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# Nature of Co-Operative Attitudes between the Bangalees and the Santals of Naogaon District

Khatun, Most. Rozina

University of Rajshahi

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**NATURE OF CO-OPERATIVE ATTITUDES BETWEEN  
THE BANGALEES AND THE SANTALS OF NAOGAON  
DISTRICT**



*A Thesis Submitted to the Department of psychology  
University of Rajshahi for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
in Psychology*

BY  
**MOST. ROZINA KHATUN**

Under the Supervision of  
**DR. SYED MOHAMMAD ZIAUDDIN**  
Professor of Psychology

**DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY  
UNIVERSITY OF RAJSHAHI  
BANGLADESH  
June 2009**

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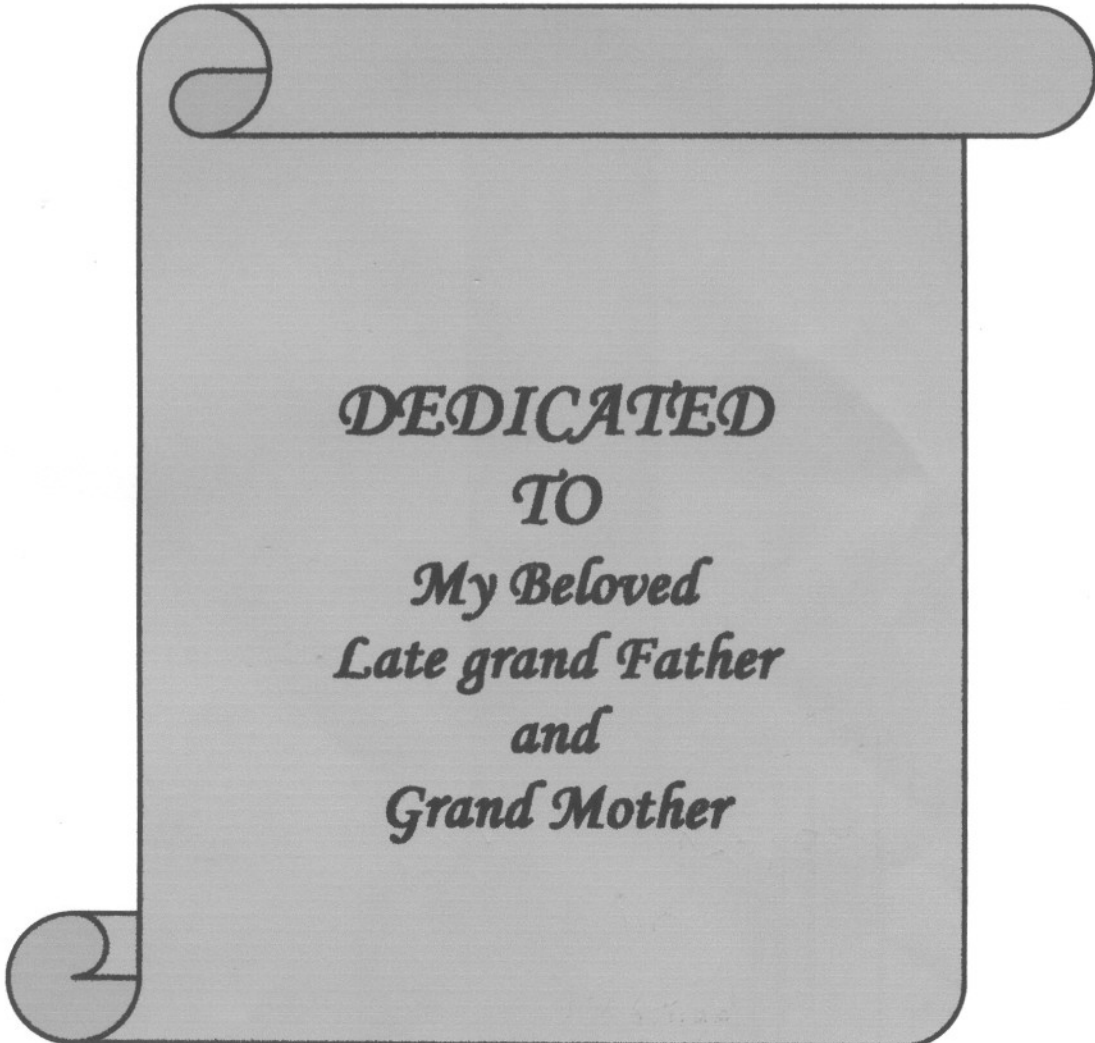


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June 2009**



**DEDICATED**  
**TO**  
*My Beloved*  
*Late grand Father*  
*and*  
*Grand Mother*

## DECLARATION

It is my great satisfaction to declare that the thesis entitled "**NATURE OF CO-OPERATIVE ATTITUDES BETWEEN THE BANGALEE AND THE SANTALS OF NAOGAON DISTRICT.**" Is a completely new and original work done by me under the supervision of professor Dr. Syed Mohammad Ziauddin in the Department of Psychology, University of Rajshahi, Bangladesh, for the degree of Doctor of philosophy in Psychology. No part/parts of this thesis, in any form, has been submitted to any other University/institution for any other degree or diploma.

Most. ROZINA Khatun  
30.06.09  
Most. Rozina Khatun

**CERTIFICATE**

I am highly delighted to state that Most. Rozina khatun a research fellow in the Department of Psychology, University of Rajshahi, has completed her Ph.D. thesis entitled "NATURE OF CO-OPERATIVE ATTITUDES BETWEEN THE BANGALEES AND THE SANTALS OF NAOGAON DISTRICT." She has conducted her investigation under my direct supervision. I believe that it is prepared on the basis of her own investigation. So it seems to me that the investigation is an original piece of work. As far as my knowledge goes, no other person in any way was associated with the completion of this investigation.

I have read the manuscript of the dissertation thoroughly and pointed out necessary changes and corrections. I believe that the researcher has made an effort to understand my critical evaluation and has made necessary alteration to my satisfaction. I strongly recommend the thesis for submission in the University of Rajshahi for the Ph.D. degree in Psychology.

*S.M. Ziauddin*  
30.06.2009  
Dr. Syed Mohammad Ziauddin

Professor,  
Department of psychology  
University of Rajshahi.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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Most. ROZINA Khatun  
30.06.09  
Most.ROZINA Khatun

## ABSTRACT

The study focused on some socio-political attitudes, like attitudes towards co-operation, voting attitudes, and attitudes towards conservative-radical ideas. And its relation with ethnic demographics like ethnic group (Bangalee/santal), residential background (urban/rural) and sex (Male/Female) 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 INGROUP-OUTGROUP MODEL:

### 3. PSYCHOANALYTIC APPROACHES:

### 4. SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACHES:

The study tried to find the 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 co-operation of the ethnic groups in Bangladesh.

### Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the study was to find out the similarities and differences in attitudes towards co-operation by the Bangalee respondents and sandals ethnic groups, and its relation with their sex and residential

backgrounds of the subjects. More specifically the main objectives of the study were as follows:

1. To study patterns of similarities and differences in attitudes towards co-operation of Bangalee respondents and santal ethnic groups irrespective of their sex and residential background.

2. To find out the characteristic differences between males and females of the two groups in attitudes towards co-operation.

3. To study the similarities and differences between urban and rural respondents of the two groups in attitudes towards co-operation.

Objectives extended further:

4. To study similarity and differences among Bangalees and santals in voting attitudes.

5. To study patterns of similarities and differences among Bangalee and santals as related to socio-political attitudes of conservatism-radicalism.

More specifically the objectives of the study were as follows:

To study pattern of similarities and differences in socio-political attitudinal constellations on ethnic co-operation, voting, and ideological orientations by the bangalee and santal as related to residential background and sex.

The measures used in this study were as follows:

1. Attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and santals scale (ATTCBBSS)
2. Voting Attitude scale (VAS)
3. Conservatism-Radicalism Scale (C-R)

The study used student sample. A total of 320 Ss equally divided into Bangalee (majority) and Santal (minority) groups were used. Each group was again equally sub-divided into Urban and Rural. Each Urban and Rural

category was again sub-divided into Male and Female according to their residential background.

Thus a 2 x 2 x 2 factorial design involving 2 levels of Ethnic group (Bangalee/Santal), 2 levels of residential background (Urban/Rural) and 2 levels of sex (Male/Female) 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 the co-operation between Bangalee and santals scale, Voting Attitude Scale and conservatism-radicalism scale. In the second part, t-test was computed on the scores of these scales.

### **Hypothesis of the Study**

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

1. Santal respondents would show significantly more positive attitude towards co-operation than its bangalee counterpart.
2. Male respondents would show significantly more positive attitude towards co-operation than female subjects.
3. Urban respondents would show significantly more positive attitude towards co-operation than its rural counterpart.

Extended hypothesis:

4. Bangalees respondents would show more favorable attitudes towards voting than their Santals counterpart irrespective of sex and residential backgrounds.
5. Male Ss irrespective of ethnic compositions and residential back grounds would show higher voting attitudes than female Ss.
6. Urban Ss irrespective of ethnic status and sex would show higher voting attitudes than their rural counterparts.

7. Bangalees respondents would show more conservative attitudes towards than their minority counterpart.
8. Male Ss irrespective of ethnic compositions and residential backgrounds would show more radical attitudes than female Ss.
9. Urban Ss irrespective of ethnic status and sex would show more radical attitudes than their rural counterparts.

The findings of the results strongly supported the predictions. It showed that regardless of sex and residential background, santal Ss expressed significantly more favourable Attitudes towards towards the co-operation between bangalee and santal as compared to bangalee Ss.

Regardless of group composition and Sex, Residential backgrounder ( urban/rural) did not emerge as an important factor in the study of attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and Santals .

Regardless of group composition and Residential background, the overall means scores showed that the male Ss expressed comparatively higher attitudinal preference towards the co-operation as compared to the female Ss.

It showed that Regardless of Residential background and Sex Bangalee Ss scored higher than santal Ss and differed significantly on voting attitudes scale.

Again, irrespective of group composition and sex, Residential background emerged as less important factor in the study of voting attitudes. It was found that urban Ss showed no significant difference in preference for voting attitudes in comparison to rural Ss.

Irrespective of Group Composition and Residential background of the Ss, sex failed to account for differential voting attitudes. The overall mean scores showed that the female Ss expressed more attitudinal preferences towards voting as compared to the male Ss.

Furthermore, the results revealed that Regardless of Residential

background and Sex, Bangalee Ss expressed significantly more conservative attitudes as compared to santals Ss.

Regardless of Group Composition and Sex, the results indicated that rural Ss expressed more socio-political attitudes in the direction of conservatism as compared to urban Ss but the difference among them was not statistically significant.

It was found that irrespective of group composition and Residential background Of the Ss, Sex was found to account for socio-political attitudes. The results revealed that male Ss expressed significantly more conservative attitudes as compared to female Ss

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1. BUM = bangalee urban male
2. BUF = bangalee urban female
3. BRM = bangalee rural male
4. BRF = bangalee rural female
5. SUM =santal urban male
6. SUF = santal urban female
7. SRM = santal rural male
8. SRF = santal rural female
9. Ss = Subjects.
10. ATTCBBASS= attitudes towards the co-operation between bangalee and santal scale.
11. VAS = Voting Attitude Scale.
12. C-R = Conservatism-Radicalism.
13. ANOVA = analysis of variance.
14. n.s = none significant.
15. df = degree of freedom.



**CHAPTER-ONE**  
**INTRODUCTION**



## INTRODUCTION

Ethnic group could be related politically, economically, socially as well as culturally with different dimensions of co-operative and non-co-operative attitudes among themselves. In Bangladesh, Bangalees and Santals are the majority and minority Ethnic group respectively. These groups are related with each other in a certain specific nature of interactions among themselves. Any information, drawn from demographic, ethnic, and racial backgrounds, helps us to enrich our understanding of the ethnic or racial mosaic in Bangladesh and help us to begin to address the fear and obstacles that keep these groups apart.

The treatment of minorities in Bangladesh seems to be a reoccurring issue in our society today. Everybody knows that minorities were mistreated in the past, but what about how they are looked at and treated today? Do minorities still need special treatment because of their status? How far should any special treatment to them go? These are crucial questions that need to be addressed (Takagi, 1992). Dana Y. Takagi explains important development in politics of race.

According to Thomas Sowell, (1995) the history of different races and how they adapt and assimilate successfully or unsuccessfully is a sticky and controversial one. In fact, it is so controversial that it has been a topic that has largely been left uncovered. Many of the studies that have been done on the topic were done by crackpots whose thesis was that one culture or race was superior to all others and it just happened to be the same one as the authors. The result has been that the history of studying Racial History has been just as controversial as racial history.

In "Race and Culture", Thomas Sowell argues that some races succeed while others fail for a number of reasons that have to do with the internal characteristics of the culture. Some cultures are lazy, while some work harder. Other cultures are more intelligent, while others do not have the brain capacity to compete with the more dominant cultures.

Sowell looks at several races and compares them to determine why some have been successful while others have failed. Sowell sees two major reasons for the success and failures of the races. The cultures of the successful races reward hard work and saving, even if it is at the lowest end of the social status totem pole. The unsuccessful races have been put off by hard work and seem as beneath them to do it. The races that become successful "pay their dues" by hard work and saving that eventually leads to bigger and better things. The races that are not willing to work or save become stuck in their ways and remain poor.

The key to humanity in a racial context is found in a virtue called responsibility. This is perhaps the essential point in Dyson's (1996) book on race in America. "I want to speak to, and about the pain and rage that fester inside that man, inside all of us. Inside our entire country. Race continues to plague our lives. Race continues to make a difference. Race continues to dominate. Race rules."

Michael Eric Dyson he sees the many different sides of the racial spectrum His book on race covers many things. The tone of the book, which requires Dyson to explain the many intricacies of his views on the ethnicity Dyson, went in depth in discussing his feelings toward ethnic relations.

Dyson deliberates on three uses of race: context, subtext, and pretext "Race as context helps us to understand the facts of race and racism in our society. Race as a subtext helps us to understand the forms of race and racism in our culture. And race as a pretext helps us to understand the function of race and racism.

To ethnic conflict has become the biggest threat to world peace and economic stability. From Chechnya to Bosnia, from Rwanda to Sri Lanka, ethnically mixed communities that once lived in relative peace are exploding into violence, and entire nations can break up, as did Yugoslavia. A Multi-

Ethnic study can contribute to inter-ethnic and interracial understanding and bridge building by practicing objective, fact-based reporting that avoids stereotyping or stirring up rumors.

### **Ethnic group**

An Ethnic group is a human population whose members identify with each other, usually on the basis of a presumed common genealogy or ancestry (Smith 1986). Ethnic group are also usually united by common cultural, behavioral, linguistic, or religious practices. In this sense, an Ethnic group is also a cultural community.

From an objective standpoint, an Ethnic group is also an endogamous population, that is, members of an Ethnic group procreate primarily with other members of their Ethnic group, something that is measurable in terms of characteristic average genetic frequencies. These differences, however, usually do not approach the magnitude of racial difference in that the genetic differences within an Ethnic group are greater than the difference between any two Ethnic group. The characteristic of endogamy is reinforced by proximity, cultural familiarity, and also social pressure (in extreme cases, by legal command) to procreate within the Ethnic group.

### **Types of Ethnic group**

In general, two types of Ethnic group have arisen in human history. The earliest form is the kinship-based Ethnic group most closely corresponding to the term "tribe". As human populations became more mobile, another type of Ethnic group arose, most closely associated with the evolution of the state ("country"), as the opportunity to procreate outside the old kinship systems presented itself. Invasion, migration, and pan-ethnic religions have contributed to a further evolution of new Ethnic group out of the mixture of older Ethnic group. At the same time, ethnic distinction can persist, even within the bounds of a single country as long as members of an Ethnic group procreate primarily among themselves, for various reasons.

Members of an Ethnic group generally claim a strong cultural continuity over time, although some historians and anthropologists have documented that many of the cultural practices on which Ethnic group are based are of recent invention (Friedlander 1975, Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983, Sider 1993). On the political front, an Ethnic group is distinguished from a nation-state by the former's lack of sovereignty.

While ethnicity and race are related concepts (Abizadeh 2001), the concept of ethnicity is rooted in the idea of social groups, marked especially by shared nationality, tribal affiliation, genealogy, religious faith, shared language, or cultural and traditional origins, whereas race is rooted in the idea of a biological classification of *Homo sapiens* according to chosen genotypic and/or phenotypic traits.

### **Origin of the Term**

"Ethnic" is derived from the Greek ethnos, meaning, and "people". It was typically used to refer to non-Greek people, so the term also commutated "foreign". In later Catholic Latin usage, there was the additional connotation of "heathen". The noun "ethnic" ceased to be related to "heathen" in the early 18th century. The modern usage is closer to the original Greek meaning.

In Bangladesh, we find a number of tribal populations such as, Chakma, Marma, Rakhaine, Murang, Khasi, Garo, Santal, Oraon, Munda, and Malpahari. More than 20 tribal groups with their distinct culture and traditions are found in Bangladesh (Dalton 1973, Ali 1998). In Bangladesh the major bulk of the tribal populations are concentrated in areas of Chittagong Hill Tracts, Sylhet, Mymensing, Rajshahi, Dinajpur and Rangpur. The Santals are one of the oldest tribal populations in Bangladesh.

Ethnic group of eastern Bangladesh call themselves 'hilly people' just as the Santals want to be known as 'Santal'. Following the International Year of the Indigenous Peoples 1993, the ethnic people choose to be recognized as the 'Adivasi' or 'Indigenous Peoples.' The hilly peoples of Bangladesh live in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Moulavibazar.

## **BANGALEE IN BANGLADESH**

The name indicating both Bengali (Bangla) speakers and all inhabitants of West Bengal (India) and Bangladesh. Bengalis live around the deltas of the Ganges and Brahmaputra, between the Bay of Bengal, the Himalayan foothills, the North Indian Gangetic plain, and Myanmar. The estimated number of Bengali-speakers is 125 million in Bangladesh and 70.5 million in India. Other groups speak Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic, and Tibeto-Burman languages. Bengali people are Hindus (16 per cent in Bangladesh, 75 per cent in West Bengal) and Muslims (83 per cent in Bangladesh, 23 per cent in West Bengal). Other faiths are Christianity, Buddhism, and animism. The Bengali people appeared in Vedic literature. The assimilation into Vedic culture is attested by the 4th century BC. Then Bengal was ruled by Hindu and Buddhist dynasties. First examples of Bengali literature belong to the 10th century. From the 12th century Bengal was already a well-reputed centre for Hindu, Buddhist, and Tantric studies. The arrival of the Muslims in the 13th century determined radical changes: the birth of Bengali Islam and syncretic forms of art and literature. The Persian and Urdu languages were imported. From the mid-18th century, the British turned the region into a colony. In 1905 Bengal was divided in two on a communal (Hindu/Muslim) basis. The subdivision was maintained until 1909. It was the premise for the later partition of 1947, when East Pakistan was created. In 1971, after the war with Pakistan, the People's Republic of Bangladesh was born.

## **SANTALS**

They are largely concentrated in the districts of Rajshahi, Dinajpur and Rangpur. Rough estimate from different sources reveals that there was approximately 1, 50,000 Santal population in Bangladesh in 1984 (Ali 1998:13, Sarkar 1998:147). They are mainly living in the Himalayan sub-mountain (Barendra vumi) region in different districts of Rajshahi division. Their root place is in radha (in West Bengal), the forests of adjacent Bihar (Jhadkhand) and Orissa, and Chhota Nagpur. The British Raj assigned a special territory for their living and named it Santal pargana.

