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**A STUDY OF SOCIO-POLITICAL
ATTITUDES OF MINORITY GROUPS IN
BANGLADESH**



Master of Philosophy Dissertation

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University of Rajshahi,

Rajshahi, Bangladesh

May, 2008

**A STUDY OF SOCIO-POLITICAL ATTITUDES
OF MINORITY GROUPS IN BANGLADESH**



A dissertation submitted to the
Department of Psychology, University of Rajshahi
in fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of master of Philosophy

by

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DECLARATION

The work submitted in this dissertation is the result of my own investigation, except where otherwise stated.

It has not already been accepted for any degree, and is also not being concurrently submitted for any other degree.

Name of the Candidate:

Chaya Bhattacharjee

Date: *05-05-08*

ABSTRACT

The study focused on some socio-political attitudes, like attitudes towards ethnic relations, voting attitudes, and attitudes towards conservative-radical ideas. Its relation with ethnic demographics like majority-minority (Hindu-Muslim), sex (Male-Female) and socio-economic status (High-Low) in the socio-political context of Bangladesh. Different Theoretical approaches were taken such as

1. Three Psychological Approaches to Minority-Majority Conflict:

- (a) Realistic Group Conflict Theory
- (b) Social Identity Theories
- (c) Psychodynamic Theories

2. Social In-group -Out-group Model:

3. Psychoanalytic Approaches:

4. Sociological Approaches:

The study tried to find the functional relationships existing among various dimensions of ethnic relations, voting attitudes and attitudes towards conservative and radical ideas. The broad objective of the study was to explore the patterns of socio-political attitudes of the ethnic groups in Bangladesh. More specifically the objectives of the study were as follows:

To study pattern of similarities and differences in socio-political attitudinal constellations on ethnic relation, voting, and ideological orientations by the Minority(Hindu) and Majority(Muslim) as related to sex ,and socio-economic status .

To study patterns of similarities and differences in ethnic attitudes as related to socio-Political attitudes. To reflect on Majority (Muslim) and Minority (Hindu) groups on attitudes toward healthy minority-majority ethnic relation. To study male-female differences in attitude toward ethnic relations in Bangladeshi socio-political context. To study similarity and differences in attitude toward ethnic relations related to conservatism-radicalism, and voting attitude of the Muslim majority and the Hindu minority groups. To study the differences in attitude toward ethnic relations as related to high-low socio-economic status .urban-rural residential background.

The measures used in this study were as follows:

1. Attitudes towards healthy minority-majority relation scale (ATHMMRS)
2. Voting Attitude scale (VAS)
3. Conservatism-Radicalism Scale (C-R)

The study used student sample. A total of 400 Ss equally divided into Muslim (majority) and Hindus (minority) groups were used. Each group was again equally sub-divided into Male and Female. Each Male and Female category was again sub-divided into High and Low according to their socio- economic status.

Thus a 2 x 2 x 2 factorial design involving 2 levels of group composition (Muslim/Hindus), 2 levels of sex (Male/Female) and 2 levels of economic status (High/Low) were used. Analysis of results was computed in two parts.

In the first part a factorial ANOVA using 2 x 2 x 2 design was used on the scores of Attitudes towards healthy minority-majority relation scale, Voting Attitude Scale and conservatism-radicalism scale. In the second part, t-test was computed on the scores of these scales.

The study made three specific hypotheses. These were as follows:

1. Muslim (Majority) group of Ss would have significantly higher scores on the Attitudes towards healthy minority-majority relation scale as compared to Hindu (minority) Ss.
2. Male Ss would exhibit significantly more favorable Attitude towards healthy minority-Majority relation than the female Ss in the context of Bangladesh
3. Ss with High socio-economic status would obtain higher scores on Attitude towards healthy minority-Majority relation Scale in comparison to the Ss with Low Socio-economic Status.

The findings of the results strongly supported the predictions. It showed that regardless of sex and residential background, Majority (Muslim) Ss expressed significantly more favorable Attitudes towards healthy minority-majority relation as compared to Minority(Hindu).But, male Ss irrespective of group composition and residential background did not showed significantly higher preference for Attitudes towards healthy minority-majority relation in comparisons to female Ss. Also Ss of higher socio-economic status did not differ significantly from Ss of lower socio-economic status in Attitudes towards healthy minority-majority relation, regardless of group composition and sex.

It showed that regardless of sex and socio-economic status, Majority (Muslim) Ss expressed non-significant difference in voting attitudes as compared to Minority (Hindu)Ss.

Again male Ss, irrespective of group composition and socio-economic status, showed no significant difference in voting attitudes in comparisons to female Ss.

Also, Ss with higher socio-economic status expressed no significant attitudinal preference towards voting than Ss of lower socio-economic status Ss regardless of group composition and sex.

Furthermore, the results revealed that regardless of sex and residential background, Majority (Muslim) Ss expressed significantly more conservative attitudes.

The Minority (Hindu) Ss again Female Ss were found significantly more conservative attitude than Male Ss. Also, Lower socio-economic status Ss were found significantly more conservative than higher socio-economic status Ss regardless of group composition and sex. In conclusion the findings of the present study revealed with considerable clarity that a matter as complex as minority Ethnic socio-political attitudes is intimately associated with multitudes of socio-contextual factors such as social, political and economic history of the people and nation and their healthy or unhealthy interactions or contact between religious or ethnic majority.

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled “A Study of socio-political Attitudes of minority groups in Bangladesh” submitted by Chaya Battacharjee was done under my supervision and constitute her own work.

May, 2008.

S. M. Ziauddin
5/5/2008
(Dr. Syed Mohammad Ziauddin)

Professor

Department of Psychology

University of Rajshahi

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I felt it a pleasant duty to express my gratefulness to all the individuals who volunteered to work as subjects of this study, without whose interest and willingness to cooperate in test situations, nothing would have been accomplished. I express my thanks to all who have directly or indirectly helped me during this period of my research work. I convey my thanks to all the teachers, officers, and staff members of the department of psychology for their kind help and co-operations.

I lovingly dedicate this thesis to my late parents.

(Chaya Bhattacharjee)

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Also, Ss with higher socio-economic status expressed no significant attitudinal preference towards voting than Ss of lower socio-economic status Ss regardless of group composition and sex.

Furthermore, the results revealed that regardless of sex and residential background, Majority (Muslim) Ss expressed significantly more conservative attitudes.

The Minority (Hindu) Ss again Female Ss were found significantly more conservative attitude than Male Ss. Also, Lower socio-economic status Ss were found significantly more conservative than higher socio-economic status Ss regardless of group composition and sex. In conclusion the findings of the present study revealed with considerable clarity that a matter as complex as minority Ethnic socio-political attitudes is intimately associated with multitudes of socio-contextual factors such as social, political and economic history of the people and nation and their healthy or unhealthy interactions or contact between religious or ethnic majority.

CHAPTER – ONE

INTRODUCTION

Diversity is natural. The world is created in diversity. From human beings to all other form of creations. We have different races among human beings. Even if we all are of the same race, we are divided as Muslims, Hindus, Christians and, Buddhist etc, and have diversity in the form of language, settlement, tribes/ethnicity, sex and other cultural differences. We are formed in different unequal ratios, qualities and capacities that make some diverse groups to be in majority or minority creating advantages and disadvantages. These diversities naturally create competition among the diverse groups generating the tendency to conquer, dominate, discriminate, and exclude which subsequently is the source of most conflicts. There is diversity-conflict everywhere in Europe, America, Africa, and Asia and so on. It is estimated that there are over ten thousands of such conflicts in the present world because a lot of them are of a small scale not gaining national or international prominence, so they are not known to a greater number. It also takes so much money. Examples from the old to present of diversity-conflicts include the Bible, Koran and other holy books tales, holocaust, Rwanda, Kosovo, Israeli-Palestinian, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, China, and India-Pakistan, Russia and so on. We can conclude that the greatest killer of human beings is the monster identified as diversity-conflict.

It is apolitical disease or virus; it spreads easily and is difficult to cure despite the so many doctors of politics.

The epicenter of interethnic confrontation is in Transcaucasia, Central Asia, and the Balkans (Brunner 1996).

For a deep understanding of the roots of ethnic conflict, one must consider the numerous aspects of ethnic relations. The different social sciences have produced a range of approaches that explain and interpret the phenomena of ethno-political mobilization and conflict development.

Sociologists dealing with ethnic relations explain ethnic conflict by using concepts such as social stratification, discrimination, group identity, and the size of ethnic groups.

Political scientists suggest two relevant approaches that are embodied in the concepts of modernity and group cohesion. Social psychologists emphasize that feeling threatened is the cornerstone of ethnic conflict.

The unequal distribution of prestige and honor in society may bring about ethnic conflict (Horowitz 1985). The concept of social stratification emphasizes that in societies where social class is synonymous with ethnic membership (a ranked ethnic system) ethnic relations are more likely to be plagued by conflict. One of the strongest impulses for interethnic tension is discrimination that is based on ethnic belonging or economic and political disparities (Tishkov 1996). Public policies can fuel ethnic conflict by restricting the economic activities of certain ethnic groups or by limiting political participation (Gurr 1994, 93). The greater the number of common traits shared by a group, such as race, language, religion, culture, and history, the greater its sense of identity.

The dynamics of ethnic relations also depend on the size of ethnic groups. Interethnic cooperation is more likely to occur in so-called dispersed ethnic systems where there are many different ethnic groups that are too small and too weak to control the center alone. Different patterns of ethnic tension prevail in those states

where a limited number of groups are large enough and strong enough to control political life (a centralized ethnic system) (Horowitz 1985; Tishkov 1996, 55).

The ethno-political activity of a group also depends on the cohesion of the group and the extent of solidarity within it. The more cohesive and uniform the group, the more likely it is to challenge its social position and to struggle for self-determination. Groups tend to be more cohesive if they are regionally concentrated, share common cultural traits, and have widely accepted and supported leaders (Gurr 1994, 84).

An ethnic group that experiences a significant period of frustration that is induced by a diminished status and political oppression quite often fears for its own existence. (Horowitz 1985, 383).

The revival of ethnicity and the search for identity are themselves aspects of modernization and lead to the democratization of political as well as social structures (Rupeshinge 1996). During the process of modernization, some development may encourage ethnic boundaries. The three aspects of modernization that play a role in the evolution of ethnic relations are the political environment, the formation of nation-states, and the degree of competition between ethno-political groups. Most recent literature suggests that in Central and Eastern Europe, ethno-nationalism strains not only group identity but also the economic, political, and historical interests of particular ethnic groups (Tishkov 1996; Payin 1996). Because of the multiethnic composition of most countries in the region, the borders between socio-political and ethnic conflicts are fragile.

A systematic comparison of particular conflict situations allows us to draw general conclusions about the different types of ethnic conflict, but only if the

wider social context is considered. Examining the legal, political, and social environment of the particular ethnic relationship may contribute to an understanding of common problems and to combating overly simplistic approaches to the study of ethnic conflicts in the region. Therefore, cross-sectional analyses of ethnic relations can be considered in horizontal as well as vertical dimensions, for example, comparing sociopolitical attitudes, like voting attitudes, conservative or radical stands and attitudes towards healthy minority-majority under different ethnic climates. Based on this cross-national analysis, good practices and policy recommendations and an exchange of skills and experiences can be elaborated and implemented.

Statement of the problems:

The present study dealt with the assessment of ethnic relations between Hindu minority and the Muslim majority, in the socio-political attitudinal context of Bangladesh. To study the behavior of the minority groups of a country entails a comparisons of the behavior of its majority. Otherwise the assessment remains incomplete. Thus in a factorial design, with the variables of ethnic groups, sex and socio-economic status, two levels group composition of minority and majority was palpable in the present study.

The present study dealt with the assessment of ethnic relations between Hindu minority and the Muslim majority, in the socio-political attitudinal context of Bangladesh.

The problems of minority-majority relations

We are witnessing a flare-up of inter-communal tensions and violence in many states of the world. Examples are the post-communist violence in the former Yugoslavia (Bosnia), and in the Caucasus (Nagorno-Karabakh, Georgia, Chechnya), the break-up of Czechoslovakia, the Kurdish problem in Iraq, Turkey and Iran, the ongoing fighting in Afghanistan, the Hindu-Muslim tensions in India, ongoing violence in Sri Lanka and Kashmir, Sunni-Shi'a conflicts in Pakistan, and many other potential, simmering, or flaring conflicts. All point to the importance of understanding the complex issues of ethnic relations between majority-minority people.

State boundaries are usually the product of wars followed by peace treaties that did not follow the realities of the ethnic, religious, political and economic units in the area. The stronger groups usually manage to contain most of their members in the state framework, many smaller or weaker groups find themselves overwhelmed as a marginalized minority in a centralizing state ruled by a majority (Abkhaz in Georgia, Chechens in Russia) seeking to assimilate all minorities into an imposed majority mono-culture.

Minority-Majority Relations in Different Countries

In the last decades of the 20th century most states in the region have faced an intensification of the ethnic and religious consciousness of their various constituent groups, causing political instability. In most Middle Eastern areas, religion and ethnicity are interchangeable markers of identity. There are many cultural similarities between the various groups at the level of popular religion and folk customs - however, in spite of similarities there are real differences that mark people

as members of the one or other community in the eyes of their compatriots. Whilst public signs of hostility are not frequent, collective action can quickly change from cooperation to competition and hostility under crisis conditions proper understanding of the diversity based on religion and number could be achieved by multi-dimensional approaches to the problems.

One problem in most societies and states is the lack of an accepted consensus to exclude communal relationships from party and partisan politics and to forbid sectarian manipulation. This lack gives clever politicians and religious extremists a field exploiting ancient stereotypes and regenerating and recreating old hostilities between religious communities. Extremists build up pressures on the system against peaceful coexistence as inflammatory emotions and prejudices are continuously evoked and rekindled.

In all inter-communal relations that have developed over many centuries there is an element of prejudice, misconceptions, stereotypes and hostility that is passed down from generation to generation, and within which the majority cyclically uses the minority as a convenient scapegoat (the Jews in Christian Europe are a good example). Whilst these may lie latent for long periods of apparent harmony, times of stress, economic and political crises, or military defeats, see these latent forces erupt to the surface of society in conflict and violence. Minorities usually see their own history as a long series of persecutions, massacres, and forced conversions; as the saga of a subjected minority precariously surviving for centuries among a hostile dominant majority.

All minorities are committed to preserving their identity against the centralizing and assimilative forces of the majority. Having experienced discrimination and hostility for centuries they developed a "battered minority"

syndrome, an inferiority complex of heightened sensitivity and repressed bitterness. The lack of participation in the political decision making process are keenly felt as humiliating. There is also an element of accumulated bitterness against their oppressors, a "them" versus "us" mentality. All these become part of the complex consciousness of the minority group. Majority members suspect the loyalty of minority members to the state. In the eyes of many majority members the minorities represent the religious or ethnic "other", the mirror image which is feared as the bearer of all negative characteristics: traitor, exploiter, collaborator, betrayer, - a convenient scapegoat for all of life's evils. The wealth and high position of a few minority members arouses jealousy, resentment against them for exercising power above their accepted position, and suspicion against the whole community.

The majority draws clear boundaries around it and identifies all non-members as hostile outsiders. Not satisfied with its dominant position, it sees the mirror-image group as a potential threat to its own existence and a convenient scapegoat and target for conspiracy theories that totally ignore reality. The historical reality of inter-communal relations usually shows many ups and downs, periods of relative tolerance alternating with periods of conflict and persecution. Sadly at the end of the 20th century it seems that both traditional and modern tools for conflict resolution between differing communities are failing, as new conflicts erupt worldwide.

The picture of ethnic, religious and linguistic diversity in the sub-continent nowadays is much different from the one from 100 years ago. Today a number of nation-states have been established throughout the peninsula, in which the dominant ethnic group prevails decisively in numbers, culture and political power.

At the same time in every country there exist also ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities. The minorities are of two main types: those that have their own neighboring "mother country" (e.g. Hindus in Bangladesh and Muslims in India etc.). This classification does not have so much a theoretical value but rather a practical value in the context of the Indo-Bangladesh political development. Thus minorities in the neighboring countries are always an important factor of the regional politics. They also are, just as they have been in the past, more a factor of discord and conflict than a bridge of cooperation. At the same time minorities that do not have a neighboring "mother country" are excluded from this system of protection. The "motherless" minorities however were more often silent victims with no voice raised and no ears to hear their plight.

Who are the ethnic minorities?

Short definition: "a group which is smaller in number than the rest of the population of a State, whose members have ethnic, religious or linguistic features different from those of the rest of the population, and are guided, if only implicitly, by the will to safeguard their culture, traditions, religion or language. Any group coming within the terms of this definition shall be treated as an ethnic, religious or linguistic minority. To belong to a minority shall be a matter of individual choice". (The definition comes from Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson (1994) and is based on her reformulation of the definition by the Council of Europe Commission for Democracy.

Race and Ethnicity

A race is a category of people who have been singled out as inferior or superior, often on the bases of real or alleged physical characteristics such as skin color, hair texture, eye shape or other subjectively selected attributes (Kendall 2003) although disputed by some natural scientists, contemporary sociologists emphasize that the significance of race is a socially constructed. The social meaning of that people attach to race is more significant than any biological differences that might exist between people placed in otherwise arbitrary categories. Racial categories based on phenotypical differences do not correlate with genotypic differences.

An ethnic group is a collection of people distinguished primarily by cultural or national characteristics, including unique cultural traits a sense of community a feeling of ethnocentrism ascribed membership Territoriality. Multi-racial ethnicities and multi-ethnic races However, despite their ambiguous nature, race and ethnicity take on great significance because how societies act in regard to these terms drastically affects other people's lives including educational and occupational chances, choice of residence, life chances in general .

What are majority and minority groups?

A majority is the socio-cultural dominant group that occupies an advantaged position in society and thus is most often afforded superior resources and rights. A minority is the socio-cultural subjugated group whose disadvantaged position in society most often results in its members being subjected to unequal treatment by the majority group. The Use of the terms dominant and subordinate reflect the importance of power in relationships.

Minorities

Conflicts between majority and minority populations, and often between minorities themselves, are among the key problems of pluralistic societies. Although the term "minorities" has been used in different senses, the accepted international usage is to designate marginalized or vulnerable groups who live in the shadow of majority populations with a different and dominant cultural ideology. These groups share systems of values and sources of self-esteem that often are derived from sources quite different from those of the majority culture. Minorities often find it difficult to participate fully in the activities of societies that favor dominant groups. Sometimes this discrimination is embedded in the legal framework that denies these minorities access to education, employment and political representation. More generally, however, the lack of participation is less a matter of official policy than of everyday practice. The challenge consists in first removing discriminatory barriers and then creating the basis for the empowerment of these minorities. Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson (1994) and is based on her reformulation of the definition by the Council of Europe Commission for Democracy.

Ethnic relations and stereotypes in the contemporary states

Nowadays it's almost impossible to imagine state that would be homogeneous ethnically. Representatives of many nations are living together in modern society. They differ from each other. During the progress of social thought different theories have been created in order to explain the reasons of ethnic peculiarities. These differences were related to genetically determined characteristics, anthropological and physical trait of the people, geographical living conditions. The

theories of recent years explain those differences by historically arisen economic, social and cultural conditions of existence. National peculiarities are not forever and absolute, they are changing in the course of the history.

Ethnic groups are not isolated; they are interacting with each other. This interaction is deeply influenced by so-called "ethnic stereotypes". One ethnic group has its own image of other groups. These images are formed in the process of "stereo-typisation". The image of other groups becomes simplified and limited; it is formed according the past experience of contacts with that group. This image creates ethical stereotype. Stereotype doesn't necessarily have to be negative, but always is subjective. It influences intergroup relations and forms ethnic liking and disliking. (Socialnaia psichologija. -, 1977 , Kasatkina N. , 1994)

The minority groups become objects of prejudice -- their members are perceived according to the stereotypical convictions.. Discrimination here manifests as limitation or deprivation of certain rights. The reaction of ethnic minority to the discrimination can be displayed in different ways: as reconciliation with such situation; as disagreement with subordinated status in the society and efforts to change it; as escape from society, maximal limitation of contacts with the representatives of majority group; or as the assimilation with the dominating group. Discrimination frequently survives in informal level, manifesting through habits, attitudes, values and etc.

The issues, related to ethnic groups, nations, national minorities, are important part of contemporary society, and they are connected to social, political, psychological spheres. Ethnic relations, the problems related to them and the ways of

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their solution are the target for specialist of various spheres. The majority draws clear boundaries around it and identifies all non-members as hostile outsiders. Not satisfied with its dominant position, it sees the mirror-image group as a potential threat to its own existence and a convenient scapegoat and target for conspiracy theories that totally ignore reality. Xenophobia develops against the minority, accepting unquestioningly all baseless accusations of aggravation, provocation, conspiracy, collaboration and intrigue, and these perceptions and fears become real to the masses and are easily exploited by unscrupulous politicians and religious demagogues. Rumors and accusations against the minority are accepted at face value as they fit in with inherited prejudices and stereotypes.

Theoretical Rationale of the Study:

Different Theoretical approaches:

Three Psychological Approaches to Minority-Majority Conflict

(a) 'Realistic' Group Conflict Theory

This theory was first formulated by Muzafer Sherif (1966 & Sherif et. al.1988), a pioneer in the study of intergroup relations. The theory suggests that hostility between two groups results from real or perceived conflicting goals which generate intergroup competition. When groups are engaged in reciprocally competitive and frustrating activities of a zero-sum nature, each group will develop negative stereotypes about, and enmity toward, the other group (the out-group). This hypothesis was validated by the first stage of the famous Robbers' Cave experiment (Sherif et. al. 1988) involving boys in a summer camp: When boys were split into two

groups engaging in competitive activities with conflicting goals, that is, goals that can be achieved only at the expense of the other group (for instance, the two groups had to compete with each other in a tournament of games like football, tug-of-war, etc.) intergroup hostility emerged very quickly and almost automatically. Similar experiments confirmed intergroup competition as a crucial source of out-group hostilities not only in children, but also in adolescents and adults (Tzeng & Jackson, 1994).

Sherif's works (see, for instance, 1953) have also emphasized the need for a society to achieve cohesion, and the tendency of majority groups to see minorities as an anomaly, or an obstacle to bring about that cohesion. On the other hand, in some cases, certain individuals' desire to become members of the dominant group is met with resistance. Both situations lead to majority- minority conflict. The same psychologist, also emphasizes (Sherif, 1953) the frequent incongruence between one's 'reference group' and 'membership group:' A reference group is a group to which the individual relates him/herself as a member, or to which s/he aspires to relate him/herself psychologically. A membership group, on the other hand, is a group of which the individual is (in actuality) willingly or unwillingly a member. Quite frequently, some people's reference group happens to be different from their membership group. In that case, they are considered troublemakers by the latter, for they behave according to the norms of the former. The loyalty of such individuals lies with their reference group, and, hence, they are distrusted by their membership group. This incongruence can be observed in almost every conflict between a majority and an ethnocultural minority.

(b) Social Identity Theories

The most important theorist in the Social Identity approach is Henri Tajfel (1981). His theory is considered by many social psychologists to be providing the most detailed and incisive explanation of minority group psychology (Hutnik, 1991: 51).

Another important social identity theorist is Michael Billig (1976). Both Billig and Tajfel (1981) have observed in their research that, contrary to Sherif's theory, the mere fact that there were two distinct groups seemed sufficient for the creation of group identities which reduced the importance of each member's individual identities. Strong group identities resulted in an 'us' versus 'them' division that led to intergroup animosity. Competition between these groups simply intensified the mutual dislike. It is this paradoxical process, particularly its more complex version which takes place at the societal level that Social Identity Theory aims to explain.

According to this theory, every individual divides his/her social world into distinct classes or social categories. Then, within this system of social categorization, individuals locate themselves and the others. The sum total of where they are located with respect to each category and classification constitutes their social identity. In other words, one's social identity consists of how one defines oneself in each social category (gender, geographic location, class, profession, etc.).

The basic assumption of Tajfel's theory is that people strive for a positive social identity (van Knippenberg, 1989). As social identity is derived from membership in groups, a positive social identity is the outcome of favorable social comparisons made between the in-group and other social groups (Druckman, 1994). As long as membership in a group enhances one's self-esteem, one will remain a

member of that group. But, Tajfel argues (1978), if the group fails to satisfy this requirement, the individual may: (i) try to change the structure of the group (ii) seek a new way of comparison which would favor his/her group, and hence, reinforce his/her social identity or (iii) leave/abandon the group with the desire to join the 'better' one. Tajfel then asserts (1978) that it is difficult for a member of a minority group to achieve a positive social identity, given that minorities almost always have an inferior status in comparison with the majority. So minority groups usually do not contribute to their members' self-esteem (Turner, 1982). In fact, Tajfel (1981) has observed that minority members may exhibit high levels of self-hatred. How do minority members confront this problem?

Tajfel identifies three ways:

1. If the social system is perceived as legitimate and stable, and there are no visible alternatives to the status quo, or there is no conceivable prospect of any change in the nature of the system (such as in a feudal society), they just accept their inferiority; they acquiesce.
2. If the system is perceived as illegitimate by the minority, very soon alternatives begin to be envisioned. The system loses its stability, and oppression and terror by the majority-controlled state becomes the only way to maintain it (e.g., South Africa during the late apartheid era) (Hutnik, 1991).
3. If the majority-minority relations are perceived as illegitimate and the system is no longer stable, the minority group members will tend towards a rejection of their inferior status. They then may reinterpret and redefine their group's characteristics and, thus, try to transform their social identity into a positive one.

Yet, according to Tajfel, most minorities, and their members in particular, when they reject their inferior status, in situations of unstable intergroup boundaries, prefer assimilation with the majorities to self-redefinition. Therefore, in such social systems, majority- minority conflicts mostly have to do with the opportunities of minorities to assimilate, or with the degree of penetrability of social walls (Social walls may be erected both by the minority group to stop its members from assimilating, or by the majority group to prevent minorities from joining them) (Huttnik, 1991).

This situation, combined with tangible differences of economic and political interests between the two groups, leads to minority-majority conflict, which, if not managed at an early stage may result in interethnic violence and bloodshed.

Tajfel's theory has been further developed by Taylor and McKirnan (1984) who try to explain how and through which stages a rigidly stratified society with a minority that has accepted its inferior status becomes an unstable society in which majority and minority compete and often are in conflict with each other. Just like Tajfel, they too emphasize causal attribution and social comparison as two social-psychological processes that play a crucial role all through this transition.

Taylor and McKirnan (1984) identify five stages:

(i) Strictly stratified intergroup relations. Such relations could be observed in feudal and caste structures, or in the Southern US states in the 18th and early 19th Centuries (slavery). In such societies, the majority group defines the stratification between the groups and the minority is led to believe that they are in some way responsible for their status; that they deserve their low status. In other

words, minority members attribute their low status to their own responsibility. Moreover, the social comparisons they make minimize their self-esteem, usually leading to self-hate.

(ii) The emergence of an individualistic social ideology: The rise of such an ideology is the result of such social, political, or economic processes as industrialization, urbanization, the growth of capitalism, the spread of literacy, modernization, etc. In this stage, minorities no longer see the social structure as legitimate. Minority members start making social comparisons on the basis of individual ability and merit, and any stratification that is not attributed to differences of individual skills or worth is considered unacceptable. Such a change, of course, marks the beginning of intergroup conflict.

(iii) Social mobility: In this stage to highly-skilled, better educated minority members attempt to join the majority group. They try to assimilate either completely, or partially. They make social comparisons on an individual basis and they develop strategies for themselves and for their families, not for the whole group. Taylor and McKirnan (1984) suggest that individual strategies always precede collective action. The majority usually tends to accept these highly qualified members, both because their desire to assimilate is seen as proof of its superiority, and because the encouragement of this assimilation process brings some stability to the society. The other members of minority are pacified with the expectation that if they tried hard enough they, too, would be able to move up.

(iv) Consciousness rising: Some highly qualified members of the minority, for various reasons, fail to (emotionally) assimilate with, or are not accepted by, the majority. In addition, the less qualified members of the minority realize that assimilation and improvement of their status will not be possible. Then, the highly

qualified non-assimilated minority members begin to raise the consciousness of their group and to claim that the stratification should change, not just at the level of individuals, but at the group level, as well. Self-hate is replaced with pride and ethnocentrism. The minority group now attributes the responsibility for its low status to discrimination on the part of the dominant group.

(v) Competitive inter-group relations: Consciousness-raising is followed by collective action: The minority begins to struggle against what it now perceives as social injustice. As a first response the majority group attempts to present group divisions as illegitimate or obsolete. But if such ideological arguments do not reduce the majority-minority conflict, the conflict may either continue at a low intensity or it may escalate. If it does escalate, the majority group may either resort to violence and suppression, or it may decide to negotiate with the minority group to create mutually acceptable social norms.

(c) Psychodynamic Theories

The most important representatives of the psychoanalytic approach to intergroup conflict are Vamik Volkan (1988, 1992, 1994) and his colleagues at the Center for the Study of Mind and Human Interaction of the University of Virginia (Harris, 1994, and Apprey, 1994), Marc H. Ross (1993, 1995) and Joseph Montville (1990).

Their approach is based on the works of Freud and Erikson, as well as the 'Object Relations Theory.' This theory, at least as it has been interpreted by Volkan (1988), mainly tries to explain how people form images about themselves and others. According to this version of the theory, ego, while becoming separate from id,

acquires certain functions that have to do with the external world, i.e. relations of one's self with objects (persons and things). One of those functions is constructing images and representations: Self images as well as images of other persons and objects.

Social In Group and Out Group Model:

Both psychologists and sociologists have long been concerned to find out why people do from time to time behave in racially discriminatory ways. An early explanation was in terms of "ethnocentrism" (Sumner, 1906). It was assumed that some people become excessively attached to the folkways of their own group and that other groups with different folkways are disliked precisely because of those differences.

The theory of Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson & Sanford (1950) elaborated on this by proposing that such "ethnocentrism" was not a universal phenomenon and attempted to specify just who it was that became excessively enamoured of their own group's folkways and thus became racially biased. Both the Sumner theory and the Adorno et al elaboration of it, however, share the assumption that attitude to the outgroup is some sort of mirror of attitude to the ingroup.

This assumption now appears very suspect. For a start, at the conceptual level, it should be clear that there is nothing incoherent about liking more than one group. Ethnocentrism must be seen not as a word with a clear denotation but rather as a theory about attitude organization that stands in need of proof. When we

use the word, we are theorizing about the relatedness of in-group and out-group attitudes -- and we could be wrong.

Group identity studies

There are of course some studies in the group dynamics tradition that do allow the connection between in group and out group attitudes . (Turner, 1978, p. 249). Also (Brewer & Collins (1981, p. 350) and Brown, Condor, Mathews, Wade & Williams(1986). So while much work that has been done with groups must be scrapped because of its inadequate assumptions, the fact that these assumptions have become recognized as false in at least some quarters is surely encouraging. What is not encouraging is the poor fit between the findings just mentioned and the theory they were supposed to test or support. They were supposed to test Tajfel's (1978) social identity theory. This theory claims that people maintain their social identity and self-esteem by comparing their group with members of other groups. Such comparisons are, of course, supposed to favour the in group. Does not this imply that the out group is looked down on while the in group is boosted up? Reconciling the theory with the finding of "no relationship" between in group and out group sentiment does thus call for considerable logical and linguistic acrobatics. For instance, Turner et al (1987) now say that the in group is required to be "positively distinctive" from the out group rather than "better" than the out group. This seems suspiciously like mere verbal magic; a distinction without a practical difference. The theory still seems to imply that the in group is judged in relation to outgroups. Yet how can it when attitudes to the two are unrelated?

