AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

CONTENT AND SOURCES OF SECTARIAN STEROETYPES IN A SAMPLE OF LEBANESE UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS AT THE AMERICAN UNIVERISTY OF BEIRUT

by

ALINE GEORGES HACHEM

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submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
to the Department of Psychology
of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences
at the American University of Beirut

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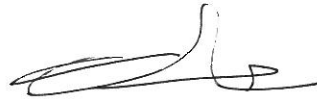

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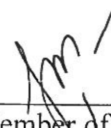

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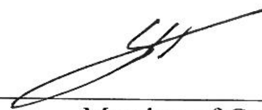

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I dedicate this manuscript to the resting souls of my grandmothers, both of whom I have lost during the completion of my masters.

"May the best of yesterday be the worst of tomorrow"

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Aline Georges Hachem for Master of Arts

Major: Psychology

Title: Content and Sources of Sectarian Stereotypes in a Sample of Lebanese Undergraduate Students at the American University of Beirut

The study aimed at investigating the content of stereotypes attributed to the six largest sects in Lebanon by a sample of 203 undergraduate students at the American University of Beirut, as well as the sources from which such stereotypes were learnt, and their relation to participants' sectarianism levels. The study also examined the effect of participant gender and sect on sectarianism and perceptions of other sects' openness.

Coding and frequency analyses revealed the positive and negative stereotypes associated with Muslim Sunnis, Muslim Shias, Druze, Christian Armenians, Christian Maronites and Christian Orthodox in Lebanese society. On the other hand, friends and peers, personal experience with members of other sects, media, parents/family and the Internet were the most influential sources of stereotype dissemination. Moreover, sects' perceived openness (or lack thereof) emerged as the only common stereotypical dimension along which participants rated all six sects. No gender or confessional differences were detected on sectarianism scores, there were however confessional differences on openness ratings attributed to each sect. The implications and limitations of these findings are discussed, and some recommendations for future research are suggested.

Keywords: stereotype, sources, sectarianism, Lebanese youth,

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Content and Sources of Sectarian Stereotypes in a Sample of Lebanese

Undergraduate Students at the American University of Beirut

Aline G. Hachem

Final Thesis

Charles Harb, Ph.D. (Advisor)

NadiyaSlobodenyuk, Ph.D. (Member of committee)

Rim Saab, Ph.D. (Member of committee)

CHAPTER I

THE LEBANESE SECTARIAN SYSTEM AND ITS RELATION TO STEREOTYPES AND PREJUDICE

A. Lebanon's Confessional Diversity

Lebanon's population of 4.8 million inhabitants is distributed among 19 sects which are either Muslim or Christian, with a small Jewish minority (Information International, 2011).There are no recent official records of the confessional distribution of the Lebanese as the only official census was conducted in 1932. Today, estimates hold that the largest sects are distributed as follows: 29 percent are Sunni Muslim, 29 percent Shia Muslim, 19per cent Maronite Christian, 7 percent Christian Orthodox, and 5 percent Druze (Information International, 2011).In addition, the Armenian Lebanese (Armenian Catholic and Armenian Orthodox) presenta small, yet important group in Lebanese society.They constitute an ethnic, rather than a sectarian entity, yet Christian Armenians in Lebanon are often referred to as a sectarian group (e.g. the Armenian sect; Meguerditchian, 2012). Despite ethnic, cultural and linguistic differences that distinguish them from the remaining Lebanese, they have always contributed to the nation's political, social, educational and economic life (Migliorino, 2008), thus making them an important component of the country's social fabric.

Lebanon's confessional diversity however has also entailed sectarian conflicts, as sectarian groups have recurrently engaged in violent clashes against one another. Examples include the Maronite-Druze conflict of 1860 (Makdisi, 2000), the Lebanese civil war of 1975 to 1990 (Hudson 1999; Ofeish, 1999), and the recent events of May 7th, 2008 ("Gun Battles Break out in Beirut, 2008).In light of such sectarian history, examining the content of stereotypes that confessional groups hold toward each

otherseems important, as it might constitute a first step toward identifying some of the psychological factors underlying sectarian violence in the country. As such, the present study primarily aims at investigating the stereotype content attributed to the largest six sects in Lebanon. Stereotypes are a set of shared beliefs that comprise information and characteristics associated with social groups (Devine & Elliot, 1995; Dovidio&Gaertner, 2010). The study also aims at assessing the sources from which such perceptions were acquired, and at investigating the relation betweenstereotype content, stereotype sources and participants' sectarianism levels.

B. The origin of Stereotypes

1. Social Categorization

Stereotypes occur as a result of social categorization, a basic and essential process in cognitive functioning in which individuals mentally categorize people (and all sorts of stimuli) into different groups based on common shared characteristics (Yzerbyt&Demoulin, 2010). By sorting any new stimuli into existing meaningful categories, the stimulus is immediately ascribed the characteristics of the category (Mackie, Hamilton, Susskind &Rosselli, 1996). Such a top-down processing saves individuals time when making decisions about others and frees up cognitive resources to engage in other mental tasks (Dovidio&Gaertner, 2010). Categorization thus bears an important survival and adaptive function as it allows individuals to efficiently simplify and understand their complex environment (Mackie, Hamilton, Susskind &Rosselli, 1996; Schneider 2004).Nonetheless, category-based processing may also be harmful as it exaggerates the perception of outgroup members as similar to each other (Mackie, Hamilton, Susskind &Rosselli, 1996), a process known as the outgroup homogeneity

effect (Dovidio&Gaertner, 2010). Given its reliance on heuristically derived information,such processing favors the perpetuation of stereotypesabout outgroup members in the perceiver's mind (Dovidio&Gaertner, 2010).

2. Definition of Stereotypes

Stereotypes are generalizations held toward members of other groups and consist of cognitive structures reflecting beliefs held about members of these groups (Dovidio&Gaertner, 2010). Stereotypes extend beyond individual beliefs and represent culturally shared knowledge about "traits that are characteristic of members of a social category" (Greenwald &Banaji, 1995, p. 14).Stereotypes also extend across dimensions and include a variety of inferences ranging from traits to social roles, all assumed to be shared by members of a particular group, presumed to be typical of the prototype of that group, and that serve to differentiate a group from others (Dovidio&Gaertner, 2010).

3. The Automaticity of Stereotypes

Stereotypes of a social category have been long thought to be automatically activated by mere exposure to a stimulus of that category (Devine, 1989; Bargh& Williams, 2006). An automatic process may be defined as one that operates efficiently, that happens outside of conscious awareness and that is difficult to control (Bargh& Williams, 2006).

Devine (1989) argued for stereotype automaticity; she stated that knowledge of cultural stereotypes is inescapable regardless of stereotype endorsement (or lack thereof), in that everyone in a particular culture is aware of the stereotypes attributed to certain groups, irrespective of one's endorsement of that stereotype (experiment 1). Therefore, when individuals are presented with a member of the stimulus category, the stereotypical inferences attributed to such groups are automatically triggered regardless

of personal beliefs. In addition, the extent to which personal beliefs are consistent with the stereotype and actually affect judgment is determined by one's prejudice level (Devine, 1989).

Subsequent research has documented the pervasiveness of stereotype automaticity across a range of social categories. For instance stereotypes of the elderly (Kawakami, Young &Dovidio, 2002; Perdue &Gurtman, 1990) and stereotypes of African Americans (Blair, Judd &Fallman, 2004) have all been found to be automatically activated upon mere exposure to stimuli of the target categories.

Gilbert and Hixon (1991) added that the relation between stimulus exposure and stereotype activation was moderated by availability of cognitive resources. Their investigation revealed that participants who were preoccupied with a mental task failed to activate the stereotype of the stimulus they were exposed to (an Asian woman), whereas those who were not mentally busy showed evidence of stereotype activation. Similar results were found in a more recent study examining the moderating role of cognitive resources availability on stereotypes activation (Wigboldus, Sherman, Franzese& Van Knippenberg, 2004). When mental resources were depleted, participants were more likely to infer stereotype-consistent traits then stereotype-inconsistent traits (which were inhibited under high cognitive load; Wigboldus, Sherman, Franzese& Van Knippenberg, 2004). The relation between stimulus exposure and stereotype activation is thus moderated by the availability of cognitive resources.

4. Stereotype Measures

Stereotypes may be assessed via explicit or implicit measures (Corell, Judd, Park &Wittenbrink, 2010). Explicit measures are usually in the form of self-reports and therefore bear high face-validity; they include adjective checklists, traits ratings, and

percentage estimates, to name a few. In the case of adjective checklists, participants select from a list the adjectives that they view as most typical of a social group, whereas in trait ratings, participants rate on a scale the extent to which the presented traits characterize a social group (Corell, Judd, Park &Wittenbrink, 2010). Implicit measures however make use of alternative techniques and include instruments such as the Implicit Association Test (Greenwald, McGhee & Schwartz, 1998; Lane, Banaji, Nosek& Greenwald, 2007), and the who-said-what paradigm (Corell, Judd, Park &Wittenbrink, 2010) and are intended to counter the social desirability bias inherent in explicit measures and assess implicit forms of stereotyping, undetectable by the latter.

C. From Stereotypes to Prejudice

Stereotypes often lead to prejudice, which refers to a negative attitude and affect held toward members of social groups simply because of their membership to those groups (Allport, 1954). Such negative attitudes may be directed toward members of a different ethnicity (racism), gender (sexism), and religion/confession (sectarianism) etc. Prejudice may lead to discrimination in the form ofoutgroup derogation, which is the active denigration of outgroupmembers, or in the form of biases which may be expressed through attitudinal and affective preferences like ingroup favoritism (Johnson, Rowatt&LaBouf, 2012).

1. Ingroup Favoritism as Prejudice

Ingroup favoritism reflects an ingroup member’s tendency to show preference for members of their own group (Tajfel, Billig, Bundy &Flament, 1971). It is the extension of positive feelings, attitudes (Voci, 2006), and attributes such as trust, positive regard, cooperation and empathy to the ingroup but not the outgroup

(Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002). As such, ingroup favoritism is a form of prejudice (Johnson, Rowatt&Labouf, 2012).

In the proposed study, religious prejudice, or sectarianism is operationalized as a form of ingroup favoritism as per the scale developed by Harb (2010), i.e. as the tendency to view one's sect as better than other sects and to prefer members of one's sect over members of other sects.

Given the long bloody history among the various Lebanese sects, it is not surprising that sectarianism is highly prevalent among Lebanese youth today regardless of their confessional belonging (Harb, 2010). Sectarianism may be broadly defined as "a process through which forms of ethnic and/or religious identity are politicized" (Babar, 2011, p. 1). In the context of intergroup relations, sectarianism may be expressed through "negative attitudes toward religious groups other than one's own" (Evans, 2006, p. 195) or througha favourable evaluation of one's own religious group (Levin &Sidanius, 1999). In the latter case, it represents ingroup bias toward one's own religious sect (Cairns, Kenworthy, Campbell, &Hewstone, 2006), a preference known as ingroup favoritism (Johnson, Rowatt, &Labouf, 2012). The study aims at investigating the relation between ingroup favoritism (hereby defined as sectarianism), and the perceptions, i.e. the content of stereotypes that sectarian groups bear toward each other, as well as the sources from which such stereotypes were learnt.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH ON CONTENT AND SOURCES OF STEREOTYPES

A. The Free Response Methodology

Research on stereotype content started in 1933 using the free response methodology and the adjective checklist by Daniel Katz and Kenneth Braly. They had investigated the contents of racial stereotypes of Black college students held by a hundred White undergraduates at Princeton University (Katz &Braly, 1933). In a preliminary study, the researchers had first asked 25 students at Princeton to list all the characteristics and traits that they thought were typical of ten racial and national groups ("Germans, Italians, Negroes [sic], Irish, English, Jews, Americans, Chinese, Japanese, and Turks"; p.282). The authors then added traits, yielding a total list of 84 adjectives used in the main study. The list was presented to a hundred participants who were asked to choose the five traits that they believed were most typical of each of the ten social groups (and to add more traits if needed). The rating resulted in a total of 500 potential traits/votes for each ethnic group. The researchers then derived,for each target group, the characteristics that were recurrent across 50% of votes. For instance, in the category of Negroes [sic] 4.6 traits were found in 50% of participant votes, indicating that this outcome is far from being the result of chance and that there is high agreement as to what constitutes the stereotype of African American people.

The Princeton study paved the way for a wide use of the free response methodology and/or of the adjective checklist, with some modifications and improvements. For instance, Spencer-Rodgers (2001) employed the free-response method to examine the content of the cultural stereotype of international students held among American host nationals. Participants first listed all descriptors they thought to be typical of international students, be it personality traits, demographic or physical characteristics, behaviors and others, and then rated the traits favorability on a seven-point rating scale. Three judges then independently coded the responses according to a

coding scheme they had developed (personality characteristics, physical attributes, demographic characteristics, typical behaviors, goals, typical experiences, social/behavioral roles, affective reactions, and ''other'' responses). After a series of classifications, group discussions, and data-reduction techniques, the authors derived 26 stereotypic attributes which represented the content of the stereotype held by American host nationals toward international students (Spencer-Rodgers, 2001).

The free-response methodology has subsequently been used to derive the content of stereotypes attributed to different groups, including post-menstrual women (Marcus-Newhall, Thompson & Thomas, 2001) White men (Conley, Rabinowitz&Rabow, 2010), and disabled men and women (Nario-Redmond, 2010).

B. The Adjective Checklist

The adjective checklist is also a useful tool to examine the content of stereotypes, be it alone or as a supplement to the free-response methodology. For instance, Garcia-Marques, Santos and Mackie (2006) investigated the content and the stability of the stereotype of gypsies, gays and African immigrants in the United States using both methods. In their study, psychology sophomores listed attributes reflecting the cultural stereotype of each of these three social groups. The nine traits most frequently cited for each category were kept for the final adjective checklist, and whenever possible, the authors added attribute antonyms thus yielding a final list of 43 items. The adjective checklist was then presented to 46 university students who chose the five adjectives that best describe their personal view of each of the target categories (a measure of the individual stereotype), and the five adjectives that best reflect society's view of these categories (a measure of the cultural stereotype).

The free-response methodology followed by ratings of adjective checklists hasalso been used to derive the content of stereotypes attributed to Black politicians (Schneider &Bos, 2011) and Belgian students' meta-stereotypes, i.e. Belgian's knowledge of the stereotype the French had of them (Klein &Azzi, 2001). Given the wide support for the usefulness of the free-response format and the adjective checklist, both will be used in the proposed study to explore the content of sectarian stereotypes.

C. The Stereotype Content Model

Research on stereotype content has been given particular attention in the past years with the development of the Stereotype Content Model (SCM; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick & Xu, 2002). The SCM holds that stereotypes of social groups fall along two dimensions, warmth and competence, with high status groups perceived as competent but lacking warmth (such as Asians in the United States), and low-status groups perceived as warm but incompetent (such as elderly people; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick & Xu, 2002). The researchers behind the model argue that these combinations of stereotypes do not contradict each other, but in fact, sustain prejudice toward these groups and maintain the advantage of the more privileged groups (Collange, Fiske, Sanitioso, 2009). Support for the SCM has been found across a range of cultures including East Asian and European cultures (Cuddy et. al, 2009). Nonetheless, no research, up to this date, has examined the fit of the SCM in the Middle East, particularly in Lebanon.