The Santals are seen in the northern districts of Dinajpur, Naogaon, Thakurgaon, Panchagar, etc. The Adivasis of the northern districts are divided into different Ethnic group such as, Santals, Oraon, Mundari, Mahali, Munija, Turi, Monipuri, Garo, Coch, Pahari. Of them Santals are the oldest and largest among the plains Ethnic group, numbering 2,02,162 (1991 Population Census). The Santals belong to the Austroasiatic language group and enjoy a rich heritage.

However, updated information on the number of Santals can not be provided in the absence of tribe wise breakdown of national population census report. The Santals were originally inhabitants of Chotonagpur, Santal Pargana of India. During British period they migrated to different areas including Bangladesh in search of employment, such as agricultural laborers, laborers for installing railway tracks, laborers for clearing forest and reclamation of agricultural land (Anwar 1984, Hossain and Sadeque 1984, Siddiquee 1998).

The census of 1881 shows that there were Santal settlements in the districts of pabna, jessore, khulna and even in chittagong. The 1940 census recorded their number as 8,29,000 in the then East Pakistan. According to an estimate made by Christian missionaries in the 1980s, the Santal population in northern Bangladesh was over one hundred thousand. Again it was recorded in 1991 census, as over two hundred thousand. There was a remarkable decline in their population in Bangladesh. The reasons for the population decline were not studied properly ever since.

Santals live a poor life. They are compelled to sell their labour at a very low price in tea gardens or elsewhere. Besides, they dig soil, carry loads, or engage themselves in similar works of day labourers in the paddy fields of (barendra) northern areas of Bangladesh. Naogaon district is one of these santal-inhabited areas. They are accustomed to hard work. They are cooperative with other persons.

**Family Structure:** Domination of the male is more prominent in the Santal society although, the role of women in the family is by no means insignificant. Santal women rather take a leading role in earning livelihood or in farming work. The houses of Santals are small but their yards are very clean. Artwork on earthen walls of the house is an evidence of Santal women likes for beauty and of their artistic mind. Furniture in the house is very simple reflecting their plain lifestyle.

**Social Structure:** The Santal society is still ruled by traditional Panchayet system and the village headman enjoys special dignity in the society. The community's division into twelve gotras (clans) is still found among Santals. In common practice, marriage between a man and a woman of the same gotra is prohibited. But these regulations are not so effective today. A transition in every sphere of life is prominent.

**Lifestyle:** Like their simple, plain and candid way of life, their dress is also very simple. Women wear short, coarse but colourful sari, fix flowers on their heads and hair-buns, and make themselves graceful with simple ornaments. Men wear dhutis or gamchhas (indigenous towels). Well-to-do and educated Santals wear modern dress. Principal food items of Santals are rice, fish and vegetables and other characteristic food items different from the mainstream population.

The Santal language (Santali) belongs to the family of Austric languages. Santali has profound similarity with Kole and Mundari languages. Today most Santals of Bangladesh speak both Bangla and Santali. Also many Bangla words are now adopted in Santali. It is a remarkable cooperative admixture of the separate cultures in the country. The Santal community has not been able to free themselves from the rule and exploitation of landowners and moneylenders. Santals took active part in the tebhaga Movement that took place during the period between 1946 and 1950.

From early, they are ill paid ill feed and easygoing citizen of Bangladesh. They want to lead generally a peaceful life, but when time comes

they are ready to sacrifice their lives for a right or noble cause. Their socio-economic and political situation is not conducive, for different reasons unattended, to live with peace and harmony in Bangladesh.

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. Public policies can fuel ethnic conflict by restricting the economic activities of certain Ethnic group or by limiting political participation. 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 group. Interethnic cooperation is more likely to occur in so-called dispersed ethnic systems where there are many different Ethnic group 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).

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. 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).

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 co-operative attitudes between bangalee respondents and santal Ethnic group of Naogaon districts. And they're differential orientation in voting attitudes and to find out differences in ideological stance of conservatism-radicalism. The present study dealt with the assessment of ethnic relations between Santal and the Bangalee in the co-operative attitudinal context of Bangladesh. To study the behavior of the minority groups of a country entails comparisons of the behavior of its majority. Otherwise the assessment remains incomplete. Thus in a factorial design, with the variables of Ethnic group, sex and Residential background two levels group composition of Santal and Bangalee was palpable in the present study.

### **Defining Attitudes**

A broad definition of attitudes was taken to ensure that relevant material was not over-looked for definitional reasons. The definition of '*a mental position or feeling or emotion towards*' an object, event or subject was taken as a working definition. The more formal and narrower definition of attitudes found in psychological texts, which relates to 'a predisposition to classify and

react with a degree of evaluative consistency' or the combination of a perception and a judgment, were considered to be included in the working definition chosen.

Attitudes are usually defined in the research literature as a disposition or tendency to respond positively or negatively towards a certain thing (idea, object, person, situation). They encompass, or are closely related to, opinions and beliefs and are based upon experiences.

### **The concept of attitudes**

There is a vast literature on the meaning and measurement of attitudes in the discipline of psychology. As noted above, there were many differing understandings of what the concept of attitudes might mean in the literature under review. Whereas some researchers use the term attitudes to refer to any self-reported feelings (i.e. affective responses) about learning or education, other researchers may understand the term attitudes to refer to only evaluative responses.

The literature also reflects the complex relationships between attitudes and behaviour or action. Just as changing attitudes is not the same as changing behaviours, particular behavioural patterns do not necessarily reflect underlying attitudes. Morris et al (1999) point out that the relationship between knowledge, attitudes and behaviour is not straightforward or fully understood, and that this limits the value of research into attitudes to learning. Identifying causality in the relationships between attitudes and behaviour is difficult because in many cases the attitudes and behaviours may be symptomatic of other underlying factors.

### **The measurement problems**

The difficulty of measuring attitudes in any consistent and rigorous way is reflected in the literature, with most studies either using simple questionnaires (eg Likert-type scales for agreeing with particular statements)

with large numbers of subjects or more complex interview schedules with only small numbers of subjects. The cost of longitudinal studies of significant numbers of learners is high. These issues may be one reason some researchers have recently turned to the concept of motivation as more useful than attitudes (see for example Russell 1999, Smith & Spurling, 2001).

### **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. Tate 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.

### **Ethnic 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

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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.

### **Ethnic minorities defined**

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.

### **Ethnicity and Race**

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 prototypical differences do not correlate with genotype 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.

### **Stereotypes and Ethnic relations in the different 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 group 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 inter-group 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 group, 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 their solution are the targets 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.

## **Rationale Study**

### **Different Theoretical approaches**

Relations between ethnocultural minorities and majorities in non-homogeneous societies all over the world have almost always been uneasy and often conflictual. Moreover, such conflicts have often been characterized as 'intractable' and 'deep-rooted,' because their psychological dimension has prevailed over the political and economical ones. Problems between majority and minority communities that could be handled rather easily in the rational realm have become complicated due to the way ethnocultural groups identify and perceive themselves and 'the others' (the 'out-group'), and the way they perceive their history and the threats directed towards their existence.

This aspect of ethnic conflicts has attracted (especially recently) a significant scholarly attention. In this paper, I will try to outline what I consider the most influential theories (or groups of theories) on the psychological causes of ethnocultural majority-minority conflicts and on how they might be resolved.

More specifically, I will describe three categories of psychological theories that have guided most recent research and discussions on majority-minority relations [2]: (a) The 'Realistic' group conflict theory, which basically asserts that there should first be real or perceived incompatible goals leading to inter-group competition, in order for psychology-related misperceptions and hostility to emerge; (b) The Social Identity Theories, that assume that group members have a basic need for a positive social identity and that inter-group conflicts arise because each group inevitably compares itself to the other; and (c) Psychoanalytical, or Psychodynamic theories that attempt to explain inter-group conflicts by applying theories of personality development to group dynamics, and by assuming that groups need enemy-groups which serve as targets to project their negative images, and as reservoirs of their negative feelings. After having presented these theories, I will examine some of their

shortcomings. I will also analyze two factors that exacerbate the psychological conflict-creating dynamics of minority-majority relations: (1) The size and the concentration of a minority and the degree of majority-minority contact; and (2) the degree of real and perceived threat toward either the majority or the minority. I will then present the insights to minority-majority relations offered by cognitive psychology, whose representatives have conducted few but important studies relative to this issue. I will continue by discussing conflict resolution suggestions that can be derived from these theories, and I will conclude by pointing out the interrelatedness of psychological factors with other factors (economic, political, historical, etc.) of such conflicts, and suggesting that multidisciplinary teams be used not just to handle these conflicts, but to analyze and explain them as well.

### **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 inter-group relations. The theory suggests that hostility between two groups results from real or perceived conflicting goals which generate inter-group 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.) inter-group hostility emerged very quickly and almost automatically. Similar experiments confirmed inter-group 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, their membership group distrusts them. 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). 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 inter-group 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 inter-group 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) (Hutnik, 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 inter-group 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 inter-group 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 inter-group 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 out-group is some sort of mirror of attitude to the in-group.

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 attitude, (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.

### **Stereotypy 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 textbooks 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 in-group can cause more or less authoritarian and discriminatory behavior. He admits that the "in-group" 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 out- group generally is the opposite of the in-group 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 in-group and out-group 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 group 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**

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 inter-group antipathies is in fact now becoming acceptable to a remarkably broad range of sociologists (; Banton Wellman, 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 improve, 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**

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 them 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 were 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 inter-group prejudice largely stems from ignorance or misinformation about the other group, and therefore may be corrected by interracial experience, the latter views inter-group conflict as a reality of social life, even though "group threat" could be real or imagined.<sup>1</sup> 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 (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.

### **A Critical Evaluation of the Three Psychological Approaches**

Each of the three approaches outlined here is based on different assumptions and is focused on different aspects of the psychological dimension of majority-minority conflicts. Each of them has its strengths as well as its weaknesses:

Sherif's theory and experiments demonstrate very vividly the crucial role of incompatible goals in the creation of inter-group conflict, but Tajfel, (1981) and Billig, (1976) have successfully argued that just the existence of a majority versus a minority (or even the existence of two groups irrespective of their relative sizes) is enough for the formation of prejudices and in-group biases. Furthermore, some experimental studies concluded that even when two groups enjoy friendly or cooperative relations, they might still seek ways to derogate each other by making judgments favoring the in-group, (Druckman, 1994).

Social Identity Theories, (Tajfel, 1981; Taylor and McKirnan, 1984) are particularly good in explaining how minority and majority groups define themselves as such, and how majority-minority conflict develops through stages. Yet they put too much emphasis on assimilation, which they regard as the most common (and perhaps as the most natural?) process. In addition, they pay too much attention on minorities' tendency to self-hate, overlooking the fact that many ethnocultural minorities are rich in culture and history, and are proud of what they are, even before they pass through such stages as 'consciousness raising' or 'self-redefinition' (Hutnik, 1991).

As for the psychoanalytical theories, one could easily say that they provide an elaborate and very plausible explanation of why minority-majority

conflicts have the tendency to become so intense (Ross, 1995); why we see such high levels of enmity in both groups; and why groups in conflict can resort so easily to violence. However, their perception of identity is too simplistic: Individuals have (i) their own personal identity (garment) and (ii) share with other group members a group identity (tent) (Volkan & Itzkowitz, 1994). Social identity, however, as Tajfel (1978, 1981) indicates, has many layers, or many components: Each social category (gender, birthplace, age, class, education level etc.) corresponds to a component of one's social identity. Moreover, psychodynamic theories tend to underestimate the role of differences in concrete economic interests and in power between majorities and minorities. Such differences are treated as superficial while theorists try to unearth the psychological causes that lie beneath them (Ross, 1995). And finally, these psychoanalytic theories are not very amenable to empirical testing.

### **Two Conflict-Amplifying Factors, Explicable through Psychology**

In most minority-majority conflicts, there are two additional factors that are not adequately dealt with by the three theories I examine above. These two factors are explained below in turn:

(i) The size of the minority in comparison with the majority, the density of the minority population in a certain area, and opportunities for contact between majority and minority affect significantly the course of these conflicts. It has been argued (McIntosh, et. al, 1995) that when minorities are large, when they are concentrated in a certain area (and frequently being the majority in that area), and when there are more opportunities for minority-majority contact, a conflict is more likely to emerge, and it is more likely to be an intense one. Research conducted in Romania and Bulgaria tends to support this hypothesis (McIntosh, et. al, 1995).

(ii) Perceived or real threat is another important factor in majority-minority relations. Both groups may feel threatened. Minority groups often feel that their security as a group is in danger (McIntosh et al. 1995), and sometimes they are even afraid of extinction through violence or assimilation (Horowitz, 1985). Such fear inevitably destroys any trust the minority might have toward the majority, and any conciliatory gesture from the dominant group is misinterpreted as part of a plan to eliminate the minority. On the other hand, the majority may also feel threatened by the minority: It may realize or (mis) perceive that its cultural and political status is declining, relative to the minority group, and this may lead to a backlash and the restriction of minority rights (McIntosh, 1995). Moreover, majorities may often exaggerate the power of minorities and feel fear of extinction themselves. In that case, we are likely to see a very violent repression of the minority.

Given the important part these two factors play in minority-majority relations, it is imperative that they be incorporated into or analyzed by the three major theories I deal with in this paper. Although the perceived threat factor is implied in the second stage of Tajfel's and the fifth stage of Taylor's and McKirnan's analysis, and it is examined by the cognitive psychologists for inter-group relations in general (see below), there are few studies that deal with the threat factor in ethnic majority-minority relations specifically.

### **Cognitive Psychology and the Insights it offers to Minority-Majority Conflicts**

There are a relatively small number of cognitive psychological studies that deal with inter-group relations, and only a small proportion of these studies examine minority-majority conflict. Yet those few studies provide us with very valuable insights and, considered together with the other three approaches discussed in this paper, increase significantly our understanding of the problem. In this section, after giving some brief introductory information on cognitive psychology, I will describe and analyze those important insights offered by cognitive studies.

## The 'Two Waves' of Cognitive Psychology

There are two basic approaches, 'two waves' in cognitive psychology that are sharply different from each other. The first one emerged in the early fifties and established this sub-discipline. Later, in the mid seventies, the second wave emerged, and successfully challenged the assumptions of the first one, revitalizing the cognitive school.

The scientists who initiated the 'first wave' of cognitive psychology (for example J. S. Bruner and G. A. Miller) were mainly concerned with the mental processes behind the observable behavior of people. They believed it was necessary to study these processes, which they referred to as 'cognitive processes,' even though they were inaccessible to public observation. Their goal was to reveal the complex functions that underpin activities such as thinking, believing, recognizing, desiring, intending, and so on (Harre & Gillet, 1994).

In other words, the 'first wave' of cognitive psychology attempted to understand the mechanisms that mediated the transition from stimulus to response. One of its main assumptions was that there must be rules in the mind, which somehow are followed, and that it was these rules that led to orderly behavior (Harre & Gillet, 1994). It examined such things as "semantic categorization and its effect on recall of information, explicit instructions and problem-solving strategies, the effect of cognitive anticipations of perceptions, ... and the hierarchical relationships between categories in the ordering and retrieval of knowledge." (Harre & Gillet, 1994: 15).

When cognitive scientists started forming hypotheses about human cognition, they used concepts like "logical operation," "processing of information," and so on. Because their approach was basically a mechanistic one, they adopted computation as the prime model for mental activity and the analogy between computers and human brains is used very frequently in their

works (Gillespie, 1992). The mind, in their model, was some sort of a 'central processing unit,' the center of operations and computations (Harre & Gillet, 1994). Hence, what they meant by cognition was "all processes by which the sensory input is transformed reduced, elaborated, stored, recovered, and used" (Neisser, 1967: 4).

The mechanistic model adopted by the 'first wave' cognitive psychologists faced criticisms from the very beginning, but the most systematic and substantial critiques were first formulated in the mid-seventies by a group of scientists, such as James Jenkins, Theodore Sarbin (and later in the eighties, by Rom Harre and Diane Gillespie), who launched the 'second wave' of cognitive psychology, or what Harre and Gillet characterize as "the second cognitive revolution" (Harre & Gillet, 1994: 18-36; see also Gillespie, 1992: Preface). These scientists, frustrated by the reductionist and oversimplifying nature of the mechanistic model, emphasized the discursive, interactional and contextual, or situational elements of cognition (Gillespie, 1992). In other words, they decided to pay attention to the fact that "we all share and negotiate conceptualizations and significations according to the discourses in which we are adapt" (Harre & Gillet, 1994: 26), and to focus on how interpersonal and social interaction influence the way human beings think, recognize, etc. They believed that in order to study cognition one should also study its "situatedness" (Gillespie, 1992).

In the social psychological studies on inter-group relations conducted with a cognitive approach one can see the influence of both waves. Though the researchers use experiments that often have a mechanistic nature, they also try to pay attention to the context or situatedness of the inter-group relations.

### **Cognitive Insights into Intergroup and Majority-Minority Relations**

Cognitive social psychologists argue that there are underlying cognitive processes and cognitive biases-- not just in judgments and behaviors at the

personal and interpersonal level, but at the inter-group level as well (Mackie and Hamilton, 1993a). In cognitive appraisal processes, situations are evaluated not only in terms of their consequences for the self, but also in terms of their consequences for one's group (Mackie and Hamilton, 1993b).

Many social psychologists who use a cognitive approach in their studies of minority-majority relations are concerned primarily with stereotyping, and 'consensual stereotypes', that is, widely shared beliefs about the characteristics possessed by members of a social group (Esses, et. al, 1993). Together with such stereotypes, members of a social group share '*symbolic beliefs.*' These are "beliefs that [other] social groups violate or uphold cherished values and norms" (Esses, et. al, 1993: 139). Symbolic beliefs consist of a wide variety of perceptions and values, including the perception of how certain groups fit into society and help to make it a better or worse place in which to live, and widespread views about how society should be organized and operate. According to Esses, (1993) it is the dissimilarity of such beliefs, rather than ethnocultural characteristics that induces prejudices, negative attitudes toward other groups, and inter-group antagonism. Schwartz and Struch, (1989) enhance this conclusion by arguing that differences in symbolic beliefs, or differences in the hierarchy of such beliefs, or even assumed differences of the hierarchy of these beliefs damage the feeling of shared humanity between two or more groups and thus lead to such inter-group conflicts that are very prone to violence. In these conflicts, group members perceive not only themselves but also their values to be under threat. And when a group's shared values or symbolic beliefs are (or seem to be) threatened, they tend to become even more salient (Esses et al., 1993). That is why it is usually easier for a dominant group (for instance, a majority) to resort to violence and oppression against a disadvantaged group (a minority) advocating social change (as in stage two in Tajfel's and stage five in Taylor's & McKirnan's analyses), than it is for this dominant group to revise its own values and symbolic beliefs.

An issue tightly linked to stereotypes and symbolic beliefs is impression formation. Fiske and Neuberg, (1990: 2) have argued that impression formation is a continuum "from category-based to individuating" processes. At one end of the continuum, impressions about a person are formed based solely on the categories that person belongs to, and not on his/her individual characteristics. At the other end of the continuum, individual characteristics, but not group membership, influence impressions. Building on Fiske and Neuberg's theory, Dovidio & Gaertner, (1993) assert that category-based processes function as a filter and allow the perceiver to screen out irrelevant or, more importantly, inconsistent information[5]. Thus, categorization influences impressions of others in systematic and significant ways. Once categorized, individuals are seen as group members who are basically homogeneous in characteristics, and who possess attributes 'appropriate' to that group. Then, through an analysis of several empirical cognitive studies, Dovidio & Gaertner, (1993) go one step further and conclude that the mere categorization of people into groups is sufficient to increase attraction to in-group members and tends to result in denigration of people identified as out-group members. This conclusion is very similar to the one reached by Billig and Tajfel, (see above).

