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THE EFFECTS OF RACIAL PREJUDICE, CONFORMITY, AND SOCIAL DISTANCE
ON ART APPRECIATION

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS TO THE DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY AT
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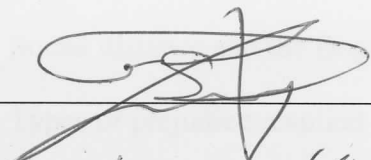
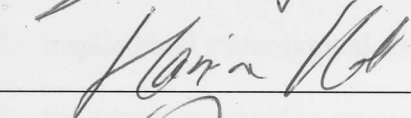
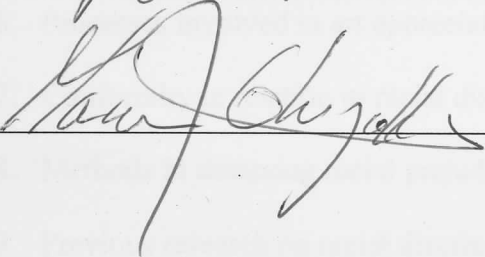
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Abstract

The experiment assessed the effects of the artist's race and the expert's opinion on art appreciation through a 3x3 factorial design: race (Black, White, unknown) x intervention (positive, negative, neutral). Social distance levels were also examined in a sample of 72 adults in a beach resort in Jounieh. The main hypotheses stated that the African American painter will be rated less favorably than the White painter, the expert's opinion will have a main effect on participant's ratings, and social distance levels will highly correlate with the sample's negative evaluation of the Black painter. Results supported these hypotheses, which highlight a tendency towards racial discrimination in Lebanon. Implications for future research included a study on self-esteem in relation to discrimination.

The Effects of Racial Prejudice, Conformity, and Social Distance on Art Appreciation

Racial discrimination has been studied and assessed in many countries around the world. Its form and intensity may vary, but its prevalence can not be discarded. Recent events, such as the 2008 United States elections, draw people's attention even more to stereotypes and prejudice against individuals of color. Nonetheless, very little research has been conducted in Lebanon to assess levels of discrimination against Blacks. This study aims at shedding light upon the nature and the effects of racism on Lebanese Individuals through an experiment requiring participants to evaluate a painting while manipulating the race of the painter. On the other hand, contributing factors may increase or decrease the levels of discrimination amongst individuals, and in the present study, conformity to an expert is the variable used to represent such factors. Racial discrimination and Social Distance are both assessed in order to examine the relationship between both measures, giving further evidence to support the study's hypotheses. Evaluating levels of discrimination and the effects of conformity on such attitudes may lead to clinical implications regarding individuals displaying high levels of prejudice.

Racial discrimination in Lebanon

Numerous studies and experiments have been conducted to assess the levels of racial prejudice in the United States, Europe, and South Africa, but very few articles discuss racial discrimination in the Middle East, and more specifically in Lebanon. Nonetheless, The Human Rights Tribune (2006) discussed how African women are mistreated and sometimes even raped in Lebanon. These women work as house helpers, and end up being treated as slaves (The Human Rights Tribune, 2006). Over 30 thousand African women are employed in Lebanon, all of whom are responsible for domestic work (The Human Rights Tribune, 2006). African helpers are not allowed to leave the house, they do not benefit from insurances and guarantees offered to other foreign workers, and are forced to submit their passports and

other identification cards to their employer (The Human Rights Tribune, 2006). Amnesty International (2004) discussed similar problems faced by helpers originally from the Philippines. Being employed as a domestic worker is accompanied by low salaries, occasional physical abuse and in some cases sexual abuse (The Human Rights Tribune, 2006; Amnesty International, 2004). Moreover, The Human Rights Tribune (2006) described the story of a 16 years old African girl who was being recurrently raped by her employer. The girl could not express her objection and frustration since her salary was the only source of income for her family (The Human Rights Tribune, 2006). Both articles discussed the inhumane treatment of Africans and other ethnic minority group members in Lebanon, while shedding light upon the passive legal interference regarding discriminatory and abusive behaviors.

Religious discrimination as another form of social intolerance

Discrimination is not limited to race; and in Lebanon, discrimination is evident in religious beliefs and practices as well. Religious discrimination is experienced by many Lebanese from different sects. Haddad (2001) explained how Lebanese citizens define their identity according to their sects. Haddad (2001) described the political perspective of each religious group, which relied heavily on the empowering of its relative sect and eliminating or diminishing other sects' power. For example, Christian groups originally aimed at giving Lebanon a Christian identity, and rejecting Islam and the Arab world (Haddad, 2001). The Sunni Muslim sect on the other hand, historically identified and formed an alliance with other Arab countries, such as Syria, in an effort to fight the power of Christianity in Lebanon (Haddad, 2001). Viewing one's group as the majority and looking down upon other groups, whether based on race or religion, can be described as a form of social intolerance (Hurwitz & Peffley, 1992).

Previous research on racial discrimination

Numerous studies have shed light upon the causes and effects of racial discrimination, conformity and social distance in western cultures. In an experiment conducted by Gaertner, Dovidio, and Johnson (1982), levels of racial discrimination and conformity were examined. Participants witnessed a confederate faint, and their reaction was noted. Participants helped more readily a white individual in a crisis as opposed to a Black confederate. Furthermore, in the presence of others, Blacks were less quickly helped by the participants. Nonetheless, when no bystanders were around, Black and White confederate were helped rather equally. This study showed the effects of racial discrimination on white individuals, and shed light upon the interaction between conformity to group norms and racism (Gaertner et al., 1982). In other words, people tend to conform to racial prejudicial attitudes and behaviors, but when free of social pressures, their levels of discrimination decreased. In fact, Hurwitz and Peffley (1992) discussed the relationship between conformity and discrimination. The researchers gathered information through a series of rating scales targeting discrimination, social distance and conformity. The study showed that an individual with high levels of conformity would perceive other groups as a threat to his beliefs and his group's norms. Hurwitz and Peffley (1992) also described the effects of social intolerance on discrimination. They stated that intolerant individuals tend to hold negative feelings and stereotypes against other different ethnic groups, and therefore, this intolerance would also be displayed in racial stereotypes and discrimination (Hurwitz & Peffley, 1992).