As other evidence (e.g. Brown & Williams, 1984) is not very supportive of the Tajfel theory, there may, however, be little point in pursuing the matter any further one way or the other. Messick & Mackie (1989) also seem to see the Tajfel theory as being of seminal rather than current interest. Further, the Tajfel theory pays great attention to whether or not a person identifies with a given group. Following on from this, of course, Tajfel also sees the importance of exploring what it is that causes a person to identify with a group. While such studies are of interest, it will be argued later on in this paper that group identification need not be a precursor of group influence: A group can have non-coercive influence even in the absence of any identification with it. In short, group identity need not be an important issue in any way at all.

If the present paper has expressed some concern about vagueness in the reasoning of the Tajfel/Turner theory, the critique is greatly outdone by Willer's (1989) critique of Turner et al (1987). Willer says that the Turner theory is vague, self-contradictory and not empirically testable and that Turner et al ignore important related work. He concludes that the Turner et al work should be ignored.

Social cognition research

In recent years, of course, Tajfel's theory has become only one of many social cognition theories of group behavior that are being actively investigated in the laboratory. As these have recently been quite comprehensively reviewed by Messick & Mackie (1989) any attempt to summarize them here would be superfluous. What stands out from the Messick & Mackie review, however, is that neither Messick & Mackie nor those they review seem to show any awareness of the certainly surprising

but by now well-replicated finding that ingroup and outgroup attitudes are orthogonal rather than negatively related. Perhaps a finding which so thoroughly derails existing theories in the area is bound to be hard to acknowledge.

Stereotype and generalizations

The view is that racially prejudiced people refuse to see detail and individuality in other people and tend instead to see other people in terms of various fixed and oversimplified ethnic categories.

In such research, stereotypes are often found to be highly plastic and dynamic rather than being fixed (Stein, Hardyck & Smith, 1965; McCauley, Stitt & Segal, 1980; Bayton, McAlister & Hamer, 1956). They are also highly differentiated rather than being simple and monolithic (e.g. Kippax & Brigden, 1977; Gallois, Callan & Parslow, 1982; Houser, 1979; Newman, Liss & Sherman, 1983). They also have considerable truth value (e.g. Triandis & Vassiliou, 1967; Kippax & Brigden, 1977; Bond, 1986; Berry, 1970).

In other words, stereotypes are simply stages in a series of successively more accurate appraisals of people. They are simply instances of that great human skill, categorization and generalization. Human beings will generate hypotheses (stereotypes) on the scantiest of information (Read, 1983; Eisenberg, 1968). Thus stereotypes are temporarily useful tools, not mental fixations. Many psychology text books would say that stereotyping may be involved in the formation of racist attitudes but stereotyping is a step in the formation of all attitudes. To say that stereotyping causes racism is to confuse the cause with the process. It is not only racists who are stereotypes. We are all stereotypes. Interesting support for this conclusion is to be

found in a recent paper by Devine (1989). Devine showed that "tolerant" people do not differ in their awareness of stereotypes from non-tolerant people but that the tolerant people deliberately suppress their use of stereotypes. Tolerance has to be learned and deliberately practiced. It does not come naturally. Interestingly, this finding seems to have at least some cross-cultural validity. In a study from India, Singh (1987) has shown that tolerance correlates with culture conformity. Again the inference is that tolerance is learned.

Perhaps a final paper that deserves separate mention in this connection is by Smith, Griffith, Griffith & Steger (1980). They found that the students had stereotypes that were generally realistic and positive and concluded that stereotyping is of little use in explaining racial and ethnic antagonisms.

Attribution "error" in racial judgments

There are those who argue (e.g. Pettigrew, 1979) that racially prejudiced people are perverse in how they judge out groups. An admirable act by a black, for instance, will be seen by a white racist as the exception rather than the rule, whereas a similar act by a white will be seen as confirming a rule. Such behavior would certainly seem to suit the old view of stereotypes as being rigid. For instance: Say the stereotype is that blacks are aggressive. If a given white meets one. That, at any event, is the sort of thing that the results of actual research into stereotyping would lead us to expect. The Allport/Pettigrew theory simply fails to consider.

PSYCHOANALYTIC APPROACHES:

One theory of racism that would not seem to be much hurt by any of the criticisms made so far is that of Adorno et al (1950).

The theory does make considerable use of the term "ethnocentrism" but a little reflection will show that the failure of the ethnocentrism theory is much less fatal to the theory of Adorno et al than it is to (for instance) the social psychological explanations advanced by Tajfel (1982) and others. Although Adorno et al used the concept of ethnocentrism quite prominently in their work, it takes little modification of their theory to remove mention of it.

Although they gave in-group loyalty a token mention, it was really adverse childhood experiences with authority that Adorno et al saw as the main fount of racism. Regrettably, however, the Adorno et al theory does not stand up well on its own merits. Since its first publication it has attracted what can only be called a torrent of criticism and disconfirmatory evidence. See for example Christie & Jahoda, (1954), Titus & Hollander (1957), Rokeach (1960), Brown (1965), McKinney (1973), Ray (1976), Altemeyer (1981) and Ray & Lovejoy (1983). To continue to accept the theory would show little regard for the importance of evidence.

The view now current among psychologists generally seems to be the one expressed by Brown (1986), who says that ethnocentrism and stereotyping are "universal ineradicable psychological processes" rather than something exhibited by deviants only.

But is there not some evidence which does support the Adorno theory? There certainly is a lot of evidence which appears to support it but Altemeyer (1981) and others (e.g. Ray, 1973b & 1989; McKinney, 1973) show that such support tends

to be fairly artifactual when looked at closely. Apparently supportive findings generally seem to have much simpler explanations than the complex psychodynamic theory advanced by Adorno et al.

One finding that is not so readily explained away, however, is the finding that the Adorno 'F' scale almost always predicts racial attitudes. This issue has recently been treated at some length elsewhere (Ray, 1988) so will not be treated at length here. Suffice it to say that because the F scale does not predict authoritarianism (Titus, 1968; Ray & Lovejoy, 1983) a correlation between the 'F' scale and racism cannot be taken as supportive of the Adorno theory (which claims authoritarianism as the predictor of racism).

Conservatism and racial attitudes

One contention by Adorno et al (1950) that seems to have gained considerable acceptance is that there is a general association between conservatism and racial attitudes. It should, however, be noted again that Adorno et al used as their subjects mainly people who had received or were receiving some form of tertiary education. As already mentioned in a slightly different context above, the paper by Sniderman, Brody & Kuklinski (1984) is therefore interesting in that it relied on U.S. general population sampling and separated people out in terms of educational level. These authors did indeed find the association between racist and conservative attitudes described by Adorno et al but found it only among well-educated respondents. Among those with only a basic education the association was not to be found at all.

This is consistent with the view that the association is produced in the educational system by teachers (both secondary and tertiary) who tend to be both liberal and anti-racist. People who acculturate best to the educational system will therefore show both liberal and anti-racist views and will thus produce an overall association between the variables. Further evidence that such a social context is crucial for any such an association to emerge is the fact that in Australian and British general population samples conservatism and racial attitudes seem not to be correlated at all (e.g. Ray & Lovejoy, 1986; Ray & Furnham, 1984) and that in Northern Irish samples (Mercer & Cairns, 1981) the association is found for Protestants only (not among Catholics). Conservatism, therefore, may be associated with negative racial attitudes under some particular circumstances and in some particular places but there is no reason to say that it causes racial antagonisms in general. See also Ray (1984) and Gaertner (1973).

Duckitt's theory

Duckitt (1989) has recently proposed a theory that is a rather clever amalgam of Adorno et al and the group identity theorists. He proposes that racism can cause authoritarianism rather than vice versa. Like Tajfel and his school, Duckitt sees loyalty to the group as a fundamental human attribute and shows that variations in evaluation of the ingroup can cause more or less authoritarian and discriminatory behavior. He admits that the "ingroup" concerned can often be the nation but fails to make the connection with conservatism. Conservatives, of course, have generally opposed extensions of State power and intervention so, since they are wary of the major expression of the nation (the State), conservatives should in Duckitt's schema be less racist and authoritarian. In fact, as we have seen, conservatism seems to be

unrelated to racism and authoritarianism in general population samples (Ray, 1983a & 84a).

Duckitt also seems to believe that the attitude to the outgroup generally is the opposite of the ingroup attitude -- something shown above not to be true (Ray & Lovejoy, 1986). Interestingly, he refers to a theory by Berry (1984) which would explain the lack of relationship between ingroup and outgroup sentiment but still seems to take the conventional view that the two should in general be opposed.

Symbolic racism

Perhaps the most current theory of racial sentiment among psychologists in the U.S.A. at the present time is a loose group of ideas that are generally subsumed under the name "Symbolic racism". At its most general the proposition seems to be that racist policy decisions can be at least ostensibly supported by otherwise generally commendable major societal values. At their crudest such theories recognize that opposition to "busing" might be justified not in terms of opposition to racial integration but rather in terms of opposition to coercion over educational choices generally. The idea seems to be that racism can be in some sense "underground", covert or at least unacknowledged. This seems to lead to the conclusion that racism does not have to be overt or easily attackable in order to be effective.

In one sense all this seems hard to disagree with. Nonetheless there remain several conceptual confusions and evidential deficiencies in the theory that are rather well dealt with by authors such as Weigel & Howes (1985). These authors effectively show that this "new" (symbolic) racism is in fact not really different from

the "old" (overt) forms of racism. In other words, those who dislike members of other ethnic groups have always been able to offer justifications for their views that accord with then-current cultural values. The theory is, then, interesting only insofar as it is inchoate. See also work by McClendon (1985) and the destructive review by Sniderman & Tetlock (1986).

SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACHES:

Sociological theories

Given the weaknesses of the major psychological explanations of racism so far canvassed, can we find anything better in sociology? Apparently not. Studlar (1979) conducted a large study of a sample of the general population of Great Britain in which he claimed to be able to test the entire major sociological and psychological theories of racial conflict that were current in British academe at that time. He found that all his predictor variables combined explained only a minute percentage of the variance in racism. He also alluded to other studies with similar results. Despite its plethora of theory, therefore, sociology has little to offer in the way of confirmed predictions. Theorists such as Banton (1983) or Hechter (1986) who say that racial antagonism can be a realistic response to economic rivalry are almost certainly correct but such sources of racism appear in general to be very minor ones. They leave most of the variance still to be explained.

The "culture clash" theory:

There is, however, one theory that seems to have stood the test of time better than most. It has been known in many versions and guises but is perhaps most

informatively referred to as the "culture clash" theory or the "preference for similarity" theory. It is both a popular lay theory and one that has had massive academic study.

To confirm the universal nature of inter-group antipathies. There are examples, for contemporary China and the societies of the English-speaking world are very different but it seems that in both of them the lighter-skinned people do not like the darker-skinned people. This might at first seem like a strong indicator of the irrelevance of culture to racial antagonisms. Mr Fuzeng, however, did not think so. Quite the reverse. To him, culture was the whole of the explanation. And the explanation he uses is after all simple and obvious enough. People from different cultures do have characteristically different practices and a practice that is normal and acceptable in one culture may be abnormal and unacceptable in another. More generally, in some cultures industriousness and hard work are much admired. They are seen as badges of responsibility and respect-worthiness. In yet other cultures, however, hard work is seen as something that any sensible person avoids wherever possible. When people from the pro-work culture are mixed in with people from the anti-work culture people from the anti-work culture must be looked down upon by people from the pro-work culture. For people from the pro-work culture to do otherwise would simply be inconsistent and discriminatory. People from the pro-work culture would think ill of themselves for being "lazy" so why should they not think ill of others who are "lazy"? To ask them to approve of laziness would be to ask them to be untrue to their own values and their own culture.

While people of African ancestry are often seen by whites as "too lazy", the same or other whites may also tend to see Asians and Jews as "money hungry".

The availability of hard-working Asian workers may make it hard for whites to get jobs or attain economic success generally. If the competitors who keep beating you tend to be Asian or Jewish, a dislike of Asians and Jews is surely all but inevitable. As mentioned earlier, that economic rivalry is a "rational" basis for intergroup antipathies is in fact now becoming acceptable to a remarkably broad range of sociologists (; Banton Wellman, 1977, 1983; Brown, 1985; Moreh, 1988; Hechter, 1986).

Economic rivalry, however, is of course only one of many fora in which culture clashes might occur. Just the smell of cooking curry wafting from one abode to another has been known to be very upsetting for some English people. Other mentions of this popular theory can be found in Vinsonneau (1984), Basker (1983) and Eisenstadt (1983). Some academic treatments of the theory in whole or in part can be found in Manheim (1960); Rokeach (1960); Park (1950); Stein, Hardyck & Smith (1965); Levine & Campbell (1972); Liebowitz & Lombardo (1980); Taylor & Guimond (1978); Byrne, Clore & Smeaton (1986); Marin & Salazar (1985); Ray (1983a); Lydon, Jamieson & Zanna (1988); Mann (1958); Newcomb (1956); Byrne & McGraw (1964); Singh (1973); Suzuki (1976); Lange & Verhallen (1978); Wetzel & Insko (1982); Walker & Campbell (1982) and Bochner & Orr (1979). A feature common to most of the studies in the literature is that only a sub-set of the theory is studied. One of the best-known treatments of the subject in the literature of psychology exemplifies this. Rokeach (1960) tested the theory that "belief congruence" aided interracial amity. Culture is, however, much more than beliefs. Customs, attitudes, education, dress and cuisine are just some of the other more obvious elements. It should not surprise us therefore if most of the supportive findings in the literature show effects of modest magnitude.. It is congruence across the board

that is relevant -- not congruence in just one or two areas. This is, of course not meant to be any criticism of Rokeach. The Rokeach theory has, of course, had its critics. Many of these were, however, answered in a much-cited paper by Stein, Hardyck & Smith (1965). These authors show that the process of racial stereotyping is much more sophisticated than is commonly imagined. It is in fact a process of moving towards successively more and more accurate generalizations as the information available improves. As contact with and information about the stimulus persons improves, we come more and more to base our evaluations of them on such things as the degree to which they share our values (or attitudes or beliefs or orientations generally). And culture is just one of the major influences on our values.

Interpersonal Contact

How then are we to understand the at best highly equivocal findings about the influence of interracial contact? As various recent surveys of the literature have shown, (Ray, 1983a; Ford, 1986), whites who get to know blacks better do not necessarily get to like blacks better. In fact, quite the reverse is often the case. Only in certain carefully socially-engineered circumstances does increased interracial contact lead to increased interracial amity (See also Vaid-Razada, 1983; Reed, 1980; O'Driscoll, Haque & Ohsako, 1983; Oliver, 1981; Amir & Ben Ari, 1985 and Thomas, Foreman & Remenyi, 1985). It is no wonder that recent literature surveys of the degree of support for the Rokeach belief-conflict theory (e.g. Insko, Nacoste & Moe, 1983) find that it is supported only in certain contexts. Yet the findings with respect to the "contact hypothesis" do not really contradict the Rokeach theory at all if we look at them without preconception. They only conflict with it if we assume that blacks and whites do not have any real modal differences other than skin color. If two

groups of people are not really different (culturally or in other ways) then increased contact should indeed cause increased liking. The fact that it very often does not suggests to the unprejudiced mind, therefore, that there are real differences between blacks and whites beneath the skin. What these differences are has of course been the subject of much bitter and highly political controversy but let us here at least note that the evidence for modal differences in personality between blacks and whites is now extensive (e.g. Jones, 1978 & 1979; Lineberger & Calhoun, 1983 and Warr, Banks & Ullah, 1985). People of African ancestry seem generally to be found to be more confident and aggressive than whites. That people should dislike those who are more aggressive than themselves is of course very unsurprising. One certainly does not need to invoke I.Q. differences to explain why whites tend to dislike blacks. Why black and white cultures (or gene pools) produce different degrees of aggressiveness and confidence in their members would, however, seem worthy of research. Note also that if differences in personality are found to be a major cause of black- white animosity then that would be to disconfirm the Rokeach theory while at the same time supporting culture-conflict theory more generally. Beliefs and personality are not the same but both can surely be influenced by culture. Some specific support for this view can be found in a study by Moe, Nacoste & Insko (1981). They found that belief congruence was a more powerful influence on liking than was race. In other words, superficial racial characteristics such as skin colour have only a residual importance in liking. Racial dislikes would not tend to persist if the races were generally alike under the skin. Whites would like blacks if blacks were similar in beliefs, attitudes, personality etc. When they are not, more contact between the two cannot be expected to be generally beneficial.

Clearly, therefore, much more work needs to be done concerning interracial contact and its effects. This is particularly so because most extant research on the subject concerns attitudes rather than behavior. When one says that the effects of contact as so far revealed in the literature are unclear, one is saying that the effects of contact on measured attitudes are unclear. Given the long-known lack of connection (La Piere, 1934; Crosby, Bromley & Saxe, 1980; Rule, Haley & McCormack, 1971) between attitudes and actions in this domain, this cannot be taken as any evidence at all about racially discriminatory practices. Since it is surely deeds, not words that concern us most we need to investigate the evidence for the culture-clash theory of racism by looking at meaningful behavior rather than at attitudinal abstractions.

The attitudes that result may, then be (and surely are) not only the product of individual observation and contact but also the result of comparing notes, hearing anecdotes and discussing the Aboriginal phenomenon generally. Thus it is perfectly possible that the people who have highest contact are not the most discriminatory. Perhaps the people who have highest contact are those who tend to be "down and out" (and who tend therefore to share, for instance, park-bench sleeping accommodation with Aborigines) and such people might have so few options generally that discriminating against blacks is just not realistically possible for them. None of that takes away, however, from the fact that living alongside a minority that is different in generally decried ways tends to produce discriminatory behavior in the white community concerned. On the evidence so far, the predicted upsurge of racial antagonism has indeed resulted (Patterson, 1977). Various attempts to educate people into being racially-tolerant may have caused people generally to avow less racial antagonism now than they once did but there is evidence that this tolerance is quite

superficial and evanescent (e.g. Rogers & Prentice- Dunn, 1981; Howitt & Owusu-Bempah, 1990; Allen & Macey, 1990).

Influence of Contact Theory and Group Threat Theory:

Research on interracial contact and race relations has been heavily influenced by contact theory. Contact theory posits that “ethnic prejudice is an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization,” (Allport 1958, p. 10) which leads to the argument that if prejudice is misinformed stereotyping of another race, then the way to reduce prejudice is to create opportunities for interracial contact. Through positive interracial experience, whites may overcome their initial unfounded negative beliefs about blacks and increasingly form more positive opinions about blacks (Jackman and Crane 1986). Another influential theory in the research on race relations is group threat theory. Based on the premise that racial groups are in constant competition with one another, group threat theory emphasizes that relative group size affects power dynamics in group competition. In particular, as one group increases in size, members of other groups perceive their own positions as being threatened and become more hostile toward that group. A comparison of contact theory to group threat theory reveals an interesting difference in their underlying assumptions. While the former assumes that intergroup prejudice largely stems from ignorance or misinformation about the other group, and therefore may be corrected by interracial experience, the latter views intergroup conflict as a reality of social life, even though “group threat” could be real or imagined.¹ Thus, it may be said that contact theory represents an optimistic outlook on group relations as opposed to the pessimistic outlook of group threat theory.

Given this difference between the two theories, it is not surprising that they should lead to contradictory predictions about group relations. As an example, consider how whites' attitudes towards blacks, the minority group, would change when the number of black students increases as a result of busing. When the minority group increases in size, the opportunities for interracial interaction increase for the majority group. According to contact theory, whites' attitudes toward blacks would improve under the right conditions (i.e., Allport's conditions for congenial racial interactions). Group threat theory, however, predicts that the increase in the number of black students would be perceived as a threat and thus lead to more hostile attitudes towards blacks. In this example, the two theories lead to conflicting predictions, providing an excellent opportunity to test which theory is more applicable. Although the implications of contact theory and group threat theory are at odds, both theories have been supported by empirical evidence. On the one hand, a number of studies have found that interactions with cross-race friends or neighbors are associated with more positive racial attitudes (Robinson 1978; Siegel and Welch 1993; Powers and Ellison 1995). On the other hand, studies have found a consistent negative association between local black population size and whites' racial attitudes (e.g., Bonacich 1972; Blalock 1967) or from a political struggle for power and domination (Blalock 1967). 1957, 1959; Giles and Evans 1985; Fossett and Kiecolt 1989; Quillian 1996; Taylor 1998). How do we reconcile the conflicting evidence?

A closer look at these studies reveals that these apparently contradictory results are likely due to a difference in the operationalization of "interracial contact." Studies supporting a positive correlation between interracial contact and racial attitudes typically operationalize interracial contact as having cross-race friends (e.g., Siegel and Welch 1993; Powers and Ellison 1995) or interactions

with cross-race neighbors (e.g., Siegel and Welch 1993; Robinson 1978). Interracial contact measured in this way captures not only the racial composition of a social environment but also the respondent's voluntary interactions with other races. I call this operationalization of interracial contact by choice to emphasize the fact that people have some control over the amount of interracial interactions. Conversely, studies supporting a negative correlation between interracial contact and racial attitudes usually measure interracial contact by the racial composition of the social environment (e.g., Longshore 1982; Quillian 1996; Taylor 1998; Moody 2001). Interracial contact measured in this way captures the potential of an environment for interracial interactions, rather than the amount of actual interactions among the different racial groups. In contrast to contact by choice, I call this operationalization of interracial contact by exposure. In light of the difference between interracial contact by choice and interracial contact by exposure, it is not difficult to see how findings from previous studies are in fact not contradictory. A large presence of the minority group is associated with more negative racial attitudes for whites, whereas actual contact with members of the minority group is associated with more liberal racial attitudes. These two effects exist at two levels. The negative effect of contact by exposure refers to a variation across social environments where racial composition is different; whereas the positive effect of contact by choice exists across individuals.

Given this distinction, which operationalization of interracial contact is more appropriate? In other words, should we be looking at the effect of making interracial contact on racial attitudes, or the effect of interracial exposure on racial attitudes?

Although one might be interested in both questions, the latter is more relevant for understanding the effects of desegregation on race relations. This is because a direct effect of desegregation is increased interracial contact by exposure, but its effect on contact by choice is less transparent. If we decide to study the effect on making interracial contact on racial attitudes, we must also be wary of a logic pitfall. As is recognized in many previous studies, the difficulty lies in that it is plausible for racial attitudes to affect the probability of making interracial contact and not the other way around. It is one thing to show that people who make interracial contact hold more liberal racial attitudes, but quite another to prove that this relationship is causal in the direction as predicted by contact theory.

From this perspective, evidence in support of contact theory may not be as solid as we previously thought. Nonetheless, one study (Powers and Ellison 1995) that did account for the possibility of reverse causation using endogenous switching regression came up with the somewhat surprising result that there is no sample selection bias in the conventional model of estimating the effect of interracial contact on racial attitudes.

CHAPTER-TWO

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

This chapter will also review recent developments in research on ethnic relations and motivation that are relevant to understanding both direct and indirect social influence phenomena. The communalities between the various theoretical formulations represented in the chapters of this volume will be highlighted, and the prospects for a comprehensive and integrated approach for understanding ethnic social influence processes will be discussed.

Racial prejudice is common not only in adults and adolescents but also in children. Defined as a predisposition to respond in an unfavorable manner to members of a racial group, prejudice appears to be high in children as young as 5 years of age (Aboud, 1988; Bigler & Liben, 1993; Doyle & Aboud, 1995). White children, in particular, express prejudice toward Blacks, Native Indians and other minority groups (Corenblum & Annis, 1993; Aboud, submitted). They also respond to outgroup members in a way that demonstrates the salience of race in their social judgments (Ramsey, 1991). Furthermore, indices of playmate selection show bias toward friends and chums of the in group (Aboud, 1993; Finkelstein & Haskins, 1983). Thus, many children in the early elementary grades already possess perceptual and attitudinal biases about race. Social influences on these attitudinal biases merit attention. Despite the accumulation of evidence about early racial prejudice, many people believe that young children are colorblind (Schofield, 1986) and gradually learn prejudice from parents and peers (Rosenfield & Stephan, 1981). Allport (1954), for example, suggested that children learn as a result of hearing racial labels and the

emotions associated with these labels. A review of recent findings convinced us that it would be premature to assume that children are influenced by the attitudes of parents and peers, or even to assume that they explicitly talk about race. Most studies find little correlation between a child's attitudes and those of a parent or friend (e.g., Aboud & Doyle, 1996; Branch & Newcombe, 1986; Kofkin, Katz, & Downey, 1995). Furthermore, we found that children could not accurately predict their parents' or friends' attitudes (Aboud & Doyle, 1996). Thus, there seems to be no strong evidence that children are influenced by the attitudes of parents or peers. One explanation is that children distort the attitudinal information they receive from significant others. Alternatively, parents and children may simply not talk much about their racial attitudes.

A comparison of low- and high-prejudice children's use of the five discussion variables was conducted with a 2 (Sex) x 2 (Prejudice Level: low and high) MANOVA, where the discussion scores were dependent variables. The prejudice variable was analyzed as a within-case factor, because for each case a low-prejudice child was paired with a high-prejudice friend (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1989). Using Pillai's trace for the combined scores resulted in a significant main effect for prejudice level, $F(1,42) = 4.84, p < .05$. Univariate ANOVAs were subsequently performed on each transformed discussion variable. Means of the untransformed scores are presented in Table 1 along with the F values for the Prejudice factor. There were no significant effects due to Sex or Sex x Prejudice. Low- and high-prejudice partners differed on two variables: Low-prejudice partners made more *negative White* statements and more *similarity* statements. Children did not differ in their use of the other discussion statements as a function of prejudice level. In particular, two forms of discussion that were expected to characterize the high-prejudice position, namely

the use of pronoun references and negative minority statements, did not. As expected, there were positive correlations between two partners' frequencies for the five discussion variables, two of which were significant, namely cross-race similarity ($r = .45$) and use of pronoun references ($r = .50$). This indicates some degree of coordination in the dyad discussions despite partners' difference in prejudice levels.

The Role of Conflict with Prior Attitudes:

When recipients held an opposing prior attitude, however, the minority message was processed more extensively than the majority message. The findings supported the predictions and reconciled seemingly contradictory findings in the literature. Attitude judgments at least partially depend on the effort recipients invest in the processing of persuasive messages (e.g., Chaiken, Liberman, & Eagly, 1989; Petty & Cacioppo, 1986). An important aspect in explaining minority and majority influence, therefore, deals with the question of whether minority or majority advocacy induces greater scrutiny of message content (e.g., Baker & Petty, 1994; Erb, Bohner, Schmäzle, & Rank, 1998; Mackie, 1987; Moscovici, 1980; Nemeth, 1986). In research on Mackie's (1987) objective consensus approach, majority sources were found to instigate more extensive scrutiny of their arguments when compared to minority sources. According to this approach a majority source informs the recipient that the forwarded position is valid ("high consensus implies correctness") and therefore directs attention to the majority's message. This seems difficult to reconcile with Moscovici's (1980, 1985) conversion theory where more extensive scrutiny of minority messages was predicted and found. The contradiction points to the possibility that moderating factors have to be taken into account (Wood, Lundgren, Ouellette, Busceme & Blackstone, 1994, p. 337). In what follows, we examine the

effects of recipients' prior attitudes on message scrutiny in minority and majority influence situations. We hypothesize that a moderate prior attitude leads to more extensive processing of majority messages, whereas opposing prior attitudes lead to more extensive processing of minority messages. According to Mackie's (1987) objective consensus approach, the majority position "is accepted as reflecting objective reality" (Mackie, 1987, p. 42). A related argument has been put forward by Kelley (1967), according to whom high consensus makes people "know that they know" and promotes entity attributions (i.e. concern with the issue rather than the source). Similar to the effects of high credibility sources on processing (e.g., Heesacker, Petty, & Processing Minority and Majority Communications 5Cacioppo, 1983), confrontation with a viewpoint likely to be correct will increase concern with the objective truth value of the issue. In turn, recipients' attention will be directed to the majority message which results in extensive processing. A minority, on the other hand, lacks objective consensus; hence minority messages will be processed less extensively.

As far as the social conflict between the majority and the recipient's own deviant position is the focus of concern, message content will be of low importance and processed rather superficially. On the other hand, minority influence is guided by the question "How can it (the minority) see what it sees, think what it thinks?" (Moscovici, 1980, p. 215). Other than social conflict, such informational conflict leads to an active validation process in which issue-relevant information processing prevails. Hence, the minority message will be scrutinized extensively, and it is this extensive processing that leads to conversion (see also Maass & Clark, 1984, and Nemeth, 1986).

More recent research on the question has focused on other variables determining message scrutiny. For example, information about the source's minority or majority status can be used as a means to save cognitive energy in processing subsequent messages (Erb et al., 1998). Under conditions where recipients held no prior attitudes and the influence groups as well as the attitude issues were of low relevance to them, recipients used such consensus information to form an initial judgment about the quality of the persuasive attempt, positive (negative) in response to a majority (minority) source. Consistent with research that demonstrated energy-saving effects of heuristics and general knowledge structures (e.g., Chaiken et al., 1989), the initial reaction Processing Minority and Majority Communications 6 reduced cognitive effort dedicated to both the minority and the majority message. Thus, when compared to processing effort in a control condition where consensus information was not available, both minority and majority support was found to reduce effort under such impoverished circumstances that do not otherwise foster or prevent message scrutiny (see also Chaiken & Maheswaran, 1994). In other research, Baker and Petty (1994) studied effects of the unexpectedness of the source's position.

The diversity of findings reported in these studies yield important but also seemingly conflicting findings. To us, they confirm Mackie and Hunter's (1999) conclusion that it might be fruitless to search for a theory that predicts higher message scrutiny for either majority or minority sources under any circumstances (see also Erb & Bohner, 2001; Kruglanski & Mackie, 1990). Rather, these conflicting findings point to the fact that situational variables have to be taken into account.