#### **What Do These Theories and the Cognitive Studies Say about How to Resolve Minority-Majority Conflicts?**

The 'realistic,' social identity, and psychodynamic theories have quite different and significant recommendations for resolving minority-majority conflict, whereas the cognitive studies have only some general recommendations, and most of them are similar to the 'realistic' theory's. Below I outline the recommendations of all these theories.

(i) The 'Realistic' group conflict theory argues that as long as the two groups have incompatible goals there can be no resolution. Inter-group conflict can be resolved only when external conditions change, or when the two groups redefine their relationship, in such a way that "super ordinate" goals (Sherif,

1966), goals that can be achieved only through the cooperation of the two groups, become apparent or perceivable. If this happens, the two groups will begin working together to accomplish these goals and inter-group hostility will gradually be replaced by inter-group friendship.

However, defining and pursuing super ordinate goals is not as easy when we deal with large minority and majority groups, as it is with small groups that have to face challenges controlled and modified by the experimenters. Such a redefinition of goals for both the minority and the majority group can only be achieved by a countrywide campaign and possibly by radical structural changes.

(ii) For Social Identity theorists, majority-minority conflict can be resolved either by the removal of all barriers to voluntary assimilation of the minority to the majority, or by creating such conditions that would enable minorities to achieve 'accommodation' or 'acculturation,' whereby the minority would retain its own identity and distinctiveness while at the same time becoming more similar to the majority (Tajfel, 1978). Either of these desired outcomes can be achieved through radical, large-scale, structural changes that have to be initiated and carried out mainly by the government.

(iii) Unlike the other two types of theories, the psychoanalytic ones, primarily because they are more therapy-oriented, provide more possibilities for small-scale conflict resolution efforts. For example, these theories are currently guiding several Track-2, or unofficial diplomacy initiatives. The most important of them is the 'Baltic Peace Process', which involves representatives from Baltic States and Russia[6] (Apprey, 1994 and Volkan & Harris, 1995). This process consists of a series of problem-solving workshops[7] in which a team of facilitators from various disciplines, guided by a psychoanalyst, gives participants a chance to explore each other's core assumptions about the conflict outside the formal diplomatic setting.



The method Volkan and his team (the UVA team) have developed has been inspired by psychotherapy. Consequently, the role of the third party interveners is considered to be analogous to that of a therapist.

According to Max Harris, (1994) in every conflict, in addition to their "public transcripts" (what they say to each other and in public), parties also have their "hidden transcripts." Those are either unconscious (the parties are not aware of them) or carefully concealed, for they invariably contain feelings and intentions toward the other party that are much more negative and nastier than the publicly declared ones. It is in those transcripts that one can find hints about which needs are suppressed, and how. Before the parties start exploring solutions, therefore, they should be made aware of those hidden transcripts. That means that in this team's workshops, the facilitator should create a safe and secure atmosphere where parties' hidden transcripts can gradually emerge. After the hidden transcripts are unearthed, the intervener should proceed by prompting the parties to search for mutually acceptable solutions.

In almost every conflict, each party wants to be recognized by its opponent. To achieve this recognition, the UVA team employs a piecemeal process. During this process, parties are first encouraged to acknowledge and recognize each other's sufferings. This acknowledgment usually follows a phase of competition in the expression of injuries (Volkan, 1988), when parties usually talk past each other. The next step is to get the parties to apologize to each other, or to express contrition (Montville, 1993). That is a very difficult step for the parties to take, but, when it is taken, it has a healing effect; it radically transforms and improves their relations. Then the parties have to acknowledge each other's values and interests as legitimate, and finally they should start to cooperate toward a resolution.

The important problem the UVA team has to deal with is how to satisfy the need for enemies. This need is very different from every other need. It could be characterized as a negative, or "malign" (Mitchell, 1990) need,

because its fulfillment seems to require the perpetuation, perhaps the escalation of conflict, and not its resolution. But the UVA team contends that this is not really the case, and they try to find a way to satisfy that need *and* resolve the conflict.

That claim is consistent with Volkan's theory, for as I described above, enemies are defined as people or groups of people who are STEs for negative images. Yet enemies are just one type of negative STEs. STEs are mainly objects or symbols. It becomes theoretically possible, then, to divert or deflect externalized negative images from people to inanimate objects, or to symbols, or even to concepts and ideas [8].

The UVA team in the Baltic workshops has made such attempts. Both Russian and Baltic participants were encouraged to direct their anger and hostility to "Communism", or to the Soviet Union that no longer exists. Thus, participants of Russian origin could also see themselves and be seen by the other side as victims (Apprey, 1994).

Another way to reduce enmity between two parties in a workshop or mediation, again according to Volkan and his colleagues, is to discern and then emphasize both parties' common positive or negative STEs. The acknowledgment by the parties of those commonalities usually facilitates and accelerates the resolution process.

(iv) The implications related to majority-minority conflict resolution that are derived from cognitive studies are focused on changing group cognitions and thus attitudes (Esses, et. al, 1993) with the objective to reduce prejudices.

Dovidio & Gaertner, (1993) having established that traditional ways of reducing prejudice (such as attempts at changing stereotypical beliefs) may not be completely effective, explore some other options:

The first option they consider is decategorization, that is, partially deemphasizing the significance of the in-group/out-group boundary. This could

be achieved, for instance, through showing in-group members the variability of opinions held by out-group members, or through creating more personalized interactions on the basis of personal and intimate information.

The second option they examine is recategorization of former members as members to a common, superordinate in-group. In recategorization, in-group favoritism is not eliminated; instead, it is redirected in ways that result in more positive evaluations of former out-group members. The goal is to encourage new perceptions of former out-group members as members of a shared new in-group. Once recategorized as members of the new in-group, members of both former groups are likely to develop positive biases toward members of their respective former out-group. According to Dovidio & Gaertner, (1993) this process can be achieved by increasing the importance of existing common superordinate group memberships or by introducing new factors (e.g., common tasks or fate) that are perceived to be shared by both groups.

As can be seen, the strategies suggested by Dovidio & Gaertner, (1993) are almost the same as the ones formulated and tested by Sherif (see above). They can be very successful when applied to small groups in easily controlled experiments, but to use them at the societal level would be much more difficult: It would be social engineering, and it could not be done without the guidance and control of a strong government.

Another cognitive and social psychologist who has suggested some methods to reduce prejudice is Eliot Smith, (1993). He has argued that in order to reduce prejudice, persuasive material directed specifically at the *relevant* group-level judgments might be the most effective. For example, if an out-group is viewed, (due to cognitive bias) as threatening, Smith proposes that its peaceful intentions be stressed, (preferably by third parties). Other types of arguments, according to Smith, such as the idea that out-group members have positive personal attributes, while potentially relevant to attitudes toward that out-group, would in most cases be irrelevant to the types of judgments that influence inter-group emotions.

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 reinforce 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.

At the outset the study stresses the need for conflict resolution among different ~~Ethnic~~ Ethnic group of both minorities and the majority as a precondition for the sustainable growth and development of favorable attitudes of mutual cooperation and existence. As conflict resolute the cooperation develops, a common sense speculation is to be scientifically proved. The author thought it was relevant in case of assessing the relation between santals minority and bangalee majority Ethnic group in Bangladesh.

#### **A possible way out of theoretical conflicts**

The author accepts the contact hypothesis with its two faces directing each other in the opposite directions. The contact between two Ethnic group may not always result in reducing the conflict between the two Ethnic group. In some cases, for example, the groups hungry for political power, economic

gains and procurement of wealth may lead them become competitive rather than cooperative with each other. Contact is detrimental to the healthy relation between the two Ethnic group like bangalee and santal here in Bangladesh where there is conflict of interest. But other side of the coin reveals that, among the day laborers from both the ethnic community could reside side by side with peace, amity and, cooperation as there remains no conflicting interest between them. There could develop a congenial atmosphere for co-operation among these groups of people.

## **DEVELOPMENT OF THE STUDY**

### **Bangladesh context**

Lying north of the Bay of Bengal, on land it borders India almost exclusively, save for a small section bordering Myanmar in the southeast. 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".

### **History**

When Indian independence was achieved in 1947, it was divided in a predominantly Muslim Pakistan and a predominantly Hindu India. 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. 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 Bangalee and a refugee problem that led to Indian intervention in December and, subsequently, independence from Pakistan.

**Politics**

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 president appoints the chief justices and other judges.

**Geography**

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 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. 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-pack 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, Naturesam 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.

### **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 Bangalee. 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].

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 is Hindu. The remainder of the population mainly is Christian (mostly Catholic) and Buddhist. Members of these faiths are found predominantly in the tribal (non-Bangalee) 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.

### **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 Bangalee 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 Bangalee 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 were a number of incidences 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, northwest, 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. 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).

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. Without 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.

The political parties and politicians in Bangladesh to consolidate their power base have used religion as a tool. 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. 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 group and the avoidance and solution of ethnic conflict.

### **Objectives of the Study**

The main objective of the study was to find out the similarities and differences in co-operation attitudes by the Bangalee respondents and santals Ethnic group, and its relation with their sexual background and residential



backgrounds of the subjects. : More specifically the main objectives of the study were as follows:

1. To study patterns of similarities and differences in co-operative attitudes of Bangalee respondents and santal Ethnic group irrespective of their sex and residential background.
2. To find out the characteristic differences between males and females of the two groups in their co-operative attitudes.
3. To study the similarities and differences between urban and rural respondents of the two groups in their co-operative attitudes.

#### **Additional objectives**

4. To study similarity and differences among Bangalees and santals in voting attitudes.
5. To study patterns of similarities and differences among Bangalee and santals as related to socio-political attitudes of conservatism-radicalism.

#### **Hypothesis of the Study**

**The main hypothesis were as follows;**

1. Santal respondents would show significantly more positive attitude towards co-operation than its bangalee counterpart.
2. Urban respondents would show significantly more positive attitude towards co-operation than its rural counterpart.
3. Male respondents would show significantly more positive attitude towards co-operation than female subjects.

#### **Additional hypothesis**

4. Bangalees respondents would show more favorable attitudes towards voting than their Santals counterpart irrespective of sex and residential backgrounds.

5. Urban Ss irrespective of Ethnic group and sex would show higher voting attitudes than their rural counterparts.
6. Male Ss irrespective of ethnic compositions and residential backgrounds would show higher voting attitudes than female Ss.
7. Bangalees respondents would show more conservative attitudes towards than their minority counterpart.
8. Urban Ss irrespective of Ethnic group and sex would show more radical attitudes than their rural counterparts.
9. Male Ss irrespective of ethnic compositions and residential backgrounds would show more radical attitudes than female Ss.

#### **Formulation and Justification of hypothesis**

A broad hypothesis of the study was that the attitude towards cooperation subject would be a function of ethnic composition, residential background and male-female differentiation in socio-political context of Bangladesh. However, the specific hypothesis and their justification for formulation have been given below.

**H<sub>1</sub> Santal respondents would show significantly more positive attitude towards c o-operation than its Bangalee counterpart.**

Interpersonal contact has had some influence in the mechanism of confidence building among the resident santals in Bangladesh. They were kin to develop a working relation with their fellow citizen of the majority bangalee community. Those who were indulging in conflict with bangalees lately have fled from Bangladesh and have settled to a safer place in india. They were unsuccessful in exerting their political power and failed to fulfill their economic aspirations. That led them to adopt escapist behavior. But the rest of the santal community, specially the lower class laborers, Lower income groups of santals did have increased interracial contacts which increased interracial amity (Vaid-Razada,

1983; Reed, 1980; O'Driscoll, haque and ohsako, 1983; oliver, 1981; Amir and Ben-Ari, 1985 and Tomas, Foreman and Remenyi, 1985). Santals attitudes towards cooperation being increased to manifold on the ground that in return they would get co-operation from their bangalee 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.

**H<sub>2</sub> Urban respondents would show significantly more positive attitude towards co-operation than its rural counterpart.**

'Rural' and 'country' are everyday terms used to explain categories of social activity, but any attempt to more precisely define such terms raises issues which complicate the concept. The term 'rural' may be just a symbol which creates a boundary between two different ways of life (Macklin, 1990); it may refer to anything that lies outside the metropolitan areas (Dunn, 1989); or rural areas may be defined statistically on the basis of population density (Nichol, 1990). Regardless of definition, 'rural' is still conceived in opposition to 'urban' (Cheers, 1986a; Michael & Solomon, 1992; Office of Rural Affairs, 1991; Rural Health Working Party, 1988).

Rural areas are not homogeneous and availability of human services is unevenly distributed. Appropriateness of services is also an important issue. Access and equity in rural areas usually swings around two major constraints - geography and availability (Brentnall & Dunlop, 1985; Smith, 1986; Cheers, 1986b; Rural Health Working Party, 1988). The infrastructure in many small LGAs is inadequate (lack of physical facilities, staff or economies of scale) and cannot provide sufficient resources to support the activities of other levels of government. Distance between small settlements and larger service centers is a major difficulty in rural areas particularly when more specialized services, which entail travel to the city, are required. The circumstances stated above led to form differential attitudinal constellation in rural residents unlike urban counterpart.

**H<sub>3</sub> Male respondents would show significantly more positive attitude towards co-operation than female subjects.**

In *Understanding the Difference between Men and Women* Michael G. Conner (1999) expressed that as the goal of equality between men and women now grows closer we are also losing our awareness of important differences. In his paper was a collection of research conclusions and observations. It was stated that for centuries, the differences between men and women were socially defined and distorted through a lens of sexism in which men assumed superiority over women and maintained it through domination. As the goal of equality between men and women now grows closer we are also losing our awareness of important differences. It is author's position that men and women are equal but different. When he says equal, he means that men and women have a right to equal opportunity and protection under the law.

None of us would argue the fact that men and women are physically different. The physical differences are rather obvious and most of these can be seen and easily measured. Weight, shape, size and anatomy are not political opinions but rather tangible and easily measured. Women can focus on more than one

problem at one time and frequently prefer to solve problems through multiple activities at a time. Recognizing, understanding, discussing as well as acting skillfully in light of the differences between men and women can be difficult. Our failure to recognize and appreciate these differences can become a lifelong source of disappointment, frustration, tension and eventually our downfall in a relationship.

Again Men and women approach problems with similar goals but with different considerations. While men and women can solve problems equally well, their approach and their process are often quite different. For most women, sharing and discussing a problem presents an opportunity to explore, deepen or strengthen the relationship with the person they are talking with. Women are usually more concerned about how problems are solved than merely solving the problem itself. For women, solving a problem can profoundly impact whether they feel closer and less alone or whether they feel distant and less connected. Men approach problems in a very different manner than women. For most men, solving a problem presents an opportunity to demonstrate their competence, their strength of resolve, and their commitment to a relationship.

Some of the more important differences can be illustrated by observing groups of young teenage boys and groups of young teenage girls when they attempt to find their way out of a maze. A group of boys generally establish a hierarchy or chain of command with a leader who emerges on his own or through demonstrations of ability and power. Boys explore the maze using scouts while remaining in distant proximity to each other. Groups of girls tend to explore the maze together as a group without establishing a clear or dominant leader. While men and women can reach similar conclusions and make similar decisions, the process they use can be quite different and in some cases can lead to entirely different outcomes. In general, men and women consider and process information differently. While there are differences in the

ways that men and women think, it must be emphasized that they can and do solve problems in a similar manner. Women have an enhanced ability to recall memories that have strong emotional components. They can also recall events or experiences that have similar emotions in common. Women are very adept at recalling information, events or experiences in which there is a common emotional theme. Men tend to recall events using strategies that rely on reconstructing the experience in terms of elements, tasks or activities that took place. There is evidence to suggest that a great deal of the sensitivity that exists within men and women has a physiological basis. It has been observed that in many cases; women have an enhanced physical alarm response to danger or threat. Their autonomic and sympathetic systems have a lower threshold of arousal and greater reactivity than men.

**H<sub>4</sub> Bangalees respondents would show more favorable attitudes towards voting than their Santals counterpart irrespective of sex and residential backgrounds.**

This hypothesis has been formulated under the theoretical construct of political participation model of voting behaviour. According to this theoretical model, voting behaviour may be said to emerge from political participation (Campbell and Miller, 1958). Political participation may be conceived in terms of partisanship, party identification and issue orientation. Findings of the empirical studies (Zia, 1991) have reported that voting behaviour is positively correlated with the degree of political involvement of the individuals. Hence, in a democratic country, power politics is centered round the activities of the citizens in the formation of political parties. Belonging to a party indicates that the individual is exposed to certain political norms and ideology. It is the duty of the party members to carry out these party norms and ideological issues from one individual to another. In this process of persuasive communications, members of the party express partisan attitude as well as party identification. These people are identified as political

people from any group or ethnic community. There are, however, some people who do not like to express their opinions in the direction of party identification. Their choices in the election are individualistic decisions. They observe the political development in the country and examine the political issues proposed by different parties. It is possible that these people have their own thinking about political matters but they do not like to be persuaded by the election campaigning and propaganda of party politics in the country. They are, to a greater extent, passive participants in the election. These people may come from different walks of life they may be Bangalese or Santals. On the basis of these arguments and empirical findings of voting behaviour, In the perspectives of these observations it has been hypothesized in the present study that Bangalees respondents would show more favorable attitudes towards voting than their Santals counterpart irrespective of sex and residential backgrounds.

**H<sub>5</sub>. Urban Ss irrespective of Ethnic group and sex would show higher voting attitudes than their rural counterparts.**

Subjects with urban background would obtain higher scores on attitudes towards the cooperation between Bangalee and Santal Scale in comparison to the Ss with rural background in Bangladesh. This hypothesis is based on the principles of political socialization (Searing and Schwartz, 1974). The central premise of political socialization research is that pre-adult political socialization affects adult political attitudes and behavior. This reflects on the world of politics that can yield useful insights into adult political orientations (Beck and Zennings, 1982). The world of politics may be understood in its varying aspects. Urban-rural dimension may represent such varying condition for the socialization of individuals about political ideology. The difference between urban and rural life is conditioned by the differences in social, economic and political activities. In every country urbanization is characteristically linked with industrialization. It gives birth to a type of cultural development, which is qualitatively different from the cultural

orientations found in rural people. Political, economic and social activities are flourished in urban areas. Rural people, on the other hand, nurture a different type of culture appropriate to their agricultural background. They are supposed to lead their life in a way, which is marked by traditional-ism. Hence the political socialization of urban people is qualitatively and quantitatively different from the rural people. Urban people are more frequently exposed to political forces and they are, sometimes, born in the social environment of political activities. So the children in urban population get more opportunities for acquiring knowledge of political life. Children in rural population, on the other hand, get few chances to mix-up with the adult political persons and as such they are likely to acquire knowledge about political issues in later period of their life cycle. As a result cleavage is created between urban and rural population in respect of political activities and voting attitudes. On the basis of these theoretical explanations and empirical observations, it has been hypothesized that Ss with urban background would obtain higher scores on Voting Attitude Scale in comparison to the Ss with rural background in Bangladesh.

