attitudes towards it may stem from its historical roots as the language of commerce, entertainment and the anti-government press (De Klerk & Bosch, 1995; Carron, 2005). However, there seems to have been a slight change in attitudes towards the English language in the past ten years. Although my focus group data would suggest 'white guilt' to be a factor in negatively evaluating the English accent, it was African participants who voted the English language least credible. This might be in part due to recent effort by politicians to label English and 'whiteness' as 'colonialist' and as disempowering force, despite many black parents still seeing it as crucial instrument for their children's advancement (Silva, 2013).

Gay: The Gay witness was seen as untrustworthy (although, again, geography's influence was emphasised), and he was described as: "*a flamboyant person*" who "*maybe exaggerates the story*". Such a witness was suggested to therefore be met with suspicion, and even disgust.

PQ33: In terms of believability, it would take like a little bit of effort to believe the person because generally Gay guys tend to be dramatically tend to exaggerate things so you would definitely interview that person's the story with a kind of suspicion, because it's coming from that person. You would probably believe them but you would then maybe not believe the whole story, you might not believe some parts because he is Gay.

Additionally, I asked about the LGBTI community's outcry of police brutality or not being taken seriously by police. This did not come as a shock to the participants, as they rationalised this as stemming from a type of police-masculinity.

PQ34: They represent that strong image of: being a man means being strong, being able to stand up for yourself, being assertive and butch and all that. If you're not like that, then you stand against everything they believe in. Therefore, whatever you come to report, they will tell you: we don't support your lifestyle so we're not going to help you.

It seemed perfectly plausible to the participants, who even suggested that this leads to "huge discrimination" against the Gay community. However, in contrast to the Coloured or African accents, Gay people stood accused of choosing to 'put on the accent and look', that is

“associated with a lifestyle that is flamboyant and fun.” One African male participant raised the issue (PQ10) that traditional African cultures are not as open to homosexuality as English-speaking white people are; they instead they see it as ‘against their culture’. This is in accordance with literature, that suggests that a lot of discrimination against the LGBTQTI community comes from traditional black communities who view it as ‘un-Africa’ and sin (Graziano, 2004).

Limitations

The ultimate goal of this research is to infer results as being possible influences that may affect police officials when they are approached by an accented witness. However, for the scope of this study, and due to time and resource restraints, using police officials as participants was not possible, and thus my results are merely suggested influences. Additionally, a convenience sample does allow for a large sample, but is not necessarily representative of the population. Therefore, my results do not allow any for generalisations or inferences to be drawn about the population, but allowed for hypotheses to be tested and for the generation of new ideas for future research. An additional limitation is that my sample, in both qualitative and quantitative phases, was majority white female. Further research with a stratified or quota sample might be needed to verify these results.

Covariates. There are three covariates that may have influenced the outcome of this study as threats to internal validity. They are (1) rater ethnicity, (2) witness confidence, and (3) witness accent degree (i.e. how detectable the accent is). Additionally, class is a variable that this study has not controlled for (as the Coloured mock-witness came from a working-class background while the English and Gay witnesses came from professional backgrounds), and might have a significant influence on results. The Gay accent is perceived as the most intelligent, which might explain its high ratings (very close to English), however, this may have been influenced by an interaction-effect – the accent being both Gay and English.

Conclusion and Implications

This study, in an attempt to determine if and how accents influence perceived credibility in reporting crimes, has found that Apartheid’s architecture of segregation and prejudice still influence the way people perceive one another – and subsequently, how credible they judge one another. There is a link between perceptions of credibility and accent amongst the students at the University of Cape Town. There is a hierarchy associated with culture and socio-economic

status, with white English-speakers enjoying supremacy. Other accents, such as Cape Coloured and Gay accents are under pressure to emulate this psycho-social white normativity, in hopes to enjoy the same privileges and opportunities. As one participant in the focus groups put it:

PQ34: Especially in South Africa, we claim to be accepting of everyone's culture and background, but when it comes to certain areas like business or education, we tend to assimilate or try to imitate the British standard way of doing things, instead of adapting to the South African way.

My quantitative findings indicated a general pattern of English > Gay > Cape Coloured (in agreement with previous literature. This was only violated twice, (1) the Gay accent was rated least trustworthy (English > Coloured > Gay), and in accordance with literature, (2) most intelligent (Gay > English > Coloured). Additionally, various groups rated the three witnesses differently, with the rater's race being a significant factor in judging a witness' honesty, intelligence, reliability, confidence and likeability. African participants rated the Gay witness as most credible, followed by the Cape Coloured and lastly the English – in contradiction to previous research (De Klerk & Bosch, 1995; Dixon, *et al.*, 1994).