D. The Emergence of Stereotypes

Stereotypes emerge at a very early age of an individual's life as a consequence of the categorization process. Research suggests that children first learn to categorize

others by gender by the end of their first year of life (Leinbach& Fagot, 1993; Mackie, Hamilton, Susskind &Rosselli, 1996). Soon after, children acquire gender stereotypes. For instance, the American cultural math-gender stereotype, which holds that math is typically an area for males, is observed in second grade children aged seven or eight (Cvencek, Meltzoff& Greenwald, 2011). Racial and ethniccategorizations also serve as important classifications in the early years of life (Killen, Richardon& Kelly, 2010). For instance, negative stereotypes about African-Americans and positive stereotypes about Euro-Americans emerge by the age of five among most Euro-American children (Bigler&Liben, 1993). In addition,Jewish Israeli children demonstrate awareness of the category "Arab" and display some stereotypic knowledge about it starting at 30 months of age (Bar-Tal, 1996). Their stereotype of "an Arab" becomes more negative as they grow older (from 2.5 years to 6.5 years; Bar-Tal, 1996). Stereotypes are thus acquired early in life (although additional stereotypes continue to emerge later on) and are perpetuated through a variety of socialization agents (Killen, Richardon& Kelly, 2010).

E. Sources of Stereotypes

Research suggests that stereotypes are learnt and perpetuated bya variety of sources, ranging from direct sources (such as actual interaction with other members of stereotyped groups), to indirect sources. The latter include parents, peers, teachers, school, political and religious leaders, and the mass media (Stangor&Schaller, 1996). These agents hence convey information that contributes to children's knowledgeof the world, and they therefore constitute important sources of stereotypes.

1. Parents and family

Parents are the primary caregivers for their children, and hence play an important role in the latter's socialization experiences (Kite, Deaux& Haines, 2008). Parents serve as a main source of information about the world for their offsprings (Schneider, 2004). As such, parental behaviors, attitudes and even non-verbal communication may constitute an important source of stereotype and attitude acquisition for the youngsters (Castelli, De Dea&Nesdale, 2008).In that line, O'Bryan, Fishbein and Ritchey (2004) have demonstrated that a father's attitude toward gender roles significantly predicted his adolescent son's or daughter's endorsement of sex-role stereotyping. Hansson and Rasmussen (2010) examined predictors of ten year old children's stereotypes concerning obesity, and found that mothers' beliefs in the controllability of body weight significantly predicted her children's obesity stereotypes of boys and girls. That is, the more the mother believed body weight was controllable by the individual, the more stereotypic were her children's beliefs toward obese individuals (Hansson & Rasmussen, 2010).Parents therefore significantly influence the stereotypes held by their children.

In the Lebanese setting, family is the most salient level of self-identification for theyouth (Harb, 2010). It is thus reasonable to expect that family, especially parents, contribute significantly to the stereotypes held among the youth.

2. Friends and Peers

Peer culture serves as a potent source of stereotype and prejudice acquisition for children and adolescents as peers greatly shape the social norms within the group (Killen, Richardson & Kelly, 2010). Research suggests that peers influence an individual's stereotypes, prejudice and even behavior toward outgroups (Paluck, 2010). For instance, individuals exhibit more acceptance of discrimination against women after

hearing sexist jokes (Ford & Ferguson, 2004). Sechristand Stangor(2001) have demonstrated thatlearning that the majority of one's peers agrees (high consensus condition) or disagrees (low-consensus condition) with one's high (or low) prejudiced views significantly affected college students' stereotypes of African Americans. In their experiment, when high-prejudice participants were told that the majority of their peers agrees with them (the high consensus condition), participantsgave more unfavorable (than favourable) trait ratings of African Americans. Similarly, low-prejudiced participants in the high consensus condition gave more favourable than unfavorable ratings. On the other hand, no differences in stereotypical ratings were found between high and low-prejudice participants when they were told that the majority disagrees with their views (low consensus condition). Therefore, perceived consensus with peers greatly shapes an individual's stereotypes (Sechirst&Stangor, 2001).

3. Schools

Many schools in Lebanon are distributed along confessional lines as they were built by the religious communities of the country, such as Christian Jesuit, Christian Protestant and Christian Maronite missionaries as well as Muslim Sunni and Muslim Shia communities (Salibi, 1976). Aside from academic curricula, faith-based schools typically encourage and implement teachings of their exclusive respective religious traditions (Educational Directorate of Makassed official website, 2003; Identity and Mission of Saint Joseph School official website, 2013) and are mostly attended by members of their respective faith (Abouchedid, Nasser & Van Blommestein, 2002). These schools therefore do not present a platform for students of various religious backgrounds to meet and interact, perpetuating the segregation lines readily available in Lebanese community.

In that light, Abouchedid et al. (2002) investigated the perceptions and experiences of educational decision-makers, history teachers and students at seven Lebanese confessional schools, four of which were Christian (Maronite, Orthodox, Protestant and Armenian) and three of which were Muslim (Sunni, Shii and Druze).None of these schools offered religious courses on faiths other than their own. The Maronite school refused to designate a prayer room to accommodate for its small minority of Muslim students, while the Muslim Sunni schoolwas reportedly unlikely to incorporate classes on the Christian faith since it had no Christian students enrolled in it. When asked about how much they knew about other faiths, 35.2% of students reported knowing little about each faith,18.6% reported not knowing much, 9.3% reported not knowing anything, while 24.2% reported knowing a lot about some sects and 12.7% reported knowing a lot. When asked how much they thought others knew about their own beliefs, 38.6% reported others did not know much about their faith, 30.9% reported others know a little about their beliefs and 9.3% reported others knew nothing about their faith (Abouchedid, Nasser & Van Blommestein, 2002). This suggests a lack of communication among members of various sects, who do not even interact with each other in many of Lebanon's educational institutions.One may therefore wonder whether the absence of collegial and productive cooperation among students of various confessionsfacilitates the acquisition and maintenance ofreligious stereotypes and prejudice.

4. The Media

In addition to the above-mentioned influences, evidencesuggeststhat the media contributes to the dissemination of stereotypes of social groups (Corell, Judd, Park &Wittenbrink, 2010). For instance, American mass media portrays Asian Americans as

academically successful nerds that are usually outcasts and have no friends (Zhang, 2010).

In their examination of the impact of television viewing on stereotypes of Hispanic Americans, Dong and Murillo (2007) have found that learning about other races from television significantly predicted young European American's negative stereotypes towards Hispanic Americans, whereas positive contact with Hispanic Americans significantly predicted positive stereotypes toward them.The media may therefore play an important role in the dissemination of negative stereotypes about social groups.

a. Lebanese media: Lebanese television stations

The media in Lebanon are thought to play a similar role in the propagation and reinforcement of sectarian stereotypes. In fact, most of today's Lebanese media, be it television channels, radio station, or newspapers are divided along sectarian (and political) lines (Nötzold& Pies, 2010). For instance, Future Televisionwas founded in 1994 by then-Muslim Sunni prime minister Rafiq El-Hariri and was mostly owned by him (Dajani, 2001), his family (Dajani, 2006; Fandy 2007) and his close friends (Fandy, 2007) and represents the outlet for the Muslim Sunni community (Nötzold& Pies, 2010). The Muslim Shia community is also represented by two television stations, Al-Manar, known as the station of Hezbollah, and the National Broadcasting Network (NBN) owned by speaker of Lebanese Parliament and head of Amal party NabihBerri and his family and close friends (Dajani, 2001, 2006; Fandy, 2007). Furthermore, Murr Television (MTV), owned by Christian Orthodox Garbiel El-Murr, (Dajani, 2001; Fandy, 2007), represents the television station fora portion of Christians (Dajani, 2001; Nötzold& Pies, 2010). Finally, OTV is presumed to be strongly aligned with Christian

Maronite former General Michel Aoun and his Free Patriotic Movement (Nötzold& Pies, 2010) while New TV (today called Al-Jadeed TV) targets Arab nationalists and reflects opposition to Hariri's policies (Dajani, 2006; Nötzold& Pies, 2010).

Hence, Lebanese television ispartially a reflection of the divided Lebanese society torn along sectarian lines, each channel being the outletof the particular sect it represents. For instance, Al-Manar regularly broadcasts videos and commercials portraying armed men from Hezbollah in the battlefield coupled with headlines about their patriotism; it also frequently plays videos glorifying Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah. Future TV often runs videos ofRafic Hariri's accomplishments, charity works, investments in and sacrifice for Lebanon, portraying him as a hero, philanthropist and martyr.Similarly, LBCI and Murr TV broadcast commercials and videos inviting the Lebanese to attend the memorial ceremonies or masses held for assassinated members of March 14 (like GebranTueni and Pierre El Gemayel) coupled with headlines about these officials' virtues, patriotism, innocence and martyrdom. As a result, various sectarian and political groups are represented differently throughout Lebanese media.

Moreover, television viewing is widely spread in the country, and local and cable reception is present in the majority of Lebanese households (Dajani, 2001; Mroue, 2005), making television easily accessible for most of the population. It is therefore reasonable to assume that exposure to Lebanese television, and more broadly to Lebanese media, will likely contribute to the stereotypical inferences made by participants regarding other sects.

5. Religious institutions

Religiosity has often been mistakenly believed to consistently predict pro-social behavior (Saroglou, 2006). Although religious doctrine usually preaches altruistic behavior and unconditional love to all humans, researchers have argued that it also fosters empathy and preference for members sharing one's faith (Preston, Ritter & Hernandez, 2010). In one study, religious participants reported favourable attitudes toward religious others (the ingroup) and unfavorable attitudes toward non-religious others (the outgroup; Jackson &Hunsberger, 1999).

In a more recent study, Johnson, Rowatt andLabouf, (2012) investigated participants' attitudes toward similar religious others such as Christians and heterosexuals (value-consistent ingroup) and toward outgroups like atheists, Muslims and gay men (value-violating outgroups;. Results revealed a negative correlation between religiosity and attitude toward value-violating outgroups compared to value-consistent ingroups. Moreover, priming individuals with religious words significantly increased negative attitudes toward outgroups relative to ingroups, while no increase was observed in participants receiving neutral priming (Johnson, Rowatt&Labouf, 2012). Religious individuals thus often seem more prejudiced to outgroupsthan their non-religious counterparts; church attenders report more negative attitudes toward outgroups than non-attenders (Hunsberger& Jackson, 2005). One may therefore wonder whether religious institutions (mosques and churches in the Lebanese case) contribute to the development of such negative attitudes and stereotypes.

6. Assessing the Sources of Stereotypes in the Present Research

Studies examining the sources from which stereotypes are learned are rather scarce. Brockett and Baird (2008) investigated the influence of media on York adolescents' attitudes and knowledge about Islam, Muslims, the Middle East and Arabs.

To assess the sources of participants' stereotypes toward these groups, the authors asked participants to enumerate the sources from which they obtained information about these groups (Brockett & Baird, 2008).Results revealed that media being the primary source of information was closely associated with negative attitudes towards proximity with Muslims, and was slightly associated with knowledge of Islam, the Middle East and Arabs, it was however, not at all associated with specific attitudes toward Islam, Muslims, the Middle East and Arabs (Brokett& Baird, 2008). On the other hand, in their exploration of the sources of stereotypes held by Canadian children toward three ethnic groups, Kirby and Gardner (1973) asked participants to rate on a seven-point scale how much information they had learned about these groups from a list of presented sources. As such, in the present study, a combination of both methods shall be used to extract and develop a scale of stereotype sources; participants will rate the degree to which the presented sources have contributed to their knowledge of stereotypes of other sects, and will also list additional sources if available and rate them.

F. Demographics and Stereotypes

As stereotypes represent *culturally* shared beliefs (Greenwald &Banaji, 1995, p. 14), knowledge of the culture in which stereotypes are embedded is indispensable toward knowledge of the ensuing stereotypes. In the present case, the researchers therefore wanted to assess participants' knowledge of Lebanese culture to examine whether it could account, even if partially, for participants' reported stereotypes or sectarian attitudes. Familiarity with Lebanese culture was therefore assumed to be reflected by the length of participants' residence in Lebanon, whereby the longer they

had lived here, the morelikely they were to be familiar with the culture. As such, participants were asked to report the duration of their stay in the country.

Equally important was the assessment of participants' own confessional belonging, particularly for the extraction of stereotype dimensions and the examination of sectarian attitudes. Looking at participants' own religious affiliation would not only shed light on the perceptions that members of each sect bear toward others, but also on participants' own meta-stereotypes, i.e. stereotypes that they believed other sects held about them (Klein &Azzi, 2001). In addition, it would also help researchers account for any potential ingroup favoritism in reported stereotypes, and would allow the researchers to identify the most sectarian groups, if any.

Furthermore, gender serves as the first and earliest form of social categorization that individuals learn and persists throughout their lives (Leinbach& Fagot, 1993; Mackie, Hamilton, Susskind &Rosselli, 1996) .While some research has demonstrated gender differences in prejudice toward certain outgroups like gay men (Ratcliff, Lassiter, Markman& Snyder, 2006), other studies have found no such effect for religious outgroups, with men and women exhibiting similar prejudicial attitudes (Harb, 2010; Moaddel, 2008). In line with the latter, researchers in the present study also gathered information on participants gender toaccount for gender differences, if any, on sectarianism scores, and on any emerging stereotypical dimensions.

G. Sum up

To sum up the Lebanese population presents a diversity ofconfessional and political groups,thus making it a rich ground for the study of intergroup relations. Previous research has demonstrated the pervasiveness of sectarian prejudice among the

youth irrespective of sect (Harb, 2010), yet no studies have examined the content of stereotypesheld by members of each sect toward the other sects. Given that stereotypes typically accompany or justify prejudice, which in turn may predict discriminatorybehavior (Correll, Judd, Park &Wittenbrink, 2010), investigating the content and sources of stereotypes is crucial in the search for better intergroup relations in the country.Through an examination of sects' perceptions of each other, the study is thus expected to identify positive stereotypes that need to be reinforced, and negative stereotypes (and their sources) that ought to be addressedto improve inter-communal relations in the nation.

CHAPTER III

AIMS AND HYPOTHESES

A. Aims of the study

The proposed study aims at exploring the content of sectarian stereotypes, and identifying consensual stereotypes, if any, among an undergraduate studentsample at the American University of Beirutdrawn from the six major sects(Christian Maronites,Christian Orthodox, Christian Armenians, Muslim Sunnis, MuslimShias and Druze). The study also aims at identifying the sources from which these stereotypes were learned, while taking into account students' sectarianism levels.

As such, the research was conducted in two stages. The first study aimed at extracting the lists of stereotypes and sources from which they are acquired. The main study (study 2) was thenconducted to assess knowledge, not endorsement, of stereotypical inferences, sources from which these were learned, and participants'sectarianism scores.

B. Hypotheses

Given the lack of studies examining the content of sectarian stereotypes in Lebanon, and given the exploratory nature of the present study, no a priori hypotheses concerning the characteristics attributed to each sect may be postulated.