**H<sub>6</sub> Male Ss irrespective of ethnic compositions and residential backgrounds would show higher voting attitudes than female Ss.**

This hypothesis has been framed in the social context of Bangladesh. Bangladesh is a country where tradition in forms of religion and culture dominates political ideology (Ara, 1988). Thus, tradition overpowers politics. It is observed that religion is an integral part of political thinking in Bangladeshi people. The majority people in Bangladesh are Bangalese. Their ways of living are directed by the ethnic characteristics. People's customs and habits are also defined by cultural thought. Accordingly male female inter-group relations are tradition oriented. Male's role behaviour is different from female's role behaviour. In such circumstances females in Bangladesh have a subordinate status and males enjoy a dominating status (Ara, Huq and Jahan,



1985). This subordinate status is more prominent in the exercise of political rights. Particularly in the act of decision making for a candidate, it is generally the choice of elderly male persons in the family that are carried out by the other female members in the family without raising any question about it. In such circumstances, it is almost clear that voting attitudes in male and female are substantially different. So far as bangalee culture is concerned, females are not allowed to participate in overt activities of political in nature. Party organization partisan attitudes of political activities are done by the male persons. As a result, men are found to engage in political activities more frequently as compared to women. In case of Santal Culture the equation is different. Men and women enjoy the equal opportunity for making voting decision. There are other causes that are responsible for creating a gap in political orientations between male and female. Ill iteracy is one of such causes. In Bangladesh, females are subjected to illiteracy in greater number than the male. Because of early marriage in Muslim society, a large number of bright girls have to drop their education and engage in the work of family maintaining and child rearing in the houses. Hence, they have little scope to show interest in the political affairs of the country. Males, on the otherhand, spend a good amount of time out side family. So they get more facilities and opportunities for group interaction involving political activities. Hence, they develop interest in politics. There are also some theoretical grounds for male female differentiation in voting attitudes. Ajzen and Fishbein, (1980) have provided a research model for understanding voting behaviour in relation to socio-political attitudes, known as the theory of reasoned action. This theory states that people consider implications of their actions before engaging in a behaviour. This is called subjective norm, People express their behaviour according to their subjective norms. The determinants of subjective norms are the normative structures of beliefs about the expectation of specific forms of action. The voting attitudes of male and female are formed as a function of their subjective norms.

So female's subjective norms and action are different from male's subjective norms and action as they belong to two different types of political world. On the basis of above arguments from theoretical analysis and empirical observations, it has been hypothesized that male Ss would exhibit significantly more voting attitudes than the female Ss in the context of Bangladesh.

**H<sub>7</sub> Bangalees respondents would show more conservative attitudes towards than their santal counterpart.**

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.

**H<sub>8</sub> Urban Ss irrespective of Ethnic group and sex would show more radical attitudes than their rural counterparts.**

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 group could be correlated significantly with ideological identifications.

**H<sub>9</sub> Male Ss irrespective of ethnic compositions and residential backgrounds would show more radical attitudes than female Ss.**

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. In fact, attitudinal preference towards conservatism is more varied in minority groups like Santals, whereas, it is, found to be more consolidated in majority groups like Bangaliese. 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).



**CHAPTER-TWO**  
**REVIEW OF RELEVANT**  
**LITERATURE**

## REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

This chapter deals with reviews relevant to the study of ethnic relations in general and the existing relations between minority santals and the majority Bangalee people in particular. The commonalties between the various theoretical formulations represented in the chapters of this volume will be highlighted, and prospects for a comprehensive and integrated approach for understanding ethnic social influence processes will be discussed.

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 in-group 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 ethnocentrism in inter-group relations.

In recent years, a few studies have been conducted regarding the conditions under which subordinate groups evaluate themselves positively and devalue or perceive out-groups 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 in-group evaluation depends on the outcome of the comparison between in-group and relevant outgroups. It is, therefore, the subjectively defined 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.

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 Bangalee Ss expressed more conventional attitudes on the total socio-political attitudinal constellation than Santal Ss. Particularly on the dimension of nationalism. Bangalee Ss expressed more nationalistic attitudes in comparison to their Santal counterpart. On religiosity dimension, Santal Ss expressed more secular attitude as compared to Bangalee Ss. An inspection of the results showed that Santal Ss expressed more liberal attitudes on the minority issue in comparison to Bangalee 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, stereotyping 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.

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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 this ethno-political phenomenon providing a psychological model common to all social contexts. The revival of ethnicity and the search for identity are they 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 Group. Because of the multiethnic composition of most countries in the region, the borders between socio-political and ethnic conflicts are fragile. . 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) ANANOVA, 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 prior attitudinal effects**

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 (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?" 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. 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) 1. 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 interracial contact**

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 inter-group 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 are 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) inter-group 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 (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; Gibson, 1999; 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; 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.)

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". 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 Group - 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"; (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" (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.

### **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; 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). 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; 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.

### **The significance of political participation**

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 Group. 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 neighborhoods<sup>3</sup>. 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, between 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.

### **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 frame works, 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.” Specific ally, 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 "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). 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.

#### **Status; socio-economic**

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 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 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 are 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, and group in society. My consideration of this issue derives from what sociologically speaking is the nature of ethnically diverse societies: Distinct minority Ethnic Group 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. He does not systematically consider the question of minority and majority identities existing within one nation.

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 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, it was 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 would 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 inter-group 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.



**CHAPTER-THREE**  
**METHOD AND PROCEDURE**

## METHOD AND PROCEDURE

The present study conduct an empirical investigation of attitudes as co-operative by majority Bangalee respondents and minority Santals Ethnic Group with respect to their male and female sex and urban and rural residential background. The study emphasizes the attitudes of Bangalee and santals towards their co-operative behavior like co-operative attitudes and its relation with demographic variables like, male-female sexual and urban-rural residential backgrounds, of the respondents Ethnic Group of naogaon district. Hence, special care was required to develop a scale, which could be applied for measuring the co-operative attitudes of the respondents. It is to be pointed out that most of the studies about co-operative attitudes have utilized survey methods. The lack of attitudinal approaches prompted the present study.

The concept of measuring attitude is found in many areas including social psychology and the Social Sciences; they can be complex and difficult to measure and there are a number of different measuring instruments that have been developed to assess attitude. The methodology used for this research will be by a critique of previous research methodologies. In order to establish the methodology of this research it is first necessary to clarify the term 'attitude'.

Attitude is an important concept that is often used to understand and predict people's reaction to an object or change and how behaviour can be influenced (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975).

An attitude is a mental and neural state of readiness, organised through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations to which it is related (Allport, 1935 cited by Gross)

A learned orientation, or disposition, toward an object or situation, which provides a tendency to respond favourably or unfavourably to the object or situation.' (Rokeach, 1968 cited by Gross).

Three of the generally accepted components of the term 'attitude' appear in some of the above definitions, these are:

Affective-the person's feelings about the attitude object

Cognitive-the person's beliefs or knowledge about the attitude object

Behavioral-the person's inclination to act toward the attitude object on a particular way

By analyzing these components, and as Gross suggests it is a 'hypothetical construct'; it becomes apparent that it cannot be directly measured and the use of only a single statement or question to assess it [attitude] will not be effective in gaining reliable responses.

Attitude scales attempt to determine what an individual believes, perceives or feels. Attitudes can be measured toward self, others, and a variety of other activities, institutions, and situations (Gay, 1996)

There are several types of scales that have been developed to measure attitude

'Scaling is the science of determining measuring instruments for human judgment'. One needs to make use of appropriate scaling methods to aid in improving the accuracy of subjective estimation and voting procedures. Pointed out that scaling, as a science of measuring human judgment, is as fundamental as collecting data on well-developed natural sciences. Nobody would refute the fact that all science advances by the development of its measurement instruments. Researchers are constantly attempting to obtain more effective scaling methods that could be applied to the less well developed yet more complicated social sciences. Scaling models can be distinguished according to whether they are intended to scale persons, stimuli, or both. For

example, Likert scale is a subject-centered approach since only subjects receive scale scores. Thurstone scaling is considered a method to evaluate the stimuli with respect to some designated attributes. It is the stimuli rather than the persons that are scaled. Guttman scaling is an approach in which both subjects and stimuli can be assigned scale values.

### **Likert Scale (Summated scale)**

The author used likert scale for the present study. This was developed by Rensis Likert, in 1932. It requires the individuals to make a decision on their level of agreement, generally on a five-point scale (ie. Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree) with a statement. The number beside each response becomes the value for that response and the total score is obtained by adding the values for each response, hence the reason why they are also called 'summated scales' (the respondents score is found by summing the number of responses). Dumas, (1999) suggest, ' this is the most commonly used question format for assessing participants' opinions of usability'.

### **Advantages of Likert Scale**

Simple to construct

Each item of equal value so that respondents are scored rather than items

Likely to produce a highly reliable scale

Easy to read and complete

Disadvantages of the other scales

Thurstone scale;

More difficult to construct than a Likert scale

No more reliable than a Likert scale

Measure only agreement or disagreement

Guttman Scale

Difficult to construct

Scalogram analysis may be too restrictive, only a narrow Universe of content can be used

Cornell technique questionable

Results no better than summated Likert scales

Semantic Differential Scaling;

Analyses can be complex

Several 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 microanalysis 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, Sarnoff and Katz, 1954; Smith, Bruner, & White, 1956). With this framework, attitudes are understood according to these 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). 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. It is the psychological factors relevant to the actions or behavior in question. We have to examine the nature of socio-political 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 Santals (smaller minority) minority with big Bangalee 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 attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and santals. 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 Bangalee -Santals in socio-political attitudes. That might predict the ethnic relation specifically the relation between Bang alee and the santals. 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 co-operative attitudes. 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**

The sample was selected from the santal inhabitants of the district of naogaon in Bangladesh. The samples were purposive in nature. As the santal inhabitants are clustered around different urban and rural areas of the districts of naogaon, cluster samples were taken by randomization from both urban and rural areas of the district. Similarly the bangalee neighbor of the santal inhabitants was taken as bangalee group of samples.

Random samples, from both Bangalee respondents and the santals Ethnic Group, were stratified as urban and rural and male and females Ss were utilized for the collection of data in the present investigation. Their age range was between 19-57 years. Bangalee respondents and santal Ethnic Group were randomly selected from two separate groups having urban and rural origins from the district naogaon. Male and female were selected accordingly. They were also equally divided according to Ethnic Group like beagali and sandals, sex as male and female, and on residential background like urban and rural. Thus the Bangalee respondents and santals Ethnic Group of samples were comparable in respect of sex and residential background. A total of 320 Subjects were used in the study equally divided into Bangalee respondents santals Ethnic Group. The sample was selected using a criteria questionnaire developed for this purpose.

Two samples, the Bangalee and the Santals were utilized for the collection of data in the present investigation. Bangalee groups of Ss belonged to diverse socio-political environment in the different of areas of Bangladesh. The Bangalee 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 Bangalee sample was stratified as Male-Female and Urban-Rural residential backgrounds were taken from the district of Naogaon. Rural Santal subjects were from Vimpur, Satra, Balator, Shanshol, Chakphara villages of naogaon. Rural Bangalee subjects where from villages of Kanchon, Gotgari, Balihar, Gonespur and proshadpur of the district naogaon.. Urban Santals subjects where from katal toli, Kurmoil, Kalitola, Khas naogaon and Hat naogaon areas of the naogaon town. Urban Bangalee subjects where from Master para, Ukil para, Baludanga and Hatnaogaon areas of the naogaon town. The educational qualification of both the samples ranged from primary level to Postgraduate in Arts and Science (simple read and write/ M.A/M.SC). They were peasants, serviceman, and merchants. Lawyer, teacher, students, housewives, educated, and unemployed youths.



The sampling and data collections were lasted only 12 months. Started on 10th January and completed on 27<sup>th</sup> December 2008. It took 6 months more for a pilot study for the development of an attitude scale (ATTTCBBASS). The sample was selected using a criteria questionnaire developed for this purpose.

### **Adoption of Criteria Questionnaire**

Selection of sample is an important step in any scientific study. With the end in view of selecting the representative sample, the investigator thought it appropriate to develop/adopt a criteria questionnaire that would contain the salient characteristics of Bangalee respondents and santals Ethnic Group. Bangalee and Santals Ss, irrespective of the variation in caste and creed, were selected for the present study. Keeping in view of the characteristics of Bangalee And Santals, the investigator found it appropriate to use a representative questionnaire reflecting their views in the present study. Hence the investigator adopted a Criteria Questionnaire (CQ). This form of CQ is given in the appendix A. 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 groups (Bangalee/santal), male-female origin and urban-rural residential background of the family. The bio-data form is given in appendix B.

### **Final Sample Selection**

Before application of Criteria Questionnaire, the bio-data form was administered on 160 Bangalee respondents and 160 santals respondents. They were of male and female sex and from urban and rural areas of naogaon districts. In selecting the peoples, the investigator interviewed each subject separately. A structured interview method was used. The subjects were interviewed on the basis of following questions. These are as follows:

- (1) Are you proud of being a Bangalee? Yes/no
- (2) Do you feel sorry for you being a santal? Yes/no

- (3) Have you any story of mental illness? Yes/no
- (4) Had you ever been convicted by the law of the state? Yes/no
- (5) Being a women, are you above 18 years of age? Yes/no
- (6) Being a man, have you passed the age of 18 years? Yes/no
- (7) Are you a deaf and dumb person? Yes/no
- (8) Is your mother language is Bangalee? Yes/no
- (9) Is your mother language is santali? Yes/no
- (10) Spend more of your life in villages? Yes/no
- (11) Spend more of your life in towns? Yes/no
- (12) Is your opposite sex female? Yes/no
- (13) Is your opposite sex male? Yes/no

Thus subjects were identified as Bangalee and santals, Male and female sex and place of residence on the basis of self-assessment of the subjects. Following this procedure of assessment 160 Bangalee respondents were selected among them 80 Bangalee respondents were male 80 female sex. They were also divided into urban 40 Ss and rural 40 Ss. Similarly santals Ethnic Group of 160 Ss were selected among them 80 santals Ethnic Group were male 80 female in their sexual background. They are also divided into urban 40 Ss rural 40 Ss. Criteria Questionnaire was administered on these pre-selected respondents. The subjects were contacted individually in their homes or places of residence. The investigator requested them to fill up the questionnaire as accurately as possible. For those who were weak in understanding the author asked written language personally and their oral responses were recorded in black and white. The instructions and items to the questionnaire were in Bangalee. The English version of the instruction is given below.

“Here you will find some questions about your personal choice in inter-personal 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 Bangalee and santals, scrutiny was done for each subject separately.

Following the method of elimination 160 subjects were selected as Bangalee group suited to the criteria set. Among them 80 were males and 80 were females. In each category 40 were urban residents and 40 were rural residents of naogaon district. Similarly, 160 subjects were selected as santal group. 80 of them were males and 80 were females. Again in each category 40 were urban residents and 40 were rural residents of naogaon. 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.

### Design of the Study

A 2x2x2 factorial design having two levels of group compositions (Bangalee vs santals) And two levels of sex (Male vs. Female) and two levels of residential backgrounds (Urban vs. Rural) was utilized. Total number of the sample was (N=320). Number of the each cell group was (N=40).

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

	Bangalee respondents		Santals respondents		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Urban	40	40	40	40	160
Rural	40	40	40	40	160
Total	80	80	80	80	320

Thus the study utilized two samples. One sample was composed of Bangalee subjects and the other was composed of santals subjects. The sample having subjects of Bangalee and Santals, heterogeneous socio-economic status, wide range of age differences and educational backgrounds were preferred for the following reasons:

Since, the author wanted to measure the similarities and differences in socio-political attitudes of co-operation among the Bangalee and santal groups, here is an Ethnic Group of santals who were most comparable in many respect with the Bangalee majority. Both the groups are anthropologically homogeneous. Historically some of them have changed by conversion of religion or accepted foreigners and their religious faith and evolved, as a separate ethnic religious group.

Santals work together with their Bangalee counterpart in every walk of life. They even share common attitudes and views on social and political matters and identify themselves by a common nationality. But there is recorded decline in their population in Bangladesh. Bangladesh is racially and linguistically nearly homogenous country. The perspective grounded in this study is that, despite all problems of Bangalee-santal relation in bangladesh throughout centuries, they have been able in their millennium coexistence in our geographical area to develop and maintain a pluralistic society which is as genuine as may be found any where in the world. The socio-political attitudes behind the decrease in population were to be traced in the present study. Thus sample was appropriate for the study.

#### **Selection of Instruments**

The investigator constructed Attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and santal scale (ATTCBBASS) as measure for using in the study. The author developed the scale for measuring the nature of attitudinal constellations of the bangalee and santal respondents. The scale was supposed

to measure the attitudes towards cooperation between bangalees and santals only co-operative attitudes are known as social attitudes. It is multidimensional and closely related other socio-political attitudes like voting attitudes, and attitudes towards conservative and radical ideas etc. Thus present author realized the need for an extended search for these attitudes. And therefore, selected two other tools for measuring socio-political attitudes like voting attitudes developed by Zia, (1991), and C\_R Scale adapted in Bengali by Ara, (1985). A standard scale on voting attitude (VAS) was used as measure of attitudinal preferences in voting participations and voting intentions and C-R scale for the measure of personality variables like conservatism and radicalism.. These measuring instruments were selected on the basis of the objectives of the present study. Although, the main objective of the study endorse these endeavors the author finds the ground suitable for an extended search coupled with the main study.

The main objective of the study was to conduct an empirical investigation on Attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and santal groups in Bangladesh. The review of literature has shown that ethnic relation is predictable from Attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and santal. (Lampert and Tziner, 1985). In view of these findings, the present study was designed to measure attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and santals subjects. It includes measuring Psychosocial, cross-cultural, Socio-economic, ethno-political environments. It was thought that subjects' intention on these dimensions would reveal their attitudes towards co-operation between Bangalee and santals. Accordingly the items on these dimensions were selected for the construction of attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and santals scale. Another objective of this study was to explore voting attitudinal preferences of Bangalee and Santals subjects. The original form of the Voting Attitude Scale (Zia, 1991 in Bengali) was used for measuring voting attitudes of Ss. The test available for measuring socio-

political attitudes conservatism and radicalism in Bangladesh context was Ara's Conservatism-Radicalism Scale and as such the investigator used C-R scale to measure the degree of Conservatism / Radicalism of Bangalee and santal subjects. The Bangalee adaptation of the measures of personality and C-R Scale were used for several reasons. First, the amount of time at the investigators disposal for developing these scales was very short. Secondly these scales were easy in administration and scoring. Thirdly these scales were developed in Bangladesh using student sample. On the basis of these arguments, investigator selected scales stated above.

#### **Construction of the scale**

#### **"Attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and Santal scale" (ATTCBBASS).**

Investigation of socio-political attitudes behavior appears to be a subject of major interest for the social psychologists. Each of the three approaches outlined here is based on different assumptions and is focused on different aspects of the psychological dimension of majority-minority conflicts. Each of them has its strengths as well as its weaknesses: Sherif's theory and experiments demonstrate very vividly the crucial role of incompatible goals in the creation of inter-group conflict, but Tajfel, (1981) and Billig, (1976) have successfully argued that just the existence of a majority versus a minority (or even the existence of two groups irrespective of their relative sizes) is enough for the formation of prejudices and in-group biases.

Furthermore, some experimental studies concluded that even when two groups enjoy friendly or cooperative relations, they might still seek ways to derogate each other by making judgments favoring the in-group (Druckman, 1994). Social Identity Theories (Tajfel, 1981; Taylor and McKirnan, 1984) are particularly good in explaining how minority and majority groups define themselves as such, and how majority- minority conflict develops through

stages. Yet they put too much emphasis on assimilation, which they regard as the most common (and perhaps as the most natural?) process. In addition, they pay too much attention on minorities' tendency to self-hate, overlooking the fact that many ethno-cultural minorities are rich in culture and history, and are proud of what they are, even before they pass through such stages as 'consciousness raising' or 'self-redefinition' (Hutnik, 1991). As for the psychoanalytical theories, one could easily say that they provide an elaborate and very plausible explanation of why minority-majority conflicts have the tendency to become so intense (Ross, 1995); why we see such high levels of enmity in both groups; and why groups in conflict can resort so easily to violence. However, their perception of identity is too simplistic: Individuals have (i) their own personal identity (garment) and (ii) share with other group members a group identity (tent) (Volkan & Itzkowitz, 1994). Social identity, however, as Tajfel (1978, 1981) indicates, has many layers, or many components: Each social category (gender, birthplace, age, class, education level etc.) corresponds to a component of one's social identity. Moreover, psychodynamic theories tend to underestimate the role of differences in concrete economic interests and in power between majorities and minorities. Such differences are treated as superficial while theorists try to unearth the psychological causes that lie beneath them (Ross, 1995). And finally, these psychoanalytic theories are not very amenable to empirical testing.