My qualitative findings suggest that a colour-blind ideology, ironically coupled with a form of white-guilt, influenced white participant's responses. In the focus groups I clearly noticed that white English students would suggest that accent-discrimination, and even racism is not a problem – while the other participants felt it was. An psychology student might be trained to be aware of these perceptions and actively try to refute them, however, the average police officer – or citizen – might not; reacting instead with the 'first impressions' brought on by the witness. Additionally, it seems that one's command of English, and education-level (which in turn relates to socio-economic status and intelligence), are stronger factors in judging credibility, than previously-suggested own-group bias; two things almost exclusively associated with the English accent.

In a recent study at UCT, Zuma (2013) suggested that accent, race and class still play a pivotal role in our modern society. He argues that “*the issue of language, accent and identity is no less important today regarding the formation of voluntary social ties*” (2013:222), to which I would add it is also no less important today regarding who we deem credible and believable.

Future research might need to investigate whether these results are the same with female witnesses, and to assess the role of gender on accent and credibility. Additionally, the role the

media plays in perpetuating stereotypes through news coverage and entertainment might be a relevant and a crucial angle for future studies, as will a critical look into how geographical segregation in the greater Cape Town influences attitudes towards certain groups.

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Appendix A
Questionnaire Consent Form

This text appeared on the homepage of the website.

- Participation in this study is purely voluntary and the only compensation will be SRPP points.
- You are free to terminate your participation at any time without any ramifications.
- Questions marked with an asterisk (*) are mandatory to answer before you can continue to the next page. Also, carefully read how you need to answer, i.e. how many to select.
- Your participation is anonymous and no information requested will be traced to you.
- Responses will be treated with respect in order to protect the identity and dignity of participants.
- You may approach the researcher at any time during the study for questions or comments.
- The responses given will be used as part of a honours research study. Any part of it may be used or discarded.
- The game is inspired by real criminal cases, and although somewhat animated, sensitive individuals should refrain from participating (as far as possible, any upsetting details were avoided).
- The questionnaire will present you with a criminal case, and you will be asked to answer questions a real crime investigator may be faced with from the initial crime scene till the suspect is arrested, and will take approximately 6-10 minutes.
- Your score will be calculated after the questionnaire closed and will be sent via email. Your contact details will not be given to any third party and treated respectfully.

By continuing to the questionnaire, you agree to the terms and conditions as outlined above and give your consent.

Appendix B
Focus Group Consent Form

The following consent form had to be read and signed before participation.

- Participation in this study is purely voluntary and the only compensation will be 2 SRPP points to all participants.
- Participation will be in a focus group, so your participation won't be anonymous to the other group members; however you have the opportunity to be in the data and audio.
- You are free to terminate your participation at any time without any ramifications.
- Responses will be treated with respect in order to protect the identity and dignity of participants.
- You may approach the researcher at any time during the study for questions or comments.
- The responses given will be used as part of a honours research study and you will be audio recorded.
- The focus group will explore different questions, offering everyone opportunity to voice their opinions in a non-judgmental atmosphere where each participant respects the other's ideas as they will respect yours.

If you have read and agreed to the above, please provide your details below:

Name: _____

Student Number: _____

Psychology Course (SRPP): _____

Signature: _____

Appendix C

Questionnaire Outline

The bold page numbers indicate which questions' responses were used.

Title: Do you have what it takes to be a detective?

Page 1: Informed consent form: options of (1) I have read and agree to the conditions and give my consent; and (2) I do not consent and wish to terminate my participation.

Please note: Although this is designed to have an element of fun, please consider each question realistically and seriously as if you were really a detective investigating a case.

Page 2: What's your bio detective?: (1) age; (2) race; (3) rural or urban origin; (4) gender; (5) sexual orientation.

Page 3: Detective, we need your help – a crime has been committed! Mrs. Jones was found dead in her luxury home's library by her cleaning lady with a single bullet to the chest. No sign of forced entry, no murder weapon.

Page 4: Pick your team! Choose 4 of the following: (1) psychologist; (2) computer nerd; (3) forensic pathologist; (4) lawyer; (5) book worm; (6) experienced retired detective; (7) forensic profiler.

Page 5: You're at the crime scene. Her library is dark and uncontaminated, awaiting your orders. From 1-10, place the following in order in terms of where you will look for clues: (a) on the body; (b) on her computer; (b) her book collection; (c) her desk; (d) all entrances and exits to the house; (d) all entrances and exists to the library; (e) her bedroom; (f) her phone and email record; (g) all surfaces for bullets or prints; (h) any surveillance footage of cameras in the premises.

Who will you speak to? Place the following in order from 1-8: (a) cleaning lady; (b) neighbours; (c) best friend; (d) ex-boyfriend; (e) colleagues; (f) other staff in and around the house; (g) parents and siblings; (h) ex-best friend.

Page 6: Your investigation has found a witness! But to what extent will you trust the witness? Look at the following clip of his statement on what he saw and rate him (scale from 1-10) on the following attributes: Reliability, Honesty, Intelligence, Confidence and Likeability.