Additional research is discussed and explained throughout this study, with a main focus on American and European cultures. The present paper aims at bringing into light the effects of discrimination and conformity on a Lebanese sample.

Six hypotheses were tested in the present study:

- 1) The participant's ratings for the African American painter will be lower than the ratings for the White American painter.
- 2) The expert's intervention was expected to influence the observers' ratings in all of the experiment's conditions due to the effects of conformity.
- 3) Social distance levels were expected to be significant, reflecting a high level of discrimination among participants.
- 4) It was hypothesized that participants will conform to an expert the most when the confederate's ratings of the African American painter were negative. In other words, the expert's opinion was expected to be the most influential when rating the African American painter negatively.
- 5) Results are expected to show a negative correlation between scores on the Bogardus scale and the African American's painting ratings. In other words, a high score on the social distance scale is expected to be matched with a low rating of the painting, given that the artist is originally African American.
- 6) Finally, it was predicted that participants showing high levels of social distance would conform the most to the confederate's negative opinion regarding the African American painting. In other words, the correlation between Social Distance scores and the African American's negative ratings was expected to be the highest amongst all conditions.

Significance of the study

Unlike other western countries, the Lebanese population does not include different races. Lebanese citizens may not consider racial discrimination as an ongoing problem in their culture; nevertheless, the inhumane treatment of African workers reflects a perfect example of blatant racist attitudes. The present study aims at shedding light upon these

disregarded feelings and beliefs, while addressing some of the factors that might be contributing to the existence of racial prejudice in Lebanon. Conformity to societal norms might be affecting these rather stable negative feelings towards people of color. On the other hand, further analysis could bring about possible solutions that could help in decreasing levels of racial discrimination in Lebanon.

Nature of the study

The experiment follows a 3x3 factorial design, artist's race (African American, White American, unknown), and the expert's intervention (negative, positive, neutral). Pearson rs are also calculated between scores on the Bogardus scale and those of the painting's evaluation in order to assess the relationship between social distance levels and art appreciation.

Definition of terms

Racial Discrimination. Discrimination based on skin color states that white individuals belong to an inherently superior race, and view other ethnic groups as inferior (Utsey, McCarthy, Eubanks, & Adrian, 2002).

Racism. Racism is said to be caused by a person's inability to tolerate and embrace individual and group differences (Utsey et al., 2002).

Racial Prejudice. Prejudice against people belonging to different groups can be defined as holding negative attitudes and feelings towards individuals of different ethnic groups (Amodio & Devine, 2006).

Social Distance. Hurwitz and Peffley (1992) defined social distance as a person's voluntary rejection and distancing of himself from other people belonging to different races or ethnic groups.

Limitations

The sample used in this study (72) may be too small to reflect the actual attitudes and preferences of all Lebanese citizens. Given a larger sample, results would have been more accurate, possibly showing higher levels of racial prejudice. Participants belonged to similar socioeconomic backgrounds, and were not randomly selected. Subjects were all frequent visitors of a known beach resort, which constituted a convenience sample. Thus these findings cannot be generalized to the rest of the Lebanese population.

Chapter One

Literature Review

Theoretical literature

Racism, racial discrimination, prejudice, and stereotypes defined. Birzer and Smith-Mahdi (2006) stated that discrimination is the act of disqualifying or viewing one group as incapable of performing certain activities in comparison to other seemingly superior groups. In other words, people of color are viewed as less competent than White individuals in certain activities. On a similar note, Amodio and Devine (2006) also described prejudice as negative reactions and feelings towards certain groups. They also differentiated between prejudice and stereotypes and pointed out that unlike prejudicial feelings, stereotypes are not based on affect but rather on cognitive structures that stem from cultural norms and values regarding certain groups. Devine (1989) explained how racial stereotypes are embedded in people's minds, and learning these attitudes is part of the natural phenomenon of socialization.

On the other hand, knowing and acknowledging these stereotypes does not necessarily lead to an internalization of these attitudes, leading to different or even opposing personal beliefs (Devine, 1989). In other words, identifying certain stereotypes is different from actually believing and practicing stereotypical attitudes. This coincides with the idea that stereotypes and prejudice are two distinct features in the human brain, with one being affective and the other leaning towards cognition (Amodio & Devine, 2006). In other words, racial prejudice stems from a person's feelings regarding a certain group, rather than his or her logical view on racial differences.

The prevalence and the evolution in racial prejudice were examined by Smith, Stones, and Naidoo (2003). Their research on prejudice in South Africa consisted of a four year follow up study on attitudes and behaviors against other groups. Participants filled out questionnaires that reflected their views regarding themselves and other races, and results

were compared to previous data obtained in 1995 (Smith et al., 2003). Research showed a decreased level of racism and racial prejudice over time, with a tendency towards acceptance and tolerance (Smith et al., 2003). Nevertheless, given the increased efforts to promote anti-racism in South Africa, the relative decrease in prejudice seems to be too small to be considered an actual attitude change (Smith et al., 2003). The researchers explained this relative consistency in racial discrimination by stating that individuals in a majority group tend to be in power, and therefore fail to notice the need to change (Smith et al., 2003). In other words, discrimination can be eliminated through a shift in the majority's attitudes and beliefs, but since racial prejudice mainly affects the minority groups, a major change is not easily attainable since it requires awareness and anti racism attitudes among the White population.