Psychological factors, although very important, constitute only one aspect of minority-majority relations. They are interlinked with other factors, political, economic, historical, etc. They reinforce those factors and they reinforce them. Just as psychological factors are interrelated with other factors, psychological explanations, as well, are interrelated with other explanations of relations, developed by other disciplines. No psychological theory, however sophisticated, can adequately explain a relation without being accompanied by theories from other disciplines. The same is true for any theory based on a

single discipline. And yet, relation analyst 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. The studies available in the literature are mainly based on survey reports of a situation within Specified time frame and in a given situation. The measures based in these studies are the direct questionnaire. So the reporting of the Ethnic Group was subject to memory failure or intentional distortion of the facts about the situation. Social psychological approach for understanding ethnic relation or their attitudes about each other were not attempted in these studies. Viewed from these perspectives of measurement of attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and Santals and prediction of ethnic relations, the investigator attempted to develop a measure of ethnic attitudes using the salient dimensions of ethnic relation such as Psychosocial, cross-cultural, Socio-economic, and ethno-political vs. internationalism in the socio-political context of Bangladesh. Due to non-availability of such a psychological test in Bangladesh, the need for the construction of attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and Santals scale arose. The earlier studies were merely descriptive analysis of the ethnic relations and no psychological tests were used so that data can be subjected to standard statistical analysis.

Hence the findings reported in these studies are not reliable for prediction and as such lack the accuracy and objectivity of a scientific enquiry. To avoid these problems of analysis and to provide the reliability and validity to the data for predicting ethnic relation, the construction of ethnic attitude scale in the context of Bangladesh was attempted. The major dimensions covering the attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalees and Santals scale were (1) cross-cultural (2) Psycho-social (3) Socio-economic (4) ethno-political. It is, therefore, necessary to give short definitions of these dimensions in order to conceptualize attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and Santals as has been used in the present study.



## **Operational definition of the dimensions**

### **Cross-cultural dimension**

Cross-cultural dimension has been conceptualized as set of favorable attitudes towards co-operation among ethnic minorities and popular majority of a country. Believing in interracial and cross-cultural harmony and mutual co-existence. Like to participate in solving national problems together with other Ethnic Group of the country.

### **Psychosocial dimension**

The term psychosocial dimension has been conceptualized as set of psychological and social earnest readiness for co-operation. Supporting social interactions between individuals and groups. It is a favorable psychological orientation towards individual and social welfare activities.

### **Socio-economic dimension**

The term socio-economic dimension has been conceptualized as set of favorable attitudes towards economic activities, expressed as individual and as a member of a group of the country. Like to participate in the economic activities of the country. The willingness of contributes in the economic emancipation of the country.

### **Ethno-political dimension**

The term ethno-political dimension has been conceptualized as set of favorable attitudes towards politics and political activities. It is a belief in the efficacy of political participation and voting. It is a positive orientation towards the political activities of the country.

### **Technique and Method used**

Bird, (1940) have suggested several methods for the measurement of the attitudes, Thurston 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 numbers 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 the co-operation between Bangalee and Santal such as cross-cultural, Psychosocial, Socio-economic and ethno-political A total of 263 statements were collected on these dimensions in the initial stage. This distribution of these statements was as follows: Psychosocial =62, cross-cultural = 73, Socio-economic = 75, ethno-political =52. Based on the informal criteria as suggested by Wang, (1952); Bird, (1940); Edwards and Kilpatric, (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 four teachers for scrutiny. Among these four teachers, one was from sociology department, one from social work department, one from Psychology department and one from anthropology 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 dimension wise. 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 favorable or unfavorable attitude concerning the issue in question. Item, which was preferred by each of the three judges, was selected for the pilot study. Thus the judges commonly chose 52 statements. These items on each dimension were as follows: cross-cultural = 14, psychosocial= 13, socio-economic = 13, ethno-political = 12.

### **Pilot Study**

A pilot study was conducted for the construction of Attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and santal 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 about a number of psycho-social, cross-cultural, socio-economic and ethno-political, issues related with santals and bangalee Ethnic Group. I think that these are relevant to our ethnic relations. Many a time you may find an answer to these statements in co-operations, co-existence and developments in your personal and social life. 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 co-operation".

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 the co-operation between Bangalee and santal scale contained both types of favorable and unfavorable statements. Each favorable and positive statement directly expressed higher attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and santal and each unfavorable and negative statement expressed lower attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and santal. 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  $\text{highest score} + \text{lowest score} / 2 = 500 + 100 / 2 = 300$ . The scores above this mid-point was indicative of Favorable attitude towards co-operations.

### Item Analysis

The Attitude towards "Attitude towards the co-operation between Bangalee and santals Scale" was constructed in Likert form. Before using various techniques of elimination the investigator computed total scores of each subject. Internal consistency was adopted. The internal According to the criteria used in test construction, highest score was indicative of healthy attitude towards the co-operation between Bangalee and santal and lowest score was indicating of unhealthy attitude towards the co-operation between Bangalee and santal. As the test was supposed to contain the items reflecting attitude towards the co-operation between Bangalee and santal, the highest scores above mid-point (300) was considered a principle for selecting items in the initial stage. Accordingly 52 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-A). In the second stage Likert's criterion of 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  $52 \times 5 = 260$  and the lowest possible score for the same would be  $52 \times 1 = 52$ . 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. 8, 9, 13, 20, 22, 23, 26, 30, 31, 32, 35, 49, 54, 57, 58, 73, 77, 79, 81, 82, 90, 92, 94 were retained to be included in the final study.

### **Reliability and Validity**

Attitude towards the co-operation between Bangalee and santal scale (ATTCBBASS) 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 23 items ( $N = 100$ ) scores in the pilot study and the correlation was found 0.89. Split half reliability was again computed of the scores in the final study ( $N = 320$ ) with odd and even number of 23 items and correlation was found 0.68. After applying Spearman Brown prophesy formula (Garrett and Woodworth, 1966). The co-efficient was found to rise from 0.68 to 0.81, which was very high. Thus, it can be said that the reliability of the measure of attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and santal scale is statistically sound. The split-half reliability of attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and santal scale was computed with the scores of final study in order to find out whether the change in size of the sample ( $N =$

320) 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 0.40 to 0.59 (Table 2). Correlation of each dimension with total scores of the pilot study was also computed and it ranged from 0.67 to 0.84.

**Table 2: Showing correlation of the scores of each dimension with the total scores of attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and santal scale (both pilot and final study).**

Dimension	<del>Pearson's r for pilot</del> Pearson's r for pilot study N = 100	Pearson's r for Final study N = 320
Cross-cultural	0.80	0.40
Psycho-social	0.84	0.59
Socio-economic	0.82	0.55
Ethno-political	0.67	0.56

The correlation co-efficient of dimension-total of the pilot study ranged from 0.67 to 0.84. 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 0.51 to 0.42 (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 Attitude towards the co-operation between Bangalees and santals scale in the pilot study (N-100).**

	CC	PS	SE	EP
CC		0.63**	0.52**	0.42**
PS			0.67**	0.53**
SE				0.51**
EP				

$p < 0.05, *$

$p < 0.01^{**}$

The high positive correlation between inter-dimensions indicated the validity of attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and santals scale. Thus homogeneity of the scale was established. It is also an indication of content validity of the scale. The scale contains both positive and negative statements. The co-efficient of correlation between two equivalent forms of the test in the pilot study (N = 100) was 0.89 and that of final study (N = 320) was 0.68. This high correlation in the final study is an indication of the predictive validity of the attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and santals scale. The ATTCBBASS contains both positive and negative statements. The number of statements having positive and negative directions in each dimension is reported in table 4.



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

<b>Dimensions</b>	<b>Positive Direction</b>	<b>Negative Direction</b>	<b>Total</b>
Cross-cultural	4	1	5
Psycho-social	5	1	6
Socio-economic	4	1	5
Ethno-political	5	2	7
Total item	18	5	23

Thus in the final shape, the attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalees and santals scale included 23 items. The specific areas covered by each of the 23 items have been given in the Appendix-B.

#### **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. Inter-item 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-validation 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 was used in the present study.

### **Ara's Conservatism-Radicalism Scale**

Ara's 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 other hand, 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. Inter-item 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 validation 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.

#### **Procedure of Data Collection**

The present study utilized the "Attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and santals scale", Voting Attitude Scale and Ara's Conservatism-Radicalism Scale (Bengali adaptation), for the collection of data in the investigation. Therefore, measures were administered to each of the 320 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. Bangalee subjects were contacted through Bangalee agents. Santals subjects were contacted through Santals agents. The investigator himself approached the Santals subjects individually. Female subjects were approached through female agents. There were, however, problems in data collection. It was very difficult to make rapport with the Santals 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.

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(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 40 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”.

### **Administration of the Tests**

The investigator administered three measures for collection of data in the present study. The administration of each test was done as follows:

#### **Attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and santals scale**

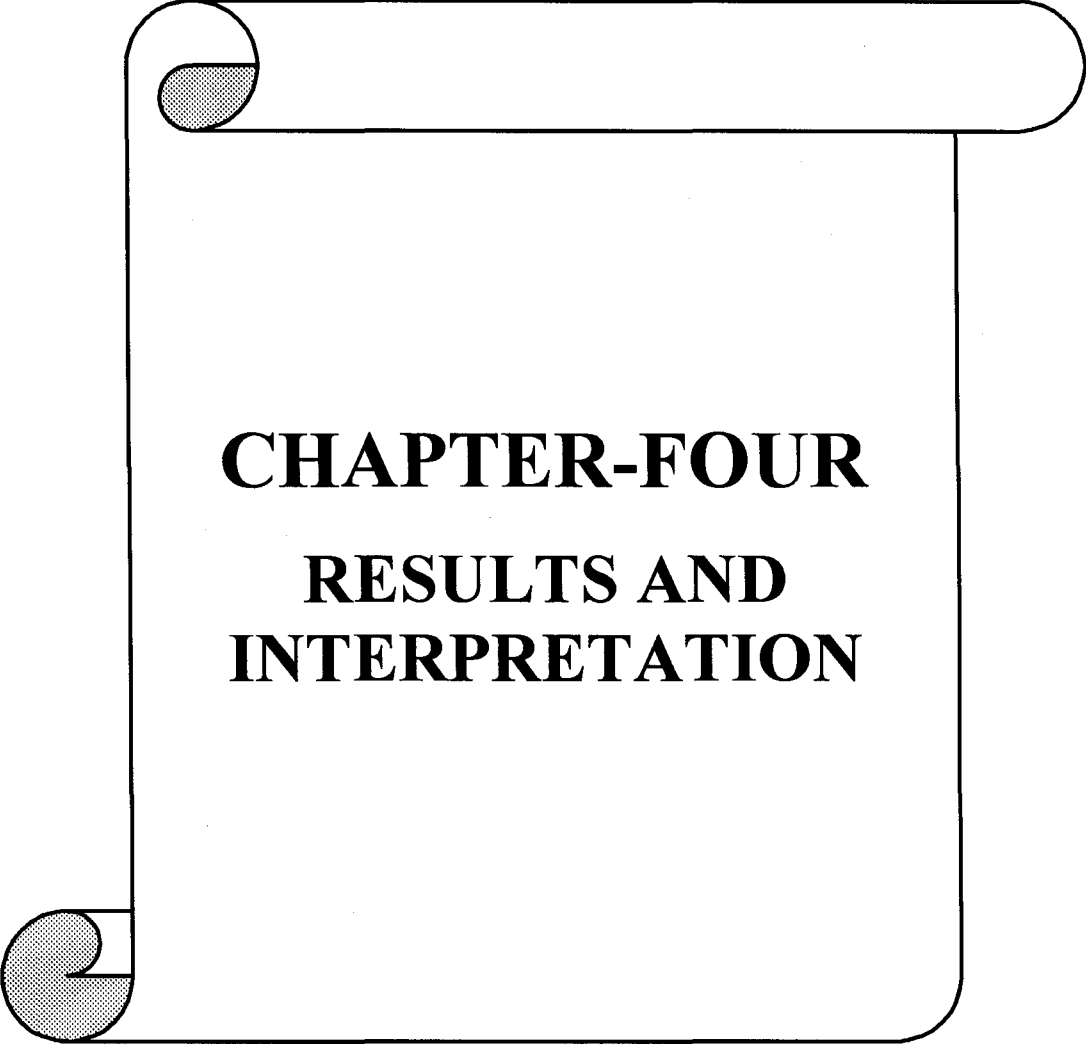
The test was administered on pre-selected sample of Bangalee subjects (N = 160) and santals subjects (N=160). The questionnaire was distributed to the Ss of Bangalee and santals groups with proper instructions. In this test the Ss were asked to show their agreement or disagreement about some issues relating to attitudes towards healthy ethnic relations. The test contained 23 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 are 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 laps 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:



**CHAPTER-FOUR**  
**RESULTS AND**  
**INTERPRETATION**

## 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 on the scores of "Attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and santals Scale" (ATTCBBASS), "Voting Attitude Scale" (VAS) and "Conservatism-Radicalism Scale" (C-R). The ANOVA was conducted separately. In each computation a 2x2x2 factorial design involving 2 levels of Ethnic Group (Bangalee/ Santals), 2 levels of Residential background (Urban/Rural) and 2 levels of sex (Male/Female) 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 **ATTCBBASS SCALE, VOTING ATTITUDE SCALE and CONSERVATISM-RADICALISM SCALE**. The purpose of this analysis was to study within-group and between-group comparison ( Bangalee/Santals), Residential background(urban/rural) and sex (male/female) 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 towards the co-operation the co-operation between Bangalee and santal scale Bangalee and santals scale", "Voting attitudes scale" and "Conservatism –Radicalism Scale".

#### **Attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and Santals Scale (ATTCBBASS)**

The scores on Attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and Santals Scale (ATTCBBASS) 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 Ethnic Group ( Bangalee/ Santals), 2 levels of Residential background (urban-rural) and 2 levels of sex (Male/Female) were utilized for the collection of data. A high score was indicative, of favorable attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and Santals and a low score was indicative of unfavorable attitudes towards the co-operation among Bangalee and Santals. The highest possible score in this scale was  $(5 \times 23) = 115$  and the lowest possible score was  $(23 \times 1) = 23$ . The mid- point of scale is  $(115 + 23) \div 2 = 69$ . 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 statements relating to attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and Santals.

**Table 5: Showing summary of factorial ANOVA involving Ethnic Group, Residential background and sex on the scores of Attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and Santals Scale (ATTCBBASS).**

Source of variance	S.S	df	MS	F	P
Ethnic Group (A)	2156.34	1	2156.34	7.68	0.005910**
Residential background (B)	115.93	1	115.93	0.41	0.522428
Sex (C)	291.1	1	291.1	1.04	0.308592
AB	13.69	1	13.69	0.05	0.823206
AC	133.17	1	133.17	0.47	0.493484
BC	73.25	1	73.25	0.26	0.610472
ABC	535.25	1	535.25	1.91	0.167927
Within Cell (Experimental error)	89796.93	320	280.62		
Total	93115.66	327			

P<0.05\*

p<0.01\*\*

Table 5 contains the summary of factorial ANOVA involving Group Composition, Residential background and sex on the scores of "Attitudes

towards the co-operation between Bangalee and santals scale". The results indicated that main effects for the group composition were statistically significant; the main effects for Residential background and sex were statistically non-significant. A three-way interaction involving Group Composition, Residential background and sex was statistically non-significant.

However, two-way interactions involving Ethnic Group and Residential background, and Sex and Residential background and sex were found statistically non-significant.

### Main Effect

#### Ethnic Group

The result of ANOVA (Table 5) reported significant main effect for (F, 1/320= 7.68 P < 0.01).

**Table 6: Showing overall mean scores and significant mean difference on (N=160).**

Ethnic Group	Mean	N	S.D	t-value	df	Level of Significance
Bangalee	96.86	160	7.66	7.495	318	0.01**
Santals	101.86	160	3.56			

P<0.05\*

p<0.01\*\*

The results (table 6) indicated that regardless of Residential background and sex santals Ss expressed significantly more favorable attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and Santals (t-value =7.495, df= 318, P < 0.01). Thus, it appears that santal Ss (M= 101.86) have evaluated statements relating to attitudes towards the co-operative behavior more favorably (i.e. Bangalee expresses comparatively less of their attitudinal preferences towards the co-operation than their santal counterpart, M = 96.86). . Subjects

who are apathetic to the attitudes of the santals, 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. Here both the groups scored higher than the scale's mid-point of 69, indicating a positive orientation towards healthy co-operation.

### Residential background

The results (Table 5) showed non-significant main effect for Residential background ( $F, 1/327=0.41, p = n.s$ )

**Table7: Showing overall mean scores and non-significant mean differences on Residential background (N=160).**

Residential background	Mean	N	S D	t-value	df	Level of significance
Urban	99.84	160	6.34	1.340	318	0.08 n.s
Rural	98.88	160	6.58			

$P < 0.05^*$

$p < 0.01^{**}$

The non-significant main effect on Residential background indicated that regardless of Ethnic Group and sex, Residential background did not emerge as an important factor in the study of attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and Santals. It was found that urban and rural Ss showed non-significant difference in preference for attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and Santals. (i.e. above the mid-point 69) but non-significant differences between them ( $t\text{-value} = 1.340, df = 318, P > 0.05$ ). The results seem to indicate that urban Ss and rural Ss are exposed to the problems of Bangalee-santals relation equally. As a result, urban Ss ( $M = 99.84$ ) expressed non-significant differential attitudinal preference about different

issues relating Bangalee-santals relationship; rural Ss (M= 98.88) expressed comparatively equal favorable attitudes on co-operation among Ethnic Groups. Both the groups showed favorable attitudes to the co-operative behavior between themselves by scoring above mid-point of the scale.

### Sex

The results (table 5) indicated non-significant main effect for Sex (F,1/320=1.04, P=0.30, n.s)

**Table 8: Showing overall mean scores and significant mean differences on sex (N = 160).**

Sex	Mean	N	S D	t-value	df	Level of Significance
Male	100.20	160	5.94	2.340	318	0.019 **
Female	98.52	160	6.88			

P<0.05\*

p<0.01\*\*

The results (table 8) showed that irrespective of Ethnic group and Residential background of the Ss, sex was found to account for the difference in attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and Santals. The overall mean scores showed that the male Ss with (M =100.20) expressed comparatively higher attitudinal preference towards co-operation (t-value=2.340,df=318,P<0.01) as compared to the female Ss with low scores of (M=98.52). This finding was indicative of the fact that male Ss aspire differentially for a co-operative relationship as such, but both of their scores fall at the positive side of the quantinum. Both of them are eventually exposed to the problem and suffered equally. It seems that this factor may be regarded as a vital factor for differential preferences in attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and Santals.