Social science research has provided some predictive theories and a number of less theoretical hypotheses for understanding environmental concern in terms of demographics. Drawing on the pioneering work of Maslow (1970), the

hierarchy of needs theory suggested that members of poor or minority populations had many pressing day to day basic material needs to be met and therefore less time and money available to devote to “luxuries,” i.e. more esoteric concerns such as environmental protection. The theory predicted that the poorer segments of the population would be less concerned than the richer elements of society about environmental protection, and, by extension, that non-whites would also be less concerned than whites about environmental protection. The application of the theory to environmental politics in the late 1970s and early 1980s culminated in a series of works that sought to correlate a person’s concern for protecting the environment with their racial identity or income level. Hershey and Hill’s (1977-78) widely cited analysis of student opinion found a “concern gap” between white and African-American survey respondents. Whites were found to be significantly more concerned about protecting the environment than were African-Americans, even after controlling for a variety of socio-economic factors. The concern gap was corroborated by 4 other studies taking place in the late 1970s and early 1980s that applied the hierarchy of needs theory to questions about the environment (Douglas and Wildavsky 1983; Taylor 1982). By contrast, later work by Dunlap and Jones (1987), and Mohai (1990) used the results from a 1980 national survey (Fischer, et al. 1980) to study the opinions of African-Americans and whites on a range of environmental problems. They found little or no difference between the two groups on most issues. Work by Jones and Carter (1994) and Jones (1998) focused on a single trend variable, over a period of two decades and found fluctuations in the level of concern for the environment between African-Americans and whites over the 1970s and 1980s. These fluctuations were not consistent across time and did not offer much support for a concern gap, since at times whites were significantly more concerned than African-

Americans, while at other times, African-Americans were more concerned than whites.

This work suggested that even those poor or minority groups expressing concern about protecting the environment were less able or less willing to translate concern into social or political activity than their white counterparts (Mohai 1985, 1990; Taylor 1989). Related work examining the attitudes of immigrants to the United States found that immigrants were also much less likely than native-born residents to act politically on their environmental concerns (Pfeffer and Stycos, 2002), despite otherwise engaging in environmentally friendly behavior (Hunter 2000; Pfeffer and Stycos, 2002).

African-Americans and whites on issue-specific environmental concerns. The authors examined a Detroit-area survey from 1990 and found African-Americans expressed significantly more concern for pollution and other neighborhood environmental issues, while whites expressed more concern for global level environmental problems. There was little evidence to suggest a general concern gap, but rather that the concern expressed by African-Americans and whites was focused on different environmental issues. The principal alternative to the hierarchy of needs approach is *environmental deprivation* theory. Day to day survival concerns may lend themselves to a hierarchy of needs which disregard environmental protection, but what happens when a dirty environment becomes a survival concern in itself? This is the crux of the theory proposing that the more someone is exposed to pollution, or the greater level of pollution someone is exposed to, the greater concern they will show for protecting the environment.

A rival theory, *relative deprivation* theory, suggested instead that people living in polluted environments have grown used to their situation; outcry

would arise only from people living in cleaner environments who became exposed to the dirty side (Morrison, et al. 1972). Tests of these rival theories have produced mixed results. Early studies supported the relative deprivation theory (Hershey and Hill 1977-78; Crenson 1971). Lowe and Pinhey (1982) offered a unique test, pitting environmental deprivation theory against relative deprivation theory. Their results instead found support for environmental deprivation theory; a polluted environment concerned those living within it, whether or not they had lived in a less polluted environment at another time. Mohai and Bryant (1998) looked at the predictions of environmental deprivation theory alongside their examination of racial differences in attitudes towards environmental protection. Some of the correlation between race and environmental concern washed out in the analysis when the income level and pollution exposure of a neighborhood were controlled for. This result is understandable if minorities heavily populated these poor, polluted neighborhoods. Much work has been done linking concern for the environment to a variety of other demographics besides race and income, though the findings did not always paint a clear picture of how selected demographics were linked with environmental concern. Gender, age, education, religious affiliation, and the party and ideological self identification of the survey respondent have been popular test subjects for analyzing environmental concern. The correlations between gender, age, and education, and concern for the environment were somewhat inconclusive.

Only weak evidence was offered of a gender correlation with the environmental concerns expressed by the survey respondents. Van Liere and Dunlap (1980), and Uyeki and Holland (2000) found no evidence of a gender effect for this issue. Mohai and Bryant (1998) found few differences; where differences existed, males were less concerned about environmental problems than were females. Most

research skipped a control for gender entirely (e.g. Mohai 1990; Jones 1998; Jones and Carter 1994; Taylor 1989).

The Contextual Determinants of Interracial Preferences:

Some study results show that in schools with higher levels of racial diversity, where the opportunity for interracial contact is greater, students' underlying tendency to form cross-race friendship actually decreases. In particular, target group size has a strong negative effect on interracial friendship choice: as a racial group increases in size, members of the other races become less likely to nominate someone from that racial group as a friend. Findings from this study support group threat theory, but are not consistent with contact theory, which argues that interracial exposure is conducive to intergroup relations.

In the U.S, inequality in socioeconomic standing exists across many social and demographic categories such as gender, age, nativity, and family background. Of all these forms of social inequality, the division across racial lines is perhaps the most consequential and longstanding, for unlike the other personal attributes, race is both unalterable and hereditary. Hence, racial inequality accumulates across the life course and over generations. The consequences of racial inequality are further aggravated by racial segregation in marriage and residence. The tendency to marry within racial boundaries as well as to live in neighborhoods with high concentrations of members of the same racial group has compounded racial inequality at the household and neighborhood level. As a result, racial inequality has created a much sharper social cleavage than any other form of inequality in the U.S. America's racial divide would gradually disappear. Even if complete racial

integration will not occur for many years to come, an increase in interracial friendships would at least mitigate racial inequality. Desegregation is theoretically grounded in Allport's (1954) intergroup contact theory, which states four conditions for the formation of congenial race relations: interdependence, common goals, equal status, and encouragement by authorities. These conditions can be fostered in schools through classroom activities, sports, and other extracurricular activities. Nevertheless, it remains inconclusive as to whether school desegregation actually has the effect of improving race relations. On the one hand, contact theory hypothesizes that personal contact with cross-race individuals will dispel racist stereotypes, which are a barrier to good racial relations. On the other hand, psychological and sociological literature on group relations suggests that changes in relative group size will affect the power dynamics between the minority and majority groups; as a result, an increase in minority group size often leads to heightened group competition and deteriorated relations. In fact, recent evidence seems to support the latter view. For example, Moody (2001) found that in-group preference in adolescent friendship choice initially increases with the level of racial diversity at school and then levels off. Studies on the adult population (Taylor 1998; Quillian 1996) have reached a similar conclusion: whites' racial attitudes are negatively associated with the size of local black population. These results suggest that group dynamics may also have an important role to play in understanding the potential effects of desegregation on race relations.

In U.S.A the west coast to east coast, in major cities like Los Angeles, New York, and Chicago, children from more than 180 diverse cultures attend these public school systems (Garcia, 1999; Klope, 1995). Moreover, these children and their parents reside in these highly concentrated cities and metropolitan areas. Another major city, Washington, D.C., the nation's capital, has also seen a great ethnically

diverse population surge (Washington Post, March 16, 2001). Culturally and ethnically diverse students not only reflect changing school demographics, but they also reflect changing cultural and communication issues.

Classroom encounters where culturally diverse students and teachers interact can result in different types of intercultural communication experiences. Changing classroom environments and increased interactions between culturally diverse teachers and students reflect a need to examine intercultural communication issues in the classroom. Additionally, increasingly growing multicultural classroom encounters illustrate a need to assess teachers' view in relations to their sense of, connection to, and interest in the culturally diverse communities their students represent. The vast immigration of foreign-born to America, the increase in the socioeconomic lower class, the growing numbers of naturalized citizens and the wave of xenophobia (Macedo, 2000; Commission on the Status of Women, Summer 2001) have influenced performance and communication in organizations, which, in turn, impacts upon effectiveness (Albert & Triandis, 1985; Garcia, 1999; Gibson, 1999; Hofstede, 1990; Triandis, 1984; Van Bertalaffy, 1950). Furthermore, workplace issues have influenced individuals' attitudes and behaviors toward culturally different organizational members (Beamer & Varner, 2001; Bennett, 1990; DeVita & Armstrong, 1998; Gudykunst, Stewart & Ting-Toomey, 1985; Locke, 1992; Smeltzer & Leonard, 1994).

Within the last fifteen years, American educational institutions have had to start dealing with cultural issues in classrooms, in teaching, and in curriculum development.

Specifically, the American public school system is increasingly confronted with cultural diversity issues that impact upon such issues as classroom

management, curriculum design, teacher-student cultural communicative similarities and differences, inter culturalism, multiculturalism, and teacher motivation (Bennett, 1990; Garcia, 1999;

Goetz & Le Compte, 1984). By 2001, the United States Department of Education predicted a 47.2 million student growth in the nation's public schools, an increase of 14% since 1990.

"Projections of Education Statistics to 2011" published by the National Council of Education Statistics (NCES), Department of Education, indicates that enrollment in elementary public schools will continue to grow until 2005. Further, according to NCES, there will be a projected 4 percent increase in public high school student enrollment, between 2000 and 2010. For the past twenty years, Washington, D. C. population had declined. And, even more revealing, between April 2000-July 2001, the District's drop in population had leveled off. But recently, Washington, D.C. population had shown "some growth" (Wilgoren, Washington Post, December 12-28-01, p. B01). This growth not only includes native-born Americans, but also includes, increasingly, foreign-born Americans. One reflection of the growth of foreign-born American population has translated into an increased US citizenship rate of 37% (nationally and regionally), since 1997. Nationally, in 1992, there were nearly 20 million foreign-born residents compared to nearly 56 million foreign-born residents (Cohn, 2002, 2001). Specifically, from 1990 to 2000, the changing demographics of the United States' population are reflective of four major ethnic groupings: the Hispanic or Latino population had the largest increase of any other ethnic groups - from 22 million to 35 million; the African American population increased from 29 million to 34 million; the Asian population increased from 7 million to 10 million; and the European American population decreased from 211

million to 199 million (1990 Census of Population and 2000 Census of Population). The West, the South, and the East coasts, over the next ten years, will experience the largest immigrant growth, according to 2000 Census. Additionally, many cities will experience another kind of population growth that is not attributed to foreign-born. Since the 1600s,

African Americans have and will continue to alter the cultural presence in the workplace and in the educational institution. In many major American cities, African Americans are the majority residents. In Washington, D.C., for example, African Americans represent not only the majority in residency and in politics, but they also represent 87% of the student, staff, and administrative body in the District of Columbia Public School System.

American public schools have traditionally been a checkerboard of black and white students. However, America, over the years, has increasingly become more populated with foreign-born residents and their families. The “Melting Pot” (Benedict, 1959; Lustig & Koester, 1993; Nichols, 1987; Schwarz, 1995) concept of these groupings inaccurately described them as an assimilated or acculturated group. Today, America’s ethnically and culturally diverse populace may be more accurately described as a “Garden Salad Bowl” (Lustig & Koester, 1993; Teinowitz, 1998). The majority of the sample was United States citizens, female, Christians, and African American. Global-mindedness had a direct effect on teachers’ classroom communication skills.

Competing Explanations of Minority Mobility:

The three contending theses of minority mobility that are the focus of this discussion are the cultural thesis, the structural/cultural thesis, and the reality-constructionist thesis.

The Cultural Thesis

This thesis, the most influential interpretation of minority mobility, holds that certain minority groups -- notably Jews, Chinese, Japanese and Koreans -- occupy a social and economic status between dominant and subordinate groups in the United States due to their own cultural attributes. For example, the intermediate status of Asian groups is attributed to the religious values, civic virtues, ties of trust and loyalty, and the American Protestant work ethic they transported to this country (Glazer and Moynihan 1963; Likewise, Loewen 1971; Kitano and Sue 1973).² proponents of this thesis contend West Indians and their descendants are more economically successful than Black Americans because they also brought to this country similar traits and characteristics (Reid 1939; Glazer and Moynihan 1963; Light 1972; Sowell 1975, 1978, 1981; Arnold, 1984, 1987). Another version of the cultural thesis adds that minorities with higher socioeconomic mobility in advanced industrial societies have not only transported success-oriented cultural values, but organization patterns (voluntary self-help associations), education, language skills, and/or material resources (job skills, investment capital) that promote successful enterprises, and in a short time, the dominant group's social approval and acceptance (Light 1972, 1974). This version has also been applied to both Chinese and West Indians to explain their higher mobility relative to that,

1. In this study the term "West Indian" refers to those immigrants and their descendants with origins in the ex-British Commonwealth West Indies, including Belize and Guyana.

2. As used here, intermediate minority status refers to the social and economic position or standing between dominant group status and subordinate minority status. "middle man Intermediate minority status is not synonymous with minority" status, although the former may have been structurally-generated by a minority group's disproportionate concentration in small businesses and services.

Alternative Theses of Minority Mobility of subordinate minorities (Reid 1939; Light 1972; Foner 1979; Sowell 1975, 1978; Arnold 1984, 1987). In sum, this thesis posits there is a cultural dimension to America's ethnic and racial hierarchy such that to the degree a minority group's and the dominant white group's cultural values and resources are perceived as similar, the minority group will exhibit higher rates of economic progress and assimilation.

The Structural/Cultural Thesis

This thesis rejects the notion that culture independently determines a minority group's higher mobility. Instead, it explains minority mobility in terms of the relationship it perceives between a small immigrant minority group's engagement in "middleman minority" economic activities and retention of its culturally-based communal solidarity in a hostile environment. In other words, proponents of this thesis claim America's intermediate status minority groups have overcome structural and attitudinal barriers to their economic mobility by organizing in terms of their own cultural traits and values. As a result, they developed successful self-owned-and-

operated small businesses in which they brokered goods and services between the subordinate masses and dominant elite. These businesses soon fostered the groups' and their off springs' higher educational and occupational mobility and increased similarity to, and hence assimilation with, the society's dominant group (Bonacich 1973;

Bonacich and Modell 1980). Clearly, this thesis credits higher ethnic mobility to both structural and cultural forces. However, it does not question whether structural forces may differentially allocate economic opportunities such that similar cultural attributes and ethnic adaptation patterns produce intermediate minority status for one immigrant minority but not for another. Rather, it takes for granted that some minorities just have the internal resources to set in motion the "threat-heightened reciprocal ethnocentrism, ethnic solidarity, business development, professionalization, assimilation" cycle regardless of the intensity of external discouragement. Further, this thesis hypothesizes that such unique, small-business-oriented minorities will, within a generation or so, over-representation inexperienced educational mobility leading to professional occupations and, consequently, increasing integration into the dominant group's primary social networks (Bonacich and Modell 1980). As we shall see, our data are relevant to these notions.

The Reality-Constructionist Thesis

This thesis, called reality-constructionist for convenience, owes much to the work of Allport (1954), Berger and Luckmann (1966), Becker (1967), Schermerhorn (1967), Pettigrew (1979), and others who have examined how stereotypes and attributions interact with structural situations to produce

discrimination and resulting social categories. According to this thesis, subordinate, intermediate, constructed realities, or any other minority status are socially that is, if a society which is ethnically and racially differentiated due to voluntary and involuntary migrations has divided along the lines of dominant and subordinate groups, it is because the dominant group has used power in its economic, political, or social form to erect an opportunity structure in which less powerful groups are consigned to lower social and economic positions. The complex process includes a pivotal sub process in which the majority group seizes upon an easily verifiable and differentiating characteristic of potential and actual competitors religion, language, such as racial or ethnic origin, lack of property, or educational qualification and uses it as a pretext for excluding them from competition for economic, political and social advantages. The contrast in definitions applied to non-white minorities in this country is usually discussed as the contrast between those applied to Asians and Blacks. Asians are stereotypically imputed to have important desirable cultural characteristics and abilities. On the basis of this perception, dominants make reflexive judgments about them that enhance their educational, occupational, and social advancement (Hosokawa 1978; Lieberman 1980; Wong 1986). Conversely, Blacks are defined as a race, therefore characteristics and abilities credited to them are ones most people consider less desirable or completely undesirable. This gives rise to reflexive stereotypes, representations and judgments about them that increase prejudice and discrimination against them in educational, work and social settings (Allport 1954; Pettigrew 1979; Ritzer 1977; Praeger 1984).

According to reality-constructionists, the effect of anti-Black stereotypes and judgments is revealed most clearly in the selections made by members of the dominant white group during the course of their search behavior.

Ethnic/Racial Political Participation Significance:

This study does not seek to negate the established relationship between SES, social context theory or religiosity to electoral participation. However, this study is significant because while these longstanding theories provide some insight into general participatory activity, they do not tell us enough information regarding the current political behaviors among some racial/ethnic groups. Thus, further empirical research is necessary; to examine the degree to which these extant theories explain variations in ethnic participation, particularly from a neighborhood-level context. This is because arguably, as a unit of analysis, "...neighborhoods continue to play a crucial role in the way individuals perceive their status, their needs, and their opportunities" (Marschall 2000:11). Marschall (2000) further contends that neighborhood level analysis, "more consistently measures environmental features and also taps more adequately the underlying contextual mechanisms at work." (11). Furthermore, in the political participation debate, few studies provide a contextual framework that considers participation from a community level perspective. Thus, a contemporary look at both general and separate models of ethnic participatory behavior in metropolitan areas is warranted. Accordingly, in a secondary analysis of the Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey (2000), I seek to develop a more sophisticated multivariate analysis of electoral participation, that will, (1) examine the degree to which SES, social context and religiosity explain variations in both general and separate models of ethnic participatory behaviors; and (2) examine these factors from a community level context, among respondents, living in metropolitan neighborhoods³. Thus, following Leighley and Vedlitz (1999) and Marschall (2001), this study moves beyond a general model of political participation, usually tested using national survey data, and made-up almost entirely of Anglo-whites, toward a

more inclusive analysis among various racial/groups, using community level survey data. In the following analysis, first explored three long-standing theories commonly employed to explain political participation-SES, social context and religiosity. Then, based on this review of extant literature, I posit some related hypothesis. Second, I offer a detailed description of the research design, data and methods employed. The presented multivariate model of electoral participation using ordinary least squares regression (OLS). Third, I present and discuss my central findings. Finally, offered some concluding thoughts concerning future research in this area.

In short, this study largely confirms the relationship between education and income to electoral participation, but does not wholly confirm its relationship to employment. Moreover, the study maintains the plausibility of some measures of social context and electoral participation. Yet, this study finds significant differences in the social context theory, among African American and Latino respondents, as compared to Anglo-whites.

In terms of religiosity, these findings suggest that among each group, respondents who reported to be a member of a church tended to participate more than non-church members. On the other hand, participation in church activities posed no relationship to electoral participation among African Americans and Latinos in the sample. Finally, the impact of the frequency of church attendance is the weakest predictor among Anglo-whites as compared to the other groups, and not significant among Latinos.

Inter- and Intra-Racial Differences in Political Trust

Despite the large volume of research exploring racial differences in political attitudes, on the one hand, and political trust, on the other hand, very few studies have explored the intersection of these two topics by seeking to understand racial differences in political trust. To be sure, most studies of political trust note a consistent difference in the degree to which the races trust government, with blacks consistently registering more negative evaluations than whites. However, the implication of the vast majority of studies in this area is that “one size fits all” i.e., all groups form judgments of trust in the same way and separate analyses of different groups is unnecessary.

The Case for Racial Differences in Political Trust

The “racial divide” in the political attitudes of blacks and whites has been studied extensively. Across a large number of racial and non-racial issues and more general political orientations, the “race gap” is often quite large and some argue that they are more prominent now than they were a generation ago (Kinder and Sanders 1996). Such large differences have prompted some analysts to suggest a need for separate models of political behavior and public opinion for blacks and whites. According to Dawson (1994, 207), for example, “the historical legacy of black politics has led to the development of different heuristics, institutional frameworks, leadership styles, and behavioral patterns [across races].” One finds rather large inter-racial differences in political trust as well.

Despite the amount of work devoted to understanding inter-racial differences in political attitudes as well as the equally large volume of work

examining political trust, however, racial differences in political trust have been neglected, for the most part. One possible reason that researchers – especially those who study *trends* in political trust – have been discouraged from investigating group differences is the belief that the United States is made up of “parallel publics.” Specifically, Page and Shapiro (1992) have argued that, while we see group differences in opinions, different groups do not tend to change their preferences in very different ways; “Among most groupings of Americans, opinions tend to change (or not change) in about the same manner: in the same direction and by about the same amount at about the same time” (318).

Racial Identification

Recently there has been a good deal of research examining group identity among African Americans. Drawing on Social Identity Theory (see , Tajfel 1978, 1982; Tajfel and Turner 1979, 1986), Herring et al. (1999) provide an in-depth analysis of the structure of African Americans’ racial identity and reach several important conclusions. Foremost among these conclusions is that in group favoritism among African Americans is not strongly related to out group dislike. Instead, black identity is most strongly defined by individuals’ sense of common fate. While African Americans’ group identity consists of both affective and cognitive dimensions, the cognitive factors (a sense of common fate and how often they think about being black) are more important to individuals’ identity than the affective component. They conclude that “the cultural milieu in which individuals learn the meaning and value of the group may be more causative in identity formation than are negative experiences with the out group” (379). In sum, while attitudes toward whites may play some role in racial identity, African Americans’ group identity follows more from how closely

they perceive their fate to be connected to the fate of other African Americans. Considerable evidence already exists demonstrating that African Americans' political interests are grounded in racial group interests (Dawson 1994; Tate 1994). But how will racial identity help explain intra- and inter-racial differences in political trust, specifically? In the first place, blacks with stronger racial identity should have lower trust in government for several reasons. African Americans, as a group, have a distinct history within the United States that is clearly linked to their race, characterized by racial inequalities and exclusion from government.

Socio-economic Status

In his early work, William Julius Wilson (1980) argued, among other things, that the civil rights movement provided economic benefits for middle-class African Americans at the exclusion of poor and working class blacks, and that social class, rather than racial discrimination, will be the most important determinant of life chances among most African Americans. As African Americans become more heterogeneous in terms of class, we would expect increasing diversity in their political behavior (Dawson and Wilson 1991). Economic polarization among African Americans has indeed been increasing in the last several decades. From 1960 to 1991, the black middle class more than doubled in size. Forty percent of respondents in the 1996 National Black Election Study (Tate 1998) reported identifying with the poor and working classes, while fully 53% reported identifying with the middle (45%), upper-middle (6%), or upper-classes (2%). What is more, some evidence exists supporting the claim that this has led to a corresponding *political* polarization among African Americans. Katherine Tate (1994, Ch. 2), for example, finds that while the proportion of African Americans identifying themselves as conservative is still lower

than whites (about one third), the number has been increasing from 12% in 1974 to 30% in 1980 (though only 22% of those sampled in the 1996 NBES identified as conservative). Further, she finds that socioeconomic status, measured by family income and education, strongly influences blacks' policy attitudes in some areas, with more affluent blacks tending to be less supportive of the idea that jobs and a decent standard of living should be guaranteed for all Americans and less supportive of increased federal aid for crime prevention and public schools.

Given what we know about political trust and the typically large differences across groups found to exist in other opinion domains, however, such an assumption seems untenable. Most problematic, for the purposes of this paper, is the absence of research exploring the causes of racial differences in political trust. Over the last thirty years, in nine of the last sixteen national election studies that have recorded levels of trust of the American electorate, African Americans exhibited substantially lower levels of trust than whites. But, while studies have documented these racial differences, scholars have not focused their attention on understanding the causes of this "race gap" in trust.

Three papers deal with the premise that ethnic minority groups, to the extent that they retain their identity in a larger or smaller degree, present a challenge to the identity of the majority, i.e., the dominant, group in society. My consideration of this issue derives from what sociologically speaking is the nature of ethnically diverse societies: Distinct minority ethnic groups existing in a society whose institutions are determined by the culture of a different, but dominant, ethnic group.

While on the one hand the dominant culture, by that fact, presents a challenge to the minority groups' cultures -- a challenge that in our society is usually

approached through the process of assimilation of the minority groups -- the persistence of cultural identity of the minority groups in turn must present some kind of challenge to the majority identity.

Sociological literature has not dealt systematically with this issue. Most often, the persistence of the minority ethnic identity over generations had been seen as either a factor of segregation or ghettoization, a factor of negative influence on the process of societal integration, or a factor of only symbolic, but not "real" value to those maintaining it (Gans, 1979; Porter, 1975; Yinger, 1994). . Max Weber (1968:1:385-98), for example, saw a close relationship between ethnicity, consciousness of kind and political unity.

He devoted to the discussion of ethnicity only a few pages and felt that when analyzed, the concept dissolves itself into the concept of nation. He pointed to examples where differences in language preclude a feeling of common nationality and to those where such differences exist, yet there is a sense of common nationhood. Still he concluded that the concept of nation ultimately links a common "pathos" with a shared common language, religion or customs. The question of minority and majority identities existing within one nation is not systematically considered by him.

Other scholars who were influential in the development of theories of the nation also have defined diversity of identity not as part of the nation's structure but as a problem for the existence of the nation-state. In a famous report on nationalism by a Study Group of Members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (1963: 255-263) in England, published in the late 1930's and republished in the early 1960's, the authors, including such scholars as Morris Ginsberg and T. H. Marshall, define a nation as being distinguished from all other groups by certain "clear characteristics". Among these they include a common language, a common

ancestral origin, a distinctive national character (including "habits of thought, ideals, temperaments, codes of social life and practice"), a common religion. Following, what had been reported earlier, I suggest that a number of propositions which may go to make up a theory of what may be called identity challenge theory of ethnic minority-majority relations. It should be understood, however, that (1) these are tentative, hypothetical propositions which will require empirical substantiation and (2) they attempt to bridge the micro-macro gap, that is, the individual and the group levels. That is, the issue of minority-majority relations cannot be studied purely on the macro level. One has to include also the micro level. The propositions are:

1. Individuals or groups, with strong identity tend to respect other individuals or groups with strong identity. Those with strong identity tend to have little respect for those with weak identity. Those with weak identity tend to fear those with strong identity.

2. On the individual level, strong or weak identity is related to the degree of positive self-evaluation and self-confidence. On the group level, strong or weak identity is related to the degree of commitment of the group members to the group. The latter is related to the degree of sharing the same group patterns, particularly the group's values and the degree of benefits derived from group membership and participation.

3. People whose identity defines the dominant, mainstream institutions in society will tend to perceive those with different community identities as a potential threat to their group identity when they interact with them in the context of the same social institutions. The word "threat to identity" has to be defined. The threat may be perceived in political, economic, cultural or moral terms. It may involve a range of perceived potential consequences: fear that the mainstream institutions may

lose their dominance, fear of loss of positions of power, fear that those in the positions of power or the majority community itself may have to change or modify even some of their patterns of behavior in order to accommodate those with other identities. This last includes the idea of obligation to do something to fulfill the needs of minorities.

4. A condition in which a threat to one's group identity comes to be perceived occurs when those with whom one interacts make one conscious of own cultural identity as one of many possible such identities. To explain, one's group identity is defined by a community culture.

Culture is an encoding of a community's historical experiences. This encoding, in the form of tradition, functions as a validation and legitimization of these experiences. Consciousness of alternative cultural identities at least implicitly places the validity or legitimacy of these experiences into question. Hence a feeling of potential threat and a source of dislike of ethnic minorities by ethnic majorities.

5. Reduction of this perceived threat by the majority community may take three basic directions: (1) decrease of the strength of the minority groups' identity, (2) exclusion of those with different identities from participation in the same social structures, (3) a modification of majority identity to include minority identities. The first process usually takes place through assimilation and the concomitant ethnic identity loss.

The second process involves discrimination or modification of the social structure in such a way as to reduce direct interrelationships with the minority groups. This may mean regional or residential segregation, institutional parallelism and the like. The third process will be discussed further below.

6. People or groups with strong identity who have positions of power may tend to emphasize the exclusion approach whereas people or groups with weak identity who have positions of power may tend to emphasize the identity reduction approach. The latter may range from policies of indirect assimilation to forced assimilation, to physical annihilation of a minority group. Many historical cases can substantiate these hypotheses either in North America or in other European societies.

In Western Europe, the historical method by which diverse identities were accommodated had been territorial regional or national segregation. The examples are the emergence of independent states and the de jure territorial segregation within the state, as in Switzerland, Belgium, United Kingdom and other. The territorial approach works as long as the different ethnicities are relatively contained in separate structures. To the extent that participation in a common structure takes place, the territorial principle loses its effectiveness as a method of reducing identity threat. This seems to be increasingly the case in Europe.

A number of studies from the U.S., Canada, and Europe have shown that ethnic and racial tolerance is generally higher where contact with minority groups is relatively more likely. Williams (1964), Hamilton (1972) and Ford (1973) have reported lower levels of prejudice in U.S. cities that are relatively more "integrated". Several studies in Canadian schools have related ethnic attitudes to ethnic composition. Reich and Purbhoo (1975) found children in schools with a high, as compared with a low percentage of "new Canadians", to be better in cross-cultural role taking (but no different on a general measure of tolerance). Ziegler (1980) found a positive relationship between "ethnic density" and preference for social diversity. George and Hoppe (1979) discovered that white children in mixed (white and Native

Indian) schools, as compared with children in all white schools, were more likely to select non-whites as potential friends.

The previous literature on how ethnic and racial attitudes are related to ethnic presence allowed for no clear prediction. Research based on realistic conflict theory, and dealing primarily with black white relations in the United States, suggests negative relationships (Pettigrew, 1958, 1959; Giles, 1977). Also possible are curvilinear relationships with increasing slope (Blalock, 1967), decreasing slope (Giles and Evans, 1986), or with an inverted U-shape (Bullock, 1976; Longshore, 1982). On the other hand, research stemming from the contact hypothesis has found predominantly positive linear relationships (Brigham, 1993; Ellison and Powers, 1994; Kalin and Berry, 1982; Wagner and Zick, 1995).

It may be possible that contact with visible minorities has different consequences than contact with ethnically different but racially similar groups. It may be the case that racial, as compared with ethnic attitudes, are more likely to take the form of prejudice and may therefore be more difficult to change. It may also be the case that emotions experienced as a result of close contact with racial minorities may be negative, as discovered in a study conducted in Holland. Dutch respondents reported negative emotions of irritation, anxiety and concern when experiencing close contact with Surinamese, Turks and Moroccans (Dijker, 1987).

The significant positive relationships between ethnic attitudes and ethnic presence are in line with all those obtained in the tradition of the contact studies (Brigham, 1993; Ellison and Powers, 1994; Ford 1973; George and Hoppe, 1979; Hamilton, 1972; Kalin and Berry, 1982; Reich and Purbhoo, 1975; Wagner and

Zick, 1995; Williams, 1964; Ziegler, 1980). They are also consistent with investigations in which the beneficial effects on ethnic attitudes of contact through travel or educational experiences were demonstrated (Blake, Lambert, Sidoti and Wolfe, 1981; Clément, 1980; Clément, Gardner and Smythe, 1977; Kalin and Berry, 1980).

The best explanations for the above, as well as the present study are the contact (Allport, 1954; Amir, 1969, 1976; Cook, 1985; Hewstone and Brown, 1986) and mere exposure (Zajonc, 1968) hypotheses. To the extent that members of an ethnic group are present in a geographic area, non-members of that group are likely to come into contact with the ethnic group. The mere exposure hypothesis would state that attitudes will become more positive as a result of greater familiarity, following repeated contact, with members of a group. The contact hypothesis, on the other hand, describes certain conditions under which contact leads to positive attitude change. Contact should be between individuals of equal status and there should be an acquaintance potential. Kalin and Berry (1982). In both investigations significant and direct relationships were found between ethnic attitudes and log transformed ethnic presence for the following groups: British in Québec, French in the rest of Canada, and Germans, Ukrainians, Italians, and Jews outside Québec. The direct relationships between ethnic attitudes and ethnic presence observed for most groups indicate that attitudes towards a particular group are more positive to the extent that the group is well represented in the geographic region of the respondent. The results were explained in terms of the contact and mere exposure hypotheses.