The prevalence and existence of racist feelings are not decreasing, rather changing in form and expression. Previously blunt remarks and beliefs are now replaced by subtle yet pervasive statements and stereotypical attitudes (Brizer & Smith-Mahdi, 2006). The previously overt expression of racism is now substituted with an indirect covert type of discrimination, in order for individuals to feel more socially accepted (Birzer & Smith-Mahdi, 2006). Hurwitz and Peffley (1992) also stated that racism has taken a new form, moving away from direct and deliberate attacks to more symbolic yet hostile attitudes against Blacks. Physical and verbal aggressions have been replaced by indirect aggressive attitudes and beliefs. For instance, Gender norms, achievement, and other societal standards are mainly defined by the white population (Lee, 2004), which reveals one of the indirect ways in which White individuals exhibit racist behaviors and attitudes towards the Black population. On a similar note, Gayles (2006) discussed the negative stereotypes regarding African Americans associated with achievement. Blacks are not usually expected to succeed as much as White

individuals, given the strongly rooted stereotypes regarding African Americans' levels of intelligence, success, and motivation (Gayles, 2006).

Contact theory. White individuals tend to isolate themselves from ethnic minorities, which hinders effective and productive communication, hence leading to more racial discrimination (Rebollo-Gil & Moras, 2006). In fact, McKinney (2006) explained that an increased interaction between different races could lead to a decrease in racial stereotypes. Similarly, in a study conducted by Olsson et al. (2005), results showed that in the presence of intimate contact with other minority group members, levels of prejudice were low. In other words, White individuals who were involved in intimate relationships with individuals from a different race had low levels of racial prejudice (Olsson et al., 2005). Interracial dating was said to be the most effective variable that could affect and moderate the intensity of social conditioning (Olsson et al., 2005). Furthermore, learning to approach Blacks could also lead to a weaker conditioned response of avoiding people of color, and therefore would eventually lead to a decrease in racial prejudice (Kawakami, Phills, Steele, & Dovidio, 2007). In their study, Kawakami et al. (2007) concluded that after participants repeatedly moved an object closer to themselves while paired with Black faces, their levels of racial prejudice were decreased. This study supports other experiments reflecting upon the nature of prejudice, and the effects of conditioned learning on prejudice, where new positive associations with Blacks could override the previously acquired feared responses to negative beliefs and stereotypes (Olsson et al., 2005).

Empirical research

Conditioned learning as a possible source of racial prejudice. The reasons behind racism and racial prejudice were attributed to traditional conditioned learning, where white individuals associate different races with fear, and therefore black individuals trigger a feared response, which leads to more distance and discrimination (Olsson, Ebert, Banaji, & Phelps,

2005). Humans tend to fear seemingly different individuals because they do not belong to their social environment, and therefore cause a threat to their existence and power in society (Olsson et al., 2005). Cultures transmit to the majority the stereotypes and the beliefs associated with certain minority groups, subsequently members of the majority group learn to associate these stereotypes and feared situations with members of the minority (Olsson et al., 2005).

Cognitive dissonance: challenging old beliefs could lead to less racial prejudice.

Researchers also investigated the effects of counter attitudinal advocacy on prejudice (Eisenstadt, Leippe, Stambush, Rauch, & Rivers, 2005). They conducted two experiments on college students in order to test the effects of cognitive dissonance on racial discrimination. Participants were asked to defend and stand up for African Americans' rights in college privileges. Their study showed that when White participants were asked to support African American's rights in a certain cause, their levels of prejudice decreased. The reason behind this shift in attitude was attributed to the cognitive dissonance theory (Eisenstadt et al., 2005). Participants experienced dissonance between their original beliefs and the new attitude they adopted. Their belief system was based on negative feelings and stereotypes regarding people of color, whereas the new attitude they adopted was quite the opposite. In order to decrease the dissonance, White individuals had to modify their beliefs in order to concord with their newly acquired attitudes (Eisenstadt et al., 2005). The research was suggesting the possible solutions for the ongoing and rather stable notion of racial prejudice (Eisenstadt et al., 2005). This cognitive dissonance could be resolved through the extinction of old attitudes previously acquired through conditioned learning. This concept was also discussed by Olsson et al. (2005).

Social distance and the Bogardus Social Distance Scale. Racial intolerance, as expressed by Hurwitz and Peffley (1992), is part of the bigger social intolerance spectrum. It

is defined as the individual's rejection and deliberate distancing of himself from other people belonging to different races (Hurwitz & Peffley, 1992). In fact, this was also described through the social intolerance regarding different religious sects that was and still is exhibited in Lebanon (Haddad, 2001). Social distance is determined and assessed through a sequence of statements ranging from the least contact to the most contact with other races and ethnic groups (Cover, 1995). Bogardus stated that individuals show high levels of social distance when they feel threatened by the presence of other different groups (Morgan, 2006). Hurwitz and Peffley (1992) conducted a research suggesting that individuals with high levels of intolerance are more likely to support racial stereotypes and prejudicial attitudes (Hurwitz & Peffley, 1992). In fact, the research also showed that social intolerance is a main component in racist feelings and attitudes (Hurwitz & Peffley, 1992). In their study on social distance and avoidant behavior, Goff, Steele, and Davies (2008) stated that social distance and prejudice are two words reflecting the same meaning.

On a similar note, Olsson et al. (2005) also shed light upon the impact of social distancing and contact on the prevalence and causes of racial prejudice. The less distance an individual experiences towards other group members, the less prejudice he or she exhibits (Olsson et al., 2005). Another research also examined the effect of contact on social distance, stating that higher levels of contact would decrease the level of social distance (Cover, 1995). Olsson et al. (2005) described intimate relationships to be the most predictive type of contact of lower levels of prejudice. Similarly, the social distance scale, also named the Bogardus scale, implies that a willingness to engage in intimate relationships with other group members insinuates an absence of social distance (Cover, 1995). After numerous studies conducted concerning social distance and its relation to prejudice, Goff et al. (2008) researched the reasons behind such high levels of distancing and avoidance. The researchers explained how White individuals distanced themselves from Blacks as a reaction to their own fear of being

racists. White participants in their study seemed to distance themselves from Blacks from fear of sounding or showing racist and prejudicial attitudes (Goff et al., 2008). This type of social distance was not attributed to levels of racial prejudice; instead, the fear of being stereotyped as racist led them to avoid contact with other races (Goff et al., 2008). Social distance levels, regardless of the stimuli that triggered them, can also vary with age (Morgan, 2006). In a study conducted in schools, Morgan (2006) described how younger children showed less social distance than older children and adolescents. Research suggested that distancing increased in relation to acquired knowledge and experience. As children learned more about different races and their associated stereotypes, they learned to distance and differentiate themselves from other groups as well (Morgan, 2006).