On the other hand, a previous study conducted by Harb (2010) across a representative sample of the Lebanese youth had revealed that family was the most important level of identification for participants. The study also showed that sectarianism was equally prevalent across gender and sectarian groups. Hence it can be predicted that:

Hypothesis 1: family will represent one of the highest rated sources in terms of acquisition of stereotypical knowledge.

Hypothesis 2: sectarianism levels would be equally distributed among participants belonging to the various sects.

Hypothesis 3: sectarianism levels would be equal across gender.

The study will also explore differences on main stereotype dimensions by participant confession and gender.

CHAPTHER IV

STUDY 1

A. Methodology

Study 1 was a systematic replication of Katz and Braly's 1933 study; it aimed at extracting the final list of characteristics and sources to be included in the main study, and to therefore construct the grids of stereotype content and stereotype sources.

1. Sample Size

The sample consisted of 80 undergraduate students at the American University of Beirut, half of whom were drawn from the undergraduate psychology student pool, while the otherhalf were randomly approached on campus via convenience sampling.

2. Instruments and Variables

Participants filled out a survey that started with an informed consent document explaining to students the aims and procedure of the study as well as their rights as participants. It wasfollowed by two questionnaires, the first assessing stereotype content and the second stereotypes sources.

a.Stereotype Content

In the first questionnaire, and as per the method developed by Katz and Braly (1933), participants were asked to "list the information that they thought reflected society's perception of the Lebanese sects below regardless of whether they endorsed this information" (Appendix A). As research suggests, stereotypes include multiple components such as physical cues, behavioral descriptors, and personality traits among others (Spencer-Rodgers, 2001; Marcus-Newhall, Thompson & Thomas, 2001; Conley &Rabinowitz, 2010; Nario-Redmond, 2012). Therefore, to get a comprehensive understanding of sectarian stereotypes, participants were asked to generate items pertaining to all aspects of the stereotype be it physical, behavioral, social or other.

b. Stereotype Sources

On the other hand, given the scarcity of scales in the literature assessing the sources of stereotypes, the researcher developed such an instrument following the methods of Kirby and Gardner (1973) and Brockett and Baird (2008; Appendix A). Parents, peers, teachers, school, political and religious sources, the mass media and direct contact with members of stereotyped groups, all represent sources from which

stereotypes are learnt (Macrae, Stangor&Hewstone, 1996), Therefore, participants were presented with a list including these sources and were asked to rate on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) the degree to which each of these sources had contributed to their knowledge of the information they had listed above. They were also asked to add other sources if available and rate them.

3. Design and Procedure

The participant-pool coordinatoradvertised the study via email tostudents from the undergraduate psychology student pool, i.e. Psyc 201 andPsyc 210 inviting them to participate in it in exchange for one class credit, resulting in approximately40Lebanese psychology undergraduates taking part in the investigation[1]. Given the rather equal representation of diverse confessional groups at AUB, it was expected that participants drawn from the psychology poolbe evenly distributed among Muslim Sunnis, Muslim Shias, Druze, Christian Maronites, Christian Orthodox and Christian Armenians. The advertisement clearly indicated that participants were required to be Lebanese as this is the scope of the research; participants were also orally asked about their nationality prior to participation, and non-Lebanese students were excluded from the study.

To secure confidentiality and privacy during the data collection phase, the researcherreserved a classroom in Nicely Hall (Nicely 108) where data collection took place.The room was reserved for three consecutive days to accommodate for students' varying schedules and to allow for a maximum number of participants. Students interested in participatingfilled the anonymous survey there.

[1] The psychology undergraduate student pool for the summer term 2013 included 2 sections of Psyc 201, one section of Psyc 210 and one section of Psyc 280. Instructor approval to access the pool was granted for Psyc 201 sections 1 and 2 and for Psyc 210, but not for Psyc 280. As such, the researcher accessed Psyc 201 and Psyc 280 students, yielding a total of around 84 participants.

Participants were encouraged to be as transparent as possible, and to relate both positive and negative traits, even if they did not personally agree with those. To reduce the threat of social desirability bias they were told that the researcher was not concerned with their own personal beliefs, but rather, with traits that reflect statements and widespread information communicated in society about other sects.

After completing the questionnaire, participants slipped their answers in a sealed envelope which was collected by the researcher.

Given that the psychology student pool did not yield enough participants, the remaining participants were recruited via convenience sampling. The researcherarbitrarily approached 40 students on various locations on campus and Lebanese students whose approval was secured filled the questionnaire on the spot. To ensure privacy, the researcherstayed at least ten meters away from participants while they filled the survey and came back 50 minutes later to collect the questionnaires which participantsthen slipped in a sealed envelope. Study 1 therefore bore two objectives: deriving the list of stereotypical attributes and a list of sources from which the latter were learnt.

B. Results

1. Content of Stereotypes: Development of Scales

Eighty participants took part in study 1; they listed information, in the form of traits, adjectives, short phrases and others, that they thought reflected society's perception of the six sects in question. This resulted in a total of 12 lists per participant (six sects, each having 2 lists, one for positive and another for negative characteristics). For each list, the researcherthen computed the frequency with which each item was selected. The lists were given to three independent coders for them to derive themes

they thought were present across the listings. For instance, each coder had to extract themes that were common across 80 lists of traits associated with Muslim Sunnis. The coders were specifically told to “cluster together words or phrases that they thought meant the same or referred to the same idea/concept, and to give each category a label that was representative of the items clustered under it”. The coders were instructed to be as conservative as possible in their clustering, i.e. to exclude items that bore the slightest deviation from the general gist of each category. All three coders were fluent in English, two of whom had a background in psychology from AUB while the third had a background in engineering; all three belonged to different sects.

The lists derived were compared for similarities and discrepancies, and only those categories commonly identified by all 3 coders were retained for the main analysis, while categories identified by one or two coders were dropped from further analysis. Table 1 shows all the categories identified by the three coders for the first list of positive characteristics attributed to Muslim Sunnis.

The same procedure was carried out for the remaining 11 lists (see tables 1.1 to 1.5 for the comprehensive analysis of each list). This method yielded very little variance in stereotype content: most participants rated other sects depending on how open or closed they were believed to be toward other sects. Therefore only one theme was consistently present across all sects, openness versus closedness toward other confessional groups. As a result, aseparate table was designed asking participants to rate all six sects on this dimension (see appendix B). Openness included items like “open-minded, open to other sects, not prejudiced, mix with other sects” while closedness included items like “narrow-minded, not open to other sects, prejudiced, don't mix with other sects”.

Furthermore, to account for greater variance in stereotype content, a frequency analysis was conducted on all 12 lists. The researcher computed the frequency with which each trait was cited, and the four most frequently cited traits from each list were kept for the final analysis. The traits retained hadbeen cited a minimum of 7 times anda maximum of 30 times. The frequency analysis resulted in six tables, one per sect, each containing the four most frequently cited positive and four most frequently cited negative traits attributed to that sect (appendix B). A comparison of traits derived through both methods revealed that all the themes simultaneously identified by the 3 coders were also present among the traits retained in the frequency analysis. For instance, “religious”as a trait attributed to Muslim Sunnis, was identifiedby all coders and was among the top four most frequently cited traits.

2. Sources of Stereotypes

Participants were asked to rate the presented sources, and to add others if applicable and rate them. Nine out of 80 participants added sources which included “books”, “blending into religious groups”, “friends/college”, “university”, “clubs”, “area of residence”, “media”, “readings on history, geography and politics”, “at work”, “political leaders, and “Hezbollah”. One category, “books” was addedto the questionnaire to be used in study 2, while “university” was added to the category of “teachers/school” and the latter was renamed to “educational institution (teachers/school/university)” after adding “college” and “university”. All other sources were named only once, and as such, all were deemed insignificant and were dropped from further analysis. The table of the sources of stereotype of the second study may be found in appendix B.

Prior to the analysis, sources of stereotypes were examined though SPSS 19 for accuracy of data entry and missing values. There were 25 missing values across the 80 participants, but missing values analysis revealed data on all sources to be missing completely at random, $\chi^2(5,76)= 10.05$, $p>.05$, missing values were therefore not problematic.

Table 2 displays the mean values of the sources ratings. “Friends/peers” (*M*= 3.92, *SD*= .95), “personal experience with members of other sects” (*M*=3.91, *SD*= 1.16), mass media (*M*= 3.87, *SD*= 1.11) and “parents/family” (*M*= 3.50 *SD*= 1.20) were given average scores above the scale midpoint, indicating they were important sources of stereotypes dissemination. On the other hand, “mosque/church” (*M*= 2.77, *SD*= 1.24) and “teachers/school” (*M*= 2.62, *SD*= 1.12) were given average scores below the scale midpoint, suggesting they were not salient sources contributing to the dissemination of stereotypical knowledge.

C. Discussion

Surprisingly, we did not get a colorful description of each sect in terms of stereotype content. Most participants seemed to lean on whether the sects were closed versus open to others. It is plausible that participants were ignorant of the stereotype associated with these sects, either because of their background, or their relatively young age, or the AUB culture.

As for the sources of stereotypes, friends/peers, personal experience with members of other sects, mass media and parents/family were all salient sources of stereotype acquisition, hypothesis 1 was thus supported. In line with Harb’s findings (2010), the family remains an influential reference for the Lebanese youth, whether for

their own social identification or as source of information about stereotypes of social groups in Lebanon. Moreover, this study has helped identify another potential source of stereotype (books) and has helped the researcher fine-tune some of the existing sources (educational institutions).

CHAPTER V

STUDY 2

A. Method

The study aimed at identifying the consensual stereotypes attributed to the various sectarian groups in Lebanon and the most salient sources that contribute to the dissemination of such stereotypes.

1. Procedure

Participants were recruited from the campus of the American University of Beirut via a convenience sampling. The researcher arbitrarily approached students at various locations on campus (main gate/cafeteria, sea gate, medical gate, the green oval) informed them about the study, asked them whether they were Lebanese undergraduates, and whether they were interested in participating in it. Using this method, 203 Lebanese students whose approval was secured were given the questionnaire.

The survey started with an informed consent document explaining the aims and procedure of the study as well as participants' rights. To maximize anonymity, participant's signature on the informed consent was waived. Instead participants orally agreed to participate and received a copy of the informed consent form signed by the researcher containing her and the IRB's contact information. Participants who orally agreed to participate then proceeded with the survey and were presented with the

stereotype content scale, the stereotype sources scale, a sectarianism scale, and a demographics questionnaire. To ensure privacy, the researcher left participants for around 30 minutes and came back later to collect the questionnaires that participants then slipped in a sealed envelope.

2. Instruments and Variables.

<u>a. Stereotype Content</u>**.**

The latter was assessed using the adjective checklist methodology as per Katz and Braly (1933) and trait ratings as per Klein and Azzi (2001). Participants were presented with six grids containing the characteristics/descriptors derived from study 1 and rated on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) the extent to which each item reflects society's perception of each of the six sects (Appendix B). Participants were encouraged to relay this information to the best of their recall, even if they did not personally agree with such ratings. To reduce the threat of social desirability bias they were told that the researcher was not interested in their own personal beliefs, but rather, in characteristics that reflect statements and widespread information communicated in society about other sects.

<u>b. Sources of Stereotypes</u>**.**

The latter were assessed following Kirby and Gardner's methodology (1973) whereby participants were presented with a grid listing the sources of stereotypes derived from study 1, and rated on a scale of 1 to 5 the extent to which each of the presented sources had contributed to their knowledge of stereotypical attributions to the six sects (Appendix B). The highest rated sources (that score above the midpoint on the five-point Likert scale) thus reflected those that contribute the most to the dissemination of sectarian stereotypes.

c. Sectarianism.

Sectarianism is defined here as ingroup bias toward one's sect, and was measured using a five-item scale developed by Harb (2010; Appendix B). Items includes statements such as "I am proud to belong to my sect", and "my sect can serve Lebanon better than any other sects". Cronbach's Alpha for this scale was .85 in a representative sample of the Lebanese youth (Harb, 2010).

d. Demographics.

A number of items assessed participants' demographic information, such as gender, confessional belonging, nationality and years of stay in Lebanon (Appendix B). The latter variable helped examine the relation between familiarity with the sectarian Lebanese setting and knowledge (or lack therefore) of stereotypical attributions.

B. Pilot study

A pilot study was first conducted in a sample of undergraduates at AUB (N= 10) to determine the time needed to fill the questionnaire and to detect any vagueness in the instructions or items. The average time needed for participants to fill the survey was 15 minutes, and participants had no problems with any of the items. A few participants however casually mentioned that social media may also be a potential source of stereotype,as such a new category "internet (blogs, Facebook)" was added to the list of sources of study 2.

C. Main study

Data collection began after securing approval of the Institutional Review Board. The questionnaire was administered to participants over a period of five days from the

end of August to early September 2013. Participants filled a questionnaire containing a consent form and the four scales. Average completion time was approximately 20 minutes.

1. Order Effects and Counterbalancing

Two counterbalanced versions of the same questionnaire were prepared to control for order effects. In version (A), the stereotype content scale was put at the beginning, followed by a closedness/openness stereotype questionnaire, followed by the sources scale, the sectarianism scale and the demographics questionnaire. In version (B), the closedness/openness stereotype questionnaire was put at the beginning, followed by the sources of stereotypes scale, the sectarianism scale, the stereotype content scale and the demographics questionnaire. This provided further control for any potential order effects. Moreover, in version (B), the order of items within scales was counterbalanced, whereby the last 4 items were moved to be the first 4, and vice versa. The two questionnaire versions were almost equally distributed to the participants whereby N= 99 students filled version A, while N= 104 filled version B.

2. Sample Characteristics

The sample comprised 203 participants (116 males and 85 females, 2 unspecified) from the student body of the American University of Beirut. Participants were all undergraduates, and had lived on average, for 15 years in Lebanon, with the duration of their stay ranging from less than a year to 26 years (M= 15.45, SD= 6.43). In terms of confessional distribution, the sample was comprised of Muslim Shias (27.6%), Muslim Sunnis (24.1%), Christian Maronites (10.3%), Druzes (10.3%), individuals identifying

their sect as "other[2]" (8.4%), Christian Orthodox (6.4%), Christian minorities (3.9%), Christian Armenians (1.5%) and Muslim minorities (1%). Compared to their actual proportion in the nation, the sample reflected a low representation of Christians (22.2%) and an over-representation of Druze (10.3%), a clear sect sampling bias.The sample was also very skewed in terms of income as 21.7% of participants came from families with a very high average monthly income (above 5000$). Moreover, a large number of participants (37.4%) reported not knowing their average family monthly income. Table 3 presents the sample's demographic characteristics.

CHAPTHER VI

RESULTS

The present section will first examine preliminary testing of outliers and normality assumptions, followed by scale descriptives, and order effects.

A. Preliminary Analyses

1. Missing Values

Data screening was performed prior to running the statistical analysis. After testing the accuracy with which data has been entered and verifying the absence of mis-entered data, missing value analysis was conducted. Results revealed less than 5% missing values on all variables, no deletion nor estimation were deemed necessary.

2. Statistical Outliers

Univariate outlier analysis using z-scores revealed 10 univariate outliers on "Christian Orthodox are polite", "Christian Orthodox are tidy", "Druze are unified",

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[2] Many individuals refused to identify with a particular sect, and reported "Muslim" in the category of "other". Some participants adopted a national stance refusing to convey their confessional belonging and instead reported "Lebanese" as their sect.