Page 7: In your interviewing, you discover that the community doesn't really have faith in the police to solve the crime. What do you think are common causes of ineffective policing in modern day South Africa (tick strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree, strongly disagree): (1)

corruption; (2) laziness; (3) inadequate leadership; (4) improper training; (5) discrimination and racism; (6) sexism; (7) insufficient pay.

Page 8: Your investigation has turned up 3 suspects. The public wants to know what's going on! There will be a media report, but what will you include? (1) suspect identities; (2) clues found; (3) witness identities; (4) possible reason for the crime; (5) the deceased and how she died; (6) details to contact if someone has any further information; (7) who is the investigating team; (8) a message of warning to the murderer.

Page 9: After your media release, two more witnesses came forward! The case has a lot of media attention now, so ask yourself, how much will you trust this witness? Rate each witness on a scale from 1 to 10 on: Reliability, Honesty, Intelligence, Confidence and Likeability.

Page 10: As a detective in general, when considering a witness statement, what would you rely on in determining whether or not you will trust a witness (tick strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree, strongly disagree): (a) your gut: *I just have this feeling I can trust him*; (b) crime statistics: *stereotypes are there for a reason*; (c) their attitude and interest in giving the statement; (d) does it seem plausible? (e) does it match other evidence and/or witness statements? (f) their education level, background and experience; (g) they seem emotional; (h) personal criminal record, (i) personal experience.

Page 11: You now have 5 suspects! How will you eliminate them? Tick if you will use the measure (remember that your methods will be considered in a court of law when you have to defend why you arrested a suspect): (1) alibi checking; (2) long hours of interrogation; (3) lie detector tests; (4) personality and psychological tests (any disorders or aggressive tendencies?); (5) forensic evidence; (6) police line-ups where a witness has to point to the perceived culprit; (7) good-cop, bad-cop routine (get two officers, the one is aggressive and threatening, the other is helping, considerate, willing to bargain 'protect' the witness from the bad cop); (8) interviewing the suspect's family and friends.

Page 12: Congratulations! You caught the bad guy! How much fun did you have? (scale of 1 – 10).

Do you think a measure such as this is appropriate to identify individuals with a knack for detective work? (yes/no/uncertain)

Page 13: Thank you for participating, Detective! Your unique participation code is ***. Please save it somewhere or write it down.

Appendix D
Debrief Email

Dear participant

My name is Melissa Meyer, and I am contacting you in regards to your participation in a research study titled: “Do you have what it takes to be a detective?” You may have assumed that the questionnaire was aimed at identifying crime investigating skills; however, the real aim of the questionnaire was to study your attitudes towards the three simulated-witnesses who all spoke in different accents. My research is trying to uncover if and why we treated accented individuals differently, more specifically, whether we may be more or less likely to believe a witness, based on his accent. Studying attitudes that may be considered stereotypical, racist or discriminative is very difficult, as participants may not want to look bad and subsequently alter their response, which is why I had to ‘trick’ you to some degree to get unbiased responses and reliable data.

The research study is being undertaken as part of my honours in psychology, and in the next phase of my research I will be conducting focus groups to discuss (1) significant findings in the data from the questionnaires, (2) if and how accents influences believability and (3) attitudes towards the Gay accent (which is very under-researched). This is still a fairly new field of research in South Africa, and your participation (just like with the questionnaire) will be greatly appreciated in order to build this body of knowledge. So I invite you to join and come discuss your thoughts and feelings on the topic, taking place on the 26th and 27th from 3pm-4pm. If you wish to participate, please contact me via this email address. SRPP points and free snacks will be provided.

I also invite you to contact me if you have any other questions or concerns, to which I will gladly respond via email or in person. If you don’t want your participation to make up part of my data, you may send me your student number and I will exclude your responses from my data. This proof of participation, keep it in your inbox as proof. If you participated for an SRPP point and didn’t get one, please send me your student number and course code. Thank-you again for you participation and attention. I hope to see you again!

Kindest regards,

Melissa

Appendix E

Focus Group Interview Outline

This is the outline for the semi-structured focus groups interviews held on 26th and 27th of August. Being semi-structured allowed for a free flow of ideas and feelings to possibly find other areas not identified in literature.

Preparation & Introduction

- Introduction.
- Consent forms and anonymity regarding names

The Cape Afrikaans Accent

- Listening to the audio, what would you say immediately comes to mind?
- What do you think people associate with this accent?
- In reporting a crime to a police officer, do you think he will be believed?

South African English (Southern Suburb Cape Town)

- Listening to the audio, what would you say immediately comes to mind?
- What do you think people associate with this accent?
- In reporting a crime to a police officer, do you think he will be believed?

The Gay Accent (Male)

- Listening to the audio, what would you say immediately comes to mind?
- What do you think people associate with this accent?
- In reporting a crime to a police officer, do you think he will be believed?
- My reading in to the research found that members of the LGBTI community are often hesitant to report crime because the police don't take their allegations seriously and the encounter often ends in harassment. Why do you think that is?

Conclusion

In the end – do you think having a certain accent can make you more or less believable?
[Give findings: 184/295 Gay accent, 63 eng, 52 Coloured] – What do you think?