Types of prejudice: explicit and implicit. Henry and Hardin (2006) discussed two types of prejudice related to race: explicit and implicit prejudice. Implicit prejudice was described as chronic, embedded, and more resistant to change, whereas explicit prejudice represented a more flexible and unstable type of prejudice (Henry & Hardin, 2006). Stereotypes and beliefs activate different cognitive processes. Automatic processes involve an involuntary activation of previously learnt responses such as ethnic stereotypes, whereas controlled processes are intentional and deliberate involving the activation of newly developed belief systems (Devine, 1989). These two separate types of prejudice are similar to the ones described by Henry and Hardin (2006). On a similar note, Barden, Maddux, Petty, & Brewer (2004) also stated that racial prejudice is expressed implicitly on the automatic level of functioning. Amodio and Devine (2006) further explained how prejudice is activated implicitly by the affective component of automatic responses as opposed to the cognitive component which includes racial stereotypes and belief systems. Research conducted by Henry and Hardin (2006) showed that strong interactions among races, such as friendship and intimate relationships, are associated with decreased levels of explicit prejudice. But on the

other hand, implicit prejudice did not seem to be affected by interracial contact. Moreover, McKinney (2006) stated that romantic relationships are the representation of an anti-racist stance that defies societal norms regarding race and stereotypes. Interacting with different races helps White individuals identify and acknowledge racist attitudes and behaviors through observing the differential treatment others receive (McKinney, 2006). In other words, close contact with other races would increase a White person's empathy towards a Black individual, and therefore would help in decreasing the distant and discriminatory attitudes towards people of color.

Implied and stereotypical social roles for African Americans. Richeson and Trawalter (2005) described the mechanisms involved in racial discrimination, and discussed the possibility of reducing the activated automatic processes when assessing an admired Black exemplar such as Oprah Winfrey. Individuals tend to evaluate famous and liked exemplars more positively than other unknown individuals belonging to that same minority group (Richeson & Trawalter, 2005). A research was conducted in order to assess the power of these mechanisms in relation to high and low racial prejudice (Devine, 1989). The study showed that automatic activation of stereotypes was strong for both high and low prejudice participants. Furthermore, these automatic processes lead to prejudice-directed responses (Devine, 1989). The researcher also pointed out that stereotypical attitudes are strongly embedded in a person's mind, and tend to override the independently acquired beliefs regarding race and ethnic groups (Devine, 1989).

Barden et al. (2004) suggested that automatic racial bias can be moderated through implied social roles. Their research showed that prejudice was most salient when the role assigned to an African American man was not congruent with the stereotypical roles for that group (Barden et al., 2004). Furthermore, Richeson and Trawalter (2005) also suggested that disliked black exemplars are easily and automatically categorized and evaluated whereas

admired black exemplars require more time and reflection in order to be evaluated. The researchers explained this phenomenon by the fact that evaluations and judgments of groups rely more on typical exemplars belonging to that group than on exceptional exemplars that do not represent the stereotypical black individual (Richeson & Trawalter, 2005). In fact, McIlwain (2007) explained how the main challenge faced by Barack Obama throughout his candidacy for the presidency was the White voters' acceptance of a Black leader. Minority groups are almost never seen as leaders, but an admired Black exemplar could be an exception (McIlwain, 2007). Clayton (2007) also explained how Obama's charisma could be a stronger attribute than race, and consequently, White voters would stop perceiving him as part of a minority group, but rather a strong leader and president of the United States. McIlwain (2007) also pointed out the effects of the media on American voters, stating that the image portrayed through television and newspapers would largely influence American citizens. In other words, if the media focused on Obama's race rather than his leadership skills, then voters would be affected by these attributes, and automatic processes would be reactivated.

Processes involved in art appreciation. Automatic judgments were also shown to be involved in art appreciation (Leder, Carbon, & Ripsas, 004). Liking a painting relied mainly on automatic processes and is usually easily expressed. Whereas understanding a painting required more time and was based on explicit cognitive processes (Leder et al., 2004). Furthermore, fast and automatic evaluations of a painting were shown to be affected by short verbal information regarding that painting (Leder et al., 2004). An expert's opinion regarding a painting could be a form of information that might influence a rater's decision.

Conformity in relation to racial discrimination. Evaluations and automatic processes are also affected by societal norms (Hornsey, Majkut, Terry, & McKimmie, 2003). When individuals are uncertain about certain attitudes or judgments they tend to follow the

majority's opinion, especially if it was an expert's point of view (Hornsey et al., 2003). Nevertheless, such an impact rarely affects private and personal attitudes, instead it affects the salient and publicly displayed behavior (Hornsey et al., 2003). For instance, during the United States elections, many White voters stated that they were willing to vote for a Black candidate, but when casting their ballot, many of them voted for the White candidate (Clayton, 2007). Similarly, Wiekens and Stapel (2008) suggested that people conform to group norms when they are being judged or when their opinion is shared with others. Furthermore the researchers stated that self-awareness is a key determinant of conformity oriented behavior (Wiekens & Stapel, 2008). Participants in their study conformed to the group norm of anti-stereotyping even though they were highly prejudiced individuals, from fear of being criticized or misjudged (Wiekens & Stapel, 2008).