The contact hypothesis states that regular interaction between members of different groups reduces prejudice, providing it occurs under favorable conditions. Neglected aspect of the hypothesis, namely it's interconnectedness with the spatial

organization of intergroup relations. As a developing theme, the paper emphasizes the need to devise social psychological theory that is adequate to the spatial dimension of group processes. This will require a shift away from a conception of social space as an inert background to social life towards a conception of social space as a meaningful and dynamic production that constitutes our collective relations and identities. This study was supportive of and critical with the generalizations of the contact hypothesis.

The theory of relative deprivation has been used for the last three decades in order to understand and predict the reaction of disadvantaged group members to the inequalities that they perceive in intergroup relations (Davies 1959, Runciman, 1966; Gurr, 1970 and Crosby, 1976).

Santal as members major tribal groups of Bangladesh perceive that the Bengalis as members of dominating group are not fair in the distribution of resources and that they do not maintain equity in intergroup behaviour(Moeed,M.A et.al,1993)

Santals are found to prefer individual mobility to attain self-esteem. They compete with their own group members rather than with the outgroup. They have accepted a strategy of cognitive alternative. As a result they prefer to get converted to Christianity in order to change their disadvantaged position.

In the present study, Santal subjects as member of disadvantaged group are subjected to the strategy of individual mobility and as such they compare themselves with the members of their own group in higher frequency than the outgroup(Moeed,M.A,et.al, 1993). They are prone to leave or dissociate themselves from their own group for upward social mobility. Thus they might move from a low to

a high status group as is found in their acts of religious conversion into Christianity. In a word Santals as members of tribal groups move in search of cognitive alternatives in order to get rid of their insecure social status.

The phenomenon of socio-political attitude in Bangladesh has been extensively studied by Ara (1988). In cross-cultural comparisons she tried to integrate a large number of variables in a single study. She found that right-left ideology is associated with student activism encompassing such factors as conservatism, radicalism, values, personality correlates and demographic variables. In another study, Ara and colleagues (1985) investigated the functional relationship between ethnicity and socio-political attitudes in the national context of Bangladesh. They focused on such socio-political attitudes like nationalism, democracy, socialism and secularism. The findings confirmed the hypothesis that individuals with high ethnicity have conservative attitudes and low in ethnicity would exhibit liberal attitudes.

The investigation revealed that Muslim Ss expressed more conventional attitudes on the total socio-political attitudinal constellation than Hindu Ss. Particularly on the dimension of nationalism. Muslim Ss expressed more nationalistic attitudes in comparison to their Hindu counterpart. On religiosity dimension, Hindu Ss expressed more secular attitude as compared to Muslim Ss. An inspection of the results (Table 8) showed that Hindu Ss expressed more liberal attitudes on the minority issue in comparison to Muslim Ss. These results are similar to those obtained by Adorno, Frankle, Brunswick, Levinson and Sanford (1950). These investigators explained that conventionalism, authoritarianism, aggression, authoritarian submission, projectivity, stereo-typing and destructiveness can well be attributed to the personality make up of the individual concerned. In Indian context,

Sinha (1972) investigated the phenomenon of socio-political attitudes on traditionalism and conservatism.

In Bangladesh, Haque and Ara (1985) found that individuals with high ethnicity exhibit conservative attitude and individuals with low ethnicity exhibit liberal attitudes and both ethnicity and conservatism positively correlated with appropriate behavioral style. It is really an enigmatic problem with needs broader investigation and empirical verification in unfolding these ethno-political phenomenon providing a psychological model common to all social context.

A number of studies have shown that many subordinate groups in any given society indicate a wide range of identity problems such as low self esteem, devaluation of ingroup and tendency to misidentify with and prefer the dominant group (Clark and Clark, 1947; Horowitz 1947; Radke and Trager, 1950; Taylor, 1946, Gregor and McPherson 1966; Asher and Allen; 1969; Tajfel, 1974; Milner, 1975). These studies generally attempted to formulate principles regarding the ethnicisms in intergroup relations.

In recent years, a few studies have been conducted regarding the conditions under which subordinate groups evaluate themselves positively and devalue or perceive outgroups negatively in the context of specific sub-cultural experiences (Friedman, 1969; Hraba and Grant, 1970; Bourhis et. al. 1973; Giles and Powel Island, 1975; Vaughan, 1977; Majeed and Ghosh, 1982).

According to Tajfel (1978) in group and out group evaluations are based on three basic assumptions : (1) Individuals define and evaluate themselves in terms of their social group. (2) Individual social identity is positive or negative according to the subjective status of the groups which contribute to it. (3) Other

groups in the social environment constitute the frame of reference for evaluating own group prestige, i.e., the ingroup evaluation depends on the outcome of the comparison between in group and relevant outgroups. It is, therefore, the subjectively defined as social reality under which conditions an ethnocentric orientation may generate resulting in positive or negative social identity. More precisely, when the members of a group evaluate themselves positively and devalue or perceive outgroup negatively it constitutes there positive social identity. Alternately, if the members of a group develop a consensual inferiority and evaluate own group negatively and out group positively, it is a case of negative social identity.

CHAPTER-THREE

DEVELOPMENT AND OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

Bangladesh and Demographics

The People's Republic of Bangladesh is a country in South Asia that forms the eastern part of the ancient region of Bengal, with Bangladesh meaning "Bengal Land". Laying north of the Bay of Bengal, on land it borders India almost exclusively, save for a small section bordering Myanmar in the southeast.

History

Bengal became Islamic starting in the 13th century and developed into a wealthy centre of trade and industry under the Mogul Empire during the 16th century. European traders had arrived in the late 15th century and eventually the British East India Company controlled the region by the late 18th century, from which the British extended their rule over all of India. When Indian independence was achieved in 1947, it was divided in a predominantly Muslim Pakistan and a predominantly Hindu India.

Bengal was thus divided into an eastern part called East Pakistan and a western part, the Indian state of West Bengal. East Pakistan was dominated and frequently neglected by West Pakistan and tensions turned into a struggle for independence in 1971. The attempted repression of this movement in March resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Bengalis and a refugee problem that led to Indian intervention in December and, subsequently, independence from Pakistan.

Politics

The president, while head of state, holds a largely ceremonial post, with real power held by the prime minister, who is head of government. The president is elected by the legislature every 5 years and his normally limited powers are substantially expanded during the tenure of a caretaker government, mainly in controlling the transition to a new government.

The prime minister is appointed by the president and must be a member of parliament (MP) whom the president feels commands the confidence of the majority of other MPs. The cabinet is composed of ministers selected by the prime minister and appointed by the president.

The unicameral Bangladeshi parliament is the House of the Nation or Jatiya Sangsad, whose 300 members are elected by popular vote from single territorial constituencies for five-year terms of office. The highest judiciary body is the Supreme Court, of which the chief justices and other judges are appointed by the president.

Geography

Bangladesh consists mostly of a low-lying river delta located on the Indian subcontinent with a largely marshy jungle coastline on the Bay of Bengal known as the Sundarbans, home to the Bengal Tiger. The densely populated delta is formed by the confluence of the Ganges (local name Padma), Brahmaputra (Jamuna), and Meghna rivers and their tributaries as they flow down from the Himalayas. Bangladesh's alluvial soil is highly fertile but vulnerable to both flood and drought. Hills rise above the plain only in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (highest point: the Keokradong at 1,230 m) in the far southeast and the Sylhet division in the northeast.

Straddling the Tropic of Cancer, the Bangladeshi climate is tropical with a mild winter from October to March, a hot, humid summer from March to June, and a humid, warm rainy monsoon from June to October. Natural calamities, such as floods, tropical cyclones, tornadoes, and tidal bores affect the country almost every year, combined with the effects of deforestation, soil degradation and erosion. Dhaka is the country's capital and largest city, other major cities include Chittagong, Rajshahi, and Khulna.

Economy

Despite sustained domestic and international efforts to improve economic and demographic prospects, Bangladesh remains a poor, overpopulated, and ill-governed nation. Although more than half of GDP is generated through the service sector, nearly two-thirds of Bangladeshis are employed in the agriculture sector, with rice as the single most important product.

Religious-political culture in indo-pak sub continent

Since the first arrival of Islam to India in A.D. 711, and especially after the establishment of the Muslim Mogul empire in India in 1526, relations between the Hindus and the Muslims have been tense, albeit to varying degrees during different periods.

For a brief period, the struggle for independence from British colonial rule brought India's Hindus and Muslims together. Tensions simmered beneath the facade of unity, however, and finally led to the partition of India and the creation of the Muslim state of Pakistan, while leaving the fate of Muslim Kashmir undecided.

The undetermined status of Kashmir sowed the seeds of a conflict between India and Pakistan, which has led to three Indo-Pakistani wars — in 1948, 1965, and 1971 — and has engulfed Kashmir itself in violence for the past 50 years. Even Mahatma Gandhi, the founder of modern India, became a victim of Hindu-Muslim animosity when he was assassinated on January 30, 1948, by a Hindu extremist, Nathuram V. Godse, ostensibly because of his concessionary attitudes toward the Muslims. Nevertheless, Nehru and his Congress Party tried to create an Indian society and state where sectarian, caste, and other parochial loyalties would be submerged by a broader secular Indian identity and nationalism.

For a time, this policy seemed to ease Hindu-Muslim tensions. But in the last several years, as this secular and transcendental vision of India has come under pressure from various sources, especially by a resurgence of Hindu nationalism, Hindu-Muslim relations have once again become tense. More important from a long-term perspective the coming to power of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has caused the Indian Muslims to think hard about their future in India and the political choices available to them.

The Erosion of Nehru's Vision of India

Nehru, who never fully recovered from what he saw as the tragedy of India's partition, was determined to prevent sectarian and other parochial interests from further undermining India's unity and perhaps even leading to its fragmentation. He was fully aware that in order to achieve this goal India's political system must be secular, and it must allow all religious groups a share in power. This vision appealed

to India's religious minorities, notably its Muslims, who became loyal supporters of the Congress Party.

The Muslim Response: 1947-1992

The demolition of Babri Mosque on December 6, 1992, in Ayodhya, mainly by RSS cadres (the BJP's fountainhead), forced the Indian Muslims to reevaluate their relationship with the state. This demolition has the importance of a landmark in Indian Muslim political thought. For the first time, the Indian Muslims reevaluated their "patron-client" relationship with the state. This event also started a renaissance in the Indian Muslim political outlook.

In post-independence India, Muslims have had a patron-client relationship with successive Indian governments, particularly with Prime Minister Nehru's government. The patriarchal Jawaharlal Nehru ordained a client status for the Muslim community at independence. This position remained unchanged for 50 years, despite the fact that the Muslim community in India today is one of the most impoverished minorities, lagging far behind the Sikhs and the Parsees, in political and socioeconomic status. The Muslims' client status also remained intact, despite the increased frequency with which Muslims have become scapegoats in politically sponsored communal riots. Even in 1977, during the emergency rule under Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, when the Muslims experienced horrifying conditions, their loyalty to their political masters remained intact. The Muslim passivity and lack of political organization meant that they were looked upon as captive vote banks, and consequently no efforts were made to improve their conditions.

From 1992 to the Present

The end of the era of the patron-client relationship, the weakening of secular institutions in India, and most importantly the revival of Hindu nationalism, have forced Indian Muslims to undertake a deep soul searching and to try to devise strategies to cope with India's new cultural and political realities.

The weakening of secular institutions and values and the subsequent rise and spectacular comeback of Hindu revivalist and nationalist parties in India, have set the Indian Muslims on an uncharted journey. There is an internal debate going on within the Muslim community regarding the path to follow in order to preserve and promote their political, social, economic, and religious interests and values.

Only time will tell how Muslim politicians will lead their community through this difficult period of reevaluating their position in the new Indian society and subsequently shedding their deeply inbred minority complex. Muslims are likely to be forced to become politically active in order to become an integral part of India's political process, and assure a voice for themselves in state and national governments. In short, Indian Muslims can no longer afford to be taken for granted by any political party. Thus even if the BJP loses its appeal, Indian Muslims would need to become more organized and active in shaping Indian politics if they want their rights to be respected.

Ethnic Relations in Bangladesh

For centuries, Bangladesh has been an oasis of peaceful coexistence between various religious communities. (Ref: Bangladeshi Itihas by Prof. Sirajul

Islam, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dhaka (1993)) This is especially true since the time of (Muslim ruler) Ikhtiyaruddin Bakhtiyar Khilji (1201 C.E.), until about early 20th century of the British colonization.[1] The British tried to foment communalism through her Euro-centric historians and their students, many of whom were Hindus. Then there were economic and sociopolitical changes that the British Raj gradually imposed, which further alienated its Muslim subjects. Land ownership was transferred; taxation and usurious loans totally broke the backbone of Muslim Bengalis. Through a criminally-intent per iodization of Indian history, Muslims were portrayed as outsiders and that the Muslim period, in contrast to English colonization, was a horrific one. Hindus were taught to think ill of Muslims. This criminal policy was a successful one to divide the Indian people. And in the end, we settled for Pakistan and India.

We should pray and hope that the demon of communalism will one day go away from our subcontinent, and we shall all be living a peaceful life, something that was typical of Bengal in post-Khilji period until the British colonizers came. And (probably) of all these independent states in the Indian sub-continent, Bangladesh is uniquely placed to become the torchbearer in this path. After all, the spirit of the universal brotherhood of man has been succinctly emphasized in the following folksong of Bangladesh: "Nanan boron gaabhiray tor ekoi boron doodh, /Jagat Bharamiya, dekhlam ekoi maayer poot." [The cow's skin may take many hues but its milk is white everywhere, / all men and women are offspring of the same Mother Eve].

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The Constitution establishes Islam as the state religion but also provides for the right--subject to law, public order, and morality--to practice the religion of one's choice, and the Government generally respects this provision in practice. However, although the Government is secular, religion exerts a powerful influence on politics, and the Government is sensitive to the Muslim consciousness of the majority of its citizens.

There was no change in the status of respect for religious freedom during the period covered by this report. Citizens generally are free to practice the religion of their choice; however, police, who generally are ineffective in upholding law and order, often are slow to assist members of religious minorities who have been victims of crimes. An increase in crime and violence in the first few months after the October 2001 elections has exacerbated this situation and increased public perceptions of the vulnerability of religious minorities at large.

The generally amicable relationship among religions in society contributed to religious freedom; however, the number of Hindu, Christian, and Buddhist minorities who perceive discrimination from the Muslim majority has increased.

The country has a total area of approximately 53,000 square miles, and its population is approximately 130 million. Sunni Muslims constitute 88 percent of the population. Approximately 10 percent of the population are Hindu. The remainder of the population mainly are Christian (mostly Catholic) and Buddhist. Members of these faiths are found predominantly in the tribal (non-Bengali) populations of the

Chittagong Hill Tracts, although many other indigenous groups in various parts of the country are Christian as well. There also are small populations of Shi'a Muslims, Sikhs, Baha'is, animists, and Ahmadis. Estimates of their populations vary widely, from a few hundred up to 100,000 adherents for each faith. Religion is an important part of community identity for citizens, including those who do not participate actively in religious prayers or services; atheism is extremely rare.

There are no reliable estimates of the number of missionaries active in the country.

Religion exerts a powerful influence on politics, and the Government is sensitive to the Muslim consciousness of the majority of its citizens. Religion is taught in government schools, and parents have the right to have their children taught in their own religion; however, some claim that many Government-employed religious teachers of minority religions are neither members of the religion they are teaching nor qualified to teach it. Although transportation may not always be available for children to attend religion classes away from school, in practice schools with few religious minority students often work out arrangements with local churches or temples, which then direct religious studies outside school hours. The country celebrates holy days from the Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, and Christian faiths as national holidays.

In December 2001, Amnesty International issued a report claiming that Hindus and other religious minorities were attacked since the general election, allegedly by supporters of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) led coalition, and the Government had done little to investigate these reports. However, many such reports have not been verified independently. The BNP acknowledged reports of atrocities committed between Muslims and Hindus during the period covered by this

report; however, the BNP claimed that they were exaggerated. The Home Minister was unable to confirm reports that Hindus had fled the country and insisted that there was no link between religion and the violence. He also dismissed allegations that the BNP was linked to the perpetrators. The Government decided to set up a special Secretaries' committee to investigate the harassment of Hindus.

Societal Attitudes

Relations between the religious communities generally are amicable. Persons who practice different religions often join each other's festivals and celebrations, such as weddings. Shi'a Muslims practice their faith without interference from Sunnis. Nevertheless, clashes between religious groups occasionally occur. In recent years, there have been cases of violence directed against religious minority communities that have resulted in the loss of lives and property. In the past, intercommunal violence caused many Hindus to emigrate to India, but recent emigration of Hindus has decreased significantly and generally can be attributed to economic or family reasons. Nevertheless, incidents of communal violence continue to occur.

Historical Development of Ethnic Relations

Bangladesh or East Bengal is a historical reality. In 1971 it has been carved out of political boundaries of what was East Pakistan after a bloody civil war by the nationalists, and of course the secular forces. Husain, 1997, pp. 83) the first partition of Bengal took place in 1905 under British rule and resulted in the amalgamation of East Bengal and Assam into a separate Muslim-dominated province.

It was justified by the imperial powers on grounds of both administrative convenience and the separate interests of Bengal's Muslim from those of its Hindus. It was opposed by a combination of high-caste Bengali Hindus whose landed interests in East Bengal were directly undermined by the partition as well as of a common Bangla language, literature, history, tradition and way of life (Kabeer, 1997, pp. 59). Historically Bengal spearheaded racial politics, which ultimately led to birth of Pakistan. Muslim League was born in early 20th century at Dhaka, leaders from Bengal proposed the controversial two nations theory, separate homeland for Indian Muslims. All India Muslim League adopted the Lahore Resolution, 1940 that the Muslims are majority in the "North-Western and Eastern Zones of India should be grouped to constitute independent states" shall be "autonomous and sovereign" (Hashim, 1974, pp. 169). Instead only one Muslim nation was born as a conspiracy of the British imperialist. Pakistan, born in 1947 from the concept of the leaders from Bengal tore the Bengali communities apart.

Racial conflicts beginning in the twentieth century have become a reality in the region for the last fifty years of British colonialist. Since politics came to be increasingly dominated by communal issues, there was hostility and ultimately violence. Since the countries were to be dominated on the basis of demographic supremacy of one nation or another, the people fearing hostility started to migrate (Chowdhury, 1998, pp. 213).

The mass racial-migration by the Urdu and Bangla speaking Indians to a promised land were never socially integrated into Pakistan. Neither did the migrants accepted the customs and rituals of what was West and East Pakistan. The political recourse of the people of East Bengal has been tormented from the birth pangs of once Pakistan and then Bangladesh. Similarly, large population of Hindus abandoned

their hearts and homes left for neighboring states of India due to lack of insecurity in East Pakistan.

Between 1946 (East Bengal) and 1992 (Bangladesh), there was a number of incidence of racial violence which resulted in deaths and encouraged migration. Racial riots wrecked the traditional secular image of Bengal, on the eve of the second partition of Bengal in 1947. The racial violence is often blamed to the British colonialists, which tore the silence in otherwise quite Bengal. Hindus and Muslim were killed in Calcutta, Noakhali and Comilla. Peace-loving Hindus and Muslims had little or nothing to do with the riot (Hashim, 1974. pp. 117). Trauma of racialism till bears in the mind of many, mostly political activists and thousands of families who fled into East Pakistan. Similar is the case of the Hindus migrating into India.

The two-nation theory, which created Pakistan, the homeland of the Muslim communities was born with strings of religion and racism. The inter migration was productive for some but for the poor who were the overwhelming majority on both sides, it turned out to be a disaster.

Religious Minorities:

According to Bangladesh government 1991 census, the religious and ethnic minorities stood at 12.6 per cent. The Hindus are 10.5% (12.5 million), Christian (0.3%), Buddhist (0.6%) and other religious minorities (0.3%) in Bangladesh. Hindus, mostly Bangla speaking is the biggest religious minority community and they are scattered all over the country. Similarly Christians are also

scattered all over the country, except for the Buddhist population which largely concentrate in Chittagong, Chittagong Hill Tracts and Patuakhali.

Hindus are most likely to live in Barisal, Khulna, Faridpur and Jessore (and similarly in West Bengal Muslims are most likely to live in areas towards the Bangladesh border). The highest proportions of Hindus to Muslims in Bangladesh live in the city of Comilla, close to the border of Tripura. A large proportion of the Zamindar class (large, semi-feudal landlords) and moneylenders were Hindus. The scenario has, however changed in the last few decades. Today the socio-economic differences between the Muslim and Hindu communities are much less marked than previously (Timm, 1991, pp. 9).

The vanishing minority population is understood from researching the census documents published the government. Fifty years ago in 1941, 28.3 per cent of the total population was minorities. The population of Hindu was 11.88 millions, while 588 thousand was other religious and ethnic minorities (Buddhist, Christian and animist). Evaluation of government statistics of 50 years, from 1941 to 1991, indicates a large drop in the figure for minorities. A comparative picture shows that the number of the Muslim majority increased 219.5 per cent while the Hindu community increased by 4.5 per cent.

If normal increase rate prevailed, the number of the Hindu community in this country would have been 32.5 million, but the Hindu population in Bangladesh stood at 12.5 million in 1991 Census (State of Human Rights, 1994). Therefore the missing population is 20 million.

Low Intensity Violence:

Afsan Chowdhury, a historian and social activists describe low intensity violence against religious and ethnic minorities as silent disaster. He writes that the independence of Bangladesh has not bought much peace for Hindus who numbered about 10 million in Bangladesh. The sense of a common cause has is now gone and in the absence of a new one, a section of the people have reverted to traditional practices of ousting a minority to enrich themselves in using communalism as a weapon.

While economic literature does not clearly distinguish between 'pull' and 'push' factors in explaining migration, the term has been in common usage and refers to socio-economic factors that effects singly the migrants' home country conditions (Chakrobarty, et.al, 1997, pp. 274) Lack of socio-economic opportunities, low intensity hostility at all socio-economic levels including the state and greater opportunities across the border are the push-pull factors which have led to more than 500 Hindus crossing over the border every day (Chowdhury, 1998, pp. 214). Thus the Hindus are passing through a disaster situation as their life, property and peace have all been made to feel insecure by the lack of security and existing state policies and public action which are forcing them to exit to another land.

Hindus here were the victims of violence as an echo of the Babri mosque demolition incident but the incidents were sporadic despite political patronage of the violence. The declaration of Islam as the state religion may not have much institutional or formal ramifications but it has made the minorities in Bangladesh distant from the core of the state. This illustrates how low intensity violence against the minorities can push millions into a state of silent disaster (Chowdhury, 1998, pp. 214). The Bangladesh Hindu-Buddhist-Christian Unity

Council in their yearly council meeting in 1992 claimed that about 500,000 (Fifty Lakh) took refuge in India in the last 20 years (State of Human Rights, 1992, pp. 96).

The Anglo-Indian population in Bangladesh has literally vanished in the last 25 years. Most of them came to work in state-run establishments and British trading companies during the colonial era. However, among the minorities, the tendency of leaving the country is among the Hindus. The second groups are Santals from the Barind area of Rajshahi region for oppression and uprooting them from their ancestral lands.

The "ethnic" problem of the Chittagong Hill Tracts is another example of the minorities being marginalised and forced to take up position of confrontation. The Kaptai Hydro Electric Project which benefited the plain land majority but it swamped the lands of the ethnic communities destroying their very foundation of living and livelihood. It showed how callous state power could be when it handled problems of the indigenous people (Chowdhury, 1998, pp. 215).ns.

Ethnic Communities:

About 27 minority ethnic communities live mainly in four regions of Bangladesh. One is the Chittagong Hill Tracts, north-west, mid-north and in the districts of north Bangladesh. According to latest population census the total population of the ethnic communities is 1.2 million in the country, which constitutes 1.13 per cent. From a couple of isolated and limited surveys it is anticipated that the actual population of the minority ethnic communities are considerably higher than it is accounted in the government census (Gain, 1998, pp. 39). It has been observed that the ethnic people who are converted into Christianity are often listed in the

government official documents under the category "Christian," while those who use Sanskrit/Bangla names similar to the typical Hindu names are often grouped under the category "Hindu" (Khaleque, 1995, pp. 12). One can easily make such mistakes if one does not have adequate knowledge about the ethnic people and their ethnic, religious, and linguistic background.

Philip Gain, social researcher and environmentalist in his key note paper "Adivasi Question in Bangladesh", 20-21 March 1997 argue, "The principal cause of the political and economic disturbances in the Adivasi areas are its soil, forest and the local resources." The foreign aid dependent development programmer failed to bring substantial benefit to the Adivasi communities. Instead, these development programmes caused them to lose their possession over their own land, forest and resources.

Raja Devashish Roy in a seminar "Adivasi Question in Bangladesh" explained that the nation state system, the expansion of the market economy into the Adivasis or limited the scope to practice their rights. (Earth Touch, 1998, pp. 41).

There were great hopes among the ethnic minorities when the new government of Shiekh Hasina took power in June 1996. The principle of secularism embraced by the ruling Awami League meant that the ethnic communities could expect not to be discriminated against on the basis of race or ethnic origin. Thus far, the optimism of the ethnic communities has not been justified (State of Human Rights, 1996, pp. 98).

Religion of Ethnic Communities:

The Marma, Chakma, Rakhaing and Tanchangya are Buddhist and there are few Buddhists among the other small ethnic groups of the CHT. Most people in the smaller ethnic communities of the interior parts of the CHT were animists. Some of these animists have been converted to Christianity by the missionaries working in this area. Thus many of the Bawms, Lushai, and Pankho are now Christians. A process of Christianisation is presently going on among these as well as other ethnic communities like the Murongs and Mros. The Garos have their traditional religion, which is a form of animism. But the majority of them have been converted to Christianity. The Koch, Hajong, Pathor, and Manipuri are Hinduised ethnic communities. The Santals retained their traditional religion, which is based on belief in spirit (animism). However, they have been influenced by Hinduism and some of them are converted to Christianity (Khaleque, 1995, pp. 16). Ever since the British withdrawal from the subcontinent in the 1947 there has been ethnic explosions in the hills. Evidences would show that the imperial government created the so called "excluded" or "partially excluded" zones in these hills to allow unhindered propagation of Christianity amongst the backward tribes mostly animist far away from modern religion (Quarishi, 1987, pp. vii). It is interesting to note that the floodgate of conversion into Christianity opened up only after the British withdrawal! On the other hand it has also been argued that sudden withdrawal of the British rule created a power vacuum in this region as a whole and the tribal (ethnic communities), suspicious and indignant of their plain land neighbors for generations, got simply alarmed. (Quarishi, 1987, pp. viii) A process of Christianization has been going in the ethnic areas since the British period (Khaleque, 1995, pp. 16). Before Christianization, however, most of the ethnic groups of the northern and north-eastern

borders had been influenced by Hinduism, while those in the borders had been influenced by Hinduism, while those in the CHT by Buddhism. The rate of Islamisation is very significant compared to that of Christianization. There are a few converted Muslims among the Rajbansis and also among the Garo, but their number is very insignificant in both cases.

The Copenhagen based Chittagong Hill Tracts recorded evidences of Islamisation conversion in places of CHT among ethnic groups (Life is Not Ours, 1991. IWGIA). Challenging the statement, Life: In the Chittagong Hill Tracts, 1994 (pp. 46) argues that it is surprising that the CHT Commission deems conversion to Islam as religious persecution. "As for conversion to Christianity, as the statistics show, this far outnumbers the conversion to Islam. Economic reasons and benefits attached to the association with the missionaries often lead to the conversion to Christianity". It further maintains that several Christian-based NGOs and missionaries are actively working in CHT.

The situation of minorities in Bangladesh is a human rights issue. Status of minorities all over the world has demonstrated a pattern of discrimination and insecurity. Bangladesh is no exception. However, the example of minorities in Bangladesh has a typical trend (Shaha, 1998, pp. 5). Overall situation of the minorities in Bangladesh will not improve unless total fundamental rights laid down in the state constitution as well as by United Nations Human Rights Declaration are not implemented. With out the political will of the government, it would be difficult to see a society of racial harmony. It is evident that the true spirit and essence of democracy remains an illusion for the minorities in Bangladesh. In the name of majoritarian rule or democracy they have been marginalized politically, economically as well as culturally (Mohsin, 1997, pp. 103). The state constitution extends guarantee

for the majority, the Bangla Muslims. The Bangladesh Constitution does not reflect the existence of the cultural and ethnic minorities.

Religion has been used as a tool by the political parties and politicians in Bangladesh to consolidate their power base. It is time that our elected representatives take cognizance of the fact that Bangladesh is not homogenous state rather it is a multi-national state, this reality ought to be incorporated into the Constitution. Dr. Amena Mohsin urges the society that we must practice a culture of tolerance and respect towards each other. Bangladesh is not a land of the Bangla speaking people alone. The Hill people, the Garos, the Malos, the Santals and all the other communities have contributed and participated in their own ways towards building up this society. Their contribution and sacrifices during the war of liberation also need to be recorded and acknowledge in our national history (Mohsin, 1997, pp. 104).

Needs of the study

Social scientists broadly agree that ethnicity is among the most important factors in politics, playing a role in everything from civil wars to economic development. They also tend to agree that we are only at the beginning stages of understanding it. Nothing close to a consensus has emerged not only about what ethnicity's effects are, but also about what it *is* in the first place. For some, it is an emotion laden feeling of belonging or attachment to a particular kind of group. For others, it is embeddedness in a web of significant symbols. For still others, it is a social perceptual construct and a choice to be made. Some even claim that it is a biological survival instinct based on nepotism. This dispute has generated some

brilliant research projects, but until we converge on a common understanding on these fundamental conceptual issues, social scientific progress will be slow.

Objectives of the Study:

The main objective of the study was to find out the similarities and differences in attitudes of different group compositions of the ethnic minority and majority in their attitudes towards healthy relations, as related to their sexual background and socio-economic status. More specifically the objectives of the study were as follows:

1. To study patterns of ethnic relations as a function of attitude towards healthy minority-majority relations in terms of secularism, peaceful co-existence, fundamental human rights , social and economic justice and nationalisms vs internationalism.
2. To study patterns of similarities and differences in ethnic relations as related to socio-political attitudes of conservatism-radicalism.
3. To study male-female differences in attitude towards healthy minority-majority relationships.
4. To study similarity and differences in voting attitudes as related to attitudes towards healthy minority-majority relations.
5. To study the differences in attitudes towards healthy minority-majority relations of respondents as related to their high and low socio-economic status.

Hypothesis of the Study:

The study framed three specific hypotheses. These were as follows:

1. Majority Muslim respondents would show significantly more positive attitude towards healthy minority-majority relations than its minority Hindu counterpart.

2. Male respondents would show significantly more positive attitude towards healthy minority-majority relations than female subjects.

3. High SES respondents would show significantly more positive attitude towards healthy minority-majority relations than its Low SES counterpart.