### Interaction Effect

#### Ethnic Group x Residential background x sex

The results (table 5) indicated that a three-way Interaction representing Ethnic Group, Residential background and sex ( $F, 1/320, =1.91, P=n.s$ ) was statistically non-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 Ethnic Group, Residential background and sex (N=40 In each cell) on the scores of ATTCBBASS.**

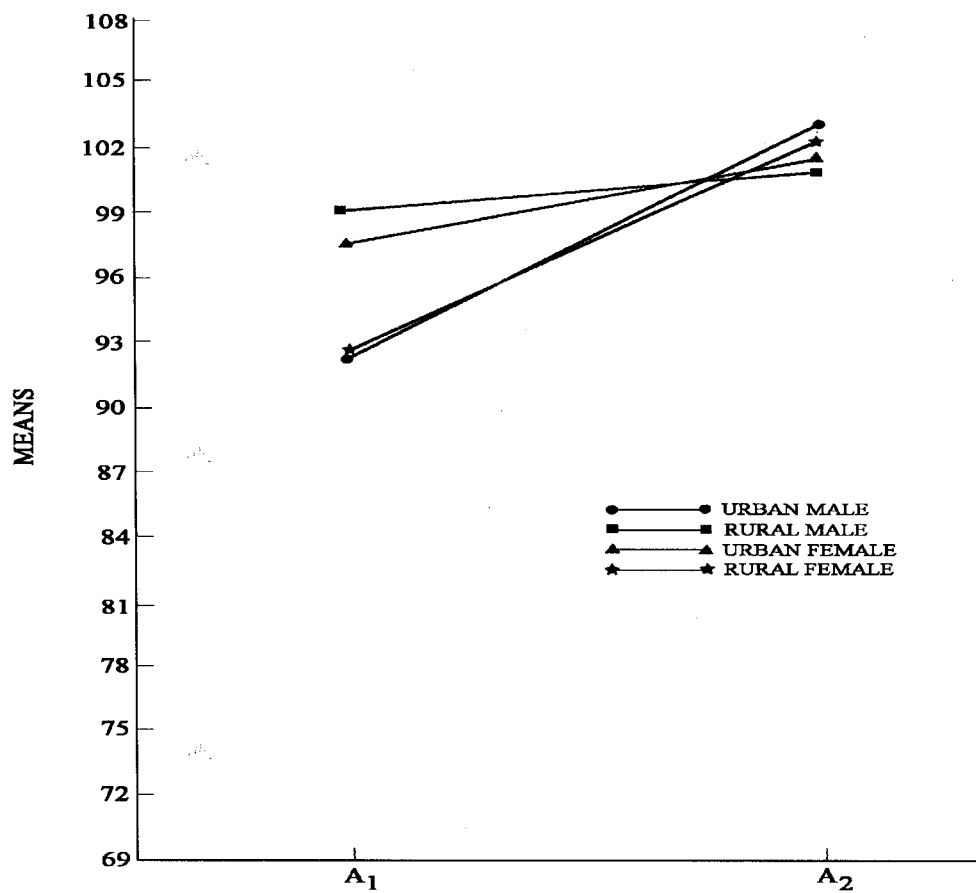
Groups		Mean	S D	t-value							
				a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h
B.U.M	a	92.25	12.07		0.61	1.42	1.44	3.61**	2.46**	2.33*	2.90**
B.U.F.	b	97.60	6.70			1.20	2.42**	4.99**	2.97**	2.71**	3.75**
B.R.M.	c	99.20	5.05				3.34**	4.41**	2.00*	1.71	2.96**
B.R.F.	d	92.38	11.88					5.65**	4.47**	4.32**	4.94**
S.U.M.	e	103.40	3.26						3.06**	2.98**	2.00*
S.U.F.	f	101.13	3.38							0.21	1.17
S.R.M.	g	100.95	4.03								1.27
S.R.F.	h	101.98	3.08								

$p < 0.05, *$

$p < 0.01 **$

In this section author tried to analyze the t-matrix to find out the similarities and the differences among the individual cells as the ANOVA produces in case of administering the scale of ATTCBBASS.

The author starts analyzing the data evolving from “within” and from “between” groups. The results (table 9) indicated that in case of Bangalee Ethnic Group, it was found that Bangalee rural Ss male scored significantly higher than Bangalee rural female ( $t= 3.34, df =78, p<0.01$ ) and Bangalee urban female scored significantly higher than Bangalee rural female ( $t= 2.42, df= 78, p< 0.01$ ) indicating a significant differences between sex (i.e male and female) within rural Ss of the Bangalee groups. Again, In case of the Bangalee groups the urban female Ss scored significantly higher than the rural female Ss, indicating a difference in residential background (i.e. urban and rural) An inspection of mean scores showed that Bangalee Rural Male Ss scored relatively higher ( $M=99.20$ ) than the other groups like, Bangalee Urban Female Ss ( $M=97.60$ ) in ATTCCBBASS followed by Bangalee Rural Female Ss ( $M=92.38$ ) and Bangalee Urban Male Ss ( $M=92.25$ )



**Fig.1. Showing differences on various conditions of three way interactions representing Ethnic Group, residential background and sex on Attitudes towards the co-operation between bangalee and santal scale (ATTCBBASS).**

However, other groups within Bangalee did not differ significantly. In this group comparisons within Bangalee, the scores of the groups of urban male and urban female, urban male and rural male, urban male and rural female, urban female and rural male was found similar (i.e. the comparison groups did not differ significantly). Regarding Santals Ethnic Group the results (Table 9) showed that Santal Urban Male Ss exhibited significantly higher scores as compared to Santal urban Female Ss in ATTCBBASS ( $t = 3.06$ ,  $df = 78$ ,  $P < 0.01$ ) indicating a sex difference within the groups of santals. Again, Santals Urban Male Ss score significantly higher in ATTCBBASS ( $t = 2.98$ ,  $df = 78$ ,  $P < 0.05$ ) as compared to Santals Rural Male Ss indicating a difference due to residential backgrounds. However, santal urban male Ss scored higher than santal rural female Ss ( $t=2.00, df=78, p<0.05$ ).

An inspection of mean scores showed that Santals Urban Male Ss scored relatively Higher ( $M = 103.40$ ) in ATTCBBASS than the other groups like, Santals Rural Female Ss ( $M = 101.98$ ), Santals urban Female ( $M = 101.13$ ) Ss and Santals rural male Ss ( $M = 100.95$ ).

However, other groups within santal did not differ significantly. In these group comparisons within santal, the scores of the groups of urban female and rural male, urban female and rural female, rural male and rural female were found similar (i.e. the comparison groups did not differ significantly).

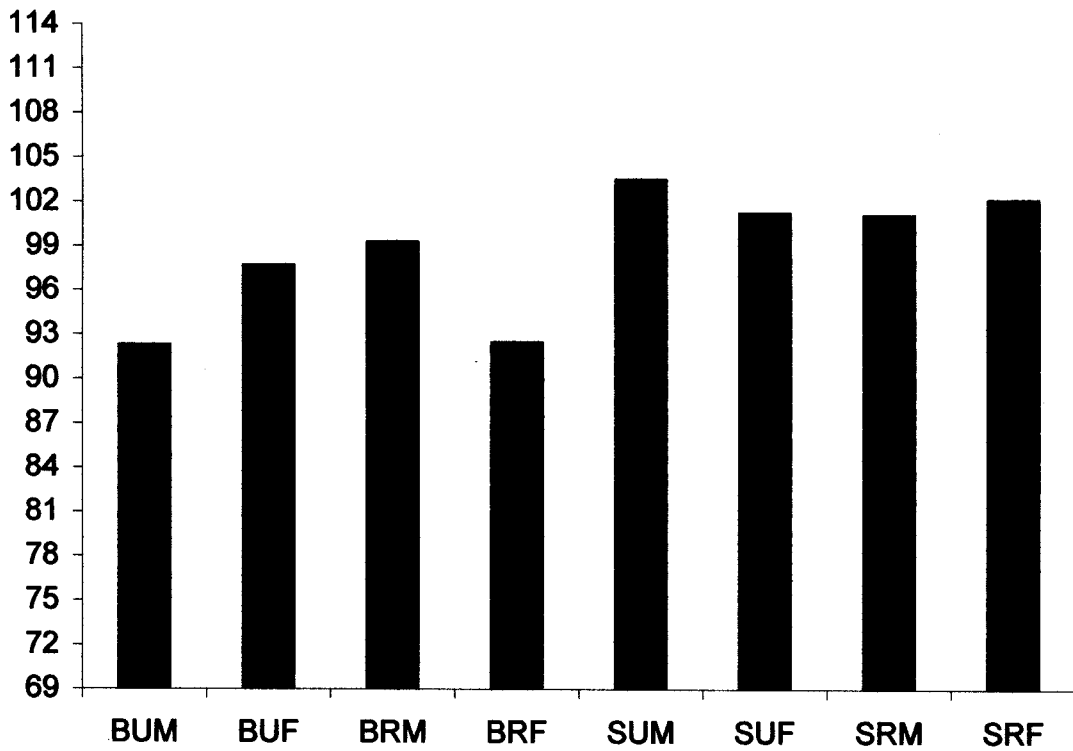
However, In case of comparisons between santal and Bangalee groups (i.e. between groups) significant differences were found among all the combinations of groups possible except the one between santal rural male and Bangalee rural male ( $t=1.71, df=78, p=n.s$ ). Statistically significant difference was found between cross groupings of Santals Urban Male and Bangalee Rural Female ( $t=5.65, df=78, p<0.01$ ) Santals Rural Female and Bangalee Rural Female ( $t=4.94, df=78, p<0.01$ ) Santal Urban Male and Bangalee Urban Female ( $t=4.92, df=78, p<0.01$ ) Santal Urban Female and Bangalee Rural Female ( $t=4.47, df=78, p<0.01$ ) Santal Urban Male and Bangalee Rural Male



( $t=4.41, df=78, p<0.01$ ) Santal Rural Male and Bangalee Rural Female  
 ( $t=4.32, df=78, p<0.01$ ) Santal Rural Female and Bangalee Urban Female  
 ( $t=3.75, df=78, p<0.05$ ) Santal Urban Male and Bangalee Urban Male  
 ( $t=3.61, df=78, p<0.01$ ) Santal Urban Female and Bangalee Urban Female  
 ( $t=2.97, df=78, p<0.01$ ) Santal Rural Female and Bangalee Rural Male  
 ( $t=2.96, df=78, p<0.01$ ) Santal Rural Female and Bangalee Urban male  
 ( $t=2.90, df=78, p<0.01$ ) Santal rural Male and Bangalee Urban Female  
 ( $t=2.71, df=78, P<0.01.$ ) Santal Urban Female and Bangalee Urban Male  
 ( $t=2.46, df=78, p<0.01.$ ) Santal Rural Male and Bangalee Urban Male  
 ( $t=2.33, df=78, p<0.05$ ) Santal Urban Female and Bangalee Rural Male  
 ( $t=2.00, df=78, p<0.05$ ).

The above results are indicative of major differences in between groups of Bangalee and santals. The most remarkable characteristics of the findings were that all the santal groups scored higher (except a non significant difference between santal rural male and Bangalee rural male,  $t=1.71, df=78, p=n.s.$ ) Than their Bangalee counterparts in ATTCBBASS scale and differed significantly. It was safe to say that santals showed a greater degree of orientation towards co-operative attitudes (i.e. a favorable attitude towards co-operation).

## ATTCBBASS



**Fig. 2: Histogram representing within – group comparisons between male and female Ss along the mid- point of the ATTCBBASS for Bangalee and santal Ethnic Groups.**

### 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 Ethnic Group (Bangalee/ Santals), 2 levels of Residential background (urban/rural) and 2 levels of sex (Male/Female) 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.

**Table 10: Showing summary of factorial ANOVA involving Ethnic Group, Residential background and sex on the scores of Voting Attitude Scale (VAS).**

Source of variance	S.S	df	MS	F	P
Ethnic Group (A)	1515.32	1	1515.32	4.76	0.029856*
Residential background (B)	2.56	1	2.56	0.01	*
Sex (C)	272.56	1	272.56	0.86	0.920407
AB	10.61	1	10.61	0.03	0.354438
AC	71.37	1	71.35	0.22	0.862600
BC	183	1	183	0.58	0.639359
ABC	664.92	1	664.15	2.09	0.446873
Within Cell (experimental error)	101824.93	320	318.2		0.149245
Total	104545.27	327			

P < 0.05, \*

P < 0.01\*\*

Table 10. Contains the summary of factorial ANOVA involving Ethnic Group, residential background and sex on the scores of Voting Attitude Scale. The results indicated that main effects for Ethnic Group (Bangalee/santal) were found significant. The main effects for residential background (urban/rural) and sex were found non-significant. However, two-way interactions between groups x Residential background were statistically non-significant. A two-way interaction between group x Sex was non-significantly, and Residential background x Sex was non-significant.

A three-way interaction involving Ethnic Group (Bangalee/santal), Residential background (urban-rural) and sex (Male/Female) was also statistically non-significant.

### Main Effect

#### Ethnic Group

The result of ANOVA (Table 10) reported significant main effect for Ethnic Group ( $F, 1/320 = 4.76, P \leq 0.05$ )

**Table 11: Showing overall mean scores and significant mean difference on Ethnic Group (N=160).**

Ethnic Group	Mean	N	S.D	t-value	df	Level of Significance
Bangalee	91.98	160	10.14	3.433	318	0.0007**
santals	87.63	160	12.38			

$P < 0.05^*$

$p < 0.01^{**}$

The results (table 11) indicated that regardless of Residential background and Sex Bangalee Ss scored higher than santal Ss and differed Statistically Significant on Voting attitudes scale ( $t\text{-value} = 3.433, df = 318, P < 0.01$ ). Thus, it appears that Bangalee Ss ( $M = 91.98$ ) have evaluated issues

relating to political activities differentially in their attitudinal preferences for voting comparing the santals Ss ( $M = 87.63$ ). Again, both groups crossed mid-point of (78) indicating favorable voting attitudes. Bangalee Ss showed higher attitudinal preferences in the voting than their santal counterparts.

### Main Effect

#### Residential background

The results of ANOVA (Table 10) showed non-significant main effect for Residential background ( $F, 1/320 = 0.01, p = 0.920$  n.s).

**Table 12: Showing overall mean scores and non-significant mean differences on Residential background (N=160).**

Residential background	Mean	N	S D	t-value	df	Level of significance
Urban	89.68	160	11.59	0.189	318	0.850 n.s
Rural	89.93	160	11.46			

$P < 0.05^*$

$p < 0.01^{**}$

The non-significant main effect on Residential background indicated that regardless of Ethnic Group and sex, Residential background emerged as less important factor in the study of voting attitudes. It was found that urban Ss showed no significant difference in preference for voting attitudes in comparison to rural Ss ( $t\text{-value} = 0.189, df = 318, P = 0.85n.s$ ). The means for both the groups exceed the scale mid-point of (78). The results seem to indicate that urban Ss are exposed to political activities in more or less equal frequency with the rural Ss. As a result, rural Ss ( $M = 89.93$ ) expressed closure to urban Ss ( $M = 89.68$ ) in attitudinal preference on different issues relating to voting behavior.

## Sex

The results (table10) indicated non-significant main effect for Sex (F, 1/320 = 0.86. P= 0.354 n.s).

**Table 13: Showing overall mean scores and non- significant mean differences on Sex (N = 160).**

Sex	Mean	N	S D	t-value	df	Level of significance
Male	88.90	160	11.58	1.406	318	0.16 n.s.
Female	90.71	160	11.39			

P<0.05\*

p<0.01\*\*

The results (table13) showed that irrespective of Ethnic Group and Residential background of the Ss, sex failed to account for differential voting attitudes. The overall mean scores showed that the female Ss (M = 90.71) expressed more attitudinal (mid-point= 69) preferences towards voting as compared to the male Ss (M =88.90) (t-value 1.406, df =318, P=0.16). This finding was indicative of the fact that female Ss are exposed to mass medias of communications, like radio, televisions, mobiles, and internet facilities and made them more conscious about politics at the same time the present societies are more likely to empower the women folk politically now a days. Thus, the results reflect the similarities rather than differences between the two sexes in attitudinal preferences in voting. It seems to indicate that mass media and political socialization in female Ss may be regarded as a vital factor for similar preferences in voting attitudes

## Interaction Effects

### Ethnic Group x Residential background x Sex

The results (table 10) indicated that a three-way Interaction representing Ethnic Group, Residential background and Sex (F, 1/320, = 2.09, P =0.149) was statistically non- significant.

**Table 14: Showing cell means and significant mean differences on various conditions of three-way interactions representing Ethnic Group, Residential background and Sex (N=40) In each cell on the scores of VAS.**

Groups		Mean	S D	t-value							
				a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h
B.U.M.	a	92.58	6.96	0.87	1.89	1.86	2.37**	1.72	2.15*	2.49**	
B.U.F.	b	90.70	11.72		0.79	2.23*	1.40	0.69	1.09	1.31	
B.R.M.	c	88.68	11.01			3.22**	0.73	0.07	0.34	0.54	
B.R.F.	d	95.95	9.10				3.48**	3.03**	3.38**	3.74**	
S.U.M.	e	86.58	14.37					0.78	0.40	0.24	
S.U.F.	f	88.88	11.62						0.41	0.61	
S.R.M.	g	87.78	12.24							0.17	
S.R.F.	h	87.30	11.43								

$p < 0.05, *$

$p < 0.01 **$

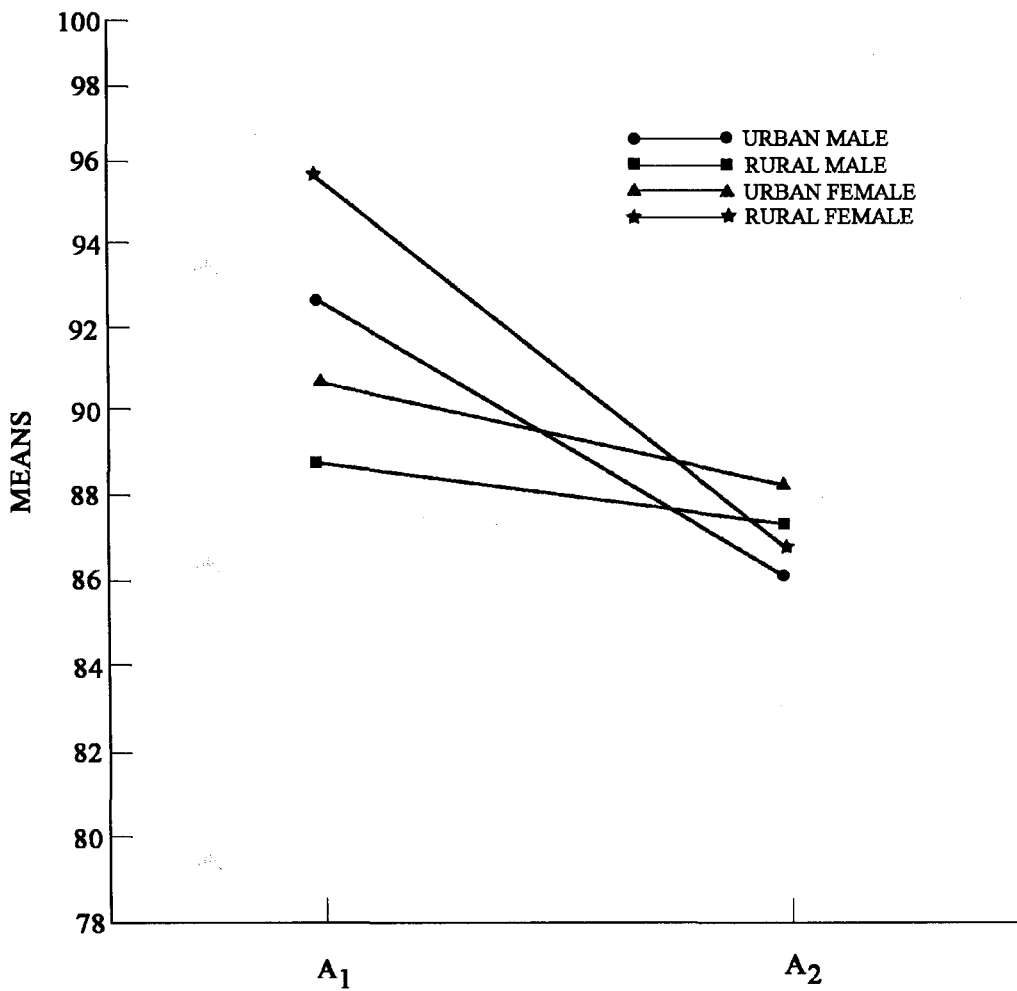
In this section author tried to analyze the t-matrix to find out the similarities and the differences among the individual cells as the ANOVA produces in case of administering the scale of VAS. The author starts analyzing the data evolving from "within" and from "between" groups. The results (table 14) indicated that in case of Bangalee Ethnic Group, it was found that Bangalee rural female Ss scored significantly higher than Bangalee rural male ( $t= 3.22$ ,  $df =78$ ,  $p<0.01$ ) and Bangalee rural female scored significantly higher than Bangalee urban female ( $t= 2.23$ ,  $df= 78$ ,  $p< 0.05$ ) indicating a significant differences between sex (i. e male and female) within rural Ss of the Bangalee groups. Again, In case of the Bangalee groups the rural female Ss scored significantly higher than the urban female Ss, indicating a difference in residential background (i.e urban and rural).