On a similar note, Clayton (2007) stated that White voters in the United States expressed their approval of and support for a Black candidate in order to avoid being labeled as racist. Conformity does not always involve healthy norms and values, for instance White individuals were shown to help Blacks less readily in times of crisis in the presence of others (Gaertner et al., 1982). In order to assess the levels of conformity regarding racial prejudice, Gaertner et al. (1982) conducted an experiment that depicted the reactions of White participants to a Black individual in a health crisis on the street. Participants were less helpful in the presence of bystanders due to their high levels of conformity to societal norms. Their public self was salient to the bystanders, and the pressure to conform emerged (Gaertner et al., 1982). White victims were helped more quickly than Black victims; furthermore, participants helped the victim more readily in the absence of bystanders (Gaertner et al., 1982). On the other hand, a very convinced and persuaded individual would be less influenced by societal values or other people's opinions than a person with little conviction or knowledge (Hornsey et al., 2003). Conformity has a smaller effect on people with strong

conflicting beliefs (Hornsey et al., 2003). Regarding Racial prejudice, it was researched that people who highly conform to others and to societal norms and belief systems tend to view Blacks as a threat to their group, and subsequently have higher levels of prejudice and discrimination (Hurwitz & Peffley, 1992). On a similar note, O’Gorman, Wilson, and Miller (2007) stated that people tend to conform in order to gain a sense of belonging to a certain group, and if group norms reject other races, then members would follow the norms in order to abide by the group’s rules and maintain their highly esteemed membership. In fact, Hornsey et al. (2003) suggested that people conform in order to gain their group’s acceptance. Individuals might conform even when the group’s norms are clearly wrong and biased, since their belongingness to that group seems more valuable than their personal opinion (Hornsey et al., 2003).

Methods in assessing racial prejudice and discrimination. Explicit measures of racial prejudice can detect consciously chosen responses, whereas implicit measures identify the automatic and involuntary responses regarding prejudicial attitudes and beliefs (Payne, Burkley, & Stokes, 2008). Explicit questionnaires include direct statements or questions regarding the topic at hand, meanwhile, implicit tests aim at discovering indirectly the attitudes and beliefs of participants through analyzing their scores on specific attitude-revealing tests (Payne et al., 2008). In the present study, both an explicit and an implicit test were used, in order to assess automatic and voluntary responses, and on the other hand, a correlation of both sets of scores would show the level of concordance between the two types of responses. According to previous research, scores on implicit measures might not correlate with scores on explicit tests due to the different processes involved (Payne et al., 2008). A confederate was employed while conducting the implicit test in order to influence the participants’ answers. Confederates are crucial when the experimenter needs to provoke certain attitudes or beliefs (Laurens & Moscovici, 2005).

Previous research showed that racial prejudice is pervasive over time, and the main characteristic that did evolve was the form in which discrimination is exhibited. Automatic processes are shown to be responsible for activating deeply entrenched stereotypes, and art appreciation is also affected by these processes.

Previous research on racial discrimination in Lebanon. In a previous small research I conducted regarding racial prejudice in Lebanon, results showed considerable levels of prejudice and racial discrimination among participants. The sample was asked to rate a painting while manipulating the artist's race. The experiment was a 2x2 factorial design with two independent variables: race of the painter (African, Italian), and the age of the participants (young, older). The study therefore also examined the effect of age on racial discrimination. Different age groups participated in the experiment, nevertheless, the study did not show main differences in prejudice across generations, where young participants as well as older participants exhibited similar levels of racism towards Africans. In the present study, an experiment was conducted in order to assess not only the levels of prejudice among the Lebanese population, but also the effects of an expert opinion on art appreciation, and the relationship between racial prejudice and the conformity to an expert in the field. On the other hand, a social distance scale was used in order to assess the reported attitudes regarding different ethnic groups. The aim of this study was first to assess the extent to which conformity can affect the maintenance of racial prejudice on the Lebanese sample. On a second note, research was conducted in order to examine the levels of social distance among participants, and to evaluate whether increased interracial contact could be a possible solution to decrease levels of discrimination among Lebanese citizens.

Chapter Two

Methodology

An experimental research was conducted using rating scales for art appreciation as well as the Bogardus Social Distance scale in order to assess levels of racial discrimination as well as the effects of an expert's opinion on art evaluation. The study was conducted in a beach resort and included a sample of 72 adults.

Participants

A convenience sample was gathered consisting of 72 Lebanese citizens (43 males and 29 females) with ages ranging between 25 and 40 with an average age of 32. All participants were members or at least guests at Rimal beach resort in Jounieh. The participants belonged mainly to the middle class society, which represents the majority of the Lebanese population.

Material

Painting. A copy of the painting was printed using an A4 semi-glossy paper. The painting is a black and white impressionistic portrait entitled "Tormented Guy", and was originally painted on an A3 Canson paper using gouache painting technique. See appendix C.

Rating scale. The painting was assessed for its artistic qualities by rating on five distinct characteristics: theme of the painting, color (purity, tone, and hue), texture, harmony of elements, and painting style. Participants were specifically requested to rate the painting on each of these dimensions out of ten, ten being the highest score indicating an excellent evaluation. See appendix A.

The Bogardus Scale. The participants' Social Distance levels were assessed using the Bogardus Scale. It consists of 7 statements describing varying degrees of intimacy with other races and ethnicities, for example, stating that one is willing to be involved in an intimate relationship with a Black individual receives a score of 1, reflecting no levels of social distance towards Blacks. 4 groups were listed: Blacks, Asians, White, and Mexicans.

Participants were asked to express their feelings and attitudes regarding each group by choosing the appropriate statements for each group. Scores can vary from 1 to 7, with 7 reflecting the highest level of Social Distance, and 1 showing a lack of Social Distance towards a certain group. The Bogardus scale has been established as a reliable tool for measuring social distance, and has been used by many experimenters namely Cover (2005) and Olsson et al. (2005). See appendix B.