Formulation and Justification of hypothesis

A broad hypothesis of the study was that the attitude toward healthy minority –majority ethnic relation of the subject would be a function of group compositions (Minority/Majority) and sexual differences and socio-economic status variations in socio-political context of Bangladesh. However, the specific hypothesis and their justification for formulation have been given below.

H₁ Majority Muslim respondents would show significantly more positive attitude towards healthy minority-majority relations than its minority Hindu counterpart.

This hypothesis has been formulated under the theoretical construct of contact hypothesis Allport, G.W. (1954). Amir, Y. & Ben-Ari, R. (1985) Data on research participants and populations frequently include race, ethnicity, and gender, and socioeconomic status as categorical variables, with the assumption that these variables exert their effects through innate or genetically determined biologic mechanisms. There is a growing body of research that suggests, however, that these variables have strong social dimensions that influence health. Socioeconomic status, a complicated construct in its own right, interacts with and confounds analyses of race/ethnicity and gender.

Although ethnic identity historically has been viewed as a psychological construct, it is now known to be more accurately characterized as a social category that has changed over time and varies across societies and cultures...

H₂ Male respondents would show significantly more positive attitude towards healthy minority-majority relations than female subjects.

Sex and gender are often used interchangeably, but the former is a biologic characteristic, defined by genetic and anatomic features, whereas the latter is a social characteristic, determined by culturally defined roles and behaviors. Analogous to race/ethnicity, the development of gender is a function of relationships. Ironically, the genetic, physiologic, and behavioral differences between men and women have historically been de-emphasized, if not ignored, in research that has extrapolated conclusions based on male populations to women. In recent years,

recognition of the importance of considering differences between men and women as a salient independent variable in research.

H₃ High SES respondents would show significantly more positive attitude towards healthy minority-majority relations than its Low SES counterpart.

Analysis of the relationship among biological and social variables is complicated, however, by the difficulty in operationalizing socioeconomic status, a complex concept consisting of 2 aspects, both of which may exert influences on ethnic relations directly or through associated behaviors. One aspect includes resources, such as education, income, and wealth and the other includes status or rank, a function of relative positions in a hierarchy, such as social class. According to Teevan, J.J. (1985), One of the key independent variable in most sociological research is socioeconomic status. Whether one is explaining crime, mental illness, learning ability, or successful aging, some mention of the effects of socio-economic status seem mandatory. It was also true to be important in psychological studies.

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

A checking of the aims of the present study stated above shows that it emerges from the interplay of certain wider socio-political variables (namely attitudes towards ethnic relation, attitudes towards voting, attitudes towards conservative or radical ideas, male-female characteristics and social status) with socio-psychological processes ethnic relations. It is, therefore, necessary to note that as the study constitutes a somewhat pioneering effort to integrate specific socio-political variables

to ethnic relation in a real life setting, there are few guidelines in the literature for precise experimental predictions. Moreover, there is a few empirical studies available in Bangladesh for providing empirical evidence about the act of voting. Hence for the purpose of integration among the variables a $2 \times 2 \times 2$ factorial analysis was computed on each of the specific variables. Thus a $2 \times 2 \times 2$ factorial design consisting of two levels of group composition (political/apolitical), two levels of sex (male/female) and two levels of residential background (urban/rural) was utilized. In addition, mean differences were computed on each variable separately. Inter dimensional correlations were also reported to see the strength of relations among the variables used in the study.

While the general purpose of the design was to study the joint effect of dimensions of minority- majority relations, voting attitudes and ideological orientations on the patterns of ethnic relation, a few specific predictions may be offered on the basis of existing empirical studies and theories stated earlier.

CHAPTER - IV

METHOD AND PROCEDURE

The present study was designed to conduct an empirical investigation of socio-political attitudes of the minority groups specially the Hindu minority in Bangladesh. The study was designed, specifically, to measure the similarities and differences among the Hindu minority and the Muslim majority as related to their socio-political attitudinal preferences, personality factors and demographic variables with special reference to Bangladesh. Hence, special care was required to develop a scale which could be applied for measuring the socio-political attitudes of the subjects.

It is to be pointed out that most of the studies about socio-political attitudes utilized survey method. A few studies have used content analysis for explaining the pattern of socio-political attitudes. These studies have dealt with macro analysis of attitudes towards minority, political activism, voting attitudes, nationalism, and conservatism-radicalism and covering the broader field of political psychology and sociology. But truly social psychological approach in the study of attitudes toward minority-majority relations is confined within the micro analysis of socio-political attitudes within the paradigm of persuasive communication relating to formation, development and change of attitudes. The findings from social psychological research on attitudes are potentially relevant to the design in this study. The functional approach to attitudes can be helpful in this arena. It posits that people hold and express particular attitudes because they desire psychological benefit from doing so, and that type of benefit varies among individuals (Katz, 1960, 1968, Katz

and Scotland, 1959; Sarnoff and Katz, 1954; Smith, 1947, 1973; Smith, Bruner, & White, 1956).with this framework, attitudes are understood according to this psychological needs they meet that is, the functions they serve. Attitude objects and domains vary in their potential for eliciting different attitude functions (Herck, 1986; Lultz, 1981; Shavuot 1989). An adequate analysis of this variation requires that attitude objects and domains be understood within their social context. To understand ethnic relations and we should try to understand their molecular make up or inner states. I.e. The psychological factors relevant to the actions or behavior in question. We have to examine the nature of sociopolitical attitudes the individuals formed through complex individual social and political interactions in a society or nation. So, it was a paramount need for developing skill and. Tools to measure socio-political attitudes for practicing healthy ethnic relations in our country like Bangladesh. Historically, a long contact with Hindu (single biggest minority) minority with big Muslim majority in this country may not have reduced differences among them for a long time but a proper research could find out the determinants of these differences.

Hence a study of socio-political attitudes necessarily involves a measurement of attitude towards healthy minority-majority relationships. The methodological complexity in the study of ethnic relations led the present study to focus on the measure of the similarity and differences among the minority-majority in socio-political attitudes. That might predict the ethnic relation specifically the relation between the Hindus and the Muslims. The primary novelty of the present study would be that it was designed to corroborate the ethnic relations in the framework of intention and attitudes of the individuals. Hence it was thought Appropriate to develop a methodology based on Likert technique for the measurement of attitude toward the minority. Thus the Choice of the variables and the scales developed and

used Kept into account the appropriateness for the sample utilized. The present chapters therefore, describe firstly Sample and characteristics, sample setting; secondly Development and description of the measures used and finally the procedure for data collection.

SAMPLE

Background and characteristics of the sample settings two samples, the Muslims and the Hindus were utilized for the collection of data in the present investigation. Muslim groups of Ss belonged. To diverse socio-political environment in the different of areas of Bangladesh. The Muslims Ss from different districts of Bangladesh having moderate to extreme religious beliefs and they were from shia's, sunny's and other faith ,having conservative and radical attitudes towards life and action. The incidental Muslim sample was stratified as Male-Female and SES high-SES low were taken from four districts of Bangladesh. The subjects wherefrom Faridpur, Netrakona, Dhaka, Rajbari districts. The incidental Hindu samples were also stratified as Male-Female, SES high-SES low. They were from different caste like Brahman, Namosudra, Baisha, Khaitra.having conservative and radical ideas about life and action. The educational qualification of both the samples ranged from Secondary School Certificate Postgraduate in Arts and Science (S.S.C–M.A/M.SC).They were surviceman, merchants. Lawyer, teacher, students, peasants, housewives and educated unemployed youths by profession. Their age ranged from 18-57 yrs. For both the samples of Muslims and Hindus, they were eligible voters, matured, normal and healthy Muslim and Hindu citizens of Bangladesh. It is thus clear that Muslim Ss are identified on the basis of criteria set for the purpose. Both Muslim group of subjects and Hindu group of subjects were collected from the district

of Dhaka, Faridpur, Netrakona and Rajbari. They were incidental samples for a purpose randomly selected from these districts. The educational levels of these two groups of Ss were comparable. They were also equally divided between male and female and socio-economically high and low groups as set individually according to their monthly incomes. Taka. 8000/or above was characterized as high income group and below taka. 8000 was characterized as low income group. The Muslim and Hindu samples were comparable in respect of sex and Socio-economic status also. The subjects were between 18-57 years of age. It indicated that the two groups of Muslim and Hindu subjects were also comparable in respect of age. A total of 400 subjects were used in the study equally divided into Muslim and Hindu groups. Samples of common people of different ages, socio-political and economic background were used for a proper representation of population. The educational level of respondents was higher than the national average (S.S.C- M.A/M.Sc.) for the mature and accurate responses by the subjects in process of the administration of the scales. The sampling and data collections were lasted only 8 months. Started on 22 January and completed on September 2004. It took 6 months more for a pilot study for the development of an attitude scale (ATHMMRS). The sample was selected using activism criteria questionnaire developed for this purpose.

Adoption of Criteria Questionnaire

Selection of sample is an important step in any scientific study. Representative character of sample depends on the criteria by which the sample is selected. This is because sample should be representative of the entire population. If the sample does not possess all the characteristics of the population, it shall not be able to fulfill the objective of the study. With this end in view of selecting the

representative sample, the investigator thought it appropriate to develop a criteria questionnaire which would contain the salient characteristics of Muslim and Hindu community. Muslims, irrespective of the variation in caste and creed, were selected for the present study. Hindu subjects were also selected in the same process. Keeping in view of these characteristics of Muslim And Hindu, the investigator found it appropriate-ate to use a questionnaire in the present study. Respondents expressing their study. Hence the investigator used the Criteria Questionnaire (CQ). This form of CQ is given in the appendix A. ranged from 0-8, indicating the lower and higher scores for Muslim persons.

Along with CQ, the subjects were asked to fill up a bio-data form. This bio-data form was used to meet the criteria of male-female division and place of residence. The bio-data form is given in appendix B.

Final Sample Selection

Before application of Criteria Questionnaire, the bio-data form was administered on 200 Muslim and 200 Hindu residents from the four districts of Bangladesh. In selecting the subjects, the investigator interviewed each person separately. A structured interview method was used. The subjects were interviewed on the basis of following questions. These are as follows:

- (1) Are you a Hindu or a Muslim? Your caste? Creed? Ethnicity?
- (2) What is your place of residence?
- (3) What is your source of income? And how much permonth? Anum
- (4) Are you a regular man/woman voter in the national election in Bangladesh?

- (5) Have you ever voted for a particular party in Bangladesh?
- (6) What is your educational qualification?
- (7) What is your occupation?

Thus subjects were identified as Muslim and Hindu, High and low socio-economic status and place of residence on the basis of self-assessment of the subjects. Following this procedure, 200 Muslim were selected among them 100 subjects were male and 100 subjects were female. In the male category, 50 were identified themselves as SES high and 50 as SES low. In female category also, half of them were identified themselves as SES high and the rest as SES low. Similar procedure of structured interview method was followed for the Selection of 200 Hindu. Subjects who identified themselves as Hindus irrespective of any caste and creed were included in Hindu group of subjects. Among them 100 was male and 100 was female. In both the categories, half of them were socio-economically high and rest was low in socio-economic background. Activism Criteria Questionnaire was administered on these pre-selected respondents. The subjects were contacted individually in their homes or place of residences. The investigator requested them to fill up the questionnaire as accurately as possible. The instruction and items to the questionnaire was in Bengali. The English version of the instruction is given below.

“Here you will find some questions about your personal choice in socio-political activities. You are requested to make an accurate and sincere response to each question. Please attempt each question. Thank you for your co-operation”.

As soon as the questionnaire was collected from the students, coding was done for each subject separately.

Following the method of elimination 200 subjects were selected as Muslim group suited to the criteria set. Among them 100 were males and 100 were females. In each category 50 were socio-economically high and 50 were socio-economically low. Similarly, 200 subjects were selected as Hindu group. 100 of them were males and 100 were females. Again in each category 50 were high in SES 50 were low in SES. Thus the stratified random procedure was used for the selection of subjects in the present study. The break-up of sample of the present study is given in the following table

Table - 1: Showing break-up of sample in each cell.

	Muslim		Hindu		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
SES High	50	50	50	50	200
SES low	50	50	50	50	200
Total	100	100	100	100	400

Nationalism

The terms nationalism and internationalism have been conceptualized in this study as two sets of attitudes. One for the nationalism is the set of favourable attitudes of the members of a nation when they care about their national identity and the actions that the members of nation take when seeking to achieve some form of sovereignty. Which is often defined in terms of common origin, ethnicity, or cultural ties. Nationalists often see the state as a political unit centrally, 'belonging' to one ethnic-cultural group, and actively charged with protecting and promulgating its traditions. On the other hand, the term internationalism was conceptualized as favourable attitudes towards the doctrine that nations should co-operate because their common interest is more important than their differences. Internationalism is a political movement which advocates a greater economy and political cooperation between nations for the benefit of all. It was accepted as ethical belief or scientific approach in which peoples of different nations are held to be or assumed to be equal. It is opposed to racism and national chauvinism. In the light of above description of dimensions, the investigator conceptualizes attitudes toward healthy minority-majority relationship for the present study as follows: Attitudes toward healthy minority-majority relationship is conceived as (1) a favourable support for Secularism; (2) as an emphasis on fundamental human rights (3) a profound believer of peaceful coexistence in national life. (4) As an emphasis on fundamental human rights. (5) Supportive of internationalism rather than nationalism. The steps used for the construction of attitude towards healthy minority-majority relationship scale has been described as follows:

Technique and Method used

Bird (1940) have suggested several methods for the measurement of the attitudes, Thurstone and Chave (1929) developed a technique for measuring attitude which is called methods of equal appearing intervals. Likert (1932) have also dealt with the development of methodology for measuring attitudes. His device is called methods of summated rating. Investigators who have used the Likert method are in agreement that it is similar in its application and statistical calculation. One advantage of Likert's method is that its reliability co-efficient can be computed with fewer number of items. Thurstone's method, on the otherhand, requires relatively more number of items for calculating reliability co-efficient. Likert method needs less time for administration than the Thurstone technique. Hence the investigator thought it best to use Likert technique for the construction of Voting Attitude Scale. In this technique, five alternatives are given for each statement and the subject is asked to choose one alternative ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Thus each item in the scale is a rating device design to reveal both the direction of the individuals stand on the issue and intensity with which he holds it.

Initial Item Selection

This step involved gathering a large number of statements relating to the dimensions of Attitude towards minority-majority relationship such assecularism, fundamental human rights, peaceful co-existence, socio-economic recognition, nationalism. A total of 300 statements were collected on these dimensions in the initial stage. This distribution of these statements was as follows: Secularism =67, Fundamental human rights =63, Peaceful co-existence = 56, social justice =54

and Nationalism Vs Internationalism = 60. Based on the informal criteria as suggested by Wang (1952), Bird (1940), Edwards and Kilpatrick (1948) and Krech and Crutchfield (1947). The following Precautions were taken while editing these statements:

1. The statements which referred to the past rather than present were avoided.
2. Factual statements were not included.
3. The statements irrelevant to the psychological object under consideration were not included.
4. Such statements were chosen as were believed to cover the entire ranges of the effective scale of interest.
5. Those statements were not included which were likely to be endorsed by almost every one or by almost none.
6. The statements which might be interpreted in more than one way were avoided.
7. The language of the statements was very simple, clear and direct.
8. Statements were short and rarely exceeded twenty words.
9. Statements containing universals such as all, always, none, ever, were avoided as they often cause ambiguity.
10. Attention was given to sentence structure and proper choice of words.

11. Unknown vocabulary words were not used.
12. Double negative was avoided.
13. Double-barreled statements were not included in the list.

Words such as only, merely, just and others of similar nature were avoided.

These statements were given to three teachers for scrutiny. Among these three teachers, one was from Bengali department one from Political Science department and one from Psychology department of Rajshahi University. These teachers acted as judges for making scrutiny as to the relevancy of each item, the judges were requested to classify each statement according to its connotation. They were required to look into each statement and to think about the nature of the statement. The classification was made on dimensionwise. Again, use of appropriate words was also found out. Whether the statements convey the exact meaning of Socio-political terms were also considered. Lastly, psychological aspects of attitudinal measurement were also given priority in judging each statement. Following these methods of elimination, vague, ambiguous, irrelevant and unimportant items were discarded. For each item the investigator first decided whether it indicates a favourable or unfavourable attitude concerning the Attitude towards healthy minority-majority relationship in question. Item which were preferred by each of the three judges was selected for the pilot study. Thus 91 statements were commonly chosen by the judges. These items on each dimension were as follows: Secularism = 25, Fundamental human rights = 23, Peaceful co-existence = 14, social justice = 13, Nationalism Vs Internationalism Issue orientation = 16.

Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted for the construction of Attitudes towards healthy minority-majority relationship Scale. In this study the selected items were administered to an incidental sample of 100 postgraduate students of Rajshahi University. The subjects were equally divided into male and female.

They were asked to respond to each item in terms of 5-point scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The instruction given to the subjects was as follows: "please find some statements were about a number of Socio-political issues. I think that these are relevant to our Socio-political problems. Many a time you may find an answer to these statements about minority-majority relationship in our country. Please read each statement carefully and think about each statement. You will find five alternatives against each statement. Please express your opinion about each statement by putting a (√) mark on any one of the alternatives given against each statement. These alternatives ranged from strongly agree to strongly disagree. I am sure that you will find these statements interesting. Thank you for your cooperation".

The respondents took about half an hour to complete the filling up the questionnaire. The scoring was done accurately to get individual score. The Attitude towards healthy minority-majority relationship Scale contained both types of favorable and unfavorable statements. Each favorable and positive statement directly expressed higher attitudes towards healthy minority-majority relations and each unfavorable and negative statement expressed lower attitudes towards healthy minority-majority relations. Strong agreements with favorable items were given a score of five and strong disagreement was given a score of one. Scoring was reversed for unfavorable items. Thus strong agreement with unfavorable item was scored as

one and strong disagreement with them was given a score of five. The scores of each item reported by 100 Ss-were summated for item selection. Thus for each item the scores ranged from $(100 \times 1) = 100$ to $(100 \times 5) = 500$. Hence, the mid point was highest score + lowest score = $500 + 100 = 300$.

2

2

Investigator computed total scores of each subject. According to the criteria used in test construction, highest score was indicative of healthy attitude towards minority-majority relationships and lowest score was indicating of unhealthy attitude towards minority-majority relationships. As the test was supposed to contain the items reflecting attitude towards healthy minority-majority relationships, the highest scores above mid-point (300) was considered a principle for selecting items in the initial stage. Accordingly 60 items were selected from highest scores on the basis of the results of the pilot study (Chart of item section is given in the Appendix). In the second stage Likert's criterion of internal consistency was adopted. The internal consistency can be computed in two ways. Firstly, internal item consistency can be computed by finding correlation between each item and the total score and secondly by comparing item scores of highest 25% and lowest 25% Ss. Investigator used computation of the correlation between each item and the total score for finding out internal consistency of items. The score of each subject was obtained by summing up all his/her item scores. A given item was supposed to meet the criterion of internal consistency when the item score was correlated positively with the total score. Accordingly the biserial correlation between each item score and total score was computed. Elimination of items was done on the strength of the correlation. The highest possible score could be $91 \times 5 = 455$ and the lowest possible score for the same would be $91 \times 1 = 91$. A given item meets the criteria of internal consistency if

the item score correlates significantly with the total attitude score. The items with negative correlation were excluded. Again items which failed to attain level of significance at 0.01 were also excluded. Following this principle of elimination, item nos. 10, 11,12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 30, 33, 36,39, 44,46, 49, 53,56, 57, 61,63,70,74,81, 86, 88 were retained to be included in the final study.

Reliability and Validity of Attitude towards Healthy Minority-Majority Relationships Scale (ATHMMRS)

The split-half method was used to find out the reliability of the scale. The split-half reliability was computed with odd and even numbers of those 31 items (N = 100) scores in the pilot study and the correlation was found 0.79. Splithalf reliability was again computed of the scores in the final study (N =400) with odd and even number of 31 items and correlation was found 0.67. After applying Spearman Brown prophecy formula (Garretts and Woodworth, 1966). The co-efficient was found to rise from 0.67 to 0.80 which was very high. Thus, it can be said that the reliability of the measure of attitudes towards healthy minority-majority relationship scale is statistically sound. The split-half reliability of attitudes towards healthy minority-majority relationship Scale was computed with the scores of final study in order to find out whether the change in size of the sample (N = 400) will affect the reliability of the scale.To find out the validity of the scale, correlations of each dimension with the total scores of final study were computed which ranged from 0.41 to 0.54 (Table 2). Correlation of each dimension with total scores of the pilot study was also computed and it ranged from 0.28 to 0.41.

Table 2: Showing correlation of the scores of each dimension with the total scores of attitudes towards healthy minority-majority relationship Scale (both pilot and final study).

Dimension	Pearson's r for pilot study N = 100	Pearson's r for Final study N = 400
Secularism	0.41	0.49
Fundamental human rights	0.37	0.54
Peaceful co-existence	0.31	0.41
Social and economic justice	0.30	0.42
Nationalism	0.28	0.47

The correlation co-efficient dimension-total of the pilot study ranged from 0.28 to 0.41. The correlation coefficient of each dimension with the total scores was found higher than that of pilot study. Inter-dimensional correlations were also computed in the pilot study which ranged from 0.28 to 0.69 (table 3). All the coefficients of correlations were in the positive direction and achieved the level of significance either at 0.01 or 0.05.

Table 3 : Showing inter-dimensional correlations with the scores of ATHMMRS in the pilot study (N-100).

	C	HR	C	EJ	
C		.44**	.43**	.35*	.69**
HR			.36**	.44**	.29*
C				.30*	.34*
EJ					.28*

* = $p < 0.05$,

** = $p < 0.01$

The high positive correlation between interdimensions indicated the validity of attitudes towards healthymajority-majority relationship scale. Thus homogeneity of the scale was established. It is also an indication of content validity of the scale. The co-efficient of correlation between two equivalent forms of the test in the pilot study (N = 100) was 0.79 and that of final study (N = 400) was 0.67. This high correlation in the final study is an indication of the predictive validity of the attitudes towards healthy minority-majority relationship scale. The ATHMMRS contains both positive and negative statements. The number of statements having

positive and negative directions on each dimension is reported in table 4.

Table 4: Showing the number of statements having positive and negative direction on each dimension.

Dimensions	Positive Direction	Negative Direction	Total
Secularism	5	2	7
Fundamental Human Rights	4	2	6
Peaceful Coexistence	4	3	7
Social and Economic Justice	4	1	5
Nationalism	4	2	6
Total item	21	10	31

Thus in the final shape, the attitudes towards healthy minority majority relationship Scale Included 31 items. The specific areas covered by each of The 31 items have been given in the Appendix.

Voting Attitude Scale Zia (1990)

Zia (1990) constructed The Voting Attitude Scale to investigate the socio-political attitudes of voting of Bangladeshi voters. This scale contained five dimensions such as party identification, partisan attitude leadership image, and

election campaign and issue orientation. The scale contains forty items covering these dimensions. He developed the scale in Bengali and used it in Bangladesh. The literature on voting behavior is very rich. It was found that voting attitude is associated with attitudes towards ethnic relations. Voting Attitude to a set of attitudes towards a party, partisan activities, election activities, image of a leader and national and international issues. The Voting Attitude Scale was developed in Likert-type attitude scale. The subjects were required to respond on 5-point scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Hence the possible highest score was $(26 \times 5) = 130$ and possible lowest score was $(26 \times 1) = 26$. For the computation of reliability of the scale, split-half technique was used with odds and even numbers and the Pearson's 'r' was found 0.79. Correlation between total scores with scores of each dimension were computed to find out the validity of the scale and co-efficient of correlation ranged from 0.43 to 0.79. Interitem correlations of 26 items ranged from 0.06 to 0.67 and the average inter-item correlation was 0.51. The data of VAS were split into half for cross-validated purpose. The co-efficient of correlation through Pearson's method was 0.79 and after applying Spearman Brown formula, the coefficient raised from 0.79 to 0.84. However, the scale containing 26 items were used in the present study.

Ara's Conservatism-Radicalism Scale

Ara (1983) constructed conservatism-radicalism scale to investigate the socio-political attitudes of Bangladeshi activist and non activist student. This scale contained six dimensions such as nationalism, democracy, minority attitude, religiosity, violence and social change. The scale contains forty items covering these dimensions. She developed the scale in Bengali and used it in Bangladesh. The

literature on conservatism-radicalism is very rich. It was found that conservatism-radicalism is associated with political attitudes. Conservatism refers to a set of attitudes towards the preservation of things as they are. Conservatism believes that man's traditional inheritance is rich and it deserves veneration. Radicalism, on the otherhand, is associated with the attack on traditionally inherited structure of power. Its emphasis is on the equal and liberal distribution of political franchise.

The C-R was developed in Likert-type attitude scale. The subjects were required to respond on 5-point scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Hence the possible highest score was $(40 \times 5) = 200$ and possible lowest score was $(40 \times 1) = 40$. For the computation of reliability of the scale, split-half technique was used with odds and even numbers and the Pearson's 'r' was found 0.82. Correlation between total scores with scores of each dimension was computed to find out the validity of the scale and co-efficient of correlation ranged from 0.43 to 0.79. Interitem correlations of 40 items ranged from 0.07 to 0.72 and the average inter-item correlation was 0.55. The data of C-R scale were split into half for cross validational purpose. The co-efficient of correlation through Pearson's method was 0.89 and after applying Spearman Brown formula, the coefficient raised from 0.89 to 0.94. The validation of C-R scale was also obtained from other sources i.e. by computing C-R scores with the scores of other personality measures. The biserial correlation was computed. The r between C-R scale and Kooll's (1969) authoritarian scale was found 0.58 and r between C-R and Hasan's (1974) Dogmatism scale was found 0.22. The original form of C-R scale contained 40 items. However, an abridged form of this scale containing 24 items was used in the present study.

Procedure of Data Collection

The present study utilized the Attitudes towards minority-majority relationship scale, Voting Attitude Scale and Ara's Conservatism-Radicalism Scale. Scale (Bengali adaptation) for the collection of data in the investigation. Therefore, measures were administered to each of the 400 subjects separately. The time gap between administrations of the scales was seven days. This was done for avoiding response set of the subjects. All the subjects were collected from different districts of Bangladesh having higher educational status. The subjects were contacted individually. Muslim subjects were contacted through Muslim agents. Hindu subjects were contacted through Hindu agents. The investigator himself approached the Hindu subjects. Female subjects were approached through female agents. There were, however, problems in data collection. It was very difficult to make rapport with the Hindu as well as female subject. They were not easy to convince. Sometimes they refused to fill up the questionnaire. In such cases the investigator took help of their friends so that they could realize the need of the research purpose.

Administration of the Tests

The investigator administered four measures for collection of data in the present study. The administration of each test was done as follows: attitudes towards minority-majority relationship scale. The test were administered on preselected sample of Majority subjects (N = 200) and minority subjects (N=200). The questionnaire was distributed to the Ss of majority and minority groups with proper instructions. In this test the Ss were asked to show their agreement or disagreement about some issues relating to attitudes towards healthy ethnic relations. The test

contained 31 statements and each subject was required to give his response by putting a (√) mark on any one of five alternatives given against each statement. Thus, the responses of the Ss ranged from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The instruction for the test was as follows: (English Version).

“Following you will find some statements about social activities of the people relating to ethnic relationship. Please read each statement carefully and express your attitudes about the ideas contained in the statement by putting a (√) mark on any one of the five alternatives given against each statement. There is no right or wrong answers. You are required to give your response as accurately as possible.

There is no time limit. But try to fill up the questionnaire as early as possible. Thank you for your active co-operation.

Voting Attitude scale

The administration of this scale was done on the same subjects after the lapse of a week of the preceding test. The test contained 26 items. The subjects were asked to give their opinion in forms of attitude about each statement. The ideas were about socio-political attitudes of voting. The answers to each statement ranged from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The Ss were required to express their attitudes by putting a (√) mark on any one of five alternatives given against each statement. The instruction for the subjects was as follows

(English version):“Following you will see some statements relating to Political activities like voting and related activities. Every person is acquainted with these acts and performances. Please read each statement attentively and give your attitudinal preference for each statement by putting (√) mark on any one of five

alternatives given against each statement. There is no right or wrong answer. What you will say would be regarded as your answer in right direction. Please try to give accurate assessment of the ideas revealed in each statement. There is no time limit and try to answer each statement with care and caution. Thank you for your co-operation”.

Conservatism-Radicalism Scale

The administration of this scale was done on the same subjects after the laps of a week of the preceding test. The test contained 23 items. The subjects were asked to give their opinion in forms of attitude about the ideas contained in each statement. The ideas were about socio-political attitudes relating to conservative or radical ideology. The answers to each statement ranged from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The Ss were required to express their attitudes by putting a (√) mark on any one of five alternatives given against each statement. The instruction for the subjects was as follows (English version):

“Following you will see some statements relating to conservatism and radicalism. Every person is acquainted with these ideological propositions. Please read each statement attentively and give your attitudinal preference for each statement by putting (√) mark on any one of five alternatives given against each statement. There is no right or wrong answer. What you will say would be regarded as your answer in right direction. Please try to give accurate assessment of the ideas revealed in each statement. There is no time limit and try to answer each statement with care and caution. Thank you for your co-operation”.

CHAPTER-V

RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION

The present chapter contains the analysis of results and its interpretations. In the computation of results, the analysis of variance and t-tests were used. The analysis of results is presented in two parts. In the first part a factorial ANOVA using 2 x 2 x 2 design was applied the scores of Attitudes toward healthy minority-majority relationship scale, Voting Attitude Scale and Conservatism-Radicalism Scale. The ANOVA was conducted separately. In each computation a 2 x 2 x 2 factorial design involving 2 levels of group composition (Majority/Minority) 2 levels of sex (Male/Female) and 2 levels of socio-economic status (High/Low) were used. The method of scoring, the arrangement of data for ANOVA and brief interpretations of the findings are given separately for each analysis of the measures reported. Secondly, t-test was computed on the scores of ATHMMRS SCALE, VOTING ATTITUDE SCALE and CONSERVATISM-RADICALISM SCALE. The purpose of this analysis was to study within-group and between-group comparisons of majority-minority, male, female and socio-economically high-low dimensions. Finally, a summary of main findings is given for an overall view of the results.

FACTORIAL ANOVA

In this section factorial ANOVA was carried out on the scores of Attitudes toward healthy minority-majority relationship scale, Voting Attitude Scale and Conservatism –Radicalism Scale.

Attitudes toward healthy minority-majority relationship scale
(ATHMMRS)

The scores on Attitudes toward healthy minority-majority relationship scale were tabulated accurately for the analysis of data. The data were analyzed by computing Analysis of Variance. In this analysis, a factorial design was used. Thus a 2 x 2 x 2 factorial design involving 2 levels of Group Composition (Majority/Minority), 2 levels of sex (Male/Female) and 2 levels of Socio-Economic Status (High/Low) were utilized for the collection of data. A high score was indicative, of favorable attitudes toward healthy minority-majority relationship and a low score was indicative of unfavorable attitudes toward healthy minority-majority relationship. The highest possible score in this scale was 155 and the lowest possible score was 31. The mid point of scale is 93. The Ss were asked to give their response on a 5-point scale ranging from strong agreement to strong disagreement. So the highest score of the Ss indicated strong agreement with the issues relating to attitudes toward minority majority relationship. Table 5 contains the summary of factorial ANOVA involving Group Composition, sex and socio-economic status on the scores of attitudes toward minority-majority relationship scale. The results indicated that main effects for the group composition was only statistically significant, the main effects for sex, and socio-economic status were statistically no significant. A three way interaction involving Group Composition, sex and socio-economic status was also statistically significant.