Appendix F
Quantitative Results

Table F1
Participant Descriptive Statistics(N=295)

	Frequency	Percent
Gender		
Male	54	18.3
Female	241	81.7
Race		
Indian	21	7.1
White (English)	141	47.8
Mixed	6	2.0
African	54	18.3
White (Afrikaans)	12	4.1
Coloured	57	19.3
Other	4	1.4
Origin		
Urban	253	85.8
Rural	42	14.2
Orientation		
Straight	282	95.6
Gay	8	2.7
Bisexual	5	1.7
Total	295	100.0

Credibility Ratings (/10) on Reliability, Honesty, Intelligence, Confidence in Statement and Likeability for each of the three accented mock-witnesses

Table F2.1
Reliability Ratings: Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
ColouredWitness_Reliability	5.00	2.173	291
EnglishWitness_Reliability	5.68	1.956	291
GayWitness_Reliability	5.54	2.159	291

Table F2.2
Reliability Ratings: Mauchly's Test of Sphericity

Within Subjects Effect	Mauchly's W	Approx. Chi-Square	df	Sig.	Epsilon ^a	
					Greenhouse-Geisser	Huynh-Feldt
Accent	.927	21.822	2	.000	.932	.938

Note. Tests the null hypothesis that the error covariance matrix of the orthonormalized transformed dependent variables is proportional to an identity matrix.

a. Used to adjust the degrees of freedom for the averaged tests of significance. Corrected tests are displayed in the Tests of Within-Subjects Effects table. We consider Huynh-Feldt because Greenhouse-Geisser's ϵ is $> .75$ (Field, 2013).

Table F2.3
Reliability Ratings: Test of Within-Subjects Effects

Source		Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Accent	Sphericity Assumed	76.153	2	38.077	13.043	.000	.043
	Greenhouse-Geisser	76.153	1.864	40.846	13.043	.000	.043
	Huynh-Feldt	76.153	1.876	40.594	13.043	.000	.043
Error(Accent)	Sphericity Assumed	1693.180	580	2.919			
	Greenhouse-Geisser	1693.180	540.678	3.132			
	Huynh-Feldt	1693.180	544.040	3.112			

Table F2.4
Reliability Ratings Across Accents: Bonferroni Post Hoc Pairwise Comparisons

(I) Accent	(J) Accent	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig. ^b	95% Confidence Interval for Difference ^b	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1 – Coloured	2	-.684*	.152	.000	-1.051	-.317
	3	-.546*	.149	.001	-.906	-.187
2 – English	1	.684*	.152	.000	.317	1.051
	3	.137	.121	.772	-.154	.429
3 - Gay	1	.546*	.149	.001	.187	.906
	2	-.137	.121	.772	-.429	.154

Based on estimated marginal means

*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

b. Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Bonferroni.

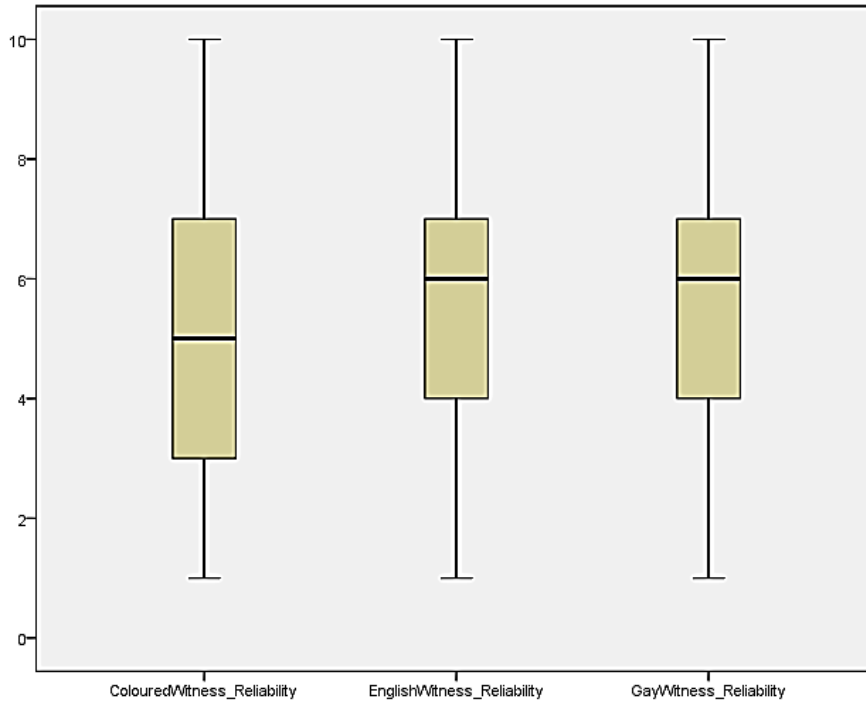


Figure F1. Boxplots of Reliability Ratings (Coloured, English, Gay)