An inspection of mean scores showed that Bangalee Rural female Ss scored relatively higher (M=95.95) than the Bangalee Urban male Ss (M=92.58) in VAS followed by Bangalee urban Female Ss (M=90.70) and Bangalee rural Male Ss (M=88.68)

However, other groups within Bangalee did not differ significantly. In this group comparisons within Bangalee, the scores of the groups of urban male and urban female, urban male and rural male, urban male and rural female, urban female and rural male was found similar (i.e the comparison groups did not differ significantly).

Regarding Santals Ethnic Groups the results (Table 14) Showed that Santal Urban Male Ss and urban female Ss, urban male Ss and rural male Ss, urban male Ss and rural female Ss, urban female Ss and rural male Ss, urban female Ss and rural female Ss, rural male Ss and rural female Ss did not differ significantly in the scores of VAS scale.





**Fig.3. Showing differences on various conditions of three way interactions representing Ethnic Group, residential background and sex on voting attitudes scale (VAS).**

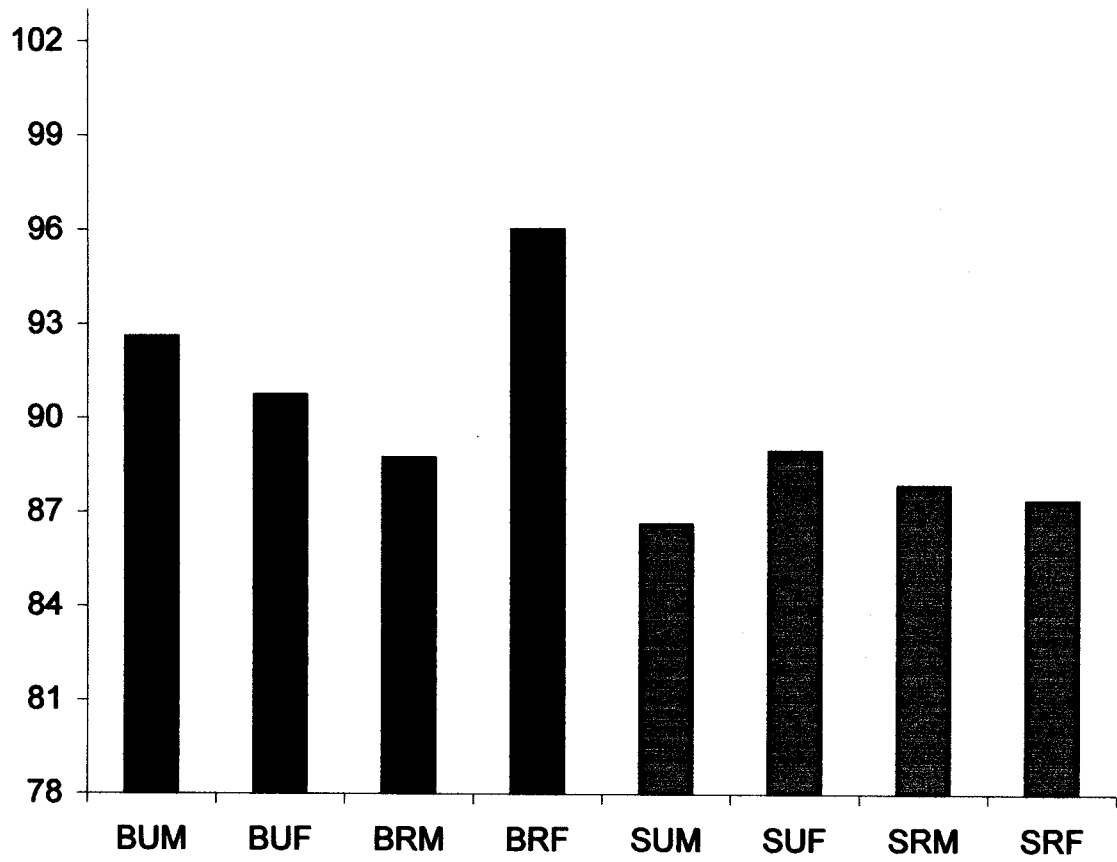
An inspection of mean scores showed that Santals Urban female Ss scored relatively Higher ( $M = 88.88$ ) in VAS than the other groups like, Santals Rural male Ss ( $M = 87.78$ ), Santals rural Female ( $M = 87.30$ ) Ss and Santals urban male Ss ( $M = 86.58$ ).

However, In case of comparisons between santal and Bangalee groups (i.e between groups) some significant differences were found between combinations of groups possible from both sides. Statistically significant difference was found between cross groupings of Bangalee rural female and Santal Rural Female ( $t=3.74, df=78, p<0.01$ ) Bangalee Rural Female and Santal Urban Male ( $t=3.48, df=78, p<0.01$ ) Bangalee Rural Female and Santal Rural Male ( $t=3.38, df=78, p<0.01$ ) Bangalee Rural Female and Santal Urban Female ( $t=3.03, df=78, p<0.01$ ) Bangalee Urban Male and Santal Rural Female ( $t=2.49, df=78, p<0.01$ ) Bangalee Urban Male and Santal Urban Male ( $t=2.37, df=78, p<0.01$ ) Bangalee Urban male and Santal Rural Male ( $t=2.15, df=78, p<0.05$ )

However the differences between, Bangalee Urban Male and Santal Urban female, Bangalee Urban Female and Santal Urban male, Bangalee Urban Female and Santal Urban Female, Bangalee Urban Female and Santal Rural Male, Bangalee Urban Female and Santal Rural Female, Bangalee Rural Male and Santal Urban Male, Bangalee Rural Male and Santal Urban female, Bangalee Rural Male and Santal Rural Male, Bangalee Rural Male and Santal Rural Females, all these cross-groupings was found statistically non-significant.

The above results showed major differences between groups of Bangalee and santals was evident specially between Bangalee rural female ( $M=95.95$ ), and all the groups of santal community. The mean values for santal urban female ( $M=88.88$ ), santal rural male ( $M=87.78$ ), santal rural female ( $M=87.30$ ) santal urban male ( $M=86.58$ ). The most remarkable characteristics of the findings were that all the santal groups scored lesser than the Bangalee rural female group in the VAS scale. A significant difference indicating a greater political efficacy of voting attitudes among Bangalee rural female group than all the santal groups combined.

### VAS



**Fig. 4: Histogram representing within-group comparisons between male and female Ss along the mid- point of the VAS for Bangalee and santal Ethnic Groups.**

### 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 Ethnic Group (Bangalee /santals), 2 levels of Residential background (urban/rural) and 2 levels of sex (Male/Female) 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 Ethnic Group, Residential background And Sex on the scores of conservatism-Radicalism Scale (C-R Scale).**

Source of variance	S. S	df	MS	F	P
Ethnic Group (A)	1602.52	1	1602.52	2.04	0.154185
Residential background (B)	7.93	1	7.93	0.01	0.920407
Sex (C)	6615.03	1	6615.03	8.41	0.003990**
A B	1447.32	1	1447.32	1.84	0.175907
A C	49.17	1	49.17	0.06	0.806653
B C	2994.15	1	2994.15	3.8	0.052126*
A B C	24.15	1	24.15	0.03	0.862600
Within Cell (Experimental error)	251823.41	320	786.95		
Total	64563.68	327			

p < 0.05,\*

p < 0.01\*\*

The results (table 15) reported the summary of factorial ANOVA involving Ethnic Group, Residential background and Sex on the scores of conservatism-radicalism Scale. It was found that main effects for Ethnic Group and Residential background were found statistically non-significant but in case of Sex, the results showed that the main effect (F-ratio) was highly statistically significant. Only a two-way interaction involving Residential background and sex was Significant. However, interactions involving Ethnic Group and sex and Residential background were found non-significant. A three-way interaction representing Ethnic Group, Residential background and Sex was also non-statistically significant.

### Main Effect

#### Ethnic Group

The ANOVA results (table 15) showed non-significant main effect for Ethnic Group ( $F, 1/320 = 2.04, P < 0.154$ ) on the scores of C-R Scale.

**Table 16: Showing overall mean scores and significant mean difference for Ethnic Group (N=160) on the scores of C-R Scales.**

Ethnic Group	Mean	N	S D	t-value	df	Level of significance
Bangalee	140.74	160	19.01	2.1476	318	0.01**
Santals	136.21	160	18.73			

$P < 0.05^*$

$p < 0.01^{**}$

The results (table 16) showed that regardless of Residential background and Sex, Bangalee Ss expressed significantly more conservative attitudes ( $t = 2.147, df = 318, P < 0.01$ ) as compared to santals Ss. It seems to indicate that Bangalee Ss ( $M = 140.74$ ) exhibited significantly more conservatism. santals ( $M = 136.21$ ) on the other hand, are found to appear as less conservative

attitudinal preferences. In a word, Socio-political attitudes in Bangalee Ss and santals Ss are different but One-dimensional. Bangalee Ss tend to move towards more conservative ideological orientations while santals Ss move towards lesser conservative ideological orientations.

### Residential background

The results (table 15) showed non-significant main effect for Residential background ( $F, 1/320 = 0.01, P=0.92$ ).

**Table 17: Showing overall mean scores and non-significant mean difference for Residential background (N=160) on the scores of C-R Scale.**

Residential background	Mean	N	S D	t-value	df	Level of significance
Urban	138.32	160	18.23	0.1500	318	0.88 n.s
Rural	138.64	160	19.76			

$P < 0.05^*$

$p < 0.01^{**}$

Regardless of Ethnic Group and Sex, the results indicated that rural Ss expressed more socio-political attitudes in the direction of conservatism as compared to urban Ss but the difference was not statistically significant ( $t = 0.150, df = 318, P=0.88n.s$ ). In other words, Rural Ss ( $M = 138.64$ ) exhibited more conservative orientation and Urban Ss ( $M = 138.32$ ) scored lower conservative orientation along conservatism-radicalism continuum (C-R scale).

### Sex

The results (table 15) showed significant main effect for Sex ( $F, 1/320 = 8.41 P < 0.01$ ).

**Table 18: Showing overall mean scores and significant mean difference for Sex (N= 160) on the scores of Conservatism-Radicalism Scale.**

Sex	Mean	N	S D	t-value	df	Level of significance
Male	143.08	160	20.04	4.465	318	0.001**
Female	133.88	160	16.68			

P<0.05\*

p <0.01\*\*

It was found that (table 18) irrespective of Ethnic Group and Residential background of the Ss, Sex was found to account for socio-political attitudes. The results revealed that male Ss expressed significantly more conservative attitudes ( $t = 4.465$ ,  $df = 318$ ,  $P < 0.01$ ) as compared to female Ss. The mid-point of the probable scores of the scale was (120). An inspection of mean scores showed that Male Ss ( $M=143.08$ ) exhibited conservative orientation. But Female Ss ( $M =133.88$ ), on the other hand, showed also a tended to move towards conservative ideological poles.

#### **Interaction Effect**

##### **Ethnic Group x Residential background x Sex**

The results (table 15) indicated that a three-way interaction representing Ethnic Group, Residential background x Sex was statistically no significant ( $F$ ,  $1/320 = 0.03$ ,  $P = n.s$ ).

**Table 19: Showing cell means and significant mean differences on various conditions of three-way interactions representing Ethnic Group,, Residential background x Sex ( N = 40 in each cell) in the scores of Conservatism-Radicalism scale.**

Groups		Mean	S D	t-value							
				a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h
B.U.M	a	144.13	19.17	0.71	0.37	2.93**	1.88	3.12**	0.67	2.99**	
B.U.F	b	141.35	15.11		1.106	2.54**	1.40	2.74**	1.506	2.60**	
B.R.M	c	145.78	20.29			3.23**	2.19*	3.43**	0.26	3.29**	
B.R.F	d	131.73	18.58				0.84	0.14	3.73**	0.01	
S.U.M	e	135.53	21.50					0.79	2.58**	0.87	
S.U.F	f	132.28	14.40						4.05**	0.71	
S.R.M	g	146.90	17.73								3.81**
S.R.F	h	131.65	18.02								

P < 0.05,\*

P < 0.01\*\*

In this section author tried to analyze the t-matrix to find out the similarities and the differences among the individual cells as the ANOVA produces in case of administering the of C-R scale. The author analyzed the data evolving from "within" and from "between" groups. The results (table 19) indicated that in case of Bangalee Ethnic Group, it was found that Bangalee rural male Ss scored significantly higher than Bangalee rural female Ss (t=3.23,df =78,p<0.01),Bangalee urban male scored significantly higher than Bangalee rural females ( t=2.93,df =78,p<0.01) and Bangalee urban female scored significantly higher than Bangalee rural female( t=2.54,df =78,p<0.01),, indicating a significant differences between Bangalee rural female and other groups of Bangalee urban male, Bangalee urban female and Bangalee rural male Ss. In this case both sex and residential background effect was evident.



An inspection of mean scores showed that Bangalee Rural Male Ss scored relatively higher (M=145.78) than the Bangalee Urban male Ss (M=144.13) in C-R followed by Bangalee urban Female Ss (M=141.35) and Bangalee rural Female Ss (M=131.73).

However, other groups within Bangalee did not differ significantly. In this group comparison within Bangalee, the scores of the groups of urban male and urban female, urban male and rural male, urban Female and rural Male was found similar (i.e the comparison groups did not differ significantly).

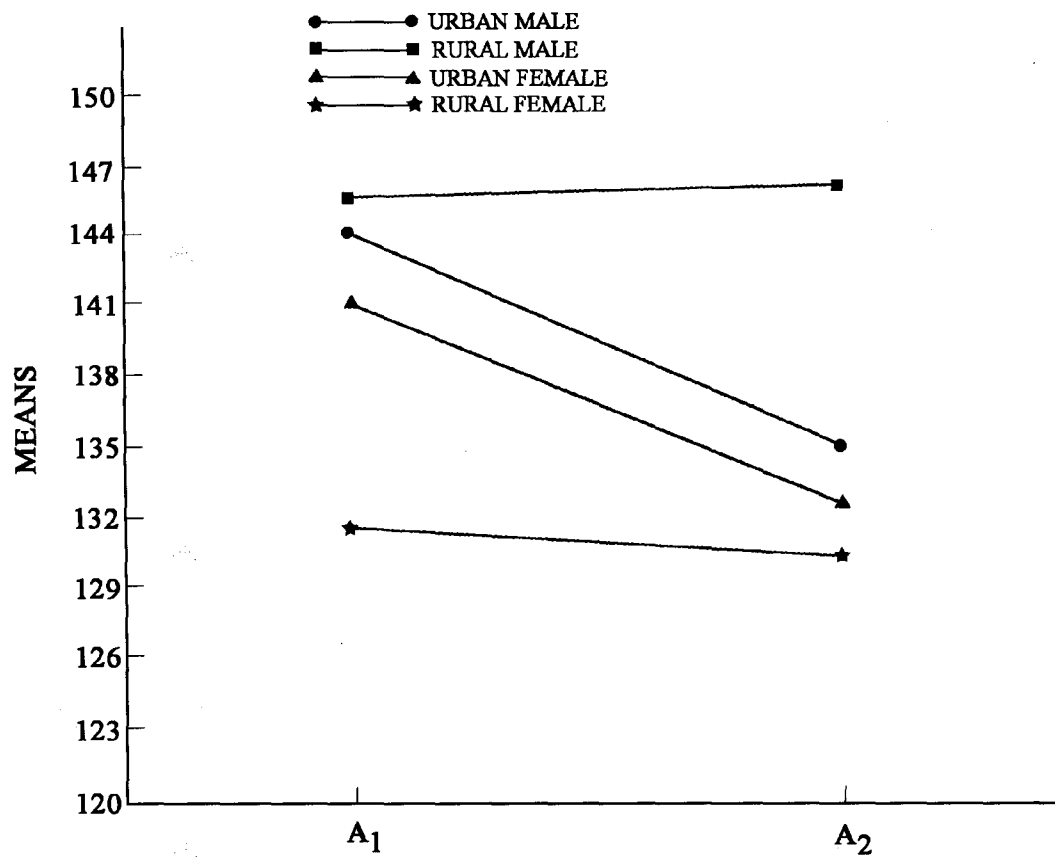
Regarding Santals Ethnic Group the results (Table 19) Showed that santal rural male Ss scored significantly higher than Santal Urban female Ss (( $t=4.05, df=78, p<0.01$ ), santal rural males scored significantly higher than santal rural female Ss (( $t=3.81, df=78, p<0.01$ ) and santal rural male Ss scored significantly higher than santal urban male Ss (( $t=2.58, df=78, p<0.01$ ).

In this case with santal groups the effects of both sex and residential background was prominent in the results of the C-R scale administration.

An inspection of mean scores showed that Santals rural male Ss (M=146.90) scored comparatively higher than santal urban male Ss (M=135.53) santal urban females (M=132.28) and santal rural female (M=131.65).

Regarding Santals Ethnic Groups the results (Table 19)

Showed that the difference between Santal Urban Male Ss and urban female Ss, urban male Ss and rural female Ss, urban female Ss and rural female Ss was not significant with the scores of C-R scale.