Table 5: Showing summary of factorial ANOVA involving group composition, sex and socio-economic status on the scores of Attitudes toward healthy minority-majority relationship scale (ATHMMRS).

Source of variance	S.S	df	MS	F	P
Group composition(A)	1314.06	1	1314.06	14.55	0.000159**
Sex (B)	203.06	1	203.06	2.25	0.134419
Scio-Economic Status (C)	178.22	1	178.22	1.97	0.161240
AB	370.57	1	370.57	4.1	0.043561*
AC	7250.53	1	7250.53	80.28	<.0001**
BC	1166.23	1	1166.23	12.91	0.000368**
ABC	374.41	1	374.41	4.15	0.042306*
Within Cell (experimental error)	35405.22	392	90.32		
Total	46262.3	399			

Note: P * < 0.05,

P** < 0.01

However, two-way interactions involving Group Composition and sex, Group Composition and socio-economic status and sex and socio-economic status were found statistically significant.

Main Effect

Group Composition

The result of ANOVA (Table 5) reported significant main effect for group Composition (F, 1/392 = 14.55 P < 0.01)

Table 6 : Showing overall mean scores and significant mean difference on Group Composition (N=200).

Group Composition	Mean	N	S.D	t-value	df	Level of Significance
Majority	96.59	200	11.33	3.56	199	0.00
Minority	92.96	200	9.88			

The results (table 6) indicated that regardless of sex and socio-economic status majority Ss expressed significantly more favorable attitudes toward healthy minority-majority relationship as compared to Minority Ss (t-value =3.56, df 199, $P < 0.01$). Thus, it appears that Majority Ss (M = 96.59) have evaluated issues relating to minority- Majority relationships more favorably i.e. Majority expresses comparatively more of their attitudinal preferences toward healthy minority-majority relationship than their Minority counterpart, Ss (M =92.96). In other words, the interest in issues on minority-majority relationship seems to play a vital role in Majority subjects to form favorable attitudes about the various issues of the minority-majority relation .Subjects who are apathetic to the attitudes of the majority, on the other hand are not interested about the outcome of a healthy minority-majority interactions and as such they seldom become involved in activities leading to the expression of comparatively less favorable attitudes about minority-majority relations.

Sex

The results (Table 5) showed significant main effect for sex ($F, 1/ 392 = 2.25, p = n.s.$).

Table 7: Showing overall mean scores and significant mean differences on Sex (N=200).

Sex	Mean	N	S D	t-value	df	Level of significance
Male	94.06	200	10.05	1.74	199	0.08 n.s
Female	95.49	200	11.42			

Note: The non- significant main effect on sex indicated that regardless of group composition and socio-economic status, sex did not emerge as an important factor in the study of attitudes toward healthy minority-majority relationship. It was found that male and female Ss showed significantly higher preference for attitudes toward healthy minority-majority relationship (i.e. above the mid-point 93) but no significant differences between them. ($t\text{-value} = 1.74, df = 199, P > 0.01$). The results seem to indicate that male and female Ss are exposed to the problems of Majority-minority relation equally. As a result, male Ss ($M = 94.06$) expressed non- significant differential attitudinal preference about different issues relating majority-minority relationship, female Ss ($M = 95.49$) expressed comparatively equal favorable attitudes on healthy ethnic relationships.

Socio-economic status

The results (table 5) indicated significant main effect for Socio-economic status ($F, 1/392 = 1.97, P = 0.16, n.s$)

Table 8: Showing overall mean scores and significant mean differences on Socio-Economic Status (N = 200)

Socio-economic status	Mean	N	S D	t-value	df	Level of significance
High	94.11	200	10.01	1.29	199	0.20 n.s
Low	95.44	200	11.46			

Note: The results (table 8) showed that irrespective of Group Composition and sex of the Ss, socio-economic status was not found to account for attitudes toward healthy minority-majority relationship. The overall mean scores showed that the Ss with high socio-economic status ($M = 94.11$) expressed comparatively equal attitudinal preference towards healthy relation ($t\text{-value} = 1.29, df = 199, P = 0.20 n.s$) as compared to the Ss with low status ($M = 95.44$). This finding was indicative of the fact that high Ss aspire equally for a healthy minority-majority relationship as such they are subject to sufferings to an equal extent with the Ss of Low socio-economic origin. Both of them are eventually exposed to the problem and suffered equally. It seems to indicate that this factor may not be regarded as a vital factor for differential preferences in attitudes toward healthy minority-majority relationship.

Interaction Effect

Group Composition x Sex x Socio-Economic Status

The results (table 5) indicated that a three-way Interaction representing group Composition, sex and Socio-Economic Status ($F, 1/392 = 4.15, P < 0.05$) was statistically significant. Thus the results reported above are moderated through the analysis of three-way interaction.

Table 9 : Showing cell means and significant mean differences on various conditions of three-way interactions representing Group composition, sex and Socio-Economic Status (N=50 In each cell) on the scores of ATHMMRS .

Groups	Mean	S D	t-value							
			a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h
MA .M.H	92.66	8.92		2.69**	1.09	7.44**	2.45*	2.25*	1.69	1.70
MA .F.H	97.16	9.10			4.56**	5.51**	0.21	5.83**	1.00	4.51**
MA .M.L	90.66	9.62				8.34**	4.00**	1.23	3.79**	0.48
MA .F.L	105.86	11.24					4.82**	10.60**	5.97**	9.85**
MI .M.H	97.54	10.64						5.56**	1.56	5.46**
MI .F.H	88.88	9.13							4.69**	0.71
MI .M.L	95.56	9.64								4.41**
MI .F.L	89.86	7.19								

Note: $p^* < 0.05$,

$p^{**} < 0.01$

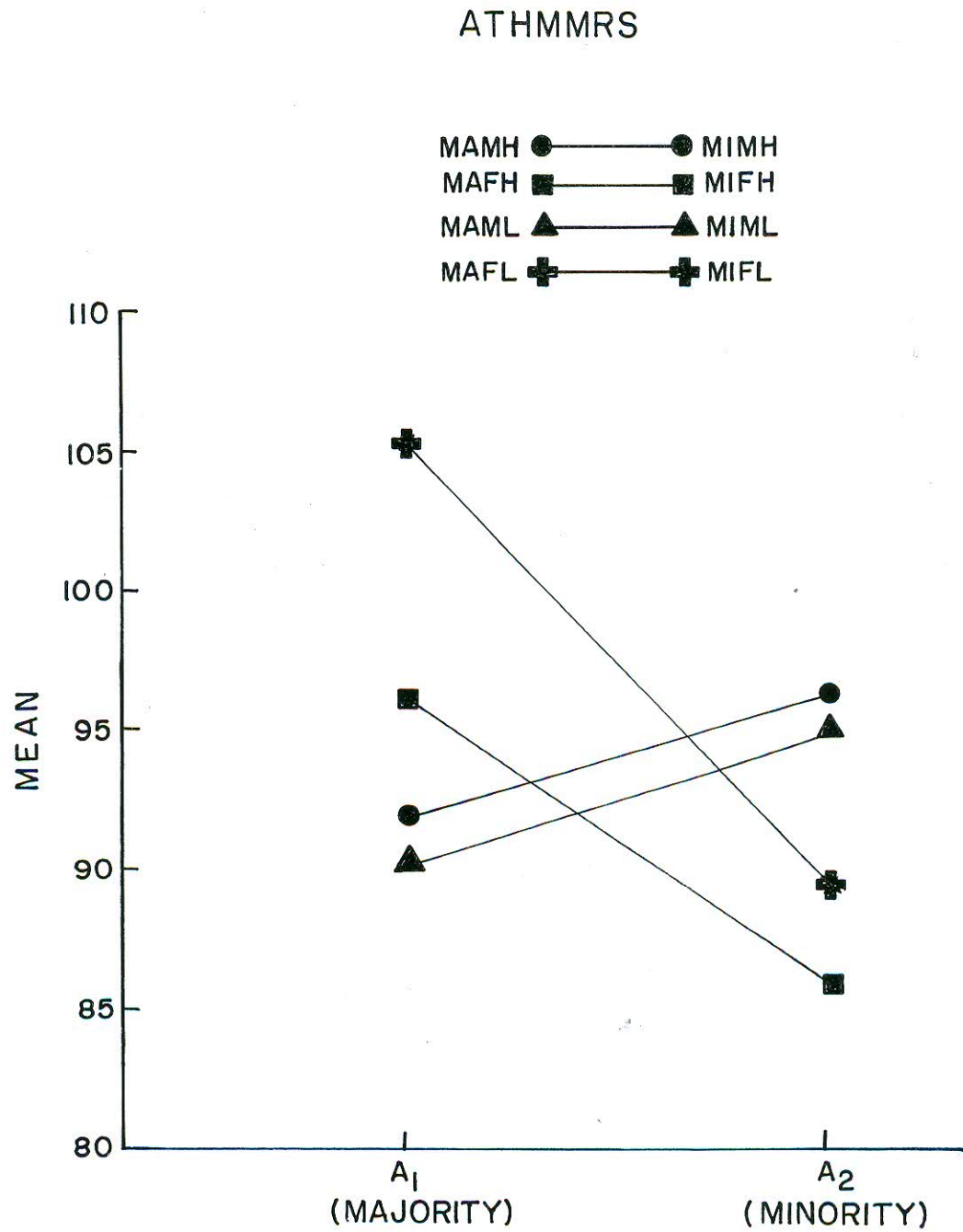


Fig. 1. Showing differences on various conditions of three-way interactions representing group composition, sex and socio-economic status on Attitudes toward healthy minority-majority relationship scale (ATHMMRS).

The results (table 9) indicated that in case of Majority Group Composition, it was found that Majority Female High Ss showed significantly higher preference in (ATHMMR S) Healthy minority-majority relation ($t = 2.69$, $df = 49$, $P < 0.01$) as compared to Majority male high Ss. Majority Male High Ss also differed significantly ($t = 7.44$, $df = 49$, $P < 0.01$) and expressed higher ATHMMR in comparison to Majority Female Low Ss. Again, Majority Female Low Ss expression significantly higher attitudes of Athmmr ($t = 5.5156$, $df = 49$, $P < 0.01$) than the Majority Female High Ss. Majority Female Low Ss also exhibited significantly higher attitudes atthmmr ($t = 8.34$, $df = 49$, $P < 0.01$) than the Majority Male Low Ss. Majority Female High Ss showed higher attitudes as compared to Majority Male Low ($t = 4.56$, $df = 49$, $p < 0.01$). However, no significant mean difference was found in the attitudinal preferences between Majority Male High Vs Majority Male Low Ss. Thus an inspection of mean scores showed that Majority Female Low Ss ($M = 105.86$) and Majority Female High Ss ($M = 97.16$) showed highest preference in ATHMMR followed by Majority Male High Ss ($M = 92.66$) and Majority Male Low Ss ($M = 90.66$). There was no significant difference between Majority Male High ($M = 92.66$) and Majority Male Low.

Regarding Minority Group Compositing the results (Table 9) showed that Minority Male high Ss exhibited significantly highest ATHMMR ($t = 5.56$, $df = 39$, $P < 0.01$) as compared to Minority Female High Ss. Again Minority Male High Ss did not differ significantly in ATHMMR ($t = 1.56$, $df = 49$, $P < 0.05$) as compared to Minority Male Low Ss. However, Minority Female Low Ss ($t = 5.46$, $df = 49$, $P < 0.01$) expressed a significant difference. Minority Male Low Ss showed significantly higher ($t = 4.69$, $df = 49$, $p < 0.01$) attitudes as compared to Minority Female high Ss. No significant mean differences were found between Minority Female High vs.

Minority Female Low. But Minority Male Low Ss showed significantly higher ($t=4.41$, $df=49$, $p<0.01$) attitudes as compared to Minority Female Low. An inspection of mean scores showed that Minority Male High Ss ($M=97.54$) showed significantly highest ATHMMR comparison to Minority Male Low (M = 95.56) Ss. Minority Female Low (M = 89.86) Ss and Minority Female High Ss (M = 88.88) who expressed least ATHMMR.

The results (table 9) in a comparable between group comparison revealed that in respect of Group Composition, Minority Male High Ss showed significantly more attitudinal preference for ethnic relations ($t = 2.45$, $df = 49$, $P < 0.05$) as compared to Majority Male High Ss. Majority Female High Ss also showed significantly higher ATHMMR as compared to Minority Female High Ss ($t = 5.83$, $df = 49$, $P < 0.01$). Minority Male Low Ss showed greater attitudinal preferences compared to Majority Male Low Ss ($t = 3.79$, $df = 49$, $P < 0.01$) and Majority Female Low showed more than ($t = 9.85$, $df = 49$, $P < 0.01$) Minority Female Low.

A cross group comparison between Majority and minority also revealed significant results. Majority male high also expressed significantly higher attitudinal preference in voting as compared to Minority Female High ($t = 2.25$, $df = 49$, $P < 0.01$), However, no significant mean difference was found in the attitudinal preferences between Majority Female High ($t=3.20$, $df = 49$, $P < 0.01$) and Minority Male High Ss. The highest significant difference was found between Majority Female Low and Minority Female High Ss ($t = 10.60$, $df = 49$, $P < 0.01$). Again Majority Female High Ss expressed significantly more ATHMMR as compared to Minority Female Low Ss ($t = 4.51$, $df = 49$, $P < 0.01$). Majority Male Low Ss differ significantly from the scores of Minority Male High Ss. ($t = 4.00$, $df = 49$, $P < 0.01$).

It appears from the results (table 9) that Majority Male Ss of High-Low did not differ significantly in their attitudinal constellation on ethnic relations. Similarly Minority Female Ss of High and Low origin failed to achieve the level of significance. It seems to indicate that Male-Female categorization has greater impact in producing differential attitudinal preference on ethnic relations rather than their socio-economic status.

Voting Attitude Scale (VAS)

The scores on Voting Attitude Scale were tabulated accurately for the analysis of data. The data were analyzed by computing Analysis of Variance. In this analysis, a factorial design was used. Thus a 2 x 2 x 2 factorial design involving 2 levels of Group Composition (Majority/Minority) 2 levels of sex (Male/Female) and 2 levels of Socio-Economic Status (High/Low) was utilized for the collection of data. A high score was indicative, of favorable voting attitude and a low score was indicative of unfavorable voting attitude. The highest possible score in this scale was 130 and the lowest possible score was 26. The mid point is 78 The Ss were asked to give their response on a 5 point scale ranging from strong agreement to strong disagreement. So 1 was the lowest score indicated weak agreement and 5 was the highest score of the Ss for an individual item indicated strong agreement. With the issues relating to voting behavior.

Table10. Contains the summary of factorial ANOVA involving Group Composition, sex and socio-economic status on the scores of Voting Attitude Scale. The results indicated that main effects for group composition, sex, and socio-economic status were statistically non-significant. A three way interaction involving

Group Composition, sex and socio-economic status was also statistically non-significant. However, two way interaction between group x sex was statistically significant. A two-way interaction between group x socio-economic status was significantly, and sex x socio-economic status was also significant.

Table 10: Showing summary of factorial ANOVA involving group composition, sex and socio-economic status on the scores of Voting Attitude Scale (VAS).

Source of variance	S.S	Df	MS	F	P
Group composition (A)	61.62	1	61.62	1.01	0.315523
Sex (B)	167.7	1	167.7	2.75	0.098054
Socio-Economic Status (C)	30.8	1	30.8	0.5	0.479920
AB	1425.07	1	1425.07		
AC	418.21	1	418.21	23.33	<.0001**
BC	2093.07	1	2093.07	6.85	0.0092**
ABC	73.09	1	73.09	34.26	<.0001**
Within Cell (experimental error)	23948.22	392	61.09	1.2	0.273994
Total	28217.78	399			

Note: P * < 0.05,

P** < 0.01

However, two-way interactions involving Group Composition and sex, Group Composition and socio-economic status and sex and socio-economic status were found statistically non-significant.

Main Effect

Group Composition

The result of ANOVA (Table 10) reported significant main effect for group composition ($F, 1/392 = 1.01, P = 0.315$ n.s)

Table 11 : Showing overall mean scores and mean difference on Group Composition (N=200).

Group Composition	Mean	N	S.D	t-value	df	Level of Significance
Majority	85.40	200	8.13	0.96	199	0.34 n.s
Minority	86.19	200	8.68			

Note : The results (table 11) indicated that regardless of sex and socio-economic status Majority Ss did not differed significantly on Voting attitudes as compared to minority Ss ($t\text{-value} = 0.96, df 199, P < 0.01$). Thus, it appears that majority Ss ($M = 85.40$) have evaluated issues relating to political activities nearly equally in their attitudinal preferences for voting comparing the minority Ss ($M = 86.19$). Again, both groups crossed mid-point of (78) indicating a favorable voting attitudes.

Sex:

The results (Table 5) showed significant main effect for sex ($F, 1/392 = 2.75, p= 0.098$).

Table 12 : Showing overall mean scores and significant mean differences on Sex (N=200).

Sex	Mean	N	S D	t-value	df	Level of significance
Male	86.44	200	9.52	1.58	199	0.12 n.s
Female	85.15	200	7.10			

The insignificant main effect on sex indicated that regardless of group composition and socio-economic status, sex emerged as less important factor in the study of voting attitudes. It was found that male Ss showed insignificantly higher preference for voting attitudes in comparison to female Ss ($t\text{-value} = 1.58, df=199, P =n.s$). The means for both the groups exceed the mid-point of (78). The results seem to indicate that male Ss are exposed to political activities in more or less equal frequency with the female Ss. As a result, male Ss ($M =86.44$) expressed significantly closure attitudinal preference about different issues relating voting behavior and female Ss ($M =85.199$) expressed comparatively less favorable attitudes about political affairs of voting.

Socio-economic Status.

The results (table10) indicated significant main effect for socio-economic status ($F, 1/392 = 0.5, P= 0.479$ n.s).

Table 13 : Showing overall mean scores and significant mean differences on Socio-Economic Status (N = 200).

Socio-Economic Status	Mean	N	S D	t-value	df	Level of significance
High	86.07	200	7.99	0.68	199	0.50n.s
Low	85.52	200	8.82			

Note: The results (table13) showed that irrespective of Group Composition and sex of the Ss, socio-economic status failed to account for voting attitudes. The overall mean scores showed that the Ss with high socio-economic status (M = 86.07) expressed slightly more attitudinal (mid-point= 78) preference towards voting as compared to the Ss with low background (M = 85.52) (t-value 0.68, df =199, P=0.50). This finding was indicative of the fact that High Ss are exposed to more political activities and as such they are subject to political manipulation to a greater extent but significantly not much greater than the Ss of low origin who are supposedly exposed to less political manipulation. It seems to indicate that political socialization in high people may be regarded as a vital factor for differential preferences in voting attitudes.

Interaction Effect

Group Composition x Sex x Socio-Economic Status

The results (table 14) indicated that a three-way Interaction representing group Composition, sex and Socio-Economic Status ($F, 1/392 = 1.2, P = 0.273$) was statistically on- significant.

Table 14 : Showing cell means and significant mean differences on various conditions of three-way interactions representing Group composition, sex and Socio-Economic Status (N=50 In each cell) on the scores of VAS.

Groups		Mean	S D	t-value							
				A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
MA .MH	a	83.60	9.25		0.66	4.46**	0.08	0.98	4.69**	1.35	1.12
MA .ML	b	84.72	8.42			3.38**	0.83	0.34	4.24**	0.73	1.99
MA .FH	c	89.80	6.73				4.94**	3.10**	1.67	3.43*	6.19**
MA .FL	d	83.48	6.28					1.17	6.10**	*	1.32
MI .MH	e	85.26	8.86						4.13**	2.12*	2.53*
MI .ML	f	92.18	9.31							0.26	7.74**
MI .FH	g	85.62	5.33							4.85*	3.27**
MI .FL	h	81.68	7.34							*	

Note: $p^* < 0.05,$

$p^{**} < 0.01$

The results (table14) indicated that in case of Within Group Comparison, it was found that Majority Male High Ss showed significantly higher preference in Voting Attitudes ($t = 4.46, df = 49, P < 0.01$) as compared to Majority

Voting Attitude Scale (VAS)

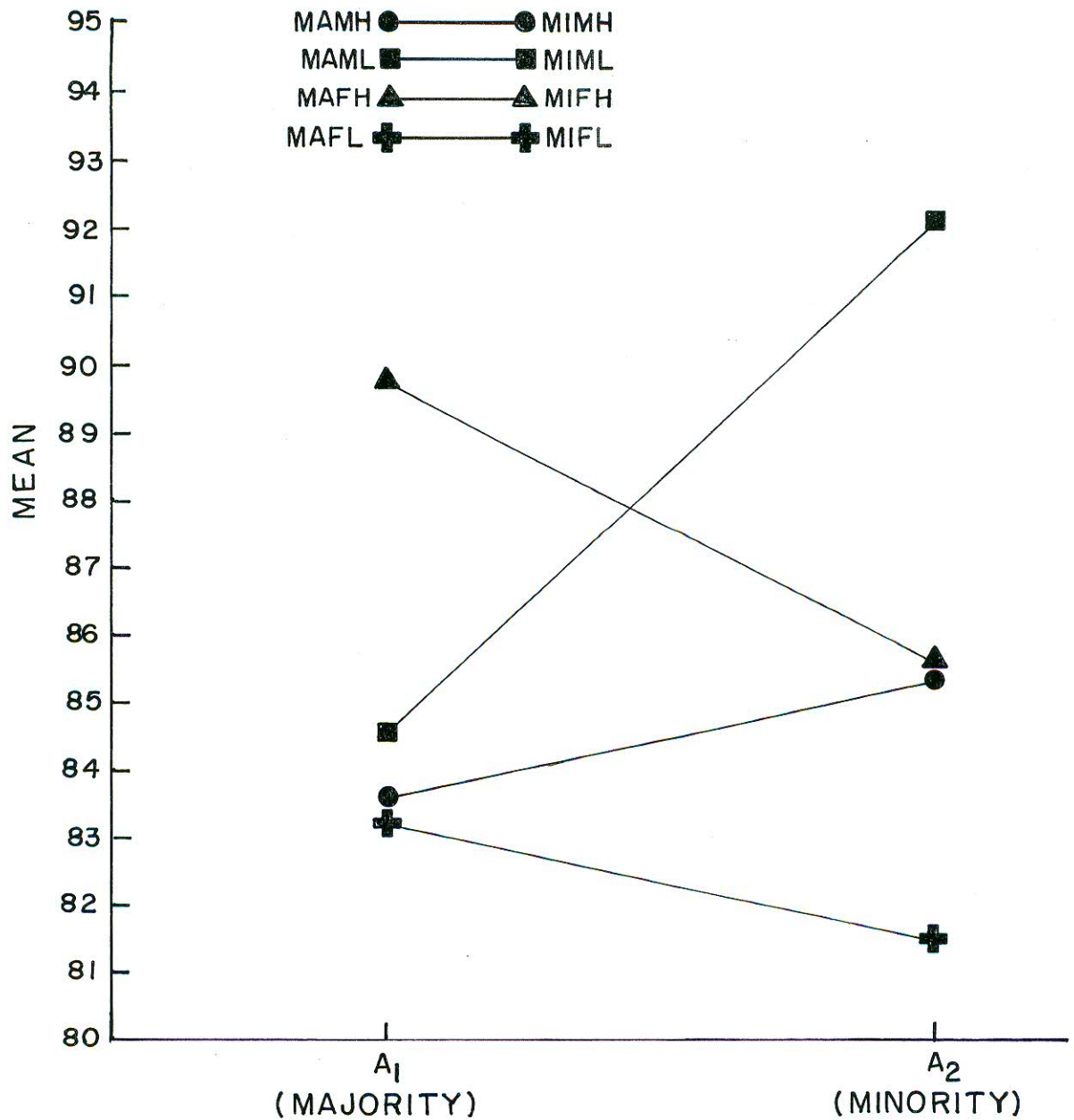


Fig. 2. Showing differences on various conditions of three-way interactions involving group composition, sex and socio-economic status on voting Attitudes scale (VAS).

Female high Ss. However, Majority Male Low did not differ significantly from Majority Female low ($t = 0.83$, $df = 49$, $P = 0.83$). But a cross grouping of Majority Male Low Ss expressed higher voting attitudes in comparison to Majority Female High Ss ($t = 3.38$, $df = 49$, $p < 0.01$). Again, Majority Female High Ss expressed significantly higher attitudes of voting ($t = 4.94$, $df = 49$, $P < 0.01$) than the Majority Female Low Ss. Majority Groups of High high and Low Male Ss did not differ significantly in voting attitudes ($t = 0.66$, $df = 49$, $P = n.s$). At The extreme Majority Male High Ss did not significantly from Majority Female Low Ss ($t = 0.08$, $df = 49$, $p = n.s$).

However, In case of Minority Groups, comparable group of Minority Male High Ss did not differ significantly from the group of Minority Female High Ss ($t = 0.26$, $df = 49$, $p = n.s$). Minority Male Low Ss differ significantly in mean score from Minority Female Low Ss ($t = 7.74$, $df = 49$, $p < 0.01$). Minority Male High differ significantly in voting attitudes as compared to Minority Male Low Ss ($t = 4.13$, $df = 49$, $p < 0.01$). Minority Female high Ss differ significantly from Minority Female Low Ss ($t = 3.27$, $df = 49$, $p < 0.01$). A cross group comparison reveal clear differences between Minority Male High and Minority Female Low Ss ($t = 2.53$, $df = 49$, $p < 0.05$) and Minority Male Low Ss and Minority Female high Ss ($t = 4.85$, $df = 49$, $p < 0.01$). Thus an inspection of mean scores showed that Minority Male Low Ss ($M = 92.18$) and Minority Female high Ss ($M = 85.62$) showed highest preference in voting attitudes followed by Minority Male High Ss ($M = 85.26$) and Minority Female Low Ss ($M = 81.68$).

It appears from the results (table 14) that Male Ss of High-Low SES in Majority Group Composition did not differ significantly in their attitudinal constellation of voting. But, Female Ss of High Low origin in Majority Group

Composition also achieved level of significance. It seems to indicate that Socio-economic status has greater impact in producing differential attitudinal preference of Female Ss Majority Group. Another plausible explanation might be that Male persons are exposed to greater Political manipulation as compared to their counterparts. Furthermore, Majority activities in Male and Females differ substantially in respect of power positions. There is obviously a conflict in status between Male and Female Majority persons. It is, perhaps, for these reasons that male and female expressed differential attitudinal preference in voting in case of Majority Group Composition.

Another distinctive feature of the results (table 9) is that Majority with High SES persons are found to express differential attitudinal preference with sexual identity. It seems to indicate that political socialization for Male individuals is not identical among male and female Ss. Female Ss of Majority groups showed differential attitudinal preference with the socio-economic status of high and low.

In case of Minority Groups, it seems to indicate that Minority Groups of Male Ss differed along high-low SES. Minority Groups of Female Ss also differed in a similar way. Again, Lower Status Groups Minority differs significantly in respect of voting attitudes with their sexual identity.

Conservatism-Radicalism Scale (C-R)

The conservatism-Radicalism Scale was administered on the same Ss.

The data were properly and accurately tabulated for computing analysis of variance. In this analysis, a factorial design was utilized. Thus a 2 x 2 x 2 factorial design involving 2 levels of Group Composition (Majority/Minority), 2

levels of sex (Male/Female) and 2 levels of Socio-Economic Status (High/Low) were used. A high score indicated conservatism and a low score indicated radicalism. The highest possible score in this scale was $(40 \times 5) = 200$ and the lowest possible score was $40 \times 1 = 40$; Accordingly it was assumed that scores above mid-point (120) were indicative of conservative attitudes while the scores below mid-point were regarded as Radical attitudes.

Table 15: Showing summary of factorial ANOVA involving Group Composition, sex and Socio-Economic Status on the scores of conservatism-Radicalism Scale (C-R Scale).

Source of variance	SS	df	MS	F	P
Group Composition (A)	745.29	1	745.29	6.09	0.014021**
Sex (B)	5929	1	5929	48.44	<.0001**
Socio-Economic Status (C)	992.25	1	992.25	8.11	0.004634**
A B	1866.24	1	1866.24	15.25	0.00011**
A C	9.61	1	9.61	0.08	0.777447
B C	12.96	1	12.96	0.11	0.740321
A B C	213.16	1	213.16	1.74	0.187909
Within Cell (Experimental error)	47975.08	392	122.39		
Total	57743.59	399			

Note: $p^* < 0.05$,

$p^{**} < 0.01$

The results (table 15) reported the summary of factorial ANOVA involving Group Composition, Sex and Socio-Economic Status on the scores of

conservatism-radicalism Scale. It was found that main effects for Group Composition, Sex and Socio-Economic Status were statistically significant. A three-way interaction representing Group Composition, Sex and Socio-Economic Status was also statistically significant. A, two-way interactions involving Group Composition and Sex Significant. However, interactions involving Group Composition and Socio-Economic Status and sex and Socio-Economic Status were found non-significant.

Main Effect

Group Composition

The ANOVA results (table 15) showed significant main effect for group composition ($F, 1/392 = 6.09, P < 0.01$) on the scores of C-R Scale.

Table 16: Showing overall mean scores and significant mean difference for group composition (N=200) on the scores of C-R Scales.

Group Composition	Mean	N	S D	t-value	df	Level of significance
Majority	130.26	200	10.65	2.66	199	0.01
Minority	127.53	200	13.15			

The results (table 11) showed that regardless of sex and socio-Economic status, Majority Ss expressed significantly more conservative attitudes ($t = 2.66$, $df = 199$, $P < 0.01$) as compared to Minority Ss. It seems to indicate that Majority Ss ($M = 130.26$) exhibited significantly more conservatism. Minority, ($M = 127.53$) on the other hand, are found to appear as less conservative attitudinal preferences. In a word, Socio-political attitudes in Majority and Minority Ss are different but One-dimensional.

Majority Ss tend to move towards more conservative ideological orientations while Minority Ss move towards lesser conservative ideological orientations.

Sex

The results (table 15) showed significant main effect for sex ($F, 1/392 = 48.44$, $P < 0.01$).

Table 17: Showing overall mean scores and significant mean difference for sex ($N=200$) on the scores of C-R Scale.

Sex	Mean	N	S D	t-value	df	Level of significance
Male	125.05	200	11.31	8.77	199	0.001
Female	132.75	200	11.51			

Note : Regardless of Group Composition and Socio-Economic Status, the results indicated that Female Ss expressed significantly more socio-political attitudes in the direction of conservatism ($t = 8.77$, $df = 199$, $P < 0.01$) as compared to Male Ss. In other words, Female Ss ($M = 132.75$) exhibited more conservative orientation and Male Ss ($M = 125.05$) scored lower conservative orientation along conservatism-radicalism continuum.

