

A Comparative Study between Majority and Minority group on Liberalism-Conservatism Attitudes in Bangladesh

A Dissertation Submitted for the Degree of Ph. D. in Psychology

**Under the Supervision of
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June, 2013**

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ABSTRACT

The present study attempted at investigating the similarities and differences of liberalism-conservatism attitudes of majority and minority groups as related to gender and socio-economic status differences within the framework of socio cultural background in Bangladesh. The study has been developed under the theoretical framework of (i) Realistic Group Conflict Theory; (ii) Social Identity Theories; (iii) Social In Group and Out Group Model; (iv) Psychoanalytic Approaches; (v) Sociological Approaches; (vi) Liberalism - Conservatism Approach; and (vii) Rotter's Social Learning Theory and Internal - External Control of Personality. All these theoretical interpretation have been utilized and integrated in order to show similarities and differences of liberalism-conservatism attitudes of majority (Muslim) and minority (Hindu) groups in Bangladesh.

The present study used a multidimensional correlation approach with a criterion group design. The study was conducted in two phases. In the first phase, criterion groups of majority (Muslim) and minority (Hindu) were selected on the basis of their personal information sheet and religious affiliation. Majority (Muslim) and minority (Hindu) further subdivided into male and female on the basis of their personal information sheet. These were again subdivided into upper middle SES and lower middle SES on the basis of their SES criteria questionnaire. This criterion group design has been utilized for distinguishing

differences and similarities of liberalism-conservatism attitudes as related to personality variables and socio-economic status for this study.

In the second phase, the criterion groups were given measures of (i) Liberalism-conservatism attitude, (ii) Majority-minority attitude, (iii) personality and (iv) Demographic variables. Socio-demographic information included occupation, annual income and education questionnaire.

The study utilized a sample comprised of majority (Muslim) and minority (Hindu) groups which were drawn from Dhaka and Rajshahi cities. Each group was composed of 120 respondents equally divided into Muslim and Hindu. Again these groups were subdivided into male and female. Furthermore, these groups were subdivided into upper middle SES and lower middle SES. Thus the total respondents were 240 Ss.

The main objective of the study was to find out the similarities and differences in majority-minority attitudes, liberalism-conservatism attitudes and internality, powerful others and chance with reference to gender and SES of Muslim and Hindu ethnic groups of Bangladesh. Some specific objectives of the study are as follows:

- i. To study the patterns of similarities and differences in majority-minority attitudes as a function of ethnicity.
- ii. To study the patterns of differences and similarities in liberalism-conservatism attitude with reference to ethnicity.
- iii. To study patterns of similarities and differences in certain personality variables including internality, powerful others and chance as related to ethnicity.

- iv. To study the differences and similarities in majority-minority attitudes with reference to gender.
- v. To study differences and similarities in liberalism-conservatism attitude with reference to gender.
- vi. To study differences and similarities in certain personality variables i.e. internality, powerful others and chance with reference to gender.
- vii. To study differences and similarities in majority-minority attitudes with reference to SES.
- viii. To study differences and similarities in liberalism-conservatism attitude with reference to SES.
- ix. To study differences and similarities in certain personality variables i.e. internality, powerful others and chance with reference to SES.

Analysis of data has been divided into two parts. In the first part, in each computation a 2x2x2 factorial design involving two levels of group composition (majority and minority), two levels of gender (male and female) and two levels of SES (upper middle SES and lower middle SES) were used.

In the second part, bi-serial correlations through product moment method were computed to find out the similarities of majority-minority, male-female, and upper middle SES-lower middle SES on the variables of liberalism-conservatism attitude, majority-minority attitude and personality. Again, in this part, inter-variable correlations were computed to find out the differential pattern of relationship among the variables for

the majority group and minority group separately. Finally, a summary of main finding is given for an overall view of the results.

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

- H₁:** Majority group would express significantly more liberal attitude as compared to minority group.
- H₂:** Males would express significantly more liberal attitude as compared to their female counterpart.
- H₃:** Upper middle SES individuals would express significantly more liberal attitude as compared to lower middle SES individuals.
- H₄:** Majority group would express significantly more favorable attitude toward majority-minority relationship as compared to minority group.
- H₅:** Males would express significantly more favorable attitude toward majority-minority relationship as compared to their female counterpart.
- H₆:** Upper middle SES individuals would express significantly more favorable attitude toward majority-minority relationship as compared to lower middle SES individuals.
- H₇:** Majority group would express significantly more internality as compared to minority group.
- H₈:** Males would express significantly more internality as compared to their female counterpart.
- H₉:** Upper middle SES individuals would express significantly more internality as compared to lower middle SES individuals.