“Druze refuse to marry non-Druze”, “Christian Maronites are outgoing”, “Christian Maronites are educated”, “Christian Maronites are tidy”, “friends/peers”, and average family income.As such, cases that were univariate outliers were deleted resulting in a sample of *N*=193. Calculation of the z-scores of skewnesswith a cut-off point of 1.96 at $p < .05$ revealed a normal distribution of scores on the six stereotype content scales, the closedness/openness scale and the sources scale.Inspection of multivariate outliers through Mahalanobis distance using SPSS syntax, with $p< .001$ criterion, indicated the absence of multivariate outliers with values greater than χ^2 (3)=16.27.

B. SCALE DESCRIPTIVES

1. Descriptives of the Stereotype Content Scales

The following section will report the descriptives of the stereotype content scales of Muslim Sunnis, Christian Armenians, Muslim Shias, Christian Orthodox, Druzes and Christian Maronites.

a. Scale of Muslim Sunnis Stereotype Content

All four positive traits (religious, traditional, successful and kind) and two negative traits(hateMuslim Shias and extremists) had means above the midpoint, while “intolerant” was at the midpoint and one negative trait (stingy”) was below the midpoint.This suggests that Muslim Sunnis were associated with more positive than negative traits as in table 4.

b. Scale of Christian Armenians Stereotype Content

All four positive traits (creative, peaceful, kind and helpful)and two out of four negative traits (don’t speak Arabic well and closed sect) had means above the midpoint,

suggesting thatChristian Armenians were more associated with positive than negative traits, as in table 5.

c. Scale of Muslim Shias' Stereotype Content

The means of all items were above the midpoint suggesting that Muslim Shias in Lebanon are equally associated with positive and negative traits, as in table 6.

d. Scale of Christian Orthodox' Stereotype Content

The means of all positive traits were above the midpoint while those of all negative traits were below the midpoint, suggesting thatChristian Orthodox were only associated with positive traits, as in table 7.

e. Scale of Druzes' Stereotype Content

The means of all positive and negative items were above the midpoint (table 8), suggesting that the perception of Druze was a mix of positive and negative traits. Most noteworthy, however were the very high scores attributed to Druzes' refusal to marry non-Druze and Druzes' unity, suggesting high agreement that these two were attributes often associated with Druzes.

f. Scale of Christian Maronites Stereotype Content

All four positive traits (outgoing, educated, religious and tidy) and two out of four negative traits (divided in politics and intolerant) had means above the midpoint (table 9). Christian Maronites were therefore perceived more positively than negatively.

2. Descriptives of the Closedness/Openness Scale

Table 10 presents the openness/closedness ratings attributed to the six sects. Druzes were given very lowopenness rating, the lowest in fact, suggesting that theywere perceived as a very closed sect.

3. Descriptives of Sectarianism Scores across Sects

The sectarianism scale had been developed and validated on a representative sample of the Lebanese youth few years before this research; Cronbach's Alpha for this scale was .85 (Harb, 2010). The present sample was comprised of 193 participants, and had a mean sectarianism score above the scale midpoint indicating that on average, participants were somewhat sectarian (table 11). Individuals who identified themselves as "other" were the only group whose average sectarianism score fell below the midpoint.Participants in this group were students who preferred not to disclose their confessional affiliation or pupils who refused to be labelled or categorized based on sectarian divisions. The sample sizes of Christian Armenians (N= 3), Christian minorities (N= 8) and Muslim minorities (N= 2) were too small to yield substantial findings, these three are thus excluded from further analysis.

4. Order Effects

A t-test examined the effect of counterbalancing on sectarianism. There were N= 94 cases of version A with the sectarianism scale presented second from the start, and N= 99 cases of version B with the sectarianism scale presented as second from the end. Levene's test was not significant, $F(1, 191) = .31$, $p > .05$, indicating that the assumption of homogeneity of variance was met. The t-test revealed no significant differences on sectarianism between both versions of the scale, $t(191)= 1.35$, $p > .05$.

C. Factorial Analysis of Covariance

The researcher aimed at identifying gender and confessional differences, if any, on participants' sectarian attitudes. A secondary aim was to assess whether familiarity with Lebanese culture, hereafter operationalized in terms of length of residence in the country, would be associated with sectarian attitudes. A 2 (gender) x 6 (confession)

factorial analysis of covariance was run with years of residence in Lebanon as the covariate and sectarianism as the dependent variable. Data from participants whose sects had less than ten participants were deleted from the analysis as the sample sizes would have been too low to yield any significant results. As such, data from Christian minorities (N= 8), ChristianArmenians (N= 3) and Muslim minorities (N= 2) were omitted, resulting in a final sample of N= 155. The following section will report the examination ofassumptions, descriptives and results of the analysis.

1.Assumptions

To test the assumption of the independence of the covariate and the independent variables, a two-way ANOVA was run with years of residence in Lebanon as the dependent variable and participants' sect and gender as independent variables. Both, participant sect, $F(5, 143)=.48$, $p> .05$, and gender, $F(1,143)= .01$, $p> .05$ were independent from years of residence in Lebanon, suggesting that the duration of participants' stay in Lebanon was similar across gender and confessional groups. The assumption was met suggesting that "years of residence in Lebanon" was suitable for use asa covariate.

Examination of the homogeneity of regression slopes between years of residence in Lebanon and sectarianism revealed no significant main or interaction effects (all ps> .05), and the assumption of homogeneous regression slopes was met.

Z-scores of skewness with a cut-off point of 3.29 at $p< .05$ revealed a normal distribution of sectarianism levels across gender and sect, as shown in table 12, indicating the assumption was met.

Levene's test for homogeneity of variance was non-significant across gender, $F(1,165)= 2.85$,$p> .05$, indicating that the assumption was met across gender groups,

but was significant across confession, $F(5, 161) = 5.93$, $p < .05$, suggesting that the assumption was violated across confessional groups. Given that the analysis of covariance is robust to violations of homogeneity (Tabachnik&Fidell, 2007), the analysis was carried out without additional modifications.

2. Results

The sample consisted of 155 participants, with 91 males and 64 femalesdistributed across six sects including Muslim Shia (*N*= 50), Muslim Sunni (*N*= 40), Christian Maronite (*N*= 20),Druze (*N*= 19), "other" (*N*= 15) and Christian Orthodox (*N*= 11).

No significant main or interaction effects were found (all *p*s> .05). The duration of participants' stay in Lebanon, their gender and their confessional belonging did not affect their sectarianism levels: participants who had spent little time in Lebanon were as sectarian as those who had spent a long time in the country. Similarly, males and females were equally sectarian, thus supporting hypothesis 3 and so were members of all sects,thus supporting hypothesis 2.

Sectarianism thus equally affected the student sample at the American University of Beirut irrespective of gender and confessional affiliation. As prejudice is often brought about by stereotypes, the researcher examined whether gender and confessional belonging predicted participant's knowledge of the openness-closedness stereotype attributed to these sects.

D. Multivariate Analysis of Covariance

A 2 (gender) x 6 (participant sect)multivariate analysis of covariance was performed on six dependent variables associated with perceived openness of six target

sects (Muslim Sunnis, Muslim Shias, Druze, Christian Maronites, Christian Orthodox and Christian Armenians), with participant gender and confession as independent variables, and years of residence in Lebanon as a covariate. The following section will first report the examination of assumptions, followed by an overview of the descriptives and finally the results of the analysis.

1. Assumptions

<u>a. Normality</u>

To test the assumption of normality of the sampling distribution, z-scores of skewness with a cut-off point of 3.29 at $p< .05$ were computed across gender and confession for each of the six sects' attributed openness.

In terms of gender, results revealed a normal distribution of scores onMuslim Sunnis', Christian Armenians', Muslim Shias',Christian Orthodox' and Christian Maronites' openness, in which cases the assumption was met. Nonetheless, scores on Druzes' perceived openness were strongly positively skewed for males (assumption violated) but normally distributed for females (assumption met).

In terms of confession, scores of Muslim Sunnis', Christian Armenians', Muslim Shias',Christian Orthodox' and Christian Maronites' perceived openness were normally distributed across all sects, in which cases the assumption was met. Scores of Druzes' openness were normally distributed across sect, except for Muslim Shias, in which case scores were positively skewed, violating the assumption.

<u>b. Independence of the Independent Variables and the Covariate</u>

To test the assumption of the independence of the covariate and the independent variables, a two-way ANOVA was run with years of residence in Lebanon as the dependent variable and participants' sect and gender as independent variables. There

was no main effect of gender or confession on years of residence in Lebanon (all *p*s>.05), suggesting that the duration of stay in Lebanon was roughly the same across gender groups and confessional groups. Both gender and sect were thus independent from the covariate, supporting the suitability of "years of residence in Lebanon" as a covariate.

c. Homogeneity of Regression Slopes

To check the assumption of homogeneous regression slopes between the covariate (years of stay in Lebanon) and the dependent variables (the perceived openness of six target sects), a multivariate analysis of variance was conducted in the "customize" option under "model". There was no significant interaction between years of residence in Lebanon and gender ($p > .05$), or between year of residence in Lebanon and gender and participant confession ($p > .05$). As such, the relation between theperceived openness of each target sect and the length of stay in Lebanon was the same across gender and across cells, in which cases the assumption was met. Also, no significant interaction was found between years of residence and participant secton the perceived openness of the target sects (all *p*s> .05) except in the case of Druzes' perceived openness,$F(5, 130) = 3.44$, $p < .05$, the F ratio however, being small, was deemed not problematic. The assumption of homogeneity of regression slopes was therefore met.

d. Homogeneity of the Variance-Covariance Matrices

Levene's test was non-significant for all dependent variables across gender and participant confession (all *p*s> . 05) indicatingunivariate homogeneity of variance. On the other hand, Box's test was significant, $F(189, 5648) = 311.06$, $p < .05$, suggesting heterogeneity of the variance-covariance matrices and thus a violation of the

assumption. Nonetheless, Box's test is too sensitive for mild violations of homogeneity (Tabachnick&Fidell, 2007) and may therefore be ignored.

2. Results

The sample consisted of 149 participants from both genders (*N*= 87 males and *N*= 62 females) and different confessions including Muslim Shias (*N*= 47), Muslim Sunnis (*N*= 40), Christian Maronites (*N*= 19), Druzes (*N*= 18), individuals identifying their sect as "other" (*N*= 15) and Christian Orthodox (*N*= 10).

a. Effect of Years of Residence on Perceived Openness

Ignoring the effect of all other variables, there was a significant effect of years of residence in Lebanon on the perception of Muslim Sunnis' openness, $F(1, 136)= 7.93$, $p< .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .06$, ChristianArmenians' openness, $F(1, 136)= 6.79$, $p< .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .06$, and Druzes' openness, $F(1, 136)= 5.36$, $p< .05$, partial $\eta^2 = .04$.There was a negative yet very small relation between length of stay and perceived openness of these three sects. The longer participants had been in Lebanon, the less open they had perceived Muslim Sunnis, $b= -.036$, $t(141)= -2.82$, $p< .05$, ChristianArmenians, $b= -.037$, $t(141)= -2.61$, $p< .05$ and Druzes, $b= -.031$, $t(141)=-2.32$, $p< .05$. Though statistically significant, these effects were very small. No significant effect of length of stay in Lebanon was found on the perceived openness of Muslim Shias,Christian Orthodox and Christian Maronites (all *p*s> .05).

b. Effect of Gender on Perceived Openness

After controlling for the effect of length of residence in Lebanon, no significant effect of gender was found on perceptions of sects' openness, $p> .05$. For each target sect, males gave similar openness ratings as females, perceiving Christian Maronites as the most open ($M= 3.51$, $SE= .13$ for males and $M= 3.70$, $SE= .19$ for females), followed

by Christian Orthodox (*M*= 2.99, *SE*= .14 by males and *M*= 3.32, *SE*= .20 by females), Christian Armenians (*M*= 2.79, *SE*= .13 by males and *M*= 2.70, *SE*= .19 by females), Muslim Sunnis (*M*= 2.59, *SE*= .12 for males and *M*= 2.49, *SE*= .18 for females), Muslim Shias (*M*= 2.45, *SE*= .12 for males and *M*= 2.40, *SE*= .18 for females) and rating Druze as the least open (*M*= 2.03, *SE*=.13 for males and *M*= 2.24, *SE*= .19 for females) as presented in table 13.

c. Effect of Participant Confession on Perceived Openness

After controlling for the effect of years of stay in Lebanon, and using Pillai's trace, a significant effect of confession was found on perceptions of sects' openness, $F(30, 675)= 3.84$, $p< .05$. The univariate test revealed that participants' confessional belonging affected their perceptions of Muslim Sunnis', $F(5, 136) = 2.63$, $p< .05$, Muslim Shias' $F(5, 136) = 8.06$,$p< .05$, ChristianOrthodox' $F(5, 136) = 2.30$, $p< .05$ and Christian Maronites' openness, $F(5, 136) = 5.74$, $p< .05$, but not that of Christian Armenians or Druzes, *p*s> .05. Pairwise comparisons using Bonferroni correction were carried out to examine sectarian differences on openness ratings attributed to each of the six target sects.

i. Muslim Sunnis' Perceived Openness

A significant difference was found between Muslim Sunnis' and Christian Orthodox' ratings of Muslim Sunnis' openness, $p< .05$, whereby Muslim Sunni participants (*M*= 3.08, *SE*= .16) attributed significantly higher openness ratings to the Muslim Sunni sect than did Christian Orthodox participants (*M*= 1.95, *SE*= .34), controlling for the effect of length of stay in Lebanon.No significant differences were found between Muslim Sunnis' ratings and those of other sects, $p> .05$. In sum, Muslim Sunnis gave themselves the most favourable ratings as neither open nor closed,

followed by “others” (*M*= 2.67, *SE*= .38), MuslimShias (*M*= 2.56, *SE*= .15), Christian Maronites (*M*= 2.54, *SE*= .24) and Druzes (*M*= 2.44, *SE*= .24), all of whom rated them as somewhat closed. Christian Orthodox (*M*= 1.95, *SE*= .34) had the most unfavourable view ofMuslim Sunnis rating them as quite closed.Table 14 and figure 1 illustrate these results.

ii. Muslim Shias’ Perceived Openness

Controlling for the effect of the covariate, there were no significant differences between Muslim Shias’ ratings of their own openness(*M*= 3.20, *SE*= .15) and those given by Christian Orthodox (*M*= 2.72, *SE*= .35)and by individuals identifying their sect as “other” (*M*= 2.66, *SE*= .38), *p*s> .05. Significant differences however, emerged betweenMuslim Shias’ ratings of their own openness, and those given by Muslim Sunnis (*M*= 2.02, *SE*= .16), Christian Maronites (*M*= 1.98, *SE*=.24) and Druzes (*M*= 1.96, *SE*= .24) in that order. In fact, MuslimShias gave themselves the most favourable rating, one of mild openness, followed by Christian Orthodox and “other” participants, who rated MuslimShias asmoderately closed. Muslim Sunnis, Christian Maronites and Druzes nonetheless rated them as quite closed (table 15 and figure 2).

iii. Christian Maronites’ Perceived Openness

There were no significant differences between Christian Maronites’ ratings of their own opennessand those given byChristian Orthodox, “others” and Druze, *p*> .05, controlling for the effect of the covariate. Significant differences however, were found between Christian Maronites’ ratings of their own openness, and those given by Muslim Sunnis, and Muslim Shias in that order, *p*< .05. Christian Maronites (*M*= 4.25, *SE*= .25), Christian Orthodox (*M*= 4.25, *SE*= .36), “others” (*M*= 3.69, *SE*= .40) and Druze (*M*= 3.39, *SE*= .25) all scoring means above the scale midpoint, thus had similar perceptions

of Christian Maronites ranging from open to very open. Muslim Sunnis (*M*= 3.08, *SE*= .17), and Muslim Shias (*M*= 2.97, *SE*= .16) however, perceived Christian Maronites as significantly less open than the former sects. In addition, Christian Orthodox (*M*=4.25, *SE*= .36) attributed significantly higher openness scores to Christian Maronites than Muslim Shias (*M*= 2.97, *SE*= .16), $p < .05$, indicating a total disagreement between Christian Orthodox' and Muslim Shias' views of Christian Maronites (table 16 and figure 3).

iv. Christian Orthodox' Perceived Openness

There was a significant difference between Christian Orthodox' ratings of their own openness and those given by other sects, but this effect closely approached insignificance ($p = .048$). Pairwise comparisons using Bonferroni correction validated such a conclusion as no significant effects emerged (all *p*s> .05; table 17).

d. Interaction Effect

There was no significant interaction effect of confession and gender on perceived openness of sects, $p > .05$, ignoring the effect of length of stay in Lebanon. Therefore, males and females belonging to different sects had similar views in terms of perceived openness attributed to the various target sects.