Socio-Economic Status:

The results (table 15 showed significant main effect for Socio-Economic Status (F , $1/392 = 8.11$ $P < 0.01$).

Table 18: Showing overall mean scores and significant mean difference for Socio-Economic Status ($N = 200$) on the scores of Conservatism-Radicalism Scale.

Socio-Economic Status	Mean	N	S D	t-value	df	Level of significance
High	127.32	200	11.95	3.46	199	0.001
Low	130.47	200	11.94			

Note: It was found that (table 13) irrespective of group composition and sex of the Ss, Socio-Economic Status was found to account for sociopolitical attitudes. The results revealed that Low Ss expressed significantly more conservative

attitudes ($t = 3.46$, $df = 199$, $P < 0.01$) as compared to High Ss. The mid- point of the probable scores was (120). An inspection of mean scores showed that High Ss ($M=127.32$) exhibited conservative orientation. But Low Ss ($M =130.47$), on the other hand, showed a tendency to move towards more conservative ideological poles significantly.

Interaction Effect

Group Composition x Sex x Socio-Economic Status

The results (table 15) indicated that a three-way interaction representing Group Composition, Sex and Socio-Economic Status was statistically no significant ($F, 1/392 =1.744$, $P =n.s$).

The results (table 14) showed that in case of Within Group Comparison,

Majority Groups, Majority Male High Ss showed significantly lesser attitudinal preference in conservatism as compared to Majority Female High ($t =2.78$, $df = 49$, $P < 0.01$), Majority Male Low Ss did not differ significantly from Majority Female Low Ss($t = 0.53$, $df = 49$, $P =n.s$). Majority Male High Ss differ significantly from Majority Male Low Ss ($t = 3.01$, $df = 49$, $P < 0.01$) in attitudinal preference of conservatism. However, Majority Female High Ss did not

Differ significantly from Majority Female Low Ss ($t = 0.90$, $df = 49$, $P =n.s$).

A cross group Majority Female High Ss did not differ significantly from Majority Male Low Ss ($t = 0.32$, $df = 49$, $P =n.s$).In case of the Minority Groups,

Minority Male High Ss did not differ significantly from Minority Female High Ss ($t = 1.16$, $df = 49$, $P = n.s$) in conservative-radical ideology. But a very significantly High difference was found between Minority Male Low Ss and Minority Female Low Ss ($t = 9.90$, $df = 49$, $P < 0.01$). Again, a significant difference was found Between Minority Female High Ss and Minority Female Low Ss ($t = 6.92$, $df = 49$, $P < 0.01$). An inspection of mean scores showed that Majority Female Low Ss ranked Highest ($M = 132.46$) conservatism followed by Majority Male Low Ss ($M = 131.44$), Majority Female High Ss ($M = 130.90$), and Majority Male High Ss ($M = 126.24$). Again, Minority Female Low Ss ($M = 135.82$) showed highest mean as Compared to Majority Male Low Ss ($M = 131.26$), Minority Female High Ss ($M = 122.70$), and Minority Male High Ss ($M = 120.34$).

Table 19 : Showing cell means and significant mean differences on various conditions of three-way interactions representing group composition, sex and socio-economic status (N = 50 in each cell) in the scores of Conservatism-Radicalism scale.

Groups		Mean	S D	t-value							
				a	b	c	D	e	F	g	h
MA .MH	a	126.24	9.36		2.78**	3.01**	3.04**	3.16**	1.71	2.49*	5.19**
MA .ML	b	130.90	9.34			0.32	0.90	6.54**	3.88**	0.23	2.94**
MA .FH	c	131.44	11.85				0.53	6.56**	5.00**	0.10	2.48*
MA .FL	d	132.46	11.04					5.76**	5.17**	0.56	1.65
MI .MH	e	120.34	11.35						1.16	9.90**	10.25**
MI .ML	f	122.70	12.28							4.31**	6.92**
MI .FH	g	131.26	11.77								2.88**
MI .FL	h	135.82	11.11								

Note: P* < 0.05,

P** < 0.01

In a word, in Majority groups of lower socio-economic status Ss were More conservative than Majority Groups of Higher Socio-economic status Groups In each status groups female Ss scored higher than their male counterpart.

In case of the Minority Groups, Minority Groups of Lower socio-economic status Ss scored higher than Minority Groups of Higher Socio-economic status Ss. Again, Majority Groups of Female Ss scored higher than their male counterpart. In case of comparison between Majority and Minority (Between Groups)

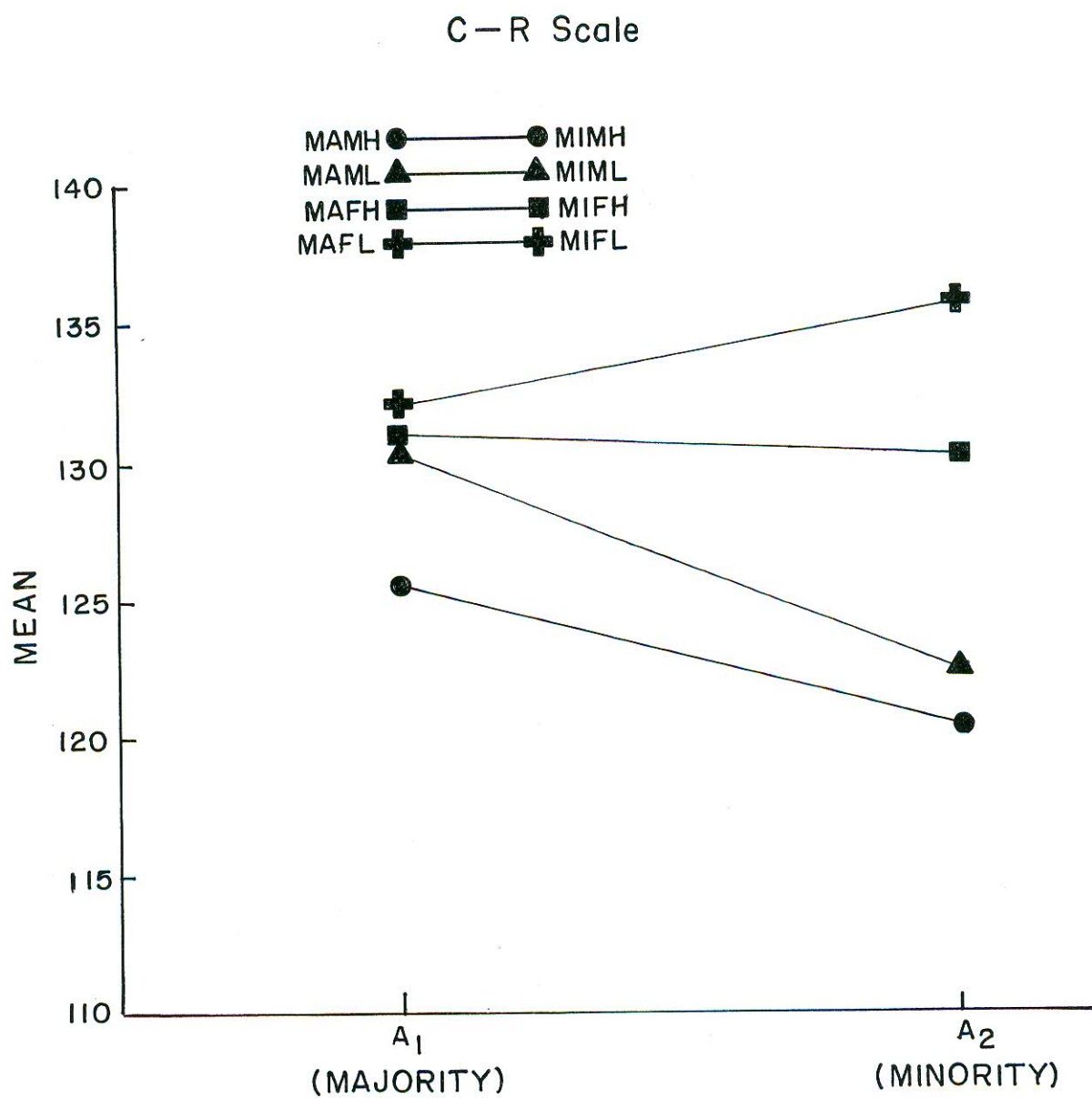


Fig. 3. Showing differences on various conditions of three-way interactions representing group composition, sex and socio-economic status on conservatism-Radicalism Scale (C-R).

the mean Difference between Minority Male High Ss and Majority Male Low ($t = 6.56, df = 49, P < 0.01$). Majority Female High was found to be superior in conservative Attitude in comparison with the group of Minority Male High Ss ($t = 6.54, df = 49, P < 0.01$). Minority Male High was found lower in conservatism scale comparing With the group of Majority Female Low Ss ($t = 5.76, df = 49, P < 0.01$). Lastly, the Group of Minority Female Low differ significantly from the group of Majority Male High ($t = 5.19, df = 49, P < 0.01$). In other word, minority male High Subjects differ significantly from all the Majority Groups of males, females, high And low socio-economic status.

SUMMARY OF THE MAIN FINDINGS

Factorial ANOVA

Attitudes toward Healthy Minority-Majority Relationship scale (ATHMMRS)

1. Regardless of sex and socio-economic status, Majority Ss expressed significantly more favorable attitudes toward healthy minority-majority relationship as compared to Minority Ss.
2. Regardless of group composition and socio-economic status, male Ss showed no significant difference in preference for attitudes toward healthy minority-majority relationship in comparison to female Ss.
3. Regardless of group composition and sex, the Ss with high socio-economic status expressed no significant difference in attitudes toward healthy

minority-majority relationship as compared to the Subjects with low socio-economic status.

4. A three-way interaction representing group composition, sex and socio-economic status was statistically significant.

It was found that, for majority groups, high male Ss and low male Ss showed highest preference in attitudes toward healthy minority-majority relationship followed by high female and low female Ss. For minority groups, high male Ss expressed significantly more attitudes toward healthy minority-majority relationship as compared to high female, low male and low female Ss.

Voting attitude scale (VAS)

5. Regardless of sex and socio-economic status, Majority Ss expressed favorable attitudes but showed no significant difference in preference for attitudes toward healthy minority-majority relationship as compared to Minority Ss.

6. Regardless of group composition and socio-economic status, male Ss showed no significant difference in preference for attitudes toward healthy minority-majority relationship in comparison to female Ss.

7. Regardless of group composition and sex, the Ss with high socio-economic status expressed no significant difference in attitudinal preference for voting as compared to the Subjects with low socio-economic background.

8. A three-way interaction representing group composition, sex and socio-economic status was statistically non-significant.

Conservatism-Radicalism Scale:

9. Regardless of sex and socio-economic status, Minority Ss expressed significantly more conservative attitudes as compared to Majority Ss.

10. Regardless of group composition and socio-economic status, female Ss expressed significantly more conservative attitudes as compared to male Ss.

11. Regardless of group compositions and sex, low SES Ss expressed significantly more conservative attitudes as compared to high SES Ss.

12. A three-way interaction representing group composition, sex and socio-economic status was statistically significant. For Majority group, high female Ss more conservative attitudes as compared to high male Ss. expressed significantly more conservative attitudes as compared to high male and low male Ss. Again low Female Ss expressed significantly more conservative attitudes followed by high female, low male and high male Ss. For Minority groups, high females low male and low female Ss expressed significantly

CHAPTER-SIX

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

All point to the importance of understanding the complex issues of majority-minority relations in our world. But without a comparison between the two apparently rival groups a study of any one group alone remain incomplete.

All communities living side by side or intermingled experience tensions and conflicts. Ethnic and religious identities are not frozen but are constantly reproduced and renegotiated as minorities and majorities adapt to new contexts. Religious differences historically seem to accentuate such conflicts and erect even more impermeable barriers than do tribal and linguistic variations. In discussing the results mainly the Factorial ANOVA showed that in Attitudes toward Healthy Minority-Majority Relationship scale (ATHMMRS),. Regardless of sex and socio-economic status, Majority Ss expressed significantly more favorable attitudes toward healthy minority-majority relationship as compared to Minority Ss. But,. Regardless of group composition and socio-economic status, male Ss showed no significant difference in preference for attitudes toward healthy minority-majority relationship in comparison to female Ss. Again, Regardless of group composition and sex, the Ss with high socio-economic status expressed no significant difference in attitudes toward healthy minority-majority relationship as compared to the Subjects with low socio-economic status. A three-way interaction representing group composition, sex and socio-economic status was statistically significant.

It was found that, for majority groups, high male Ss and low male Ss showed highest preference in attitudes toward healthy minority-majority relationship

followed by high female and low female Ss. For minority groups, high male Ss expressed significantly more attitudes toward healthy minority-majority relationship as compared to high female, low male and low female Ss.

On this general background, one can safely conclude that Bangladesh is a place where minority rights are badly guaranteed and protected. Indeed, both local and international human rights monitors have repeatedly raised a variety of human rights concerns related to racial discrimination, police brutality, restrictions of religious freedom, and violations of freedom of expression, assembly and association, whose victims are predominantly people from minorities.

Economic and social status leads to a high level of legislative standards and administrative practices of the protection of any type of minority identity. And, last but not least is the political significance of the minority in terms of numbers and ability to take part in an organized political action. Here the rule is simple and close to common sense – the bigger the minority's share in the general population and its capacity to organize, the greater are its chances to have its minority identity protected.

The historical reality of inter-communal relations usually shows many ups and downs, periods of relative tolerance alternating with periods of conflict and persecution. Sadly at the end of the 20th century it seems that both traditional and modern tools for conflict resolution between differing communities are failing, as new conflicts erupt worldwide.

A main condition for national cohesion in any state is the resolution of the question of identity of the political community. Most regimes have failed in creating and maintaining a national consensus on a clear definition of a pluralistic identity, preferring a manipulable ambiguity which leaves the question unresolved.

Conflict will endure as long as the question of the core loyalty remains undecided. States should be the institutions most interested in developing and maintaining a cross-communal national identity with which all communities can uninhibitedly identify. Sadly most regimes in spite of democratic and pluralistic rhetoric have tended to shift to the one-community paradigm, discriminating against minorities and enhancing internal cleavages and violence.

It is evident that the true spirit and essence of democracy remains an illusion for the minorities in Bangladesh. In the name of majoritarian rule or democracy they have been marginalized politically, economically as well as culturally (Mohsin, 1997, pp. 103). The state constitution extends guarantee for the majority, the Bangla Muslims. Religion has been used as a tool by the political parties and politicians in Bangladesh to consolidate their power base. It is time that our elected representatives take cognizance of the fact that Bangladesh is not homogenous state rather it is a multi-national state, this reality ought to be incorporated into the Constitution.

Though the study was basically exploratory in nature three specific predictions were made for the study, Firstly, it was hypothesized that majority group of Ss would have higher scores on the attitude towards healthy minority –majority relation scale as compared to minority group of Ss in Bangladesh. This prediction was supported by the results of the study. The main effect of group composition showed that regardless of sex and socio-economic status, majority Ss expressed significantly more favorable attitude towards healthy minority –majority relation compared to minority Ss. This has been explicitly expressed in three-way interactions involving group compositions, sex and socio-economic status the scores of attitude towards healthy minority–majority relation Scale. These findings have provided empirical

supports to the hypothesis that majority (Muslim)Ss would have higher scores on the attitude towards healthy minority–majority relation Scale as compared to minority(Hindu) group of Ss in Bangladesh. These findings are in line with the theory of Allport's contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954; Amir, 1969, 1976; Cook, 1985; Hewstone and Brown, 1986)

States: hypothesis states that regular interaction between members of different groups reduces prejudice, providing it occurs under favorable conditions. However, it does not contradict rokeach's belief-conflict theory Proponents of the contact hypothesis usually think of intergroup contact as having an effect on prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behavior because of its effects on stereotyping.

To simplify, they think that hostile stereotypes are born of social isolation and broken by personal acquaintance (e.g., Allport, 1954, chap. 16). They recognize, of course, that the cognitive and emotional mechanisms involved in the development and modification of intergroup attitudes are very complex: they can be affected by many variables. In principle, therefore, it should be possible to explain and predict different relations between contact and conflict (prejudice, discrimination, stereotyping, hostility, etc.) by taking these conditioning variables into account. It should be possible to specify the kinds and situations of contact that will have desirable effects and those that will have negative effects. When contact is the right kind of contact, in a favorable setting, it should tend to reduce prejudice and discrimination. Otherwise, contact may have no effects or even bad effects. Rather than breaking hostile stereotypes, it may just foster their growth.. By putting some qualifications on the simplest contact hypothesis, it seems to overcome the most

damaging objections to it, but without abandoning its underlying ideas or its most important practical implications.

The practical problem becomes how to foster the right kind of contact, in the right situations—or more practically, how to ensure that the situations in which contact naturally occurs will have the desirable characteristics that yield positive effects of contact. The contact hypothesis is a broad generalization about the effects of personal contact between the members of different ethnic or racial groups on their prejudiced opinions and discriminatory behavior. The basic idea is that more contact between individuals belonging to antagonistic social groups (defined by religion, culture, language, beliefs, skin color, nationality, etc.) tends to undermine the negative stereotypes they have of each other and to reduce their mutual antipathies, thus improving intergroup relations by making people more willing to deal with each other as equals. In short, more contact means less ethnic or cultural conflict, other things being equal

Secondly, it was hypothesized that majority group of Ss would have higher scores on the voting attitude scale as compared to minority group of Ss in Bangladesh. This prediction was not supported by the results of the study. The main effect of group composition showed that regardless of sex and socio-economic status, majority Ss expressed no significant difference in favorable attitude towards voting as compared to minority Ss ,although both groups scored higher than the mi-point of (78),(i.e. a favorable attitude toward Voting). This has been explicitly expressed in three-way interactions involving group compositions, sex and socio-economic status the scores of voting attitude scale.

These findings have not provided empirical supports to the hypothesis that majority group of Ss would have higher scores on the voting attitude scale as compared to minority groups of Ss in Bangladesh. These findings are in line with the theory of political socialization. Herbert H. Hyman (1959). States

Regularities in the political behavior of adult individuals and stable differences between groups of adults have become a commonplace in social research. Such patterns of behavior may well be interpreted in terms of contemporaneous features present in the adult lives of particular individuals or groups. But, certainly it is true that the continuity of such patterns over time and place suggests That the individual has been modified in the course of his development in such a way that he is likely to exhibit certain persistent behavior apart from transient stimulation in his contemporary environment.

Thus it is evident that Political behavior is Complex and many different aspects could be examined as Outgrowth of socialization. Two major factors are participation in politics and aspiration to achieve political Goals. While individuals differ certainly in the quantity of their participation and perhaps qualitatively in the kind of political participation, the goals of political action have varied endlessly among people over time and place. Conceived in these theoretical aspects of political behavior and political action involving voting attitudes, it is logical that persons with Political involvements could try to attain political goals using the voting strategy and as such they would exhibit comparatively higher orientation of voting behavior as compared to those persons who are apathetic towards political involvement, political actions and voting consequences. The results of the present study reflect these theoretical assumptions and underlie the importance of political activities as important factors in determining voting patterns of the

individuals. Previous studies (Greenstein, 1974 ; Jennings, 1980 ; Marsh, 1971 and Nie , Powell and Prewitt, 1969 ;) have reported similar findings that politically oriented persons have showed greater interest and more involvement in the exercise of voting rights in elections. These findings have provided empirical support to the present study. In a word, the findings of the present study that minority group of Ss showed favorable attitude towards voting, although significantly no difference as compared to majority Ss might be considered as providing empirical verification to earlier studies.

This is evident from the findings that Majority Ss favored the act of voting in equal level of attitudes with its minority counterpart. This seems to indicate the level of political consciousness of the people of Bangladesh.

It is, therefore, most probable that historical development, class consciousness and professional skills have enormous influence on political involvement and as such the political ecology of the country seems to contribute to the higher degree.

Findings Related to conservatism-radicalism

The measures of socio-political attitudes employed for the study presented a choice to respondents for differential preferences between conservative and radical ideological poles of political activities. The conservatism-radicalism scale, in fact, is a measure of ideological dimension which may indicate the level of ethnic relations. Converse (1964) concluded that less than 20% of the electorate could be characterized as having an understanding of the distinction between liberal and conservative ideology. Robinson (1984) found that politically oriented ethnic groups could be correlated significantly with ideological identifications.

The modest magnitude of these relationships led Lavitin and Miller (1979) to conclude that ideological position provides the structural validity for attitudinal preference towards a statement containing various issue positions reflecting individuals' inner dispositions that might be utilized for the choice of a candidate in election. Conover and Feldman (1981) also argue that meaning of ideological levels is largely based on symbols rather than issues. In the perspectives of these theoretical interpretations of ideological identifications as used in political activities involving ethnic behavior, the investigator in the present study utilized conservatism-radicalism scale to find out differential ideological preference of Majority and Minority individuals including male-female and High and Low socio-economic status.

An overall finding of the results showed that Majority Ss expressed significantly more conservatism as compared to Minority Ss. Alternately stated that Religious majority (Muslims) individuals emerged as conservative groups who were found to exhibit still more, favorable attitudes toward healthy minority-Majority relation (C-Rscale).

Similarly female Ss also expressed more conservatism regardless of Group Composition and socio-economic status.

The results also reported that low SES Ss was highly conservative irrespective of Group Composition and sex.

These findings relate in an important way the ideological orientations of individuals to their level of attitudes toward healthy minority-majority relation. It is important to note that in ethnic relation, male category and high SES are significant correlates. The findings of conservatism-radicalism scale revealed that minority male category and high SES may exert significant influence to lower down the

conservatism in the individuals. This seems to indicate that high conservatism and low conservatism are functionally related with ethnic attitude.

A large number of studies (Robinson and Fleishman, 1988; Fleishman, 1986; Robinson, 1984; Robinson and Fleishman, 1984) have provided empirical supports to the findings of the present study that conservatism as an ideological frame of reference may assume to have particular cognitive structure underlying ethnic attitudes. It is, however, of interest to note that ideological identification is an important political orientation reflecting the ambivalent and conflicting stands in the political thinking. This is evident from the results that minority females Ss with lower SES exhibited highest conservatism than majority female Ss of high and low SES. More specifically, low female Ss expressed significantly conservative attitudes followed by high female, low male and high male Ss. Similarly female low and male low and female high Ss of majority groups expressed significantly more conservatism than majority male high Ss. These findings seem to indicate that sex and SES give birth to ambivalence characteristics in female Ss of high and low resulting in conflicting ideological orientation.

In fact, attitudinal preference towards conservatism is more varied in minority groups, where as, it is, found to be more consolidated in majority Groups.

Although many studies (Ward, 1986 ; Carmines and Stimson, 1982 ; Wilson and Schochet, 1980 ; Stimson, 1979 ; Nie, Verba and Petrocik, 1976 ; Nie and Anderson, 1974 ; Adelson and O'Neil, 1966) have dealt with cognitive functioning and socio-political ideology and reported underlying structural differences in terms of quantity, it is observed that qualitative differences in ideological preference may coincide with structural differences (Fieldman and Anderson, 1969 Jennings and Niemi, 1981). It may be assumed that in the present study, ethnic I group

composition, sex and socio-economic status provide the structural basis for conservatism-radicalism stance leading to the qualitative differences in ideological orientation. As a result both majority and minority groups showed differential orientations towards conservatism. It appears from the results that ethnic relation in Bangladesh are conditioned by several predisposing factors such as economic development, level of education socio-economic status, cultural factors and other related variables.

For example, culturally the people in Bangladesh are tradition oriented and as such they are likely to resist social and political changes in the country. This might have direct reference with the development of conservative attitudes. In fact, one distinctive feature of the findings is -that all the groups exhibited differential conservatism and none were found to possess radicalism in attitudinal preference. This seems to indicate that ethnic relation in Bangladesh is tradition oriented and it reflects people's conservative attitudes.

The study has made an empirical investigation on some psychological dimensions of socio-political attitudes with special reference to Bangladesh. Its main focus was on the socio-political attitudes healthy minority –majority relation, voting attitudes, and ideological orientations of conservatism-radicalism. Thus the study was concerned with broader ethnic relations and its correlates of social situations. The effects of these dependent variables were studied in the context of minority-majority group composition, male-female categorization and high-low socio-economic status. The results revealed differential preferences in attitudes toward healthy minority- majority relation, voting attitudes, and conservatism-radicalism ideological stance. The findings showed that becoming a majority or minority holding certain types attitudes, ideological orientation may be shared by the attitudes toward a healthy

minority-majority relations .It was through reviews that a lack of positive contact between two ethnic groups may lead to catastrophic results in their interrelations

This might be a characteristic feature of familiarity, socio-economic status and minority self identification. Thus there are three levels of explanations for the ethnic behavior. First, ethnic behavior is the prediction of ethnic attitudes and it is essentially associated with the level of (1) secularism (2) fundamental human rights (3) peaceful coexistence (4) social and economic justice (5) nationalism. Partisan attitude party identification, leadership image, election campaign and issue orientation. Secondly voting behavior may be conceived as an outcome of socio-political attitudes in the form of conservatism-radicalism ideological frame of reference. In this stage voting behavior is conditioned by conservative or radical attitudes independent of political party identification. In other words, individual's ideological frame of reference directs him to show his preference in favor of certain political groups or parties. Conceived in this sense, ideology provides a basis for political activism for the ethnic groups. Thirdly, social contextual factors such as political history of the country, male-female relationships in sharing social, political and economic privileges and socio-economic status creating two sub-cultures in the community may influence ethnic behavior and relations in the country. However, Our attempt to study social psychological factors of socio-political attitudes (healthy minority-majority relations, voting attitudes, and attitudes towards conservative-radical ideologies) has proved that the understanding of total attitudinal, social and political development is basically and functionally related with a large number of variables and their unified study may give us a macro analytical explanations of ethnic relations in the country,

RECOMMENDATIONS

The study attempted to analyze the discrepancy between various institutionalized attempts to manage peacefully ethnic heterogeneity and minority issues, and the continuing tensions and conflicts between two different identity groups. Using different theoretical concept, the study addressed the issue of conflict management in cases of complex social conflicts. There are some clearer attitudinal differences between Muslim Bengali majority and Hindu ethnic minority that were evident in the results of the study. However, Issues about minority-majority relations and about the co-existence of different identity groups have been a permanent feature in the political discourse of individual states and regions (particularly in Asia). Questions regarding ethnic heterogeneity continue to be at the centre of contemporary governance at different levels. Wars continue to be fought over issues that appertain to ethnic minorities, and individuals are still discriminated against on the basis of their distinct identity, membership in an ethnic group, or simply because they are different racially, linguistically, religiously, or culturally. Questions about inclusion and exclusion, prospects for fostering one identity over the other, the apparent inability to think about multiple identities, and competition in the political, economic, or social sphere, continue to touch upon, if not centre on, the existence of ethnic minorities. This is despite the fact that so much scholarly effort has been invested in studying and comprehending minority issues, and despite the fact that mechanisms have been brought about in the contemporary international community at different levels of governance to provide for a peaceful co-existence of different identity groups and their members.

Donald Horowitz (1985) suggested that, in redressing ethnic relations imbalances, timing is very important. In general, earlier is better, especially regarding dispensations to disadvantaged groups, since later action will face obstruction from politicians and vested interests. With early action, difficult things are made easier, while later action will make even easy things more difficult. Conversely, earlier action will generally be less efficient than later, but later action usually requires more effort and resources. Finally, devolution of authority, (e.g., federalism, regional autonomy, etc.,) has proven to be a good idea for conflict reduction in other cases. However, Horowitz (1985) noted that it is often thought by politicians that such devolutions of central authority are the first step to secession and are therefore resisted. Moreover, Hindu minority groups are not concentrated in a particular geographical area or region on the contrary they are scarcely distributed all over the country. Again they are no secessionist movement inside the country lead by this ethnic group. A need for educational reform was felt.

To illustrate the need for an educational reform that emphasizes: 1) moral values, 2) acceptance of otherness, and 3) a new ethic of work well done. According to the author, it is up to the educational system to integrate citizens into normal social life but at present, partially for economic reasons, the Bangladeshi educational system is not meeting this need. As the vast proportions of both majority and minority groups' people of Bangladesh are illiterates.

The steps on basis of the study findings for the improvement of relationship between minority and majority should be as follows:

- 1) To receive complaints and to investigate and study complaints, problems and specific situations arising between groups or individuals which result or may result in tensions, discrimination or prejudice within the groups.
- 2) To study problems of discrimination in any or all fields of human relations.
- 3) To anticipate and discover those practices and customs most likely to create animosity and unrest among racial and ethnic groups and, by consultation, to seek a solution as these problems arise or are anticipated.
- 4) To make written recommendations and reports to the appropriate authority for action it discerns necessary to the furtherance of harmony among racial and ethnic groups in the area. The authority should be authorized to take such corrective action concerning the subject matter of such reports and recommendations as is within the authority, and shall report matters beyond his authority to the higher body.

Psychological factors, although very important, constitute only one aspect of minority- majority conflicts (or of any conflict for that matter). They are interlinked with other factors, political, economic, historical, etc. They reinforce those factors and they are reinforced by them.

Just as psychological factors are interrelated with other factors, psychological explanations, as well, are interrelated with other explanations of conflict, developed by other disciplines. No psychological theory, however sophisticated, can adequately explain a conflict without being accompanied by theories from other disciplines. The same is true for any theory based on a single discipline.

And yet, conflict analysts tend to overemphasize the theories from the disciplines they are most familiar with, and do not pay enough attention to theories from disciplines that are foreign to them.

In order to deal with a similar problem, facilitation teams of conflict resolution workshops are composed of members from various disciplines. It might be advisable, therefore, for conflict analysts or conflict researchers to form multidisciplinary teams, as well.

Concluding Thoughts:

Ethnic and cultural diversity is a fact which can and should enrich social life in all parts of the world. One focus of research under most is on the nature of change in multi-cultural and multi-ethnic societies in which issues of education, culture and religion, identity and human needs, democratic governance, conflict and cohesion interact in complex patterns. These issues require interdisciplinary, comparative, and culturally sensitive research which may furnish information useful for the peaceful and democratic management of multi-cultural and multi-ethnic societies. This research should help design policies that contribute to the goals of achieving equality of citizenship rights between ethnic groups and the avoidance and solution of ethnic conflict.

Limitations of the study

The present study was conducted to explore some socio-political attitudes of minority with special reference to Bangladesh. It is felt that the study has several limitations. These are as follows:

Firstly, selection of sample of the present study has been done from Faridpur, Netrakona, Dhaka, Rajbari districts only. The ethnic representation could be achieved by a proper randomization and stratification of sample representing Bangladesh. An incidental sample fall short of stronger generalizations. Any kind of generalization here lacking the geographic and demographic representation of Bangladesh.

Secondly, there was other, though, much smaller in number, minorities excluding Hindus reprinting different religious groups should have been taken into account. Those religious minorities are Christians, and Buddhists.

Thirdly, the division of socio-economic status as high and low was found to be very superficial having no deep social base and understanding because only money cannot be index of socio-economic status. There should be society based broader criteria for the status as such.