Procedure

The method used in the experiment was a 3 x 3 factorial design with two independent variables: the artist's race (African American, White American, and unknown), and the expert's intervention (negative, positive, and neutral). The experiment was conducted in Rimal beach resort in Jounieh. This setting was most appropriate since it included a large sample, sharing a rather similar socioeconomic status and a close cultural background. The experiment included nine conditions and was conducted over a period of nine days, testing one condition per day. All of the nine experiments were conducted at around 11 am. The eight participants gathered in a chalet in Rimal and sat in a circle, alongside the owner of the chalet, the experimenter, and the confederate. They were told that the experiment was part of a study for a master's degree, and their help was much appreciated. The expert in art appreciation was a 36 year old painter and jewelry designer. All nine conditions followed the same rules and instructions. According to each condition, the expert would either give a positive or a negative opinion regarding the painting, and in the neutral conditions, she would still be present in the room, but without sharing her personal opinion regarding the painting. The expert expressed her opinion six times out of nine in a consistent manner. For instance, in the three conditions in which she was supposed to rate the painting negatively, the confederate used the same words in order to avoid any unintentional manipulation of the participants' scores. The expert's opinion was given right before the experimenter gave the

instructions regarding the rating of the painting. The participants were introduced to the specialist in arts, and were told about her expertise. Rating scales were then distributed, and participants were asked to rate the painting individually and later were asked to fill out the Bogardus Social Distance scale. The painting was rated on five different dimensions, as for the Bogardus Scale, the sample was asked to choose the statements that best fit the different race categories. A score of 1 on the Bogardus Scale shows no discrimination, whereas a score of 7 would indicate maximum racial discrimination. The rating scales were then collected from the participants, while attaching each rating scale to its respective Social Distance scale.

Throughout the experiment, many participants expressed blatant discriminatory feelings and attitudes. For instance, one female observer was repulsed at the idea of marrying an African American man, and stated that she can handle working with them, but would never be intimate with any African American individual. On a similar note, another participant gave a low rating to the African American Painter while stating that one can not expect more from a man of color. Whereas when the artist was said to be White American, one of the participants expressed her total admiration of the painting, and considered it as a piece that she would highly consider buying. These statements were noted by the experimenter in order to shed light upon the deliberate verbal expression of racism among Lebanese individuals.

Chapter Three

Results

Data was cast in a 3x3 factorial design involving two independent variables: the artist's nationality (African American, White American, and unknown nationality), and the confederate's intervention (positive, negative, or neutral). Results were analyzed using ANOVA in order to examine the effects of race on the painting's ratings, and to assess the influence of the confederate's opinion on the participants' ratings. Pearson rs were calculated between scores on the bogardus scale and scores on the painting's ratings in order to assess the relationship between social distance and art appreciation.

Results related to the rating of the painting and the confederate's intervention

The five scales used were all highly correlated among each other (Person's r ranged between 0.73 and 0.81), which allowed the experimenter to use the total of all scale's ratings as an index of art evaluation when analyzing the results. All dimensions were similarly affected by the two independent variables as shown in table 1.

Table 1

Correlations between the five scales used in the art appreciation rating scale

	Theme	Colors	Texture	Harmony	Style
Theme	1.000	0.752	0.768	0.807	0.785
Colors		1.000	0.761	0.790	0.812
Texture			1.000	0.745	0.734
Harmony				1.000	0.814
Style					1.000

A summary table describing the total means regarding each independent variable as well as the means relative to each combination of variables is presented in table 2. The African American painter was rated by 24 participants and received a mean score of 23.42. As for the White American painter, the mean score was of 29.87. Finally, when participants were not aware of the artist's nationality or race, the painting received a mean score of 32.5.

As for the effect of the expert’s intervention, results showed a total mean score of 25.2 when the painting was judged negatively by the confederate. On the other hand, when the expert rated the painting favorably, the mean score was of 33.58. Finally, when the confederate did not intervene, the mean score was of 27.

Table 2

Group means and total means for each of the two factors: Race and Expert’s opinion

	African American	White American	Unknown	Total Opinion
Negative Rating	18.00	25.37	32.25	25.20
Positive Rating	29.25	35.12	36.37	33.58
No Rating	23.00	29.12	28.87	27.00
Total Race	23.42	29.87	32.50	

Note. N = 72. Maximum score = 50.

Analysis of variance showed a significant main effect for the artist’s race factor on the observers’ evaluation with $F(df = 2) = 16.57, p = .00$. Similarly, the confederate’s intervention variable also had a main effect on participants’ ratings with $F(df = 2) = 14.75, p = .00$. A detailed summary describing the variations and the effects of the independent variables is illustrated in table 3.

Table 3

ANOVA summary table

Source	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F	Sig
Race	1048.861	2	524.431	16.574	0.000
Intervention	933.528	2	466.764	14.752	0.000
Race*Intervention	187.556	4	46.889	1.482	0.218
Error	1993.375	63	31.641		
Total	63045.000	72			

Results related to the Bogardus Social Distance Scale

The mean of all participants’ scores on the Bogardus Social Distance Scale was of 2.81, given that 1 reflects no social distance regarding African Americans and 7 shows the most extreme case of racial discrimination.

Furthermore, Pearson Correlation has been calculated to assess the relationship between Social Distance levels and the painting ratings. The aim of this experiment was to test whether social distance and painting ratings would correlate in the three conditions in which the painter was said to be African American. The correlation coefficient for the first condition (participants were told that the painter was African American and the confederate rated the painting negatively) was of -0.945, which shows a very high relationship between social distance and the observers' ratings. As social distance levels increased, the painting's evaluation decreased. Furthermore, the correlations between Social Distance scores and the remaining eight conditions were also calculated in order to assess the intensity of these correlations. Results for all of the nine conditions are exhibited in table 4.

Table 4

Pearson Correlations between Social Distance scores and the painting ratings, with respect to the artist's origin

	Negative	Positive	Neutral
African American	-0.945	-0.584	-0.584
White American	-0.379	0.019	0.638
Artist is unknown	-0.018	-0.511	0.533

Chapter Four

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to assess whether art appreciation is affected by the artist's race, and whether participants are influenced by an expert's opinion when rating an art work. An experiment was conducted in order to examine the levels of racial discrimination among participants by assessing levels of prejudice regarding an African American Painter. Furthermore, this study aimed at evaluating the level and impact of the interaction of the above mentioned variables. On another note, scores on the Social Distance scale were calculated in order to assess the levels of explicit racial prejudice, and to further demonstrate the relationship between social distance and the evaluations for the African American painter.