E. Sources of Stereotypes Scale

A one-way repeated measures analysis of variance was conducted with stereotypes sources as the within-subject factor, to reveal differences in the salience of various sources on the perpetuation of stereotypes.

1. Assumptions

a. Normality.

To test the assumption of normality, z-scores of skewness were computed with a cut-off point of 3.29 at $p < .05$, and revealed a normal distribution of scores on four sources including “friends/peers”, “educational institutions”, “mosque/church" and “books” (ps> .05). On the other hand, data was negatively skewed on “internet” and strongly negatively skewed on “parents/family”, “Lebanese Media”, and “personal experience with members of other sects” (ps< .05), in which cases the assumption was violated.Scores therefore piled up to the positive end of the scale, indicating seemingly high agreement that these latter four sources were salient agents of stereotype perpetuation.

b. Sphericity

Mauchly’s test indicated that the assumption ofsphericity had been violated, $\chi^2(27) = .42$, $p < .05$, therefore degrees of freedom were corrected using Greenhouse-Geisser estimates of sphericity ($\varepsilon = 0.83$).

2. Results

The highest rated source was “friends/peers”, followed by “personal experience with members of other sects”, “Lebanese mass media”, “parents”, “the Internet”, “mosque/church”, “educational institutions” and finally “books”, as in table 18.

Results revealed significant differences in the importance of the reported sources on stereotype perpetuation, $F(5.84, 1033.81) = 50.34$, $p < .05$. Pairwise comparisons using Bonferroni correction revealed no significant differences between friends/peers, personal experience, Lebanese mass media, parents/family and the Internet. These five sources were howeverrated significantly higher than educational organizations, religious institutions and books, as illustrated in figure 4.

CHAPTER VII

DISCUSSION

A. Review of the Results

1. Stereotype Content

Muslim Sunnis were found to be quite religious, successful, kind and espousing traditional values. They were also reported to hate Muslim Shias, be extremists, intolerant and stingy. Muslim Shias were reported to be a unified, religious, and generous community that wanted to protect Lebanon but blindly followed Hizbollah. They were also found to be rowdy, aggressive and intolerant toward others.Stereotypes associated with these two groups seemed to fall mostly under the warmth (or lack, thereof) dimension of the SCM, through items like “religious”, “generous” and “intolerant” with little reference to the competence dimension which was only alluded to through items like “unified” and “ want to protect Lebanon”.

Christian Orthodox were said to be religious, polite, tidy and helpful to others, while also being an extremist, intolerant and closed sect that believed that no one else in the country was as educated as they were. Christian Maronites were reported to be life-loving, educated, tidy and religious people who were also arrogant, intolerant, refused to interact with other sects, and were always divided in political affairs. Stereotypes attributed to Christian Orthodox and Maronites mostly fell under the warmth dimension (“life-loving”, “tidy”, “intolerant”), but also slightly tapped on competence (or lack), through items like “educated” and “always divided in political affairs”.

Christian Armenians were found to be kind, helpful, peaceful, and creative craftsmen who didn’t speak Arabic well. They were also said to be a closed sect that didn’t interact with others, felt no sense of belonging to Lebanon and didn’t like non-Armenians. Stereotypes attributed to Christian Armenians thus tapped on both warmth

(“helpful”, “peaceful”) and competence (“creative craftsmen”, “didn’t speak Arabic well”), with a contradiction in the warmth dimension (“kind but closed”).

Druzes were reported to be a unified, untrustworthy, closed and isolated sect whose members refused to marry non-Druzes. On the other hand, they were also said to be friendly, generous and helpful to others. Stereotypes attributed to Druzes hence gathered opposing views pertaining only to the warmth dimension (“friendly” but “closed”).

The inconsistencies between the extracted stereotypical traits and the dimensions postulated by the SCM suggest that the latter model may not be best fitted to account for the content of stereotypes in Lebanon. The emergence of “openness/closedness to other sects” as the only consistent traits common across all six target sects, indicates that sectarian stereotypes in Lebanon tend to cluster more around the warmth dimension of the SCM, with very little, if any, relevance to the competence dimension. A different framework may thus be needed to explain, or map, intergroup perceptions in Lebanese culture.

2. Sectarianism

a. Years of Residence and Sectarianism

There was no effect of length of residence in Lebanon on participants’ sectarianism scores. Participants who had spent little time in the country were as sectarian as those who had always lived here. This appears counter-intuitive as one would presume that individuals who had not been brought up in this nation, or had not spent a significant portion of their lives here, would be quite unfamiliar with the Lebanese setting, and wouldn’t have necessarily absorbed or been influenced by the sectarian attitudes and beliefs embedded within Lebanese society. Reality nonetheless

differed, possibly due to a number of factors. In the present research, length of stay in Lebanon was used as a basic indicator of extent of familiarity with Lebanese society, this, however, is by no means an accurate or comprehensive measure. One may spend years in a nation without following its political news and immersing in its cultural happenings, while another may long live abroad and yet closely keep track of local affairs and events happening in one's homeland. This could have been the case for a number of participants here. If so, of particular interest would be the specific media outlets they refer to for information.

As earlier demonstrated, media serves as a prominent source of information acquisition for the youth. Moreover, Lebanese media, just like the country's population, is torn along political and sectarian lines, each television station, radio station, newspaper, and even blog representing a political faction. These outlets, each portraying Lebanese events from their respective political perspectives, might have been greatly influencing receivers' opinions, beliefs, and attitudes toward the events and the parties involved, thus shaping the stereotypes they hear about others, and contributing to their sectarian attitudes.

In addition, all participants in the study were Lebanese or Lebanese bi-nationals, coming from a Lebanese father, and more often than not, a Lebanese mother as well. As parents usually are the primary caregivers for their children and, at the same time, a very salient source of information for them, parents' views, judgments, attitudes and values are often communicated to their children, whether directly or indirectly (O'Brien, Fishbein& Ritchey, 2004). Being raised by Lebanese parents, therefore most likely entails sharing of the parents' opinion and viewsvis-a-visLebanese events and sectarian groups, opinions which in Lebanon's case, might very well reflect sectarian beliefs

rather than objective facts. Children could therefore become aware of the stereotypes attributed to sectarian groups by mere exposure to their parents' own stereotypes. In addition, parental prejudice may have also spilled over to the young Lebanese, even when those had barely resided in the country, possibly explaining their sectarian attitudes.

b. Gender and Sectarianism

In the present study, males and females were equally sectarian, a finding consistent with previous research in which sectarian prejudice was equally prevalent across gender (Harb, 2010).

c. Participant Sect and Sectarianism

Participants belonging to various sects were all equally sectarian, providing support for hypothesis 2. This is in line with previous literature on religious prejudice among Lebanese youth, where sectarianism had been found to be equally pervasive across confessional belonging (Harb, 2010). Confessional groups remain quite sectarian today, and may have transmitted such bias to their offsprings whether directly or inadvertently, possibly explaining participants' sectarian attitudes regardless of their confessional belonging.

3. Perceived Openness

a. Effect of Years of Residence on Openness Ratings

There was no effect of length of residence in Lebanon on perceptions of openness of Muslim Shias, Christian Maronites and Christian Orthodox; participants who had spent little time in Lebanon rated these three sects similarly as those who had spent a longer time.

There was, nonetheless a significant negative yet very small effect of length of stay on perceptions of Muslim Sunnis', ChristianArmenians' and Druzes' openness, where the longer participants had lived in Lebanon, the more closed they had believed these sects to be. It may be that, after spending some time in Lebanon and familiarizing oneself with the culture, participants had noticed the sectarian segregation of some areas, for instance that Muslim Sunnis tend to live in predominantly Muslim Sunni areas (Tarik El Jdide, Sidon, Tripoli), Christian Armenians in mostly Christian Armenian areas (BourjHammoud, Anjar) and Druzes in predominantly Druzes areas like the Shouf district. It is to note that Druze were reported to be the least open (M = 2.02, SD = 1.08) of all sects. Such unfavorable views toward Druze are in line with previous research carried out across a representative section of the Lebanese that revealed that Druze were the least desired neighbors compared to other religiousgroups (Moaddel, 2008). In fact, only 65% of participants had mentioned them as acceptable neighbors, as opposed to 92% who mentioned Christians, 85% who mentioned Muslim Sunnis and 81% who mentioned Muslim Shias as acceptable neighbors (Moaddel, 2008).

b. Gender and Openness Ratings

Gender had no effect on attributions of openness as males and females gave similar patterns of openness ratings. They both perceived Christian Maronites to be the most open, followed by Christian Orthodox, ChristianArmenians, Muslim Sunnis, Muslim Shias and Druzes whom they perceived to be the most closed.

c. Participant Sect and Openness Ratings

There was a significant effect of participant sect on perceptions of Muslims Sunnis' openness, Muslim Shias' openness and Christian Maronites' openness.

While Muslim Sunnis gave themselves the most favourable openness ratings, viewing themselves as neither open nor closed, Christian Orthodox gave them the worst ratings, reporting them to be quite closed. Similarly, Muslim Shias assigned themselves the highest openness ratings, whereas Muslim Sunnis, Christian Maronites and Druzes reported the least favourable views of them claiming Muslim Shias were viewed as quite closed. Also, Christian Maronites gave themselves the most favourable ratings whereas Muslim Shias and Muslim Sunnis reported the least favourable view of them.

The discrepancies between meta-stereotypes reported by Muslim Sunnis, Muslim Shias and Christian Maronites, and stereotypes attributed to them by the remaining sects is in line with previous research that suggests that in-group members tailor their meta-stereotypes to their advantage by endorsing positive traits about themselves (Klein &Azzi, 2001). Such findings however contradict other research which indicates a substantial degree of agreement between an ingroup's meta-stereotypes and stereotypes reported by outgroups (Saroglou, Yzerbyt, Kaschten, 2009). To get a clearer understanding of the relation between these two forms of stereotyping, moderating factors, such as degree of identification with the ingroup, need to be taken into account (Saroglou, Yzerbyt, Kaschten, 2009).

More importantly, Muslim Sunnis, Muslims Shias and Christian Maronites each gave themselves the most favourable openness ratings, suggesting a likely social desirability bias on their behalves. Alternatively, such a pattern may reflect ingroup bias from these participants, especially when considering that meta-stereotypes had partially contributed to the emergence of these stereotypes.It is worth noting that this preferential pattern occurred for the three most dominant groups that share political power in Lebanon, thus reinforcing the possibility of ingroup favoritism on their behalves.

The fact that no clear consistent stereotypical traits emerged toward any sect suggests that there seems to be little agreement as to what constitutes the stereotypical view of these groups in Lebanon. This could be the case especially when considering that Lebanese society is comprised of several competing minority groups rather than a simple majority-minority situation where perceptions of the outgrouptend to be more clearly defined such as in the US (Blair, Judd &Fallman, 2004) or France (Klein &Azzi, 2001). Alternatively, it is possible that the small size of cells pertaining to participant sects may have prevented the emergence of consistent dimensions.

On the other hand, the emergence of openness to others, or lack thereof, as the only consistent dimension common across all six sects suggests that openness to others is a highly valued trait in Lebanese culture. Interestingly enough, this indicatesthat stereotypes of religious groups in Lebanon could pertain to inter-group dynamics and permeability rather than intra-group interactions, a finding .

4. Sources Ratings

The most influential agents of stereotype propagation were, in decreasing order of importance, friends/peers, personal experience, Lebanese mass media, parents/family, and finally, the Internet.These findings suggest that, in the process of acquiring new knowledge about confessional groups in Lebanon, Lebanese youngsters equally value these five sources, but friends/peers more so than personal experience, personal experience more so than Lebanese mass media, media more so than parents and their parents more so than the Internet. In addition,Lebanese youth learn more about other sects from these five sources than they do from educational organizations, religious institutions and books. They also learn more about confessional groups from

religious institutions than from books, and actually learn the least about sects from educational institutions and books.

a. Friends and Peers

Friends and peers were the most important source of stereotype dissemination among the youth, suggesting that the latter primarily rely on their peers for information about other sects. This is consistent with previous literature suggesting that with increasing age, parental influence on their children's stereotypes and prejudice diminishes and peer culture takes over (Killen, Lee-Kim, McGlothlin&Stangor, 2002). Moreover, due to the homogenous nature of Lebanese areas and schools, children rarely get to form inter-religious friendships, and thus remain surrounded by peers of the same confessional background, further strengthening the role of peer culture in communicating stereotypical beliefs.

b. Personal Experience with Members of Other Groups

Personal contact with members of other sects was the second most salient source of stereotype acquisition. This testifies as to the importance of intergroup contact in enhancing or impeding intergroup relations (Allport, 1954). Historically, most Lebanese sects have engaged in violent clashes against each other before, during and after the civil war (Makdisi, 2000; Hudson 1999; Ofeish, 1999; CNN International, 2008, May 9; Amrieh, The Daily Star Lebanon, 2013, October 28; Al-Akhbar, 2013, October 28). Contact among confessional groups has therefore been mostly negative and brutal throughout the years.On the other hand, with its heavy emphasis on diversity, the American University of Beirut provides a rare space where members of all religious and socio-economic backgrounds communicate, interact and possibly build close friendships. Intergroup contact is therefore quite frequent at this institution possibly

explaining participants' reporting of contact with members of other sects as a highly influential source of stereotype acquisition.

c. Lebanese Media

Lebanese media ranked as the third most influential source of stereotype acquisition, a finding consistent with research documenting the powerful role of media on instigating or perpetuating intergroup stereotypes (Akram, 2002; Corell, Judd, Park &Wittenbrink, 2010, Dong & Murillo, 2007; Nurallah, 2010). The divided Lebanese media has thus been a factor reinforcing stereotyping, a previously anticipated result in light of the media's political and religious affiliations in Lebanon.

d. Family

Although it ranked fourth, family nonetheless emerged as an influential source of stereotype acquisition, a clear indication as to its importance for the Lebanese youth. This falls consistently with various studies who have documented the salience of family for the identity formation of the young Lebanese (Harb, 2010) and their values (Moaddel, 2008).

e. The Internet

The Internet emerged as the fifth most salient source of stereotype dissemination, which testifies as to this tool's increasing impact on daily life, and more importantly, as to individuals' reliance on it for information. Research has demonstrated that individuals turn to the Internet for information about health (Bylund, Sabee, Imes, & Sanford, 2007), education (Selwyn, 2010) and politics (Dahlgreen, 2000; Shah, Cho, Eveland&Kwak, 2008) to name a few. The Lebanese youth are no exception with research indicating that almost half of young Lebanese access the internet on a daily basis (Harb, 2010). This is more so the case for participants in the present sample in

particular, who have daily access to the internet at their campus libraries. On the other hand, the politically divided Lebanese media is also present online, with newspapers having their own electronic versions, and all TV stations having websites and mobile applications, rendering their content constantly available to viewers. It is therefore not surprising that Internet has emerged as a salient source of stereotype acquisition for the present sample. In that light, it would be interesting to explore whether social media in particular could have played a role in disseminating sectarian stereotypes, namely that it provides a space for virtual intergroup contact across religious groups.