**Fig.5. Showing differences on various conditions of three way interactions representing Ethnic Group, residential background and sex on conservatism- Radicalism scale (C - R).**

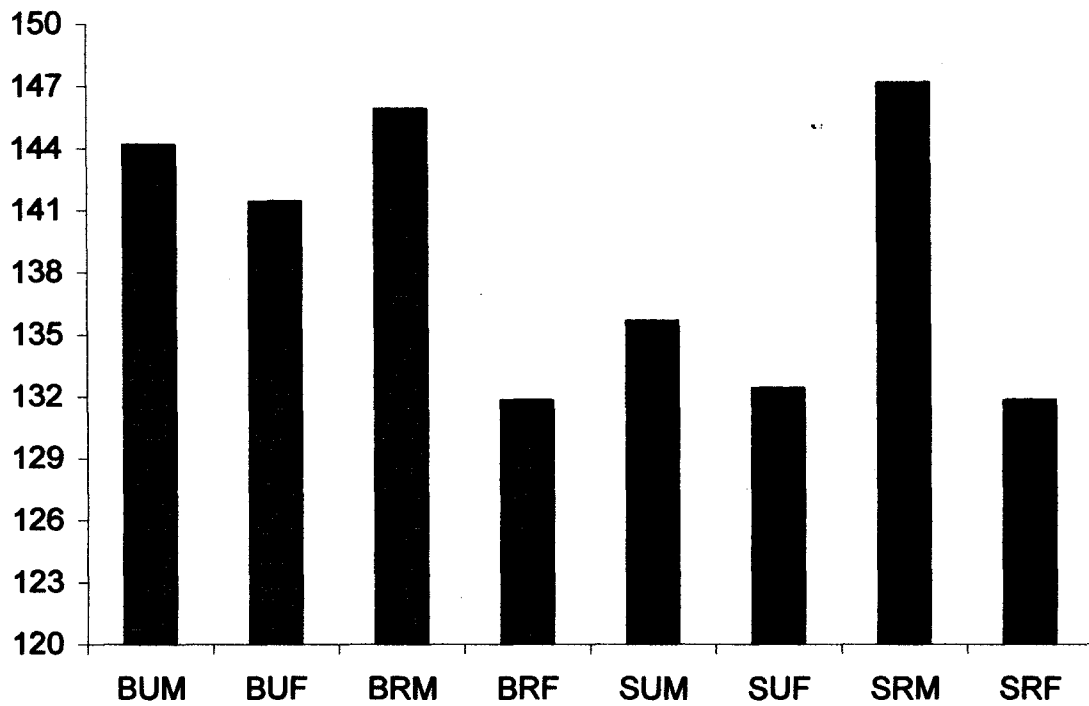
However, In case of comparisons between santal and Bangalee groups (i.e between groups) some significant differences were found between groups. Statistically significant difference were found between cross grouping comparisons of santal rural male and Bangalee rural female ( $t=3.73, df=78, p<0.01$ ), Bangalee Rural male and Santal Urban female ( $t=3.43, df=78, p<0.01$ ), Bangalee Rural male and Santal Rural female ( $t=3.29, df=78, p<0.01$ ), Bangalee urban male and Santal Urban Female ( $t=3.12, df=78, p<0.01$ ), Bangalee Urban Male and Santal Rural Female ( $t=2.99, df=78, p<0.01$ ), Bangalee Urban female and Santal Urban female ( $t=2.74, df=78, p<0.01$ ), Bangalee Urban female and Santal Rural female ( $t=2.60, df=78, p<0.01$ ) and begali rural male and santal urban male ( $t=2.19, df=78, p<0.01$ )

However the differences between, Bangalee Urban Male and Santal Urban male, Bangalee Urban male and Santal rural male, Bangalee Urban Female and Santal Urban male, Bangalee Urban Female and Santal Rural Male, Bangalee rural male and Santal Rural male, Bangalee Rural female and Santal Urban Male, Bangalee Rural female and Santal Urban female and Bangalee Rural female and Santal Rural female, all these cross-groupings was found statistically non-significant.

In the inter-group analysis of Bangalee and santals Ss, it was found that santal rural male scored ( $M=146.90$ ) and Bangalee rural male scored ( $M=145.78$ ), although both groups showed conservative attitudes, but they did not differ significantly. Irrespective of their Ethnic Group (i.e Bangalee/santal) rural males did not differ significantly. It indicates the presence of a homogeneous ideological orientations( i.e conservatism) among Bangalee and santal groups in rural areas.

Again, in case of female Ss santal urban female Ss scored ( $M=132.28$ ) slightly higher than Bangalee rural female Ss ( $M=131.75$ ), but did not differ significantly. Indicating that residential background produced minor effect upon attitudinal preferences among Bangalee rural female Ss and santal urban female Ss. Sex as Females, from urban and rural areas did not differ significantly in the conservative dimension of the scale.

### C-R Scale



**Fig. 6: Histogram representing within – group comparisons between male and female Ss along the mid- point of the C-R for Bangalee and santal Ethnic Groups.**

## SUMMARY OF THE MAIN FINDINGS

### Factorial ANOVA

Attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and Santals Scale (ATTCBBASS)

1. Regardless of Residential background and sex, Santals Ss expressed significantly more favorable attitudes towards the co-operation as compared to Bangalee Ss.
2. Regardless of Ethnic Group and Sex, Residential background (urban/rural) did not emerge as an important factor in the study of attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and Santals .
3. Regardless of Ethnic Group and Residential background, the overall means scores showed that the male Ss expressed comparatively higher attitudinal preference towards the co-operation as compared to the female Ss.
4. A three-way interaction representing Ethnic Group, Residential background and sex was statistically non- significant.

It was found that, for Bangalee groups, rural male Ss scored relatively higher than other groups like, Urban Female Ss in ATTCBBASS followed by rural female Ss and Urban male Ss. For Santals groups, Urban males Ss scored relatively higher in ATTCBBASS than the other groups like, Rural female Ss, Urban female Ss and Rural male Ss.

### **Voting attitude scale (VAS)**

5. Regardless of Residential background and Sex Bangalee Ss scored higher than santal Ss and differed Significantly on Voting attitudes scale.
6. Regardless of Ethnic Group and sex, Residential background emerged as less important factor in the study of voting attitudes. It was found that urban Ss showed no significant difference in preference for voting attitudes in comparison to rural Ss.
7. Irrespective of Ethnic Group and Residential background of the Ss, sex failed to account for differential voting attitudes. The overall mean scores showed that the female Ss expressed more attitudinal preferences towards voting as compared to the male Ss.
8. A three-way interaction involving Ethnic Group (Bangalee/santal), Residential background (urban-rural) and sex (Male/Female) was also statistically non-significant.

It was found that, for Bangalee groups, Rural Female Ss scored relatively higher than other groups like, urban male Ss in VAS followed by Urban female Ss and Rural male Ss. For Santals groups, Urban Female Ss scored relatively higher in VAS than the other groups like, rural male Ss, Rural Female Ss and Urban male Ss.

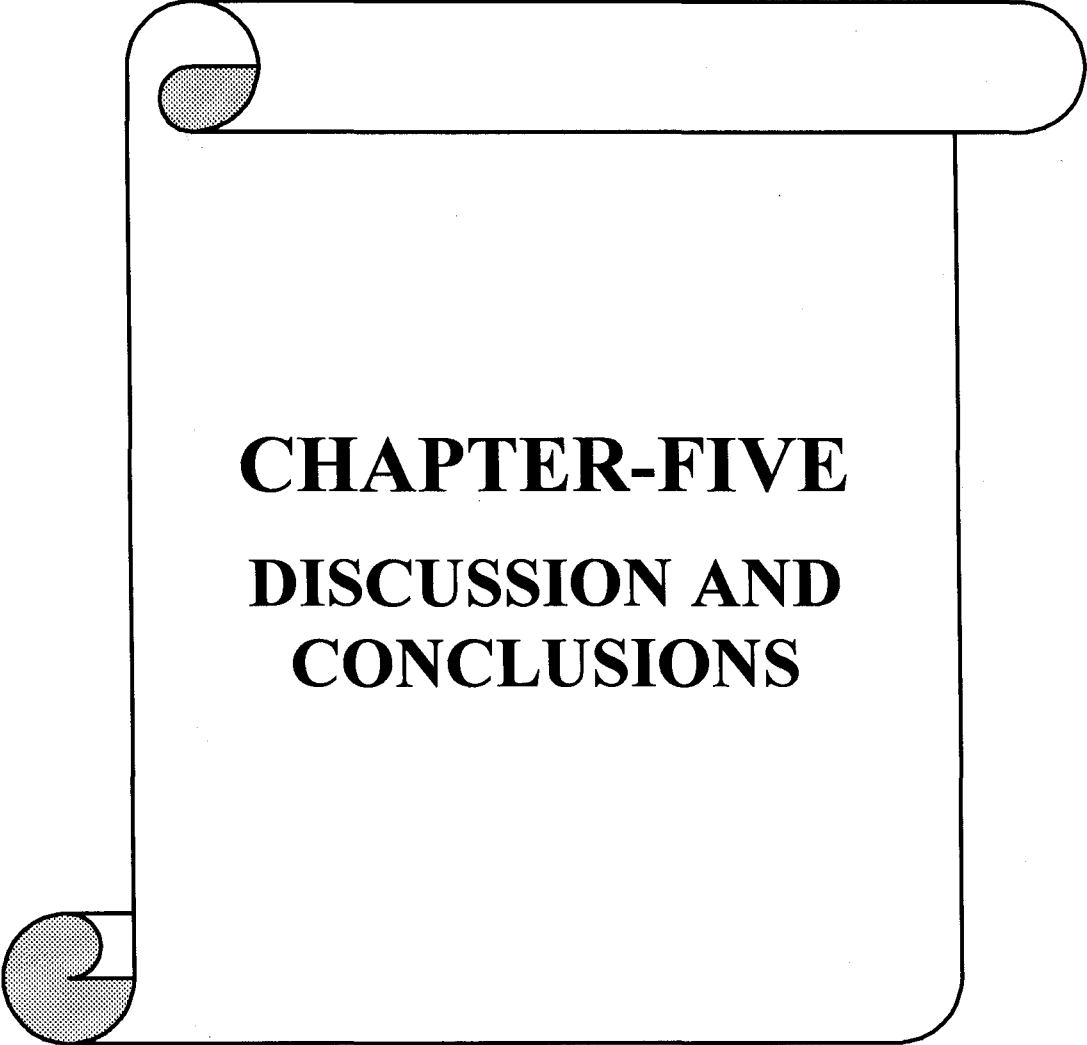
### **Conservatism-Radicalism scale (C-R)**

9. Regardless of Residential background and Sex, Bangalee Ss expressed significantly more conservative attitudes as compared to santals Ss.
10. Regardless of Ethnic Group and Sex, the results indicated that rural Ss expressed more socio-political attitudes in the direction of conservatism as compared to urban Ss but the difference among them was not statistically significant.

11. It was found that irrespective of Ethnic Group and Residential background of the Ss, Sex was found to account for socio-political attitudes. The results revealed that male Ss expressed significantly more conservative attitudes as compared to female Ss.
12. A three-way interaction representing Ethnic Group, Residential background and Sex was also non- statistically significant

Irrespective of their Ethnic Group (i.e Bangalee/santal) rural males did not differ significantly. It indicates the presence of a homogeneous ideological orientations (i.e. conservatism) among Bangalee and santal groups in rural areas.

Also, Indicating that residential back-ground produced minor effect upon attitudinal preferences (C-R) among Bangalee rural female Ss and santal urban female Ss. Sex as Females, from urban and rural areas did not differ significantly in the conservative dimension of the scale.



**CHAPTER-FIVE**  
**DISCUSSION AND**  
**CONCLUSIONS**



## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Bengalees and santals are the resident neighbors for a longer period of times. There is a history of both co-operation and confrontation between these two communities. All point to the importance of understanding the complex issues of Bangalee-santal relations in Bangladesh. But without a comparison between the two apparently rival groups, a study of any one group alone remain incomplete.

All communities living in a country, 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. Although, religious differences historically seem to accentuate conflicts and erect more impermeable barriers, tribal and linguistic variations do some damage also.

There is a vast literature on the meaning and measurement of attitudes in the discipline of psychology. Whereas some researchers use the term attitudes to refer to any self-reported feelings (i.e. affective responses) about learning or education, other researchers may understand the term attitudes to refer to only evaluative responses.

The literature also reflects the complex relationships between attitudes and behavior or action. Just as changing attitudes is not the same as changing behaviours; particular behavioral patterns do not necessarily reflect underlying attitudes. Morris, et. al, (1999) point out that the relationship between knowledge, attitudes and behaviour is not straightforward or fully understood, and that this limits the value of research into attitudes to learning. Identifying causality in the relationships between attitudes and behaviour is difficult because in many cases the attitudes and behaviours may be symptomatic of other underlying factors.

The difficulty of measuring attitudes in any consistent and rigorous way is reflected in the literature, with most studies either using simple questionnaires (eg Likert-type scales for agreeing with particular statements) with large numbers of subjects or more complex interview schedules with only small numbers of subjects. The cost of longitudinal studies of significant numbers of learners is high. These issues may be one reason some researchers have recently turned to the concept of motivation as more useful than attitudes (see for example Russell 1999, Smith & Spurling, 2001).

Research on attitudes in the 1960s and 1970s explored the general relationship between learning and attitude change. A key outcome of this was that learning, by definition, affects attitudes because an individual must acquire new knowledge or re-examine existing knowledge or beliefs if they are to change their attitudes. Some of the specific findings in the literature from that period are:

Experiential learning through co-existence was found to be the most influential on the attitudes of adults (Rogers, 1969)

It is a theoretical not empirical question whether attitudes are changed by cognitive influences or affective factors but there is general agreement that attitude changes takes place when existing beliefs or attitudes are challenged by new knowledge or experiences. The change occurs to resolve the difference between the existing and the new knowledge or experiences.

In the activity sphere, self-efficacy is a combination of beliefs about two things: natural ability and the perceived ability to work hard at a task. A previous experience of an activity that has been judged by the others as a success will result in an enhanced sense of the worker's natural ability and ability to work hard, thus enhancing their feeling of self-efficacy in relation to cooperation, and perhaps also in other domains of life (e.g. work, maintaining social networks) Hautamaki, et. al, (2001) in their work on a framework for assessing a child's learning-to-learn ability have incorporated a range of self-

related beliefs. As is often the case with social research on complex issues such as the relationship between attitudes and behaviour, the research does not provide clear-cut unequivocal answers. Instead there is a range of results depending on the specific research questions investigated. This is particularly true for research involving attitudes due to the lack of a consensus on how to define or measure attitudes. Much of the research reviewed fails to identify which approach to attitudes is being adopted.

There does not appear to have been a strong interest among researchers or policy makers in developing market segments or typologies based on attitudes to cooperation. There is no evidence that any attitudinal scales are in use in other jurisdictions in relation to attitudes to co-operation.

However, there are several general conclusions, which arise from the research reviewed. These conclusions are based on a reading of the literature not primary research and therefore any interventions should be based on a more detailed reading of the literature and where possible research in the local environment.

In discussing the results mainly the Factorial ANOVA showed that in Attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and santal scale (ATTCBBASS), Regardless of residential background and Sex, Santals Ss expressed significantly more favorable attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and santal as compared to Bangalee Ss. But, Regardless of Ethnic group and Sex, Residential background did not emerge as an important factor in the study of Attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalees and santals. Urban Ss showed no significant difference in preference for attitudes towards the co-operation between Bangalee and santal in comparison to rural Ss. Again, Regardless of Ethnic group and Residential background; the Male Ss expressed comparatively higher attitudinal preference towards co-operation as compared to the female Ss. A three-way interaction representing Ethnic group, Residential background and sex was statistically non-significant.

In other words, the interest in issues on Bangalee-santal relationship seems to play a vital role in santal subjects to form favorable attitudes about the various issues of the minority-majority relationship. Subjects who are apathetic to the attitudes of the santals, on the other hand are not interested about the outcome of a healthy Bangalee-santal interactions and as such they seldom become involved in activities leading to the expression of comparatively less favorable attitudes about Bangalee-santal relations. Here both the groups scored higher than the scale's mid-point of 69, indicating a positive orientation towards healthy co-operation. Regardless of Ethnic group and Residential background, the Male Ss with expressed comparatively higher attitudinal preference towards co-operation as compared to the female Ss. This was indicative of the fact male Ss aspire differentially for a co-operative relationship between santal and Bangalee. But interestingly both of scores fall at the positive side of the continuum.

Though the study was basically exploratory in nature three specific predictions were made for the study.

#### **Finding related attitudes towards co-operation between bangalee and santals**

Firstly, it was hypothesized that santal group of Ss would have higher scores on the "attitude towards the co-operation between Bangalee and santal scale" rds as compared to Bangalee group of Ss in Bangladesh. This prediction was supported by the results of the study. The main effect of Ethnic group showed that regardless of Residential background and sex, Santal Ss expressed significantly more favorable attitude towards co-operation between Bangalee and santal as compared to Bangalee Ss. This has been explicitly expressed in three-way interactions involving Ethnic group, residential background and sex. These findings have provided empirical supports to the hypothesis that santal Ss would have higher scores on the "attitude towards the co-operation between Bangalee and santal scale" as compared to Bangalee 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; Hew stone 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 inter-group attitudes is 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 inter-group 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.

### **Findings related to voting attitude**

Secondly, it was hypothesized that Bangalee group of Ss would have higher scores on the voting attitude scale as compared to Santal group of Ss in Bangladesh. This prediction was supported by the results of the study. The main effect of Ethnic group showed that regardless of Residential background and sex, Bangalee Ss expressed significant difference in favorable attitude towards voting as compared to Santal 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 Ethnic groups, sex and socio-economic status the scores of voting attitude scale.

These findings have provided empirical supports to the hypothesis that Bangalee group of Ss would have higher scores on the voting attitude scale as compared to santal 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 minority Ss might be considered as providing empirical verification to earlier studies.

This is evident from the findings that Bangalee Ss favored the act of voting in higher level of attitudes with its santal counterpart. This seems to indicate the level of differential 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 Bangalee and Santal individuals including Urban and rural residential backgrounds and the status of sex as males and females.

An overall finding of the results showed that Bangalee Ss expressed significantly more conservatism as compared to Santal Ss. Alternately, stated that Bangalee individuals emerged as groups who were found to exhibit still more conservative attitudes towards ethnic, social and national issues, (C-R Scale).



Rural Ss expressed more socio-political attitudes than urban Ss in the direction of conservatism regardless of Ethnic group and sex, but did not differ significantly.

The results also reported that Male Ss expressed Significantly more conservatism attitudes of Ethnic group and Residential background.

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.

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 group, Residential Background and sex 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 the nature of co-operative attitudes between Bengalese and santals with special reference to naogaon district of Bangladesh. Its main focus was on the socio-political attitudes of co-operation between Bangalee and santal, their 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 Bangalee-santal Ethnic group, male-female categorization and urban-rural residential backgrounds. The results revealed differential preferences in attitudes toward co-operation, voting attitudes, and conservatism-radicalism ideological stance. The findings showed that becoming a Bangalee majority or santal minority holding certain types attitudes, ideological orientation may be shared by the attitudes toward a healthy co-operative minority-majority relations. It was through reviews that a lack of positive contact between two Ethnic groups may lead to atrophic 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) Cross-culture (2) Psycho-social (3) Socio-economic (4) Ethno-political elements in social, and group interactions.

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 (attitudes toward co-operation, 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**

There are studies 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 Bangalee majority and santal 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 center 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 center 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, santal minority groups are concentrated in a particular geographical area or region but 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 santal and Bangalee 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 reinforce 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. 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**

On interpreting the 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 minorities 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 21st 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 manipulability 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 Bengalese. The political parties and politicians in Bangladesh to consolidate their power base have used Bengali and Bangladeshi nationalism as a tool. 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.

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 co-operation between Bengalese and santals with special reference to naogaon districts of 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 naogaon districts only. The ethnic representation could be achieved by a proper randomization and stratification of sample representing Bangladesh. It was a purposive sample. This kind sample fall short of wider generalizations. The kind of generalization here lacking the some demographic representation of naogaon districts of Bangladesh. ON the other hand, people of santal community from different districts of Bangladesh and different states of India remained unrepresented.

Secondly, there was other factor like religion was not taken into consideration. As some of them are Santals, some are Christians, and Buddhists.

Thirdly, the division of socio-economic status as upper and lower class might be considered as a factor, having deep social base of understanding a human. 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 Bangalee and santal in Bangladesh. In spite of these limitations, it was 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 co-operation of Bangalee groups as compared with that of the santal groups, and the subsequent changes ethnic relations.

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**REFERENCE**

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