Table F3.1
Likeability Ratings: Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
ColouredWitness_Likeability	4.78	2.008	292
EnglishWitness_Likeability	5.79	1.954	292
GayWitness_Likeability	5.67	2.055	292

Table F3.2
Likeability Ratings: Mauchly's Test of Sphericity

Within Subjects Effect	Mauchly's W	Approx. Chi-Square	df	Sig.	Epsilon ^b	
					Greenhouse-Geisser	Huynh-Feldt
Accent	.926	22.184	2	.000	.931	.937

Note. Tests the null hypothesis that the error covariance matrix of the orthonormalized transformed dependent variables is proportional to an identity matrix.

a. Design: Intercept. Within Subjects Design: Accent

b. Used to adjust the degrees of freedom for the averaged tests of significance. Corrected tests are displayed in the Tests of Within-Subjects Effects table. We consider Huynh-Feldt because Greenhouse-Geisser's ϵ is $> .75$ (Field, 2013).

Table F3.3
Likeability Ratings: Test of Within-Subjects Effects

Source		Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Accent	Sphericity Assumed	175.897	2	87.949	28.456	.000	.089
	Greenhouse-Geisser	175.897	1.863	94.425	28.456	.000	.089
	Huynh-Feldt	175.897	1.874	93.845	28.456	.000	.089
Error	Sphericity Assumed	1798.769	582	3.091			
	Greenhouse-Geisser	1798.769	542.080	3.318			
	Huynh-Feldt	1798.769	545.434	3.298			

Table F3.4
Reliability Ratings Across Accents: Bonferroni Post Hoc Pairwise Comparisons

(I) Accent	(J) Accent	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig. ^b	95% Confidence Interval for Difference ^b	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1 – Coloured	2	-1.003*	.157	.000	-1.381	-.626
	3	-.887*	.153	.000	-1.256	-.518
2 – English	1	1.003*	.157	.000	.626	1.381
	3	.116	.124	1.000	-.183	.416
3 - Gay	1	.887*	.153	.000	.518	1.256
	2	-.116	.124	1.000	-.416	.183

Based on estimated marginal means

*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

b. Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Bonferroni.

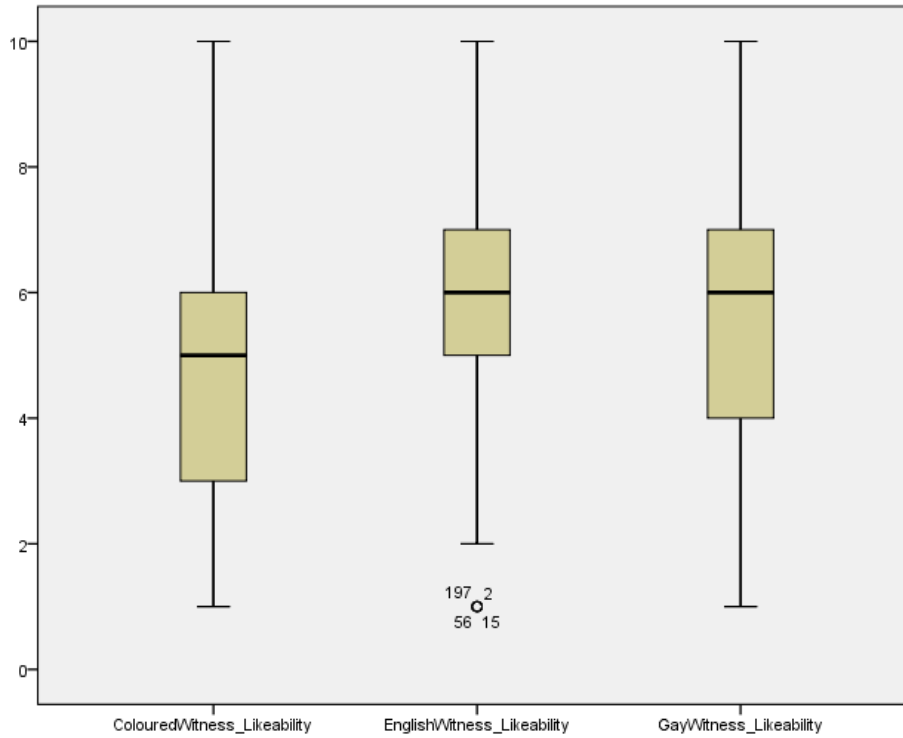


Figure F2. Boxplots of Likeability Ratings (Coloured, English, Gay)

Table F4.1
Confidence Ratings: Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
ColouredWitness_ConfidenceInStatement	5.39	2.461	294
EnglishWitness_ConfidenceInStatement	6.24	2.053	294
GayWitness_ConfidenceInStatement	6.09	2.174	294

Table F4.2
Confidence Ratings: Mauchly's Test of Sphericity

Within Subjects Effect	Mauchly's W	Approx. Chi-Square	df	Sig.	Epsilon ^b	
					Greenhouse-Geisser	Huynh-Feldt
Accent	.856	45.239	2	.000	.874	.879

Note. Tests the null hypothesis that the error covariance matrix of the orthonormalized transformed dependent variables is proportional to an identity matrix.

a. Design: Intercept. Within Subjects Design: Accent

b. Used to adjust the degrees of freedom for the averaged tests of significance. Corrected tests are displayed in the Tests of Within-Subjects Effects table. We consider Huynh-Feldt because Greenhouse-Geisser's ϵ is $> .75$ (Field, 2013).