Ratings for the African American painter versus the White American painter

Raters evaluated the painting less favorably when the artist was said to be African American. The means of each of the three groups (African American, White American, and unknown race) were calculated and the African American painter received the lowest score among all three groups. The race of the painter was the only variable affecting such a difference in ratings, since all other variables were kept constant in all of the nine conditions. In fact, results showed that the Race variable had a major effect on the participants' ratings. Racial prejudice could account for these results, where White Lebanese rate less favorably other ethnic minorities. The findings support the previously tested hypotheses by Barden et al. (2004). They stated that prejudice is most prominent when the evaluated subject does not seem to be performing the stereotypical role assigned to his or her minority group (Barden et al., 2004). Painter or artist in general may not seem a prototypical role for African individuals, which points out the incongruence between the stereotype and the exemplar. Furthermore, the artist was not famous, which led to an automatic association between the

painter and his ethnic group. These results are an illustration of the experiment conducted by Richeson and Trawalter (2005). The researchers suggested that famous Africans are viewed more favorably than unknown Africans, and are considered as a subtype of the entire minority group (Richeson & Trawalter, 2005).

On another note, the unknown artist received even higher ratings than the White American artist. This could be due to the recent and ongoing debate regarding America's role in Lebanon's politics. Some Lebanese citizens are not in favor of the United States' policies, and that in turn could be reflected in their ratings. On the other hand, results could be due to the fact that art and specifically paintings are not the chore of the American culture. Whereas movie and music are more stereotypical attributes associated to the United States. This idea is also in accordance with the study on stereotypes conducted by Barden et al. (2004).

General levels of conformity

The expert's role in this study served to assess the level of conformity among participants to an expert in arts. The expert's intervention was proven to be effective and had a substantial impact on the sample's ratings. Results showed that raters were generally influenced by the confederate's opinion regarding the painting. Specifically, when the expert rated the painting negatively, participants followed her lead, and rated according to her judgment. All conditions showed that the painting received the lowest rating when the confederate judged it as mediocre, whereas ratings were relatively high when the expert perceived the painting as artistic and meaningful. This finding coincides with the results discussed by Hornsey et al. (2003). They discussed the impact of an expert's opinion, and stated that people tend to follow other knowledgeable individuals when faced with unclear questions or judgments. Furthermore, individuals tend to follow or conform to others in order to belong to a certain group (O'Gorman et al., 2007). In the present study, participants might have rated the painting based on the confederate's opinion from fear of seeming less

knowledgeable about arts. People are prone to following others in certain attitudes or even preferences in order to gain a sense of belongingness (Hornsey et al., 2003). Raters were affected on the salient level by the confederate, probably hoping that they would be viewed as knowledgeable and artistic as well.

General levels of Social Distance

The mean of all 72 scores on the Bogardus Social Distance scale was close to 3, which indicates a certain level of distance from African Americans, but does not represent an extreme case of discrimination. Nonetheless, more than 75% of participants stated on the Bogardus scale that they would not engage in an intimate relationship with a Black individual, which reflects a common boundary to most Lebanese participants. Among all types of interactions between different races, intimate relationships are the most predictive regarding the level of racial prejudice (Olsson et al., 2005). In other words, discrimination is best detected through a person's willingness to engage in an intimate relationship with a member of a different race. In fact, individuals might hesitate before exhibiting high levels of social distance from fear of being judged as racists. Given that the Bogardus scale is an explicit measure of racial prejudice, participants were consciously choosing their answers and probably manipulating their own levels of social distance. In fact, Payne et al. (2008) explained the difference between explicit and implicit measures of prejudice, and stated that explicit measures are involved with voluntary and somewhat controlled responses. For instance, a person might want to exclude an African individual from his country, but would refrain from expressing his true feelings from fear of being judged or viewed negatively by others. Nonetheless, results did show considerably high levels of social distance towards Blacks, but given the fact that the scale used was an explicit measure of racial discrimination, scores on the Bogardus scale could be reflecting erroneous and lower levels of prejudice among the Lebanese population.

The effects of the expert's negative ratings of the African American painter

The condition in which ratings for the African American painter were matched with a negative judgment from the confederate's point of view received the lowest mean among all of the 9 conditions. The African American painter was generally rated more negatively than other races, but in this case, the confederate's opinion accentuated this difference. People do tend to follow an expert's view on things (hornsey et al., 2003), but in my opinion, in the present experiment participants were somewhat encouraged to express their racial discrimination freely, since the expert offered the convenient pretext to do so. Individuals tend to hide any type of prejudice they hold against other groups, and in this study, participants may have tried to avoid any display of racist attitudes. Given the fact that the expert was the first to express her opinion, participants may have felt relieved, and became more at ease with their true beliefs regarding African American painters. On the other hand, the confederate's rating was in accordance with the stereotypes regarding African Americans, and therefore participants were convinced of the expert's opinion, and conformed more readily than in other conditions. Hurwitz and Peffley (1992) stated that high levels of conformity are usually accompanied by high levels of racial discrimination. Therefore, these two variables might be reflecting a common belief system relying on societal norms regarding people of color. People who conform to cultural norms must abide by the culture's stereotypes, therefore, if the Lebanese society holds strong prejudicial attitudes against African Americans, then conformity would include racial discrimination as well.

Relationship between the Bogardus scale and the African American ratings

Scores on the Social Distance scale were negatively correlated to ratings of the African American painting. In other words, a high score on the Bogardus scale was matched with a low rating of the African American painting. Correlations were calculated for the other two conditions as well (White American, and unknown painter), and no such pattern was

depicted. Results showed that the relationship between the two measures used when judging the African American's work was valid, since it was not as salient, or even barely existed in other conditions. The study showed that as racial discrimination increases social distance increases as well. In fact Goff et al. (2008) stated that racial prejudice and social distance could be used interchangeably to express the same attitudes and beliefs. Both tools were testing rather similar notions, the difference lies in the type of measure used. The painting rating is considered to be an implicit measure, whereas the Bogardus Social Distance scale represents an explicit type of tests.