Fourthly, literacy or education was a factor to be reckoned with, as an influencing agent in forming or changing ethnic attitudes. Lastly, there was no prior indication in the title for a within and between group comparisons of minority and the majority ethnic groups of Muslims and Hindus in Bangladesh. Inspire of these limitations, it is thought that the study would provide insights for future research and would give directions for making appropriate design for understanding ethnic relations in the country.

It is, therefore, suggested that several follow-up studies should be conducted to understand socio-political attitudes of minority groups, as compared with that of the majority groups, and the subsequent changes ethnic relations.

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APPENDIX

Bio- data form

নির্দেশাবলী:

এখানে আপনার ব্যক্তিগত বিষয়ে কয়েকটি প্রশ্ন করা হল। এ বিষয়ে সঠিক তথ্য দিয়ে ঘরগুলি পূরণ করুন।
কোন ঘর যেন অপূর্ণ না থাকে। আপনার গোপনীয়তা রক্ষা করা হবে।

ধন্যবাদ

১. (ক) নাম: ২. (খ) বয়স.....
- (গ) শিক্ষাগত যোগ্যতা: এস.এস.সি./ এইচ.এস.সি./ বি.এ./ বি.এস-সি./ বি. কম./ এম. এ./ এম. এস-সি./ এম. কম./ এম. ফিল/ পি-এইচ.ডি.। যেটিতে প্রযোজ্য (✓) চিহ্ন দিন।
- (ঘ) কত বছর গ্রাম/ শহরে আছেন.....টিক চিহ্ন দিন ও বৎসর লিখুন। জন্ম থেকে।
- (ঙ) এর পূর্বে কত বছর গ্রাম/ শহরে ছিলেন?.....টিক চিহ্ন দিন ও বৎসর লিখুন।
২. স্থায়ী ঠিকানা: গ্রাম:....., থানা/উপজেলা: জিলা:
৩. (ক) স্থায়ীভাবে গ্রামের বাসিন্দা?হ্যাঁ/না (খ) স্থায়ীভাবে শহরের বাসিন্দা?
.....হ্যাঁ/না।
৪. (গ) পূর্বে গ্রামে ছিল বর্তমানে শহরের বাসিন্দা?হ্যাঁ/না.....টিক (✓) চিহ্ন দিন
৫. (ক) আপনি কি কোন বিশেষ দলভুক্ত?.....হ্যাঁ/না টিক চিহ্ন দিন।
- (খ) দেশে অনেক রাজনৈতিক দল আছে, আপনিকি কোন রাজনৈতিক দলের সদস্য?হ্যাঁ/না। (✓)
চিহ্ন দিন।
- (গ) আপনি কতবার ভোটে অংশ গ্রহন করেছেন?.....তিন বছরের কম/ তিন বছরের
অধিক(✓) চিহ্ন দিন।
৬. আপনার পেশা:(চাকুরি, ব্যবসা, শিক্ষকতা, কৃষিজীবী)

৭. আপনার বাৎসরিক আয়..... মাসিক আয় (যদি থাকে)

৮. আপনি নিজেকে: নিম্নবিন্দু() মধ্যবিন্দু () উচ্চ মধ্যবিন্দু () কোনটি মনে করেন টিক চিহ্ন (✓) দিন

৯. ধর্ম:..... বর্ণ:..... গোত্র:

১০. বাংলাদেশের স্থায়ী নাগরিক? হ্যাঁ/ না

১১. আপনি কি ধর্মান্তরিত? হ্যাঁ/ না

১২. আপনি কোন অঞ্চলের অধিবাসী:..... (বিভাগ)..... (জেলা).....(উপজেলা).....

নির্দেশাবলী

নিম্নে ৩১টি বাক্য বিভিন্ন সামাজিক, অর্থনৈতিক ও ধর্মীয় সমস্যার উপর ভিত্তি করে মনোভাবের পরিমাপনী তৈরী করা হয়েছে। এখানে ব্যক্তির নিজস্ব মতামতই প্রধান নন। বাক্যগুলির কোন উত্তরই ভুল নয়। আমরা ৫টি ভাগে (৩) চিহ্নর মাধ্যমে জানতে চাই, সেটি সম্পূর্ণ একমত থেকে সম্পূর্ণ অমত নই পর্যন্ত বিস্তৃত। আপনি পর পৃষ্ঠাগুলির যে বাক্যের সংগে সম্পূর্ণ একমত সে বাক্যটির বিপরীতে পরিমাপনীর 'সক' কে (৩) চিহ্ন দিন। আপনি যে বাক্যের সংগে একমত সেখানে 'সক' কে (৩) চিহ্ন দিন। আর যে বাক্যটির সংগে একমত নন সেখানে 'এন' কে (৩) চিহ্ন দিন। যে বাক্যটির সংগে সম্পূর্ণ অমত সেখান 'সক' কে (৩) চিহ্ন দিন। অর্থাৎ এই ৫টি ভাগের উত্তরের মধ্যে যেটিকে আপনার কাছে প্রযোজ্য মনে হবে সেটিকে আপনি (৩) চিহ্ন দিন। আপনার মতামত সম্পূর্ণরূপে গোপনীয় রাখা হবে।

উদাহরণ : সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায়ের নেতাদের প্রতি প্রদর্শন করা উচিত।

সম্পূর্ণরূপে একমত

একমত

কিছুটা একমত

একমত নই

সম্পূর্ণরূপে অমত

(সএ)

(এ)

(কিএ)

(এন)

(অমত (সএ))

১. ধর্মভিত্তিক দেশের চেয়ে ধর্ম নিরপেক্ষ দেশে বিভিন্ন সম্প্রদায়ের মধ্যে শান্তি ও সম্প্রীতি বজায় থাকে।

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২. সকল আবাসিক এলাকায় সংখ্যালঘুদের বসবাসের জন্য সুবন্দোবস্ত থাকা উচিত।

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৩. সংখ্যালগু সম্প্রদায়ের অধিক স্বাধীনতাদান দেশের সংখ্যা গুরু সম্প্রদায়ের মধ্যে বন্ধুত্বপূর্ণ সম্পর্ক বৃদ্ধি করে।

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৪. সংখ্যা লঘু সমস্যার সমস্যাদের চেয়ে অধিকাংশ ক্ষেত্রে কর্মনিষ্ঠতার প্রমান দেয়।

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৫. ধর্ম ভিত্তিক দেশের সরকার সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায়ের মধ্যে অধিক শান্তি ও সম্প্রীতি বজায় রাখার জন্য বেশি তৎপর থাকে।

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৬. জাতি ধর্ম নির্বিশেষে প্রতিটি ব্যক্তিরই চাকুরীর ক্ষেত্রে সমান সুযোগ পাওয়া উচিত।

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৭. সংখ্যাগুরু ও সংখ্যালঘু পরিবার প্রতিবেশী হিসাবে বসবাস করা ক্ষতিকর নয়।

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৮. ভারতকে ট্রানজিট প্রদানের সুযোগ দেয়া হলে বাংলাদেশ অর্থনৈতিক দিকে দিয়ে অধিক সমৃদ্ধশালী হবে।

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৯. প্রতিটি বিদ্যালয়ের মেধা অনুযায়ী সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায়ের ছেলেমেয়েদের ভর্তির ক্ষেত্রে সুযোগ সুবিধা প্রদান করা উচিত।

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১০. সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায়ের নেতাগণ কখনো জাতীয় মঙ্গলকে উপেক্ষা করে না।

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১১. ধর্মনিরপেক্ষতা বিভিন্ন সম্প্রদায়ের সুসম্পর্ক স্থাপন করে।

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১২. সংখ্যালগু সম্প্রদায়ের ব্যক্তির অত্রান্ত নম্র কিন্তু সঙখ্যাগুরুর সঙ্গে সম্পর্ক স্থাপনের সময় মাঝে মাঝে তারা নিজেদের উপর নিয়ন্ত্রন হারায়।

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১৩. ফারাক্কা বাধের ফলে আমাদের জাতীয় সম্পদ ক্ষতিগ্রস্থ হয়েছে।

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১৪. বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের ভর্তির ক্ষেত্রে সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায়ের মেধাকেও প্রধান্য দেয়া উচিত।

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১৫. যে কোন ত্যাগের বিনিময়ে সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায় তাদের নিজস্ব কৃষ্টি ধরে রাখতে সংখ্যাগুরু সম্প্রদায়ের চেয়ে অধিক মনোযোগী।

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১৬. আমাদের দেশে সংখ্যালঘুদের সমস্যাগুলো এত গভীরে যে, শুধুমাত্র গণতান্ত্রিক পদ্ধতি সঠিকভাবে তাব সমাধান করতে পারেন।

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১৭. বর্তমান সময়ে পাকিস্তানের সঙ্গে বাংলাদেশের সাংস্কৃতিক বিনিময় প্রোগ্রাম শীঘ্রই চালু করা উচিত।
১৮. ভারতীয় সরকারের হস্তক্ষেপের কারণে এদেশের সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায়ের নিরাপত্তা বৃদ্ধি পেয়েছে।
১৯. কোন সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায়ের সদস্যদের বিবাহ সংখ্যাগুরু সম্প্রদায়ের সঙ্গে হওয়া উচিত নয়।
২০. এদেশের সংখ্যারঘু সম্প্রদায় তারা নিজেদেরকে সবসময় বিদেশী মনে করে না।
২১. পাকিস্তানীদের সঙ্গে বাংলাদেশীদের মতবিরোধের কারণ ভাষারি চেয়ে অর্থনৈতিক বৈষম্যই প্রধান।
২২. যে কোন সম্মানজনক প্রতিষ্ঠান হতে সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায়ের সদস্যদের সংখ্যাগুরু সম্প্রদায়ের সদস্যদের মতই সুযোগ সুবিধা এবং সম্মান প্রদান করা উচিত।
২৩. সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায়ের সদস্যদের যে কোন ক্ষেত্রে সুযোগদানে বাধা প্রদান সংখ্যাগুরু সম্প্রদায়ের সদস্যদের একেবারেই উচিত নয়।
২৪. কোন সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায়ের সদস্যকে জাতীয় পরিকল্পনার অত্যধিক ক্ষমতা প্রদান করা উচিত।
২৫. তিন বিঘা কড়িডোর শুধুমাত্র বাংলাদেশের নাগরিকদের ব্যবহারের জন্য রাখা উচিত।
২৬. সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায়ের সদস্যরা সর্বদাই তাদের নিজ কাজে সংখ্যাগুরু সম্প্রদায়ের চেয়ে বেশী আগ্রহী।
২৭. পার্বত্য আইনচুক্তি বাতিল করার প্রয়োজন নেই।
২৮. সংখ্যারঘু সম্প্রদায়ের মধ্যে বর্ণগত বিভেদ দূর করা কোন মতেই সম্ভব নয় কেননা এই বৈষম্য তাদের উত্তরাধিকার সূত্রে প্রাপ্ত।

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২৯. সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায়ের সদস্যদের অনুগত্য প্রতিবেশী রাষ্ট্র খারতের নিকট প্রকাশ করা উচিত নয়।

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৩০. সংখ্যাগুরু সম্প্রদায়ের ব্যক্তিদের সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায়ের প্রতি পূর্ব সংস্কার হ্রাস হওয়া উচিত।

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৩১. সংখ্যাগুরু সম্প্রদায়ের চেয়ে সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায় তাদের স্বজাতির প্রতি আনুগত্য অনেক বেশী প্রকাশ করে।

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নির্দেশাবলী

নিম্নে ৪০টি বাক্য বিভিন্ন সামাজিক, অর্থনৈতিক, ধর্মীয় ও সাংস্কৃতিক সমস্যার উপর ভিত্তি করে তৈরী করা হয়েছে। এটি একটি গবেষনামূলক কাজের জন্য নির্মিত অভীক্ষা মাত্র। এখানে ব্যক্তির মতামতই প্রধান; কোন ব্যক্তি প্রধান নন। বাক্যগুলির কোন উত্তরই ভুল নয় আমরা ৫টি ভাগে উত্তর জানতে চাই, যেটি ‘সম্পূর্ণ’ একমত থেকে আদৌ একমত নই’ পর্যন্ত বিস্তৃত। একটি বাক্যের উদাহরণের মাধ্যমে উত্তর দেবার প্রক্রিয়াটি দেখানো হলো।

উদাহরণ : আমি অধ্যয়নকে পৃথিবীর সব জিনিষের চেয়ে বেশী ভালোবাসি।



এই স্কেলের ৫টি ভাগের উত্তর নিম্নরূপ :-

- ১। ‘সম্পূর্ণ একমত’ কে দেখানো হয়েছে “সএ” রূপে।
- ২। একমত কে দেখানো হয়েছে “এ” রূপে।
- ৩। ‘আংশিক একমত এবং আংশিক একমত নই’ কে দেখানো হয়েছে নিরপেক্ষ অর্থাৎ “নিং” রূপে।
- ৪। ‘একমত নই’ কে দেখানো হয়েছে “এন” রূপে।
- ৫। ‘আদৌ একমত নই’ কে দেখানো হয়েছে “আএন” রূপে।

আপনি পরপৃষ্ঠাগুলির যে বাক্যের সংগে সম্পূর্ণ একমত সে বাক্যটির বিপরীতে স্কেলের ‘স’ (√) চিহ্ন দিন। আপনি যে বাক্যের সংগে একমত সেখানে ‘এ’ কে (√) চিহ্ন দিন। আর যে বাক্যটির সংগে আংশিকভাবে একমত এবং আংশিকভাবে একমত নন সে বাক্যটির ‘নি’ কে (√) চিহ্ন দিন। অর্থাৎ আপনি নিরপেক্ষ মত পোষণ করেন। আপনি যে বাক্যটির সাথে আদৌ একমত নন সেখানে ‘আএন’ কে (√) চিহ্ন দিন। মনে রাখবেন কোন বাক্যের উত্তর দিতে যেন বাদ না পড়ে।

আপনার সক্রিয় সহযোগিতার জন্য ধন্যবাদ।

১। জাতীয় স্বার্থকে অবশ্যই মানবতার উর্ধ্বে স্থান দিতে হবে।

সএ এ নি এন আএন

২। বিরোধী দলগুলোকে সংসদে অবাধ আলোচনার সুযোগ দেওয়া

সএ এ নি এন আএন

হলে অধিক বিশংজ্ঞালার সৃষ্টি হবে।

৩। সংখ্যালঘুদের গতিবিধির প্রতি অত্যন্ত সতর্ক দৃষ্টি রাখা উচিত।

সএ এ নি এন আএন

৪। প্রতিটি শিশুকে ধর্মীয় শিক্ষা দেওয়া উচিত।

সএ এ নি এন আএন

৫। আক্রমণাত্মক আন্দোলন সমস্যা সমাধানের গতি তরাশ্বিত

সএ এ নি এন আএন

করার উৎকৃষ্ট পস্থা।

৬। প্রেমঘটিত বিবাহ পরিবারের দুর্গর্ভম আনে।

সএ এ নি এন আএন

৭। সকল নাগরিকের জন্য সামরিক প্রশিক্ষন বাধ্যতামূলক করা

সএ এ নি এন আএন

উচিত।

৮। মহিলাদের গৃহের বাহিরে কোন অফিসে কাজ করা কাম্য নয়।

সএ এ নি এন আএন

৯। বিদেশীদেরকে আমাদের দেশে আসার অবাধ অনুমতি দিলে

সএ এ নি এন আএন

দেশের সাংস্কৃতিক মানহ্রাস পাবে।

১০। ধর্মীয় অনুশাসন দ্বারা কেহ তার আদিম প্রবৃত্তি নিয়ন্ত্রন

সএ এ নি এন আএন

করতে পারে না।

১১। আক্রমণাত্মক পস্থা ছাড়া শিক্ষানীতি পরিবর্তন সম্ভব নয়।

সএ এ নি এন আএন

১২। উচ্চ বিদ্যালয় পর্যায়ে পরিবার পরিকল্পনা বিষয়ক শিক্ষা

সএ এ নি এন আএন

দেওয়া উচিত।

১৩। অন্য দেশকে ঘৃনার বিনিময়ে হলেও স্বদেশকে ভালবাসা

সএ এ নি এন আএন

উচিত।

১৪। সংবাদ পত্র, বেতার এবং জন সংযোগের অন্যান্য

পন্থা সমূহ সরকারের নিয়ন্ত্রাধিন থাকা উচিত।

সএ এ নি এন আএন

১৫। সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায়ের নেতাগণ জাতীয় মংগলকে

উপেক্ষা করে।

সএ এ নি এন আএন

১৬। বর্তমান সামাজিক কাঠামো অত্যন্ত নিকৃষ্ট কেন না

এটা ধর্মীয় প্রশিক্ষণকে অবহেলা করে।

সএ এ নি এন আএন

১৭। রাজনৈতিক বিক্ষোভ প্রদর্শনে অংশ গ্রহণের মাধ্যমে

ছাত্রেরা রাজনৈতিক প্রশিক্ষণ অর্জন করতে পারে।

সএ এ নি এন আএন

১৮। একটি সুস্থ জাতির জন্য পরিবার পরিকল্পনা অত্যন্ত

আবশ্যিক।

সএ এ নি এন আএন

১৯। জাতীয় চেতনার চেয়ে আন্তর্জাতিক চেতনা অধিক কাম্য

হওয়া উচিত।

সএ এ নি এন আএন

২০। বুদ্ধিমত্তার বিচারে মহিলাগণ পুরুষদের চেয়ে নিম্নমানের

বিধায় তারা পুরুষের সক্ষমতা দাবী করতে পারে না।

সএ এ নি এন আএন

২১। আমাদের সমাজকে নিজস্ব সংস্কৃতির মধ্যে সীমাবদ্ধ

রাখা উচিত।

সএ এ নি এন আএন

২২। দৈনন্দিন জীবনে ধর্মের অধিকতর প্রভাব থাকলে এ

দেশের আরও মঙ্গল হত।

সএ এ নি এন আএন

২৩। ছাত্র আন্দোলন দেশের সংস্কার করে বলে ইহাকে

উৎসাহিত করা উচিত।

সএ এ নি এন আএন

২৪। সমাজ থেকে যৌতুক প্রথা দূরীকরণে নিয়োজিত

সংস্থা সমূহকে পুরস্কৃত করা উচিত।

সএ এ নি এন আএন

২৫। সমাজে শান্তি বজায়ের জন্য ধর্মীয় নীতি ধর্ম

নিরপেক্ষতার চেয়ে শ্রেয়।

সএ এ নি এন আএন

২৬। বিরোধী দলের স্বাধীনতা শাসকদলের সমানই থাকা উচিত।

২৭। কোন সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায়ের সদস্যকে সৈনিক পদে বহাল

করলে সে অন্তর্ঘাতী কার্যের সুযোগ পাবে।

সএ এ নি এন আএন

সএ এ নি এন আএন

২৮। ধর্মীয় ধ্যানে মগ্ন থাকার চেয়ে সমাজ সেবা উৎকৃষ্ট।

২৯। বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের প্রশাসনিক ক্ষেত্রে সিদ্ধান্ত গ্রহণে ছাত্রদের

দায়িত্ব দেওয়া উচিত।

সএ এ নি এন আএন

সএ এ নি এন আএন

৩০। জনসংখ্যা অত্যন্ত দ্রুত গতিতে বৃদ্ধি পাচ্ছে বলে পরিবার

পরিকল্পনাকে উৎসাহিত করা উচিত।

সএ এ নি এন আএন

৩১। গুরুত্বপূর্ণ চাকুরীসহ সংখ্যাগুরু সদস্যদের মধ্যে সীমাবদ্ধ

রাখা প্রয়োজন।

সএ এ নি এন আএন

৩২। আজকের এই অস্থির বিশ্বে ধর্মই হচ্ছে শান্তি ও শৃঙ্খলার উৎস।

৩৩। ছাত্রদের জাতীয় রাজনীতিতে সক্রিয় অংশগ্রহণ করা উচিত।

৩৪। প্রগতির জন্য আমাদের বর্তমান সামাজিক ব্যবস্থা বহিরাগত

সএ এ নি এন আএন

সএ এ নি এন আএন

সএ এ নি এন আএন

কৃষ্টিকে অবশ্যই স্বগত জানাবে।

৩৫। বৈজ্ঞানিক জ্ঞান ধর্মীয় জ্ঞান অপেক্ষা শ্রেষ্ঠ।

সএ এ নি এন আএন

৩৬। ছাত্র বিক্ষোভ জাতির জন্য অভিশাপ হয়ে দাঁড়ায়।

সএ এ নি এন আএন

৩৭। হিন্দু ও মুসলমান পরিবার প্রতিবেশী হিসেবে বসবাস করা

সএ এ নি এন আএন

ক্ষতিকর নয়।

৩৮। ধর্মই সুস্থ জীবন যাপনের পথ নির্দেশ করে।

সএ এ নি এন আএন

৩৯। সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায়ের রাজনৈতিক নেতাদের প্রতি সম্মান

সএ এ নি এন আএন

প্রদর্শন করা দরকার।

৪০। দেশের উন্নতির জন্য ধর্মের পুরাতন প্রথা এবং রীতিনীতি

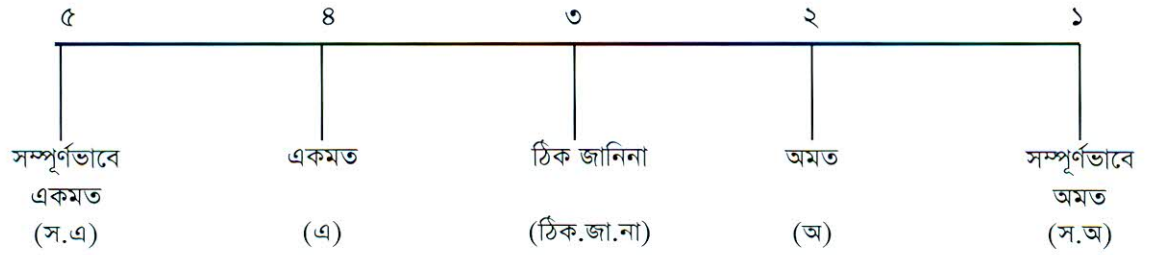
সএ এ নি এন আএন

অত্যন্ত প্রয়োজন।

নির্দেশাবলী

এই অভীক্ষায় মোট ২৬টি সমস্যার কথা বলা হয়েছে। এগুলো আমাদের জীবনের সামাজিক, পারিবারিক নিজ এবং দল স্বার্থ সম্পর্কীয়। ব্যক্তি জীবনে এ সমস্যাগুলোর কথা আমাদের প্রায়ই ভাবতে হয় এবং সমাধানে তৎপর হতে হয়। আশাকরি এ সমস্যাগুলো সম্পর্কে আপনার নিজস্ব মতামত আছে মনে রাখবেন এটি কোন ভাবেই বুদ্ধির পরীক্ষা নয়। যেকোন ব্যক্তি ঠিক আপনার মতই চিন্তা করেন এবং একটা মতামত দেন। মতামতের গোপনীয়তা রক্ষা করা হয়।

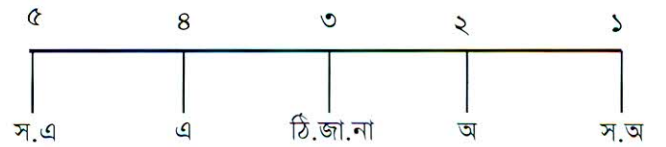
এখন আপনি আপনার অভিমত নিম্নলিখিত ৫টি ভাগের যে কোন ১টিতে (✓) চিক চিহ্নের সাহায্যে প্রকাশ করুন।



উত্তর প্রদানের জন্য প্রশ্নের ডান পার্শ্বে জায়গা দেওয়া আছে। দয়া করে প্রশ্নপত্রের কোথাও কোন কিছু লিখবেন না। এখন মনোযোগ দিয়ে পড়ুন এবং আপনার সুচিন্তিত মতামত প্রকাশ করুন।

প্রশ্নমালা

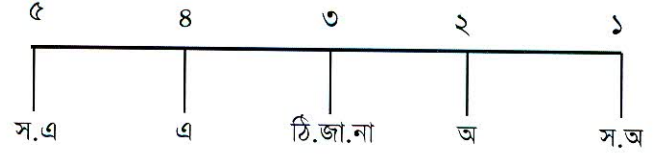
১। দেশের প্রতিটি নাগরিক যদি কোন একটি বিশেষ রাজনৈতিক দলের সাথে জড়িত থাকত তাহলে এ দেশের মঙ্গল হত।



২। শিক্ষাগণের যে কোন প্রতিষ্ঠানের জন্য বিদেশীদের জন্য আসন সংখ্যা সংরক্ষিত থাকা বাঞ্ছনীয় এতে যদিও দেশের কিছু ছাত্র শিক্ষার সুযোগ থেকে বঞ্চিত হয়।



৩। আমি আমার বেশীর ভাগ কাজ
পার্টির স্বার্থেই করে থাকি।



৪। একজন প্রকৃত নেতার ক্ষমতা
অপেক্ষা দেশের সমস্যার কথা বেশী
করে চিন্তা করা উচিত।



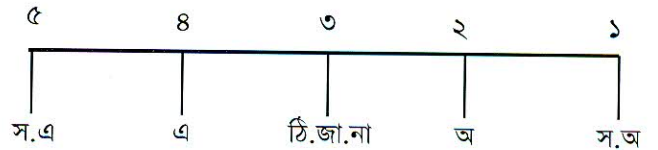
৫। আমি মনে করি একজন ব্যক্তির
কাছে তাঁর দলের স্বার্থ নিজের
স্বার্থের চেয়ে অধিক মূল্যবান হওয়া
উচিত।



৬। আমি মনে করি পরিবারের স্বার্থকে
দেশের স্বার্থের চেয়ে অধিক প্রধান্য
দেওয়া উচিত।



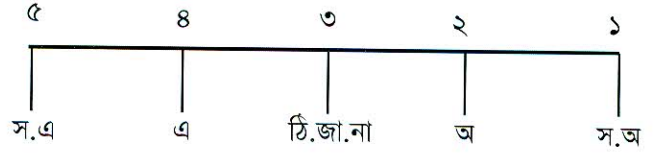
৭। পার্টি জীবন আমার কাছে খুবই
সুখময়।



৮। পার্টির আদর্শের চেয়ে নির্বাচনী
প্রচারণা মাধ্যম নাগরিকদের ভোট
সিদ্ধান্তকে প্রভাবিত করে।



৯। যে কোন দল নেতাই উত্তম পথ
প্রদর্শক।



১০। নিজের ভবিষ্যৎ খুব শীঘ্র পরিবর্তনের
জন্য চাকুরীও ব্যবসার চেয়ে
রাজনৈতিক দলভুক্ত হওয়া অনেক
ভাল।



১১। রাজনীতিতে সক্রিয় অংশ গ্রহণ ছাড়া
নিজের ভবিষ্যৎ গড়ে তোলা যায়
না।



১২। জনগণকে রাজনৈতিক ভাবে সক্রিয়
করে তোলার জন্য প্রচারণা প্রয়োজন
আছে।



১৩। যে রাজনৈতিক দল কমিউনিজমকে
সমর্থন করে উক্ত দলকে সরকারের
উচিত অধিক সাহায্য দান করা।



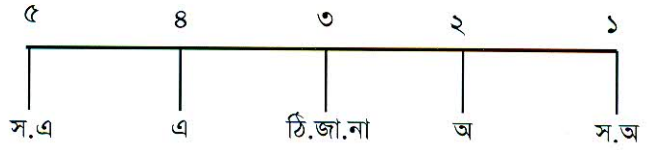
১৪। আমাদের মত অনুন্নত দেশে জনগন
রাজনৈতিক ব্যাপারে নীরব দর্শন
থাকতে পারে না।



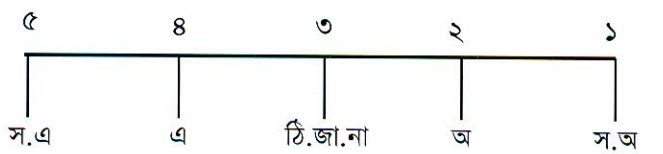
১৫। নেতারা তাঁর নিকট আত্মীয়ের চেয়ে
কর্মীদের প্রতি বেশী মনোযোগ
দেন।



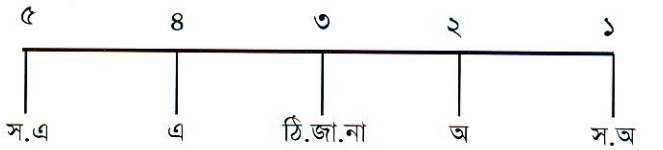
১৬। আমি মনে করি আমার জন্য
রাজনীতি করা সাজে না।



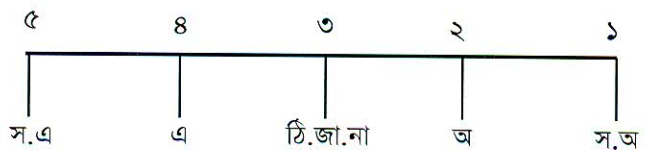
১৭। যে রাজনৈতিক দলের আমি সদস্য
সেটি দেশের সর্বউত্তম রাজনৈতিক
দল।



১৮। দেশের প্রচার মাধ্যমগুলো সর্বদলীয়
রাজনৈতিক বক্তব্য প্রকাশে সাহায্য
করা উচিত।



১৯। আমি সবার চেয়ে আমার নেতাকে
ভালবাসি।



২০। ভোটের ভাল ফল লাভের জন্য সুষ্ঠু
প্রচারণার প্রয়োজন আছে।



২১। দলের প্রত্যেকের অভিমত কেই
প্রাধান্য দেওয়া উচিত।



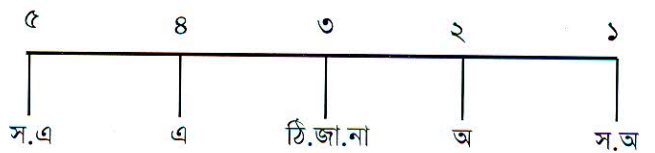
২২। ব্যক্তিগত ক্ষতি স্বীকার করে হলেও
দেশের স্বার্থে রাজনীতিতে অংশ
গ্রহণ করা আমাদের দায়িত্ব।



২৩। আমি আমার দলকে সবচেয়ে
ভালবাসি।



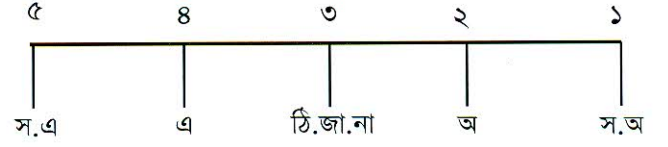
২৪। একজন নিবেদিত নেতার মৃত্যু
সংবাদ আমার পরিবারের যে কোন
ব্যক্তির মৃত্যুর চাইতে বেশী বেদনা
দায়ক।



২৫। নিজের রাজনৈতিক দলকে শক্তিশালী করার জন্য যথেষ্ট পরিমাণে চাঁদা আদায়ের প্রয়োজন আছে বলে আমি দৃঢ় মত পোষণ করি।



২৬। আমি অধিকাংশ সময় রাজনৈতিক দলীয় সদস্যদের চেয়ে পরিবারের সদস্যদের সঙ্গে থাকতে পছন্দ করি।



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