Table F4.3
Confidence Ratings: Test of Within-Subjects Effects

Source		Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Accent	Sphericity Assumed	119.776	2	59.888	18.573	.000	.060
	Greenhouse-Geisser	119.776	1.749	68.483	18.573	.000	.060
	Huynh-Feldt	119.776	1.759	68.108	18.573	.000	.060
Error	Sphericity Assumed	1889.558	586	3.225			
	Greenhouse-Geisser	1889.558	512.451	3.687			
	Huynh-Feldt	1889.558	515.276	3.667			

Table F4.4
Confidence Ratings Across Accents: Bonferroni Post Hoc Pairwise Comparisons

(I) Accent	(J) Accent	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig. ^b	95% Confidence Interval for Difference ^b	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1 – Coloured	2	-.847*	.162	.000	-1.238	-.456
	3	-.694*	.161	.000	-1.081	-.307
2 – English	1	.847*	.162	.000	.456	1.238
	3	.153	.117	.573	-.128	.434
3 - Gay	1	.694*	.161	.000	.307	1.081
	2	-.153	.117	.573	-.434	.128

Based on estimated marginal means

*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

b. Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Bonferroni.

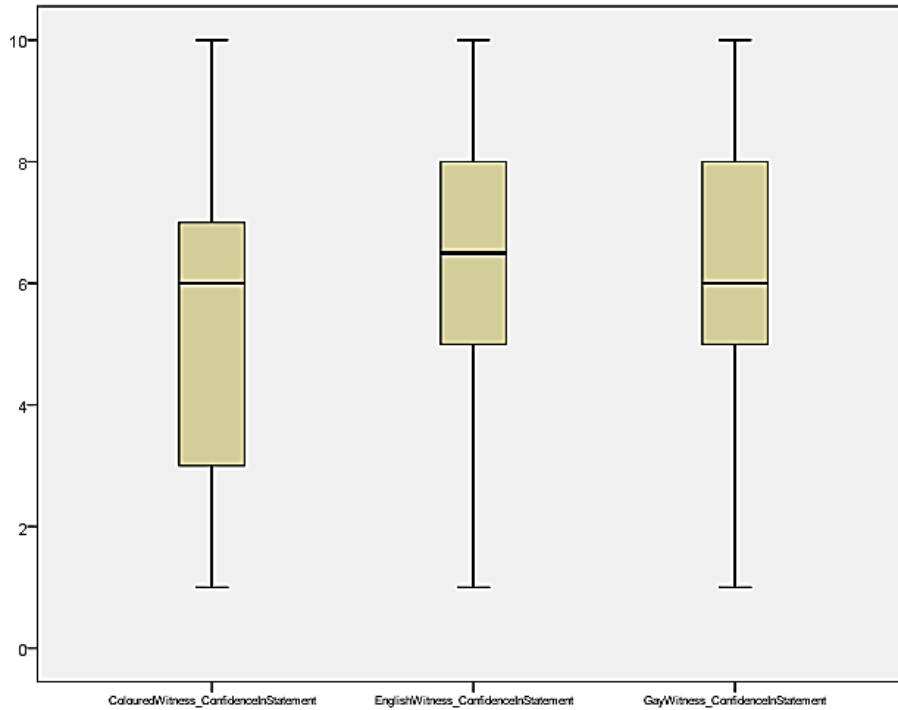


Figure F3. Boxplots of Confidence Ratings (Coloured, English, Gay)

Table F5.1
Intelligence Ratings: Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
ColouredWitness_Intelligence	4.22	1.768	291
EnglishWitness_Intelligence	6.19	1.730	291
GayWitness_Intelligence	6.39	1.933	291

Table F5.2
Intelligence Ratings: Mauchly's Test of Sphericity

Within Subjects Effect	Mauchly's W	Approx. Chi-Square	df	Sig.	Epsilon ^b	
					Greenhouse-Geisser	Huynh-Feldt
Accent	.741	86.764	2	.000	.794	.798

Note. Tests the null hypothesis that the error covariance matrix of the orthonormalized transformed dependent variables is proportional to an identity matrix.

a. Design: Intercept. Within Subjects Design: Accent

b. Used to adjust the degrees of freedom for the averaged tests of significance. Corrected tests are displayed in the Tests of Within-Subjects Effects table. We consider Huynh-Feldt because Greenhouse-Geisser's ϵ is $> .75$ (Field, 2013).