On another note, the correlation was highest when the confederate gave a negative opinion regarding the painting. In other words, in the condition where the painter was said to be African American and the confederate rated the painting negatively, the correlation with the Bogardus scale scores was the highest. This could be due to the fact that participants were closer to their true beliefs regarding Blacks since they were indirectly encouraged by the confederate to do so. Such a high correlation of scores on quite similar themes reflects a rather stable and substantial evidence that racial discrimination does exist among Lebanese citizens.

Social Distance levels and conformity to an expert

As described earlier, the relationship between Bogardus scale scores and ratings of the painting was strongest when the painter was said to be African American and the confederate gave a negative judgment regarding the painting. Correlations were meaningful in the three conditions involving the African American painter; therefore the present discussion revolves solely around the African American painter. These results highlight the impact of racial discrimination on the present sample, but also lead the way to further analysis regarding the root of such a high correlation. According to Hurwitz and Peffley (1992), people who highly conform to others tend to hold high levels of racial prejudice. Causality was not tested in the

present study; instead interactions and parallel relationships were assessed. Results showed that participants have conformed the most when the confederate gave negative ratings of the African American painting. Therefore, scores on the Bogardus scale and ratings of the painting correlated the most when conformity was high. Nonetheless, the high correlation was probably not entirely due to levels of conformity, rather to another separate variable that could account for such significant interactions. Culture and societal norms could be the roots of the current results. Rigid and conservative societies hold strong prejudicial attitudes regarding other groups. On another note, such societies exhibit high levels of conformity since individuals are tightly involved in common belief systems. Different groups are viewed as threats, and social distance is displayed as a defense tool in order to avoid such threats. Research showed that social intolerance does exist in Lebanon, mainly regarding other religious groups (Haddad, 2001). Social distance from Blacks is only another example of the larger notion of social intolerance. Therefore, the country's strict norms could be the cause of such a significant relationship between the different variables tested in this study.

General conclusion

Racial discrimination was examined, and research showed some evidence regarding the existence of such attitudes among Lebanese participants. Levels of Social Distance towards Blacks were also shown to be considerably high compared to those towards the White population. Furthermore, a confederate's opinion proved to be influential especially when the expert rated the African American painting negatively and probably facilitated the sample's display of negative attitudes towards people of color.

The Lebanese culture, although not researched enough, might be individualistic in certain areas, but still leans towards collectivism in matters of openness to others. Haddad (2001) described the impact of religion on the Lebanese population, and the effect it has on social intolerance. Similarly, Lebanese participants might have exhibited significant levels of

social intolerance against African Americans, since this mechanism is embedded in their attitudes regarding other groups.

Racial discrimination is prevalent worldwide; its persistence over time has led researchers to question the possible reasons behind such deeply entrenched beliefs and attitudes. Furthermore, studies have been made in order to offer solutions and prevention plans to eliminate racism. On a different note, researchers rarely address and assess the effects of racism on the White population. Nevertheless, Utsey, McCarthy, Eubanks, & Adrian (2002) conducted a study in an attempt to shed light on the possible interaction between anti-Black racism, anxiety, and self-esteem. Results showed that higher levels of anxiety lead to increased racist beliefs, which were created as a way of dealing with excessive anxiety (Utsey et al., 2002). Racism was described as a defense mechanism that decreases anxiety, and eventually increases self-esteem (Utsey et al., 2002). In other words, if anxiety was eliminated, then racial discrimination would decrease. Prejudice is not limited to that specific mechanism, and is maintained through social norms and stereotypes, but if anxiety was one of the contributing factors affecting racial discrimination, then focus should be given to these dynamics. When individuals suffer from low self-esteem, they usually perceive other groups as threat, since they feel insecure even in their own ethnic group. As Utsey et al. (2002) pointed out, high levels of self-esteem would not require one to rely on defense mechanisms in order to feel better. Therefore, an improved self-image and a high self-esteem could be key factors in fighting racism, both on the individual and the group level.

Implications for future research

Evaluating prejudice related to arts can be done through slight modifications of the present experiment. In addition to having the artist's race and the confederate's opinion as independent variables, future research could include a third variable: the painter's level of success. A famous African American painter could be rated more favorably than an unknown

African American artist. A similar hypothesis was previously discussed and tested by Richeson and Trawalter (2005). This hypothesis was proven right in the 2009 United States elections: success overthrew stereotypes.

Furthermore, future research could assess the nature of the relationship between self-esteem and racial discrimination, possibly through adding to the present study another rating scale measuring levels of self-esteem. If self-esteem proved to be related to racism, then maybe society would refrain from accepting and promoting racial stereotypes, and instead start focusing on the real problem behind these ongoing attitudes. Racial discrimination, in this case, is inferiority disguised as superiority.

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Appendix A

Rating Scale for Art Appreciation

Rate the painting based on the following criteria

Theme of the painting:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Color (purity, tone, and hue):

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Texture:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Harmony of elements:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Painting style:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Appendix B

Bogardus Social Distance Scale

The Bogardus Scale

- 1. Give your first reaction in every case.
- 2. Give your reactions to each race as a group. Do not give your reactions to the best or the worst members that you have known, but think of the picture or stereotype that you have of the whole group.
- 3. Put a cross in as many of the boxes as your feelings dictate.

How do you feel regarding members of the following groups	Blacks	Asians	White	Mexicans
As close relatives by marriage				
As my close personal friends				
As neighbors on the same street				
As co-workers in the same occupation				
As citizens in my country				
As only visitors in my country				
Would exclude from my country				

Appendix C

Copy of the painting used in the experiment