H₁₀: Minority group would achieve significantly higher scores on powerful others and chance sub-scales as compared to majority group.

H₁₁: Females would achieve significantly higher scores on powerful others and chance sub-scales as compared to their male counterpart.

H₁₂: Lower middle SES individuals would achieve significantly higher scores on powerful others and chance sub-scales as compared to upper middle SES individuals.

The findings of the results strongly supported the predictions. It showed that regardless of gender and SES, majority group expressed significantly more liberal, more favourable attitude toward majority minority relationship, more internality, to achieve lower scores on powerful others and chance sub scale as compared to minority group. Again, regardless of group composition and SES, male Ss significantly expressed more liberal, more favourable attitude toward majority minority relationship, more internality, achieved lower scores on powerful others and chance sub scales as compared to their female counterpart. Moreover, regardless of group composition and gender, upper middle SES Ss expressed significantly more liberal, more favourable attitude toward majority minority relationship, more internality, achieved lower scores on powerful others and chance sub scales as compared to lower middle SES Ss.

The findings of the present study are explainable by the theoretical interpretation of realistic group conflict theory; social identity theories; social in group and out group model; psychoanalytic approaches;

sociological approaches; liberalism - conservatism approach; and Rotter's social learning theory and internal - external control of personality.

An attempt has been made to investigate these approaches into new theoretical perspective in which liberalism-conservatism attitude have been moderated by the personality characteristics and demographic factors that jointly shaped the majority-minority attitude. The study have emphasized that socio-cultural factors instead of socio-demographic factors are the determinants of liberalism-conservatism attitudes in the present context of Bangladesh.

Dedicated
To My
Late Parents & Brother

DECLARATION

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

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

Name of the Candidate:

(Chaya Bhattacharjee)

Date:

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled “**A Comparative Study between Majority and Minority group on Liberalism-Conservatism Attitudes in Bangladesh**” submitted by **Chaya Bhattacharjee** was done under my supervision and constitute her own work.

June, 2013

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I lovingly dedicate this thesis to my late parents and brother.

(Chaya Bhattacharjee

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The present study concerned with the assessment of ethnic relations between Muslim majority and the Hindu minority in socio-cultural context of Bangladesh on the continuum of liberalism-conservatism attitudes. To compare the liberalism-conservatism attitudes between majority groups of Muslims and the minority groups of Hindus, some demographic variables like gender and socioeconomic status were taken into consideration for a clear understanding of the statistical analysis.

Now a brief discussion of the majority and minority relations in different countries including Bangladesh who are known as the ethnic minority and majority groups are given in the following sections.

In the last decade of the 20th century most states in the region have faced an intensification of the ethnic and religious consciousness of their various constituent groups causing political instability .In most Middle Eastern areas, religion and ethnicity are interchangeable markers of identity. There are many cultural similarities between the various groups at the level of popular religion and folk customs - however, in spite of similarities there are real differences that mark people as members of the one or other community in the eyes of their compatriots. Whilst public signs of hostility are not frequent, collective action can quickly change from cooperation to competition and hostility under crisis conditions proper understanding of

the diversity based on religion and number could be achieved by multi-dimensional approaches to the problems.

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

In all inter-communal relations that have developed over many centuries there is an element of prejudice, misconceptions, stereotypes and hostility that is passed down from generation to generation, and within which the majority cyclically uses the minority as a convenient scapegoat. Whilst these may lie latent for long periods of apparent harmony, times of stress, economic and political crises, or military defeats, 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 attitudes which becomes the focal cause to be feared as the bearer of all negative characteristics namely 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 now a day is much different from the 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" (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.

1.1 Ethnic minorities:

"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". (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 1994). This definition is based on their reformulation of the definition by the Council of Europe Commission for Democracy.

1.2 Race and Ethnicity

A race is a category of people who have been singled out as inferior or superior, often on the bases of real or alleged physical characteristics such as skin color, hair texture, eye shape or other subjectively selected attributes (Kendall, 2003). Although disputed by some natural scientists, contemporary sociologists emphasize that the significance of race is a

socially constructed. The social meaning of that people attach to race is more significant than any biological differences that might exist between people placed in otherwise arbitrary categories. Racial categories based on phenotypical differences do not correlate with genotypic differences.