Table F5.3
Intelligence Ratings: Test of Within-Subjects Effects

Source		Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Accent	Sphericity Assumed	832.099	2	416.049	176.666	.000	.379
	Greenhouse-Geisser	832.099	1.588	523.950	176.666	.000	.379
	Huynh-Feldt	832.099	1.595	521.547	176.666	.000	.379
Error	Sphericity Assumed	1365.901	580	2.355			
	Greenhouse-Geisser	1365.901	460.556	2.966			
	Huynh-Feldt	1365.901	462.678	2.952			

Table F5.4
Confidence Ratings Across Accents: Bonferroni Post Hoc Pairwise Comparisons

(I) Accent	(J) Accent	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig. ^b	95% Confidence Interval for Difference ^b	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1 – Coloured	2	-1.962*	.137	.000	-2.293	-1.631
	3	-2.165*	.147	.000	-2.519	-1.811
2 – English	1	1.962*	.137	.000	1.631	2.293
	3	-.203	.090	.075	-.419	.014
3 - Gay	1	2.165*	.147	.000	1.811	2.519
	2	.203	.090	.075	-.014	.419

Based on estimated marginal means

*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

b. Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Bonferroni.

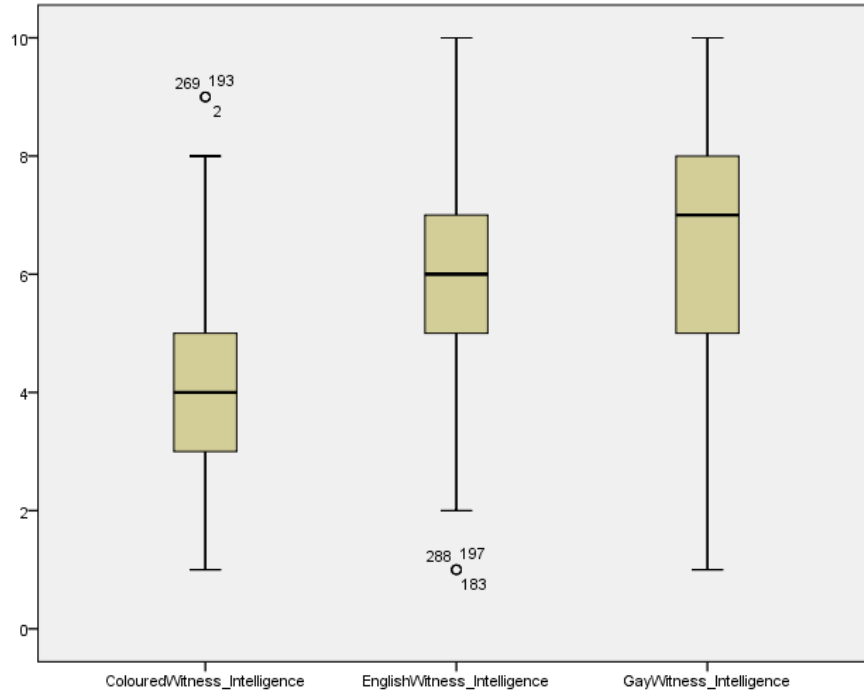


Figure F4. Boxplots of Intelligence Ratings (Coloured, English, Gay)

Table F6.1
Honesty Ratings: Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
ColouredWitness_Honesty	5.55	2.389	290
EnglishWitness_Honesty	5.71	1.972	290
GayWitness_Honesty	5.49	2.246	290

Table F6.2
Honesty Ratings: Mauchly's Test of Sphericity

Within Subjects Effect	Mauchly's W	Approx. Chi-Square	df	Sig.	Epsilon ^b	
					Greenhouse-Geisser	Huynh-Feldt
Accent	.926	22.182	2	.000	.931	.937

Note. Tests the null hypothesis that the error covariance matrix of the orthonormalized transformed dependent variables is proportional to an identity matrix.

a. Design: Intercept. Within Subjects Design: Accent

b. Used to adjust the degrees of freedom for the averaged tests of significance. Corrected tests are displayed in the Tests of Within-Subjects Effects table. We consider Huynh-Feldt because Greenhouse-Geisser's ϵ is $> .75$ (Field, 2013).

Table F6.3
Honesty Ratings: Test of Within-Subjects Effects

Source		Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Accent	Sphericity Assumed	7.078	2	3.539	1.163	.313	.004
	Greenhouse-Geisser	7.078	1.862	3.801	1.163	.311	.004
	Huynh-Feldt	7.078	1.874	3.778	1.163	.311	.004
Error	Sphericity Assumed	1759.589	578	3.044			
	Greenhouse-Geisser	1759.589	538.111	3.270			
	Huynh-Feldt	1759.589	541.461	3.250			