D. Implications of the study

1. Novel Results

No research to date has been conducted to examine the content of stereotypes attributed to the various sects in Lebanon. The closest investigation, carried out by a small group of social activists in the years following the wake of the civil war, consisted of a series of workshops that aimed at extracting the content of stereotypes between Christians and Muslims, irrespective of sectarian differences within each group (Younan, 1996). The present study has also been the first to empirically extract the sources contributing to the maintenance and dissemination of such perceptions, hence the significance of this research.

2. Stereotypes Revealed

The importance of the study lies in its identification of some of the main stereotypes that members of the six largest sects hold toward each other. Given that stereotypes reflect the cognitive aspect of prejudice (Dovidio, &Gaertner, 2010), and are often a precursor of prejudice (Correll, Judd, Park &Wittenbrink, 2010), examining

their content will give researchers insight into the perceptions that groups holds of each other. Such knowledge provides an important starting point upon which activists can build to improve inter-communal relations.

3. Sources to be Targeted

Another valuable outcome of this study is the revelation of the most salient sources of stereotype acquisition. Having identified the origin of stereotypes, researchers can now plan interventions that target these outlets, be it in schools, universities, or through suggested social policies and reforms.

E. Limitations

While the present study has put forth valuable findings, certain limitations are worth considering.

In terms of sample characteristics, the samples of both studies reflected an inadequate representation of the Lebanese population. Participants were all undergraduate students at the American University of Beirut and therefore represent a single and young age cohort enrolled at one of the country's most prestigious academic institutions. Moreover, participants in the second study included a majority of males. Even more important is the socioeconomic status of participants in the main study, as a fifth (21.7%) came from affluent families with an average monthly income exceeding 5000$, a finding that is in clear contradiction with the reality of Lebanese economy today where onlyan estimated 4% of the population has an average household monthly income of 2500$ and above(Laithy, Abu Ismail &Hamdan, 2008). The main sample also reflected an inadequate representation of sects disproportionate to their size in the country, through an underrepresentation of Christians Maronites (10.3% in the sample

as opposed to an estimated 19% in Lebanon) and an over representation of Druze (10.3% in the sample as opposed to an estimated 7% in the nation). Last, cell sizes were small and largely unequal and the sample size of 203 participants was not enough to yield adequate representation of member of minority groups.

Another important limitation pertains to the study's reliance on self-report measures, which are inherently subject to social desirability biases. Moreover, these measures allow for correlations, not causations to be drawn. It is therefore unclear whether individuals exhibited high sectarianism levels due to their knowledge of sectarian attributes, or reported these stereotypes out of sectarian attitudes. In addition, participants' own meta-stereotypes may have confounded the results, as the analysis combined the latter with stereotypes reported by members of other sects. Moreover, the fact that the questionnaire was administered in English may have limited the diversity of the stereotypes obtained. Stereotypes in Lebanon are mostly communicated in Arabic, the native language of the Lebanese, while the present research had asked participants to relay them in English. It is possible that participants translating terms and phrases that reflected stereotypical beliefs may have limited the accuracy or variability in thelisted stereotypes.

In addition, participant sect was not assessed in the first study. It is therefore unclear whether the resulting stereotypes reflect biased opinions of members of a particular sect (or sects), or alternatively, were listed by a representative sample of Lebanese youth and really do reflect the opinions of the various Lebanese groups.

Equally important is the consideration of the political context surrounding the data collection phase. Data collection for the first study took place during times of high political turmoil opposing Salafist leader Ahmad El-Asseer and his supporters to the

Lebanese Army, a battle that had left 12 soldiers killed and 50 individuals wounded (The Guardian, 2013, June 24). Similarly, data collection for the main study took place just two weeks after a car-bomb explosion had blasted in Beirut's southern suburb on August 15, killing at least 21 individuals and wounding an estimated 250 (El-Basha, The Daily Star, 2013, August 15). Such instabilities cast doubt on whether similar results would have been obtained had the study been conducted under peaceful circumstances.

F. Future Research Grounds

A replication of the present research would benefit from a larger sample size of at least 400 to 500 participants so as to obtain sufficient representation of all sects in question. For more generalizable results, the sample could also include individuals of all age groups, of various educational levels and socioeconomic backgrounds, namely by referring to a community sample rather than a student population. Researchers could also assess participants' own stereotypes, rather than those communicated to them in society. More subtle measures of sectarianism could also be developed and employed to counter the social desirability bias inherent in self-report measures. An alternative definition and measure of sectarianism as out-group derogation rather than ingroup bias may also be investigated, particularly given that intergroup bias has often taken the form of ingroup favoritism rather than outgroup derogation (Hewstone, Robin & Willis, 2002).

Furthermore, an experiment could be devised to test between-group differences on sectarianism and exposure to stereotypes. Two groups assessed for their baseline sectarianism scores would then read a text either including stereotypical attributes, or

neutral statements, and would then complete the sectarianism measure again. An increase in prejudice scores in the stereotype-reading group would reveal the role that stereotyping plays in instigating prejudice.

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TABLES

Table 1

Categories Identified by Coders for Characteristics Attributed to Muslim Sunnis

Themes	Coder 1	Coder 2	Coder 3
Positive	Closed-minded***	Narrow-minded***	Closed-minded***
	Cowards	Cowardly	Salafists
	Stingy	Sexist	Sexist
	Easily influenced	Have a lot of power	Weak
	Conservative/traditional	Not very knowledgeable about religion	Conservative
		Hypocrites	Bad politicans
		Have issues of belongingness	Ignorant
			Powerful
Negative	Open-minded***	Open-minded***	Open-minded***
	Kind***	Friendly***	Good people***
	Gifted	Religious	Artistic
	Savy	Hard workers	Hard workers
	Well-mannered	Collectivists	Collectivist
	Cheerful	Fun	

*** indicates categories common across all 3 raters, i.e. categories kept for main analysis

Table 1.1

Categories Identified by Coders for Characteristics Attributed to Christian Armenians

Themes	Coder 1	Coder 2	Coder 3
Positive	Closed-minded***	Narrow-minded***	Closed-minded***
	Cowards	Cowardly	Salafists
	Stingy	Sexist	Sexist
	Easily influenced	Have a lot of power	Weak
	Conservative/traditional	Not very knowledgeable about religion	Conservative
		Hypocrites	Bad politicans
		Have issues of belongingness	Ignorant
			Powerful
Negative	Open-minded***	Open-minded***	Open-minded***
	Kind***	Friendly***	Good people***
	Gifted	Religious	Artistic
	Savy	Hard workers	Hard workers
	Well-mannered	Collectivists	Collectivist
	Cheerful	Fun	

*** indicates categories common across all 3 raters and kept for main analysis

Table 1.2

Categories Identified by Coders for Characteristics Attributed to Muslim Shias

Themes	Coder 1	Coder 2	Coder 3
Positive	Intolerant/ prejudiced***	Not open to other sects***	Closed-minded***
	Mean	Don't like non-Armenians	
	religiously conservative	Don't speak Arabic well	
Negative	Religious***	Religious***	Religious***
	Free thinkers***	Open-minded***	Open-minded***
	Are the dominating people in Lebanon/powerful	Strong representation	Organized
	Well-mannered	Have gender respect	Respect women
	Patriotic		Patriotic
	Helpful		Kind
	Friendly		Traditional/ conservative
	Diligent		
	Just		
	Brave		

*** indicates categories common across all 3 raters and kept for main analysis

Table 1.3

Categories Identified by Coders for Characteristics Attributed to Christian Orthodox

Themes	Coder 1	Coder 2	Coder 3
Positive	Kind***	Helpful***	Kind***
	Open-minded***	Open-minded***	Open-minded***
	Faithful***	Religious***	Religious***
	Tidy	Presentable	Civilized
		Good citizens	Work for Lebanon's best interest
Negative	Prejudiced***	Narrow-minded***	Intolerant***
	Religiously biased	Hate other sects	Snobby
			Untrustworthy
			Unclear religion

*** indicates categories common across all 3 raters and kept for main analysis

Table 1.4

Categories Identified by Coders for characteristics Attributed to Druze

Themes	Coder 1	Coder 2	Coder 3
Positive	Tolerant***	Open-minded***	Open-minded***
	Sociable	Religious	Religious
	United		United
	Kind		Friendly
Negative	Intolerant***	Narrow-minded***	Narrow-minded***
	Closed society***	Not open to others***	Not trustworthy
	Lost in their identity/beliefs	Follow Jumblat	
	Aggressive		

*** indicates categories common across all 3 raters and kept for main analysis

Table 1.5

Categories Identified by Coders for Characteristics Attributed to Christian Maronites

Themes	Coder 1	Coder 2	Coder 3
Positive	Open-minded***	Open-minded***	Open-minded***
	Kind	Good citizens	Kind
	Tidy	Not poor	Presentable
	Civilized	Have progressive potential	Politically active
	Religious		
	Educated		
	Sociable		
	Cheerful		
Negative	Religiously prejudiced***	Narrow-minded***	Intolerant***
	Arrogant	Not open to other sects	Bad politicians
	No divorce		Poor understanding of religion
	Domineering		Divided
	Biased		

*** indicates categories common across all 3 raters and kept for main analysis

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations of Sources of Stereotypes

	Mean	Std. Deviation
Friends/Peers	3.92	0.95
Personal experience with members of these sects	3.91	1.16
Mass/media	3.87	1.11
Parents/Family	3.50	1.22
Mosque/Church*	2.77	1.24
Teachers/School	2.62	1.12

NOTE: for all others N= 76
*N= 75
Range: 1 to 5

Table 3

Number and Percentage of Participants as per Demographic Information

Demographics	Categories	N	%
Gender	Male	116	57.1
	Female	85	41.9
Nationality	Lebanese	158	77.8
	Lebanese and other	45	22.2
Confession	Muslim Shia	56	27.6
	Muslim Sunni	49	24.1
	Christian Maronite	21	10.3
	Druze	21	10.3
	Other	17	8.4
	Orthodox Christian	13	6.4
	Christian minority	8	3.9
	Armenian Orthodox/ Armenian Catholic	3	1.5
	Muslim minority	2	1.0
Average family monthly income	Don't know	76	37.4
	Above 5000$	44	21.7
	3001-5000$	23	11.3
	2001-3000$	18	8.9
	1501-2000$	17	8.4
	1001-1500$	9	4.4
	501-1000$	7	3.4
	300-500$	2	1.0
	Below 300$	2	1.0

Table 4

Descriptives of the Muslim Sunnis' Stereotype Content Scale

	Mean	Std. Deviation
Sunni Religious	3.72	.90
Sunni Hate Muslim Shias	3.68	1.11
Sunni Traditional	3.66	.91
Sunni Successful	3.39	.72
Sunni Kind	3.35	.86
Sunni Extremists	3.21	1.05
Sunni Intolerant	3.00	.98
Sunni Stingy	2.97	1.08

All items scored on a 1 to 5 Likert type scale with 1= strongly disagree to 5= strongly agree

Table 5

Descriptives of the Christian Armenians' Stereotype Content Scale

	Mean	Std. Deviation
Armenian Creative (artistic, craftsmen)	3.69	0.79
Armenian Peaceful	3.62	0.80
Armenian Don't speak Arabic well	3.57	1.02
Armenian Kind	3.51	0.77
Armenian Closed sect (doesn't interact with others)	3.45	1.04
Armenian Helpful to others	3.43	0.88
Armenian Have no sense of belonging to Lebanon	3.05	1.09
Armenian Don't like non-Armenians	2.93	1.05

All items scored on a 1 to 5 Likert type scale with 1= strongly disagree to 5= strongly agree

Table 6

Descriptives of the Muslim Shias' Stereotype Content Scale

	Mean	Std. Deviation
Shia Unified (stick together)	4.08	.91
Shia Religious	3.89	1.00
Shia Generous	3.63	.87
Shia Aggressive	3.51	1.12
Shia Blind followers of Hizbollah	3.48	1.33
Shia Protective of Lebanon	3.39	1.27
Shia Rowdy (loud; disorderly; wild)	3.37	1.18
Shia Intolerant	3.27	1.06

All items scored on a 1 to 5 Likert type scale with 1= strongly disagree to 5= strongly agree

Table 7

Descriptives of the Christian Orthodox' Stereotype Content Scale

	Mean	Std. Deviation
Orthodox Polite	3.66	.70
Orthodox Helpful to others	3.55	.71
Orthodox Religious	3.54	.74
Orthodox Tidy	3.52	.84
Orthodox Extremists	2.87	1.13
Orthodox Intolerant	2.82	1.02
Orthodox Closed sect	2.70	.93
Orthodox Think they are the only educated people in Lebanon	2.67	.96

All items scored on a 1 to 5 Likert type scale with 1= strongly disagree to 5= strongly agree

Table 8

Descriptives of the Druze's Stereotype Content Scale

	Mean	Std. Deviation
Druze Refuse to marry non-Druze	4.32	.84
Druze Unified (stick together)	4.28	.85
Druze A closed sect (doesn't interact with other sects)	3.76	1.09
Druze Isolated	3.53	1.10
Druze Friendly	3.40	.86
Druze Generous	3.37	1.01
Druze Helpful to others	3.32	.92
Druze Untrustworthy	3.15	1.16

All items scored on a 1 to 5 Likert type scale with 1= strongly disagree to 5= strongly agree

Table 9

Descriptives of the Christian Maronites' Stereotype Content Scale

	Mean	Std. Deviation
Maronite Outgoing (enjoy life)	3.99	.76
Maronite Educated	3.87	.90
Maronite Religious	3.79	.68
Maronite Tidy	3.53	.71
Maronite Divided in politics	3.46	.98
Maronite Intolerant	3.36	.83
Maronite Closed sect (doesn't interact with other sects)	2.92	.89
Maronite Arrogant (think too highly of themselves)	2.69	.96