An ethnic group is a collection of people distinguished primarily by cultural or national characteristics, including unique cultural traits a sense of community, a feeling of ethnocentrism ascribed membership of 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 that affects other people's lives including educational and occupational chances, choice of residence, life chances in general.

1.3 Majority and minority groups

A majority is the socio-cultural dominant group that occupies an advantaged position in society and thus they have 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.

1.4 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 this definition is based on their reformulation of the definition by the Council of Europe Commission for Democracy.

Ethnic relations and stereotypes in the contemporary states nowadays it's almost impossible to imagine state that would be homogeneous ethnically. Representatives of many nations are living together in modern society. They differ from each other. During the progress of social thought different theories have been created in order to explain the reasons of ethnic peculiarities. These differences were related to genetically determined characteristics, anthropological and physical trait of the people, geographical living conditions. The theories of recent years explain those differences by historically arisen economic, social and cultural conditions of existence. National peculiarities are not forever and absolute, they are changing in the course of the history.

Ethnic groups are not isolated; they are interacting with each other. This interaction is deeply influenced by so-called "ethnic stereotypes". One

ethnic group has its own image of other groups. These images are formed in the process of “stereotype”. 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.

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 etc.

The issues related to ethnic groups, nations, national minorities, are important part of contemporary society, and they are connected to social, political, psychological spheres. Ethnic relations, the problems related to them and the ways of their solution are the target for specialist of various spheres. The majority draws clear boundaries around it and identifies all non-members as hostile outsiders. Not satisfied with its dominant position, it sees the mirror-image group as a potential threat to its own existence and a convenient scapegoat and target for conspiracy theories that totally ignore reality. Xenophobia develops against the minority, accepting unquestioningly all baseless accusations of aggravation, provocation,

conspiracy, collaboration and intrigue, and these perceptions and fears become real to the masses 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.

Understanding of group behavior cannot be completed without some consideration of relations between groups. One of the most intensively investigated areas of inter-group relations is attitudes toward ethnic minorities. In more recent years, attention has been increasingly focused upon more general problems of inter-group conflict and its resolution and inter-group relation.

There are essentially three problems under-laying inter-group relations. One problem is unfavorable attitudes arise toward out-group. Second, concerns the principles that explain the continuation of unfavorable attitudes. A third pertains to the factors that contribute to these attitudes in a favorable direction. The present study concern with the majorities attitudes toward minorities in a favorable direction.

1.5 Nature of Inter-group Relation

The inter-group relation depends upon two aspects – prejudice and discrimination.

Prejudice is an attitude of inter-group relation that predisposes a person to think, perceive, feel and act in favorable and unfavorable toward a group or its individual's numbers. Discrimination is the differential treatment of individuals considered to belong to a particular social group (Williams, 1947). This function is ordinarily the overt behavioral expression of

prejudice. It is the categorical treatment of a person because of his membership in a particular group.

In general, the individual so treated is desired some privilege or right that is accorded to other members of society.

Group conflict is a broader term than prejudice or discrimination. Group may express overt hostility toward one another or they may engage in a struggle for prestige and power. This nature of inter-group relations is explainable through the following theories.

1.6 Differential Theoretical Approaches of the Study

1.6.1. Realistic Group Conflict Theory:

This theory was first formulated by Muzafer Sherif (1966), 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, (the two groups had to compete with each other in a tournament of games like football, tug-of-war) 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 in 1966 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, 1966) 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 she/he aspires to relate him/herself psychologically. A membership group, on the other hand, is a group of which the individual is (in actuality) willingly or unwillingly a member. Quite frequently, some people's reference group happens to be different from their membership group. In that case, they are considered troublemakers by the latter, for they behave according to the norms of the former. The loyalty of such individuals lies with their reference group, and, hence, they are distrusted by their membership group. This incongruence can be observed in almost every conflict between a majority and an ethno cultural minority.

1.6.2. 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 in psychology (Hutnik, N., 1991).

Another important social identity theorist is Tajfel (1981) who observed in his 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 (1972) 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, 1978). In fact, Tajfel (1972) has observed that minority members may exhibit high levels of self-hatred. How do minority members confront this problem?

1.6.3. 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) (Huttnik, 1991).

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

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

Taylor and McKirnan (1984) identify five stages:

(i) Strictly stratified 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.

1.6.4. Psychodynamic Theories

The most important representatives of the psychoanalytic approach to inter-group conflict are the Study of Mind and Human Interaction of the University of Virginia (Harris, 1994).