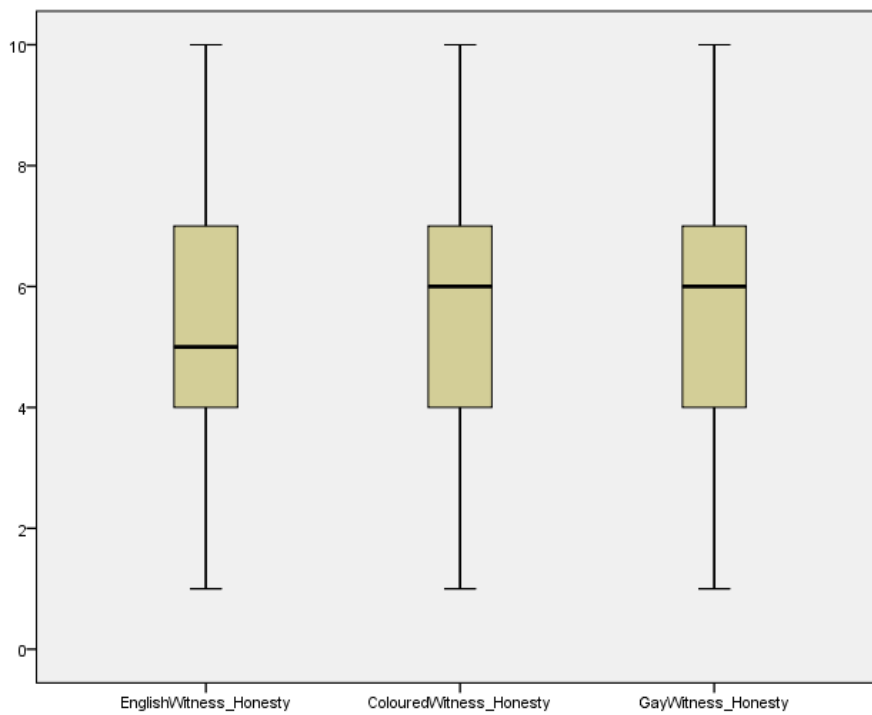


Figure F5. Boxplots of Honesty Ratings (English, Coloured, Gay)

Who Do You Believe?: Correlations

Table F7
 Nonparametric Correlations: Race x Who do you Believe Ratings(n=234)

		Race	WhoDoYouBelieve
Spearman's rho	Race	Correlation Coefficient	1.000
		Sig. (1-tailed)	.
	Who Do You Believe	Correlation Coefficient	-.124*
		Sig. (1-tailed)	.029

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (1-tailed).

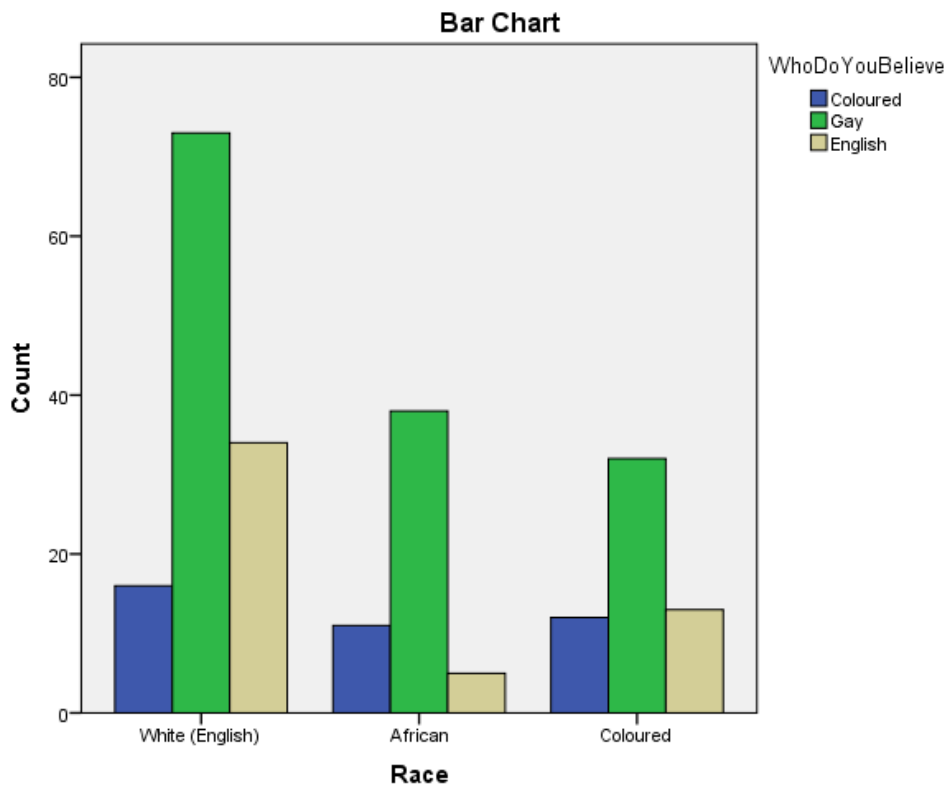


Figure F6. Bar chart of Who-Do-You-Believe scores per Race (White(English), African, Coloured)