All items scored on a 1 to 5 Likert type scale with 1= strongly disagree to 5= strongly agree

Table 10

Descriptives of the Closedness/Openness scale

	Mean	Std. Deviation
Christian Maronites	3.39	1.14
Christian Orthodox	2.95	1.13
Muslim Sunnis	2.75	1.11
Christian Armenians	2.64	1.13
Muslim Shia	2.49	1.15
Druze	2.01	1.05

All items scored on a scale from 1 to 5 with 1= very closed to 5= very open

Table 11

Descriptives of the Sectarianism Scale by Confessional Distribution

Participants sect	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Druze	21	3.60	0.71
Christian Maronite	21	3.60	0.63
Muslim Shia	56	3.54	0.91
Christian Orthodox	13	3.38	0.45
Muslim Sunni	49	3.21	0.73
Other	17	2.65	1.42

All items scored on a 1 to 5 Likert type scale with 1= strongly disagree to 5= strongly agree

Table 12

Sectarianism Z-Scores across Participant Gender and Sect

Z-scores	Gender		Sect					
	Males	Females	Maronites	Orthodox	Shias	Druzes	Other	Sunnis
Skewness	-2.88	-2.57	-1.6	.21	-1.56	-.88	.45	-3.00

N= 155

Table 13

Openness ratings as Attributed by Gender

	Male		Female	
	Mean	Std. Error	Mean	Std. Error
Christian Maronites	3.51	.13	3.70	.19
Christian Orthodox	2.99	.14	3.32	.20
Christian Armenians	2.79	.13	2.70	.19
Muslim Sunnis	2.59	.12	2.49	.18
Muslim Shias	2.45	.12	2.40	.18
Druzes	2.03	.13	2.24	.19

Table 14

Openness Ratings Attributed to Muslim Sunnis

Participant confession	Mean	Std. Error
Muslim Sunni	3.08	.16
Other	2.67	.38
Muslim Shia	2.56	.15
Christian Maronite	2.54	.24
Druze	2.44	.24
Christian Orthodox	1.95	.34

Table 15

Openness Ratings Attributed to Muslim Shias

Participant confession	Mean	Std. Error
Muslim Shia	3.20	.15
Christian Orthodox	2.72	.35
Other	2.66	.38
Muslim Sunni	2.02	.16
Christian Maronite	1.98	.24
Druze	1.96	.24

Table 16

Openness Ratings Attributed to Christian Maronites

Participant confession	Mean	Std. Error
Christian Maronite	4.25	.25
Christian Orthodox	4.25	.36
Other	3.69	.40
Druze	3.39	.25
Muslim Sunni	3.08	.16
Muslim Shia	2.97	.16

Table 17

Descriptives of Openness Ratings Attributed to ChristianOrthodox

Participant confession	Mean	Std. Error
Christian Orthodox	3.80	.39
Other	3.39	.43
Christian Maronite	3.30	.27
Muslim Sunni	2.95	.18
Druze	2.88	.27
Muslim Shia	2.62	.17

Table 18

Ratings of the Sources of Stereotypes

Source	Mean	Std. Error
Friends/peers	3.86	.60
Personal experience with members of these sects	3.81	.08
Lebanese mass media (tv, radio..)	3.77	.08
Parents/family	3.68	.08
Internet (Blogs, facebook)	3.60	.08
Mosque/church	2.90	.09
Educational institution (teachers/school/university)	2.74	.09
Books	2.48	.08

Note: N= 203; all items scored on a 1 to 5 Likert type scale with 1= strongly disagree to 5= strongly agree

FIGURES

Figure 1

Graph of Muslim Sunnis' Perceived Openness

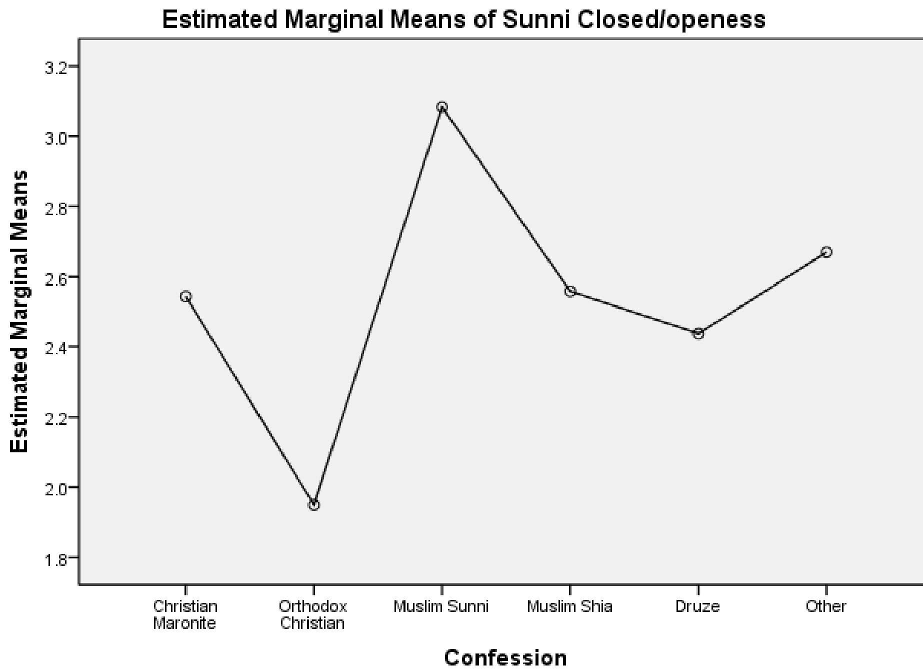


Figure 2

Graph of Muslim Shias' Perceived Openness

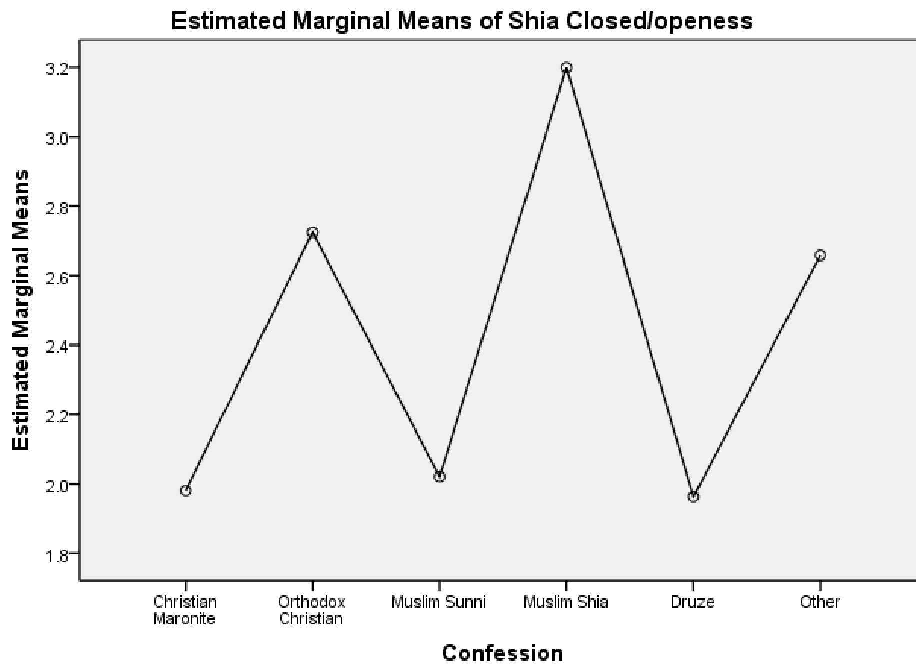


Figure 3

Graph of Christian Maronites' Perceived Openness

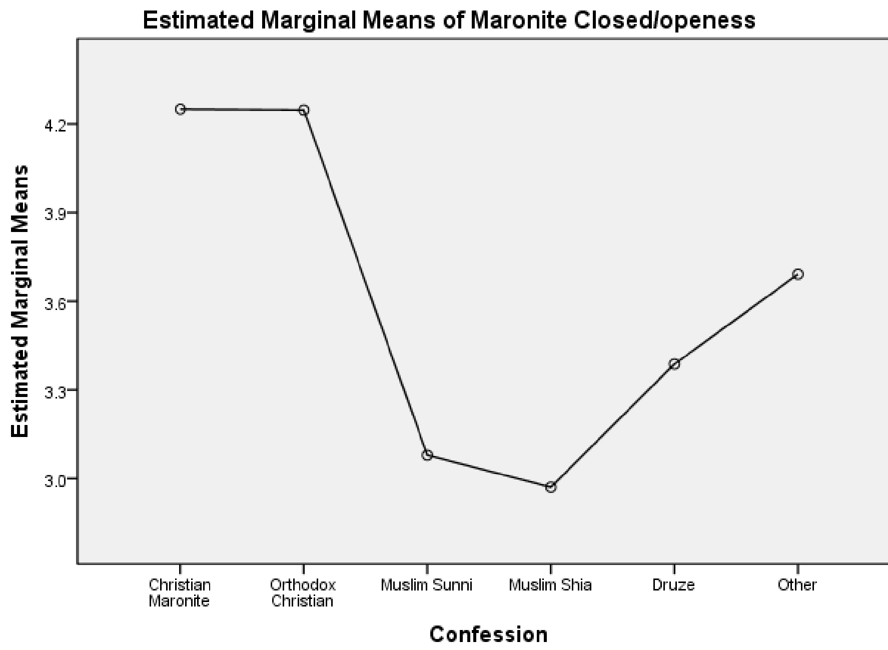
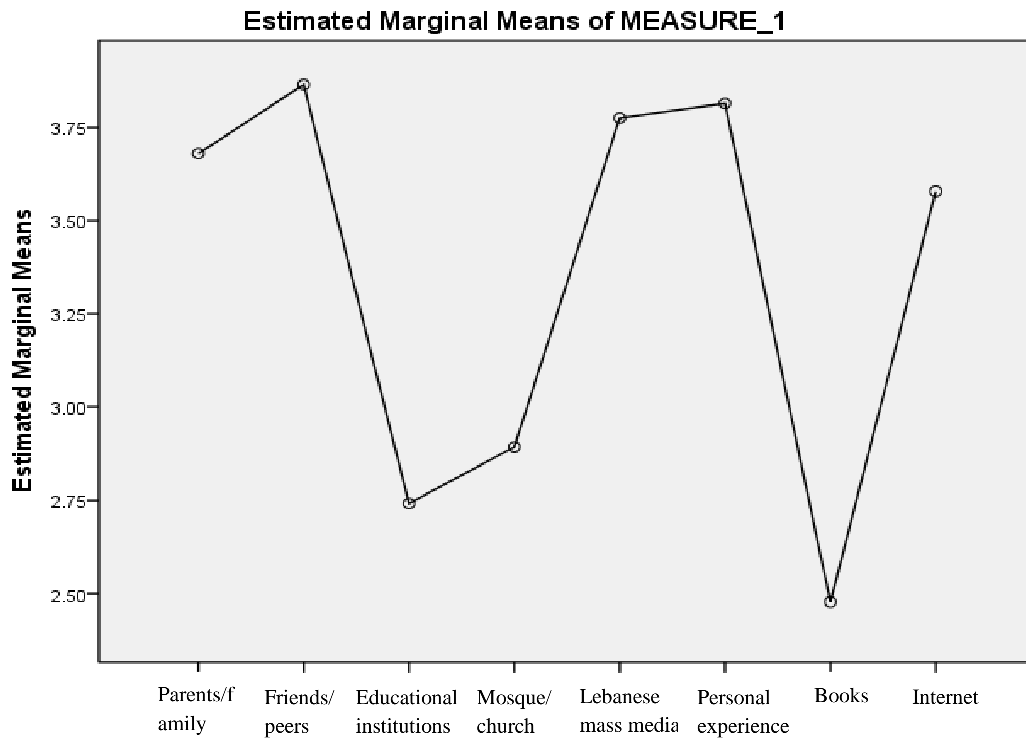


Figure 4

Graph of the Ratings of the Sources of Stereotypes



Appendix A

Table of Content for the Questionnaire of Study 1

I. Informed Consent of Part 1

II. Informed Consent of Part 2

III. Scales

1. Information about Sect
2. Sources of Information

Appendix A: Questionnaire of Study 1

Investigator: Dr. Charles Harb
Co-Investigator: Aline Hachem
Address : American University of Beirut
Jesup 104
Phone : 01- 350 000, ext 4371
Email : charles.harb@aub.edu.lb

I. Informed Consent – Study 1 Part 1

Information and Sources of Information about Sects among a Sample of Lebanese Undergraduates at the American University of Beirut

Dear participants, we would like to invite you to participate in a research conducted at the American University of Beirut investigating knowledge (not endorsement) of information that society attributes to various sects in Lebanon and sources from which such information was acquired. In order to take part in this study, you have to be a Lebanese citizen enrolled in the Psyc 201, or Psyc 210 class at AUB.

Before we begin, we would like to take a few minutes to explain why we are inviting you to participate and what will be done with the information you provide. You will be asked to read this consent form, and then respond to an anonymous questionnaire. The questions are self-report in nature, and will ask you about your knowledge of society's view of certain groups in Lebanon. Please read and consider each question carefully, but do not agonize over your answers. There are no right or wrong answers, and first impressions are usually fine. Just think about what best reflects your own knowledge. After the completion of the questionnaire, you will place your answers in a sealed envelope which will be collected by the co-investigator. You will also sign next to your name on a separate sheet, for you to receive one extra credit on your general average in the Psyc 201 or Psyc 210 class in exchange for your participation. Should you wish not to participate in this study, you may still earn extra credit alternatively, by writing a brief research report and submitting it to Dr. May Awaida in her mailbox in Jesup 103F by July 12, 2013 at the latest (plase refer to Dr. Awaida for further information about this option)

We will be asking 84 participants from the Psyc 201 and Psyc 210 student pool to complete a survey, and this collected information will be used in published research as well as in academic presentations. The participants will be recruited through online advertisement by the student-pool coordinator. Your individual privacy and confidentiality of the information you provide will be maintained in all published and written data analysis resulting from the study. There are no threats for the anonymity or confidentiality of your results since no direct identifiers will be recorded in the survey; no names nor signatures. You will only provide your name and signature on a

separatelist, therefore no one will be able to track your name back to any particular survey.

The primary investigator and the co-investigator will be the only ones who have the data. All answers are **anonymous** and no one would be able to trace your name to your responses. All data from this study will be maintained on a password protected computer.

Participation should take approximately FOURTY FIVE minutes. Please understand your participation is entirely on a voluntary basis and you have the right to withdraw your consent or discontinue participation at any time without justification or penalty. You have the option to refuse to participate in the study with no penalty or any possible loss of benefits, and your relationship with the American University of Beirut will not be affected in any way. There are no foreseeable risks for participating in this study. In addition, the results of the study will help researchers better understand perceptions among the various sects in the context of Lebanon.

If at any time and for any reason, you would prefer not to answer any questions, please feel free to skip those questions. If at any time you would like to stop participating, you can simply terminate without justification. You will not be penalized for deciding to stop participation at any time.