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.

1.6.5. 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 et al. (1953) elaborated on this by proposing that such "ethnocentrism" was not a universal phenomenon and attempted to specify just who it was that became excessively enamored 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.

1.7 Group Identity Studies

There are of course some studies in the group dynamics tradition that do allow the connection between in group and out group attitudes (Turner, 1978; Brewer & Collins, 1981; 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 favor 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 out-groups. Yet how can it when attitudes to the two are unrelated?

As other evidence (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. 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 a 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 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.

1.8 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 any attempt to summarize them here would be superfluous. What stands out from the Messick & Mackie (1989) review, however, is that neither Messick & Mackie (1989) nor those they review seem to show any awareness of the certainly surprising but by now well-replicated finding that in-group and out-group 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.

1.9 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

(Gallois, Callan & Parslow, 1982; Houser, 1979; Newman, Liss & Sherman, 1983). They also have considerable truth value (Triandis & Vassiliou, 1967; Bond, 1986; Berry, 1970).

In other words, stereotypes are simply stages in a series of successively more accurate appraisals of people. They are simply instances of that great human skill, categorization and generalization. Human beings will generate hypotheses (stereotypes) on the scantiest of information (Read, 1983; Eisenberg, 1968). Thus stereotypes are temporarily useful tools, not mental fixations. Many psychology text books would say that stereotyping may be involved in the formation of racist attitudes but stereotyping is a step in the formation of all attitudes. It can be said 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 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 (1975) 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.

1.10 Attribution 'Error' in Racial Judgments

There are those who argue 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..

1.11 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 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. (Christie & Jahoda, 1954, Titus & Hollander, 1957, Rokeach, 1960, Brown, 1965, McKinney, 1973, Altemeyer, 1981 and Ray & Lovejoy, 1983) To continue to accept the theory, they 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.

There certainly is a lot of evidence which appears to support it but Altemeyer (1981) and others (Ray, 1973; 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).

1.12 Symbolic racism

Perhaps the most current theory of racial sentiment among psychologists in the U.S.A. at the present time is a loose group of ideas that are generally subsumed under the name "Symbolic racism". At its most general the proposition seems to be that racist policy decisions can be at least ostensibly supported by otherwise generally commendable major societal values. At their crudest such theories recognize that opposition to "busing" might be justified not in terms of opposition to racial integration but rather in terms of opposition to coercion over educational choices generally. The

idea seems to be that racism can be in some sense "underground", covert or at least unacknowledged. This seems to lead to the conclusion that racism does not have to be overt or easily attackable in order to be effective.

In one sense all this seems hard to disagree with, Nonetheless there remain several conceptual confusions and evidential deficiencies in the theory that are rather well dealt with by authors such as Weigel & Howes (1985). These authors effectively show that this "new" (symbolic) racism is in fact not really different from the "old" (overt) forms of racism. In other words, those who dislike members of other ethnic groups have always been able to offer justifications for their views that accord with then-current cultural values. The theory is, then, interesting only insofar as it is inchoate.

1.13 Sociological Approaches

1.13.1. Sociological theories

Studlar (1979) conducted a large study of a sample of the general population of Great Britain in which he claimed to be able to test the entire major sociological and psychological theories of racial conflict that were current in British academe at that time. He found that all his predictor variables combined explained only a minute percentage of the variance in racism. He also alluded to other studies with similar results. Despite its plethora of theory, therefore, sociology has little to offer in the way of confirmed predictions. Theorists such as Banton (1983) or Hechter (1986) who say that racial antagonism can be a realistic response to economic rivalry are almost certainly correct but such sources of racism appear in general to be very minor ones. They leave most of the variance still to be explained.

1.13.2. 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 confirms 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 which 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". 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 (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 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); Taylor & Guimond (1978); Byrne, Clore & Smeaton (1986); Marin & Salazar (1985); Ray (1983a); Lydon, Jamieson & Zanna (1988); Mann (1958); Newcomb (1956); Byrne & McGraw (1964); Singh (1972); 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 subset of the theory is studied. One of the best-known treatments of the subject in the literature of psychology exemplifies this. Rokeach (1960) tested the theory that "belief congruence" aided interracial amity. Culture is, however, much more than beliefs. Customs, attitudes, education, dress and cuisine are just some of the other more obvious elements. It should not surprise us therefore if most of the supportive findings in the literature show effects of modest magnitude. It is congruence across the board that is relevant -- not congruence in just one or two areas. This is, of course not meant to be any criticism of Rokeach. The Rokeach theory has, of course, had its critics. Many of these were, however, answered in a much-cited paper by Stein, Hardyck & Smith (1965). These authors show that the process of racial stereotyping is much more sophisticated than is commonly imagined. It is in fact a process of moving towards successively more and more accurate generalizations as the information available improves. As contact with and information about the stimulus persons improves, we come more and more to base our evaluations of them on such things as the degree to which they share our values (or attitudes or beliefs or orientations generally). And culture is just one of the major influential factors on our values.

1.13.3. Interpersonal Contact

Ray 1983 and Ford (1986), have shown that 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 Vaid-Razada, 1983; 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 (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, while these differences have of course been the subject of much bitter and highly political controversy but the evidence for modal differences in personality between blacks and whites is now extensive (Jones, 1978 & 1979; Lineberger & Calhoun, 1983 and Warr, Banks & Ullah, 1985). People of African ancestry seem generally to be more confident and aggressive than whites. That people should dislike those who are more aggressive than themselves is of course very unsurprising. One certainly does not need to invoke IQ differences to explain why whites tend to dislike blacks. Why black and white cultures (or gene pools) produce different degrees of aggressiveness and confidence in their members would, however, seem worthy of research. Note also that if differences in personality are found to be a major cause of black- white animosity then that would be to disconfirm the Rokeach theory while at the same time supporting culture-conflict theory more generally. Beliefs and personality are not the same but both can surely be influenced by culture. They found that belief congruence was a more powerful influence on liking than was race. In other words, superficial racial characteristics such

as skin color 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 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. 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 (Rogers & Prentice-Dunn, 1981; Howitt & Owusu-Bempah, 1990; Allen & Macey, 1990).

1.13.4. 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 1954) which leads to the argument that if prejudice is misinformed stereotyping of another race, and 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. 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 (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. On the other hand; studies have found a consistent negative association between local black population size and whites’ racial attitudes or from a political struggle for power and domination. (Blalock 1967)

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 (Siegel and Welch 1956) or interactions with cross-race neighbors (Siegel and Welch 1956). 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. 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 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.

1.14 Liberalism - Conservatism Approach

Murphy, Murphy & Newcomb (1937) did a comprehensive study as to the conceptual structure of attitude and its correlation to personality. In essence, the approach to personality was analytic and descriptive in nature

which was called trait psychology. Traits were conceived to be highly generalized, dynamic and directive dispositions, hierarchically organized, subject to modification by experience and predisposition in nature. Hence the assumption was made that the possession of certain traits could predispose the individual to the adoption of certain general attitudes towards the social and political world around him. The trait-attitude correlational approach attempts to combine personality characteristics to sociopolitical attitudes. Believing that sociopolitical attitude in the individual derives from general principles of personality, different investigators advanced several approaches to its study.

The relationship of liberalism-conservatism with certain traits of personality has been studied by early investigations (Vetter, 1930-31; Dexter 1938-39; Murphy, Murphy and Newcomb, 1937). Murphy et al. (1937) reasoned that radicalism requires a capacity to disengage oneself from the pressures of society. Unless one can do this, one cannot rebel. This capacity for disengagement might be inherent in the introvert personality. Murphy et al. used several measures to show that the introvert would be more likely to exhibit radicalism than the extrovert. They constructed liberalism scales were based on common sense principle. Items being chosen from current social definitions of what were radical and what was conservative. Items were retained in a battery on the basis of highly empirical techniques of item analysis. The Liberalism scale and two batteries of Introvert-Extrovert scale were administered to a student population of respondents. Murphy, et al. (1937) concluded from the result of study that there is a high correlation between introversion-extroversion and liberalism-conservatism. Many of the early attitudes on radicalism-conservatism and personality traits carry little value in the context of

modern political society. The extreme submissiveness and extreme rebelliousness of attitude could both be traced for instance, to over severe parents.