If you have questions, concerns or complaints about this research study later, you may contact Dr. Charles Harb at 01 350000 ext 4371or charles.harb@aub.edu.lb, or contact Aline Hachem at agh08@aub.edu.lb.

If youare not satisfied with how this study is being conducted, or if you have any concerns, complaints, or general questions about research or your rights as a participant, please contact the AUB Social & Behavioral Sciences Institutional review Board (SBSIRB) at AUB: 01- 350 000 ext. 5445 or irb@aub.edu.lb.

If you accept the above statements and you are willing to participate, please sign the below and start answering the questionnaire. By signing you indicate your consent to participate in the study and authorise the researchers to use your data. You will receive a copy of this consent document that you can keep.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION

Primary investigator: Dr. Charles Harb
Tel: +961 1 350000 ext 4371
Email: charles.harb@aub.edu.lb

Co-investogator: AlineHachem
Email: agh08@mail.aub.edu.lb

Co-investigator's signature: …………………. Participant signature:
Date and time: …………………………. Date and time:

Investigator: Dr. Charles Harb
Co-Investigator: Aline Hachem
Address : American University of Beirut
Jesup 104
Phone : 01- 350 000, ext 4371
Email : charles.harb@aub.edu.lb

II. Informed Consent – Study 1 Part 2

Information and Sources of Information among a Sample of Lebanese Undergraduates at the American University of Beirut

Dear participants, we would like to invite you to participate in a research conducted at the American University of Beirut investigating knowledge (not endorsement) of information that society attributes to various sects in Lebanon and sources from which such information was acquired. In order to take part in this study, you have to be a Lebanese citizen enrolled at AUB .

Before we begin, we would like to take a few minutes to explain why we are inviting you to participate and what will be done with the information you provide. You will be asked to read this consent form, and then respond to an anonymous questionnaire. The questions are self-report in nature, and will ask you about your knowledge of society's view of certain groups in Lebanon.. Please read and consider each question carefully, but do not agonize over your answers. There are no right or wrong answers, and first impressions are usually fine. Just think about what best reflects your own knowledge. After the completion of the questionnaire, you will place your answers in a sealed envelope which will be collected by the co-investigator.

We will be asking 40 participants from the AUB campus to complete a survey, and this collected information will be used in published research as well as in academic presentations. The participants will be recruited by randomly approaching them on campus and asking them if they wish to take part in the study. Your individual privacy and confidentiality of the information you provide will be maintained in all published and written data analysis resulting from the study. There are no threats for the anonymity or confidentiality of your results since no identifiers will be collected at any point during the survey; no names no signatures. Upon completion of participation, you will place your answers in one large envelope which will be collected by the co-investigator. As such, no one will be able to track any survey back to any participant.

The primary investigator and the co-investigator will be the only ones who have the data. All answers are **anonymous** and no one would be able to trace your name to your responses. All data from this study will be maintained on a password protected computer.

Participation should take approximately FOURTY FVE minutes. The co-investigator will first go through the document with you and answer all your questions. She will then leave you for 50 minutes giving you full privacy to complete the survey at your own pace, and will come back 50 minutes later to pick it up. Please understand your participation is entirely on a voluntary basis and you have the right to withdraw your consent or discontinue participation at any time without justification or penalty. You have the option to refuse to participate in the study with no penalty or any possible loss of benefits, and your relationship with the American University of Beirut will not be affected in any way. There are no foreseeable risks or benefits for participating in this study, however, the results of the study will help researchers better understand perceptions among the various sects in the context of Lebanon.

If at any time and for any reason, you would prefer not to answer any questions, please feel free to skip those questions. If at any time you would like to stop participating, you can simply terminate without justification. You will not be penalized for deciding to stop participation at any time.

If you have questions, concerns or complaints about this research study later, you may contact Dr. Charles Harb at 01 350000 ext 4371or charles.harb@aub.edu.lb, or contact Aline Hachem at agh08@aub.edu.lb.

If youare not satisfied with how this study is being conducted, or if you have any concerns, complaints, or general questions about research or your rights as a participant, please contact the AUB Social & Behavioral Sciences Institutional review Board (SBSIRB) at AUB: 01- 350 000 ext. 5445 or irb@aub.edu.lb.

If you accept the above statements and you are willing to participate, please start answering the questionnaire. By continuing you indicate your consent to participate in the study and authorise the researchers to use your data. You will receive a copy of this consent document that you can keep.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION

Co-investogator: AlineHachem
Email: agh08@mail.aub.edu.lb

Co-investigator's signature: ……………………………
Date and time: ………………………….

1. Information about sect

Please list all the information (including traits, characteristics etc…) that you think reflect **society's** perception of the Lebanese sects below, **regardless** of whether you endorse it. Kindly list both positive and negative information (when available). You may list the same information for more than one sect if you think it is applicable or necessary.

	Positive characteristics	Negative Characteristics
Muslim Sunnis		
Christian Armenians		
Muslim Shias		

	Positive characteristics	Negative Characteristics
Christian Orthodox		
Druzes		
Christian Maronites		

2. Sources of Information

Please answer the below.

Most of the information about sects comes to you from (you may also add any source(s) that you think is relevant and rate it):

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
Your parents/family	1	2	3	4	5
Your friends/peers	1	2	3	4	5
Your teachers/school	1	2	3	4	5
Mosque/Church	1	2	3	4	5
Mass media	1	2	3	4	5
Personal experience with members of these sects	1	2	3	4	5
Other (please specify) ____________________	1	2	3	4	5
Other (please specify) ____________________	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix B

Table of Content for the Questionnaire of Study 2

I. Informed Consent

II. Scales

1. MuslimSunnis’ Stereotype Content Questionnaire
2. Christian Armenians’ Stereotype Content Questionnaire
3. MuslimShias’ Stereotype Content Questionnaire
4. Christian Orthodox’ Stereotype Content Questionnaire
5. Druzes’ Stereotype Content Questionnaire
6. Christian Maronites’ Stereotype Content Questionnaire
7. Closedness/openness Questionnaire
8. Sources Questionnaire
9. Sectarianism Questionnaire
10. Demographics

Appendix B: Questionnaire of Study 2

Investigator: Dr. Charles Harb
Co-Investigator: Aline Hachem
Address : American University of Beirut
Jesup 104
Phone : 01- 350 000, ext 4371
Email : charles.harb@aub.edu.lb

Informed Consent

Information and Sources of Information among a Sample of Lebanese Undergraduates at the American University of Beirut

Dear participants, we would like to invite you to participate in a research conducted at the American University of Beirut investigating knowledge (not endorsement) of information that society attributes to various sects in Lebanon and sources from which such information was acquired. In order to take part in this study, you have to be a Lebanese citizen enrolled at AUB .

Before we begin, we would like to take a few minutes to explain why we are inviting you to participate and what will be done with the information you provide. You will be asked to read this consent form, and then respond to an anonymous questionnaire. The questions are self-report in nature, and will ask you about your knowledge of society's view of certain groups in Lebanon. You will also fill some demographic items. Please read and consider each question carefully, but do not agonize over your answers. There are no right or wrong answers, and first impressions are usually fine. Just think about what best reflects your own knowledge. After the completion of the questionnaire, you will place your answers in a sealed envelope which will be collected by the co-investigator.

We will be asking 200 participants from the AUB campus to complete a survey, and this collected information will be used in published research as well as in academic presentations. The participants will be recruited by randomly approaching them on campus and asking them if they wish to take part in the study. Your individual privacy and confidentiality of the information you provide will be maintained in all published and written data analysis resulting from the study. There are no threats for the anonymity or confidentiality of your results since no identifiers will be collected at any point during the survey; no names no signatures. Upon completion of participation, you will place your answers in one large envelope which will be collected by the co-investigator. As such, no one will be able to track any survey back to any participant.

The primary investigator and the co-investigator will be the only ones who have the data. All answers are **anonymous** and no one would be able to trace your name to your responses. All data from this study will be maintained on a password protected computer.

Participation should take approximately FOURTY FVE minutes. The co-investigator will first go through the document with you and answer all your questions. She will then leave you for 50 minutes giving you full privacy to complete the survey at your own pace, and will come back 50 minutes later to pick it up. Please understand your participation is entirely on a voluntary basis and you have the right to withdraw your consent or discontinue participation at any time without justification or penalty. You have the option to refuse to participate in the study with no penalty or any possible loss of benefits, and your relationship with the American University of Beirut will not be affected in any way. There are no foreseeable risks or benefits for participating in this study, however, the results of the study will help researchers better understand perceptions among the various sects in the context of Lebanon.

If at any time and for any reason, you would prefer not to answer any questions, please feel free to skip those questions. If at any time you would like to stop participating, you can simply terminate without justification. You will not be penalized for deciding to stop participation at any time.

If you have questions, concerns or complaints about this research study later, you may contact Dr. Charles Harb at 01 350000 ext 4371or charles.harb@aub.edu.lb, or contact Aline Hachem at agh08@aub.edu.lb.

If youare not satisfied with how this study is being conducted, or if you have any concerns, complaints, or general questions about research or your rights as a participant, please contact the AUB Social & Behavioral Sciences Institutional review Board (SBSIRB) at AUB: 01- 350 000 ext. 5445 or irb@aub.edu.lb.

If you accept the above statements and you are willing to participate, please start answering the questionnaire. By continuing you indicate your consent to participate in the study and authorise the researchers to use your data. You will receive a copy of this consent document that you can keep.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION

Co-investogator: AlineHachem
Email: agh08@mail.aub.edu.lb

Co-investigator's signature: ………………….
Date and time: ………………………….

Information about Sects

Please rate the extent to which each characteristic reflects **society's** perception of the Lebanese sects below, **regardless** of whether you endorse these characteristics.

1. Muslim Sunnis are generally believed to be:

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
1a. Kind	1	2	3	4	5
1b. Successful	1	2	3	4	5
1c. Religious	1	2	3	4	5
1d. Traditional (conservative)	1	2	3	4	5
1e. Extremists	1	2	3	4	5
1f. Intolerant	1	2	3	4	5
1g. Hate Muslim Shias	1	2	3	4	5
1h. Stingy (not generous)	1	2	3	4	5
1i. Other (please specify) …………….	1	2	3	4	5

2. Christian Armenians are generally believed to be:

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
2a. Kind	1	2	3	4	5
2b. Helpful to others	1	2	3	4	5
2c. Peaceful	1	2	3	4	5
2d. Creative (artistic, craftsmen)	1	2	3	4	5
2e. Have no sense of belonging to Lebanon	1	2	3	4	5
2f. Don't speak Arabic well	1	2	3	4	5
2g. Closed sect (doesn't interact with others)	1	2	3	4	5
2h. Don't like non-Armenians	1	2	3	4	5
2i. Other (please specify) …………….	1	2	3	4	5

3. Muslim Shias are generally believed to be:

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
3a. Generous	1	2	3	4	5
3b. Unified (stick together)	1	2	3	4	5
3c. Religious	1	2	3	4	5
3d. Protective of Lebanon	1	2	3	4	5
3e. Aggressive	1	2	3	4	5
3f. Intolerant	1	2	3	4	5
3g. Blind followers of Hizbollah	1	2	3	4	5
3h. Rowdy (loud; disorderly; wild)	1	2	3	4	5
3i. Other (please specify) …………….	1	2	3	4	5

4. Christian Orthodox are generally believed to be:

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
4a. Polite	1	2	3	4	5
4b. Helpful to others	1	2	3	4	5
4c. Religious	1	2	3	4	5
4d. Tidy	1	2	3	4	5
4e. Extremists	1	2	3	4	5
4f. Intolerant	1	2	3	4	5
4g. Closed sect (doesn't interact with other sects)	1	2	3	4	5
4h. Think they are the only educated people in Lebanon	1	2	3	4	5
4i. Other (please specify) …………….	1	2	3	4	5

5. Druze are generally believed to be:

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
5a. Generous	1	2	3	4	5
5b. Helpful to others	1	2	3	4	5
5c. Unified (stick together)	1	2	3	4	5
5d. Friendly	1	2	3	4	5
5e. Untrustworthy	1	2	3	4	5
5f. Refuse to marry non-Druze	1	2	3	4	5
5g. A closed sect (doesn’t interact with other sects)	1	2	3	4	5
5h. Isolated	1	2	3	4	5
5i. Other (please specify) …………….	1	2	3	4	5

6. Christian Maronites are generally believed to be:

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
6a. Outgoing (enjoy life)	1	2	3	4	5
6b. Educated	1	2	3	4	5
6c. Religious	1	2	3	4	5
6d. Tidy	1	2	3	4	5
6e. Divided in politics	1	2	3	4	5
6f. Intolerant	1	2	3	4	5
6g. A closed sect (doesn’t interact with other sects)	1	2	3	4	5
6h. Arrogant (think too highly of themselves)	1	2	3	4	5
6i. Other (please specify) …………….	1	2	3	4	5

Please rate how society views each of the sects mentioned below, from -2 most closed to +2 most open, **regardless** of whether you endorse this view.

7. Closed (Narrow-minded; not open to other sects; prejudiced don't mix with other sects)	-2	-1	0 Neither	+1	+2	**Open** (Open-minded; open to other sects; not prejudiced; mix with other sects)

	-2	-1	0 Neither	+1	+2
7a. Muslim Sunnis					
7b. Christian Armenians					
7c. Muslim Shias					
7d. Christian Orthodox					
7e. Druze					
7f. Christian Maronites					

8. Please answer the following: most of the information about sects comes to you from:

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
8a. Your parents/family	1	2	3	4	5
8b. Your friends/peers	1	2	3	4	5
8c. Your educational institution (teachers/school/university)	1	2	3	4	5
8d. Mosque/Church	1	2	3	4	5
8e. Lebanese mass media (television, radio…)	1	2	3	4	5
8f. Personal experience with members of these sects	1	2	3	4	5
8g. Books	1	2	3	4	5
8h. Internet (Blogs, Facebook)	1	2	3	4	5
8i. Others:……………………	1	2	3	4	5

Please answer the below questions.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
9. I am proud to belong to my sect	1	2	3	4	5
10. My sect can serve Lebanon better than any other sect	1	2	3	4	5
11. Any (governing) authority needs to take the interests of my sect into consideration	1	2	3	4	5
12. I have a strong connection to my sect	1	2	3	4	5
13. My sect should have a larger proportion/quota of government	1	2	3	4	5

Demographic Information

Please answer the below questions:

14. Nationality:

☐14a. Lebanese
☐14b. Lebanese and………….
☐14c. Other: …………….

15. Years of residence in Lebanon: …………………………..

16.Gender:

☐16a. Male
☐16b. Female

17. Confession:

☐17a. Maronite
☐17b. Greek Orthodox
☐17c. Armenian Orthodox/Armenian Catholic
☐17d. Muslim Sunni
☐17e. Muslim Shia
☐17f. Druze
☐17g. Christian minority
☐17h. Muslim minority
☐17i. Other: ……………………….

18. Average family monthly income:

☐18a .below 300$
☐18b. 301-500$
☐18c. 501-1000$
☐18d. 1001-1500$
☐18e. 1501-2000$
☐18f. 2001-3000$
☐18g. 3001-5000$
☐18h. Above 5000$
☐18i. Don’t know