The term conservatism connotes a disposition to preserve things as they are. “Conservative is a person who clings to the status quo, opposing all changes on the assumption that anything new is going to be worse. He reveres his past and does the one believe that, “nothing should be tried for the first time,” who learns nothing and forgets nothing” (Fairchild, 1934). A conservative tends to attach sacredness to tradition and from force of habit and economic reasons, gives logical idiom to his rationalizations for defending the past. In the words of Burke (1950), “a conservative outlook is that man’s traditional inheritance is rich, grand, endlessly proliferated and mysterious, deserving of veneration and not to be cast away lightly in favor of the narrow uniformity”. This distinction is very essential to make because any one who falls in with the forces of destruction passes as a radical, and consequently a good deal of confusion prevails in different societies as to who is radical and what is liberalism. Reviewing these studies, it seems reasonable to assume that a person with deep-seated attitude of liberalism will show this radical tendency by taking sides for or against on most new controversial issues as they appear.

There are other types of people who dread changes. They look back to the good old days. These differences in attitudes tend to fall somewhere along a conservative-radical continuum, somewhere between opposing and favoring social change. The present investigator feels that there are certain advantages to be gained from attempting to classify individuals as approximately radical or conservative and then wishes to raise the

question, whether underlying these attitudes there are any who favors changes in social order. “Liberalism generally has been held to be the advocacy of ideas and beliefs at variance with those of the majority of the group, community or society” (Likert, 1932). To be sure, liberalism is a conspicuous departure from deeply established social habits, which have the stamp of social approval. More scientifically of course, radicalism designates social ideas, which purport to go to the root of things and work there for drastic and sweeping changes in the existing institutions. In terms of the processes of social change, the frame and attitude of mind called liberalism is a style, which develops as a reaction to the diehard orthodoxy’s of the past and the present.

A conservative is a rather security-minded and cautious person, who likes to play safe. He feels at home with the traditional ways of life which involve hardly any social risk, nor make a call on his ingenuity and adventure. He likes to wallow in the warmth of his traditional self-walled up against the sea of social changes around. A radical individual on the other hand, is a daring person whose flexibility stands him in welcoming and negotiating social change. He may innovate and compassionate social change early. As a general rule, a radical person is far more flexible than a conservative one. But a case can be made out to show that extreme liberalism is capable of degenerating into a sort of conservatism and dogmatism. The concept of liberalism-conservatism usually has been associated with the arena of politics. In this sense the term liberalism-conservatism may be used to divide vast array of political ideologies into four gradations from one extreme to the other with names as liberalism, radicalism, conservatism and reactionism (Jones, 1953, McClosky, 1958). The liberal approves of, and seeks drastic changes in the existing order; the

liberal is said to prefer the modifications of the status quo and they permit a building of the new into the pattern of the old. Conservative reactionary attitudes are those that view things moralistically; that tend to reject the new and prefer a capitalistic to a collective wealth distribution. In this study the conservative and radical terms are used to cover social attitudes.

Eysenck (1954, 1972) has conducted a series of studies demonstrating the correlation between attitudes and personality traits. Using the conservative-liberal dimension or the right-left dimension, Eysenck (1954) has extended the trait-attitude relationship through factor analysis. Eysenck (1972) has predicted that the scores of communists would fall in the tough-minded Radical quadrant, those of Fascist in the tough minded conservative quadrant, those of socialists would fall more or less in the middle of the tough-minded and tender-minded dimension. Slightly inclined towards the radical pole of the conservatism-liberalism dimension, those of conservatives would fall more or less in the middle of the former dimension and slightly inclined towards the conservative pole of the latter dimension. Liberals would fall in the middle of the road and more inclines towards the tender minded pole of the former. Thus to expect a linear correlation between such attitudes and certain traits was hoping too much and several later researches fail to yield conclusive results.

In any ideology it is possible to distinguish between the content and the strength of adherence to the beliefs. This distinction between content and structure has penetrated many psychological studies of ideology. For this reason there is a conflict, for example, between an authoritarian or a democratic orientation as adherence to specified doctrines and as a stance that involves either intolerance or tolerance, as a personality trait or an

attitudinal disposition. Many personality, attitude and belief scales have been factor analyzed to establish the underlying patterns. These analyses deal with the items themselves or with the scores from several scales.

1.15 Rotter's Social Learning Theory and Internal-External Control of Personality

Research has also indicated that children tend to acquire a progressive sense of personal efficacy, as they grow older; that is they become more internal with age (Milgram, 1971). Much researches with college students' show that they are generally quite internal in their orientations (Rotter, 1966). A study has shown that there is an increasing sense of personal efficacy from college age to adulthood, a stabilized sense of internal control through middle age, and no decrease internality among the elderly (Ryckman & Malikiosi, 1975). This last finding runs contrary to popular stereotypes of the elderly as helpless and dependent. The study suggests the many of the elderly believe that are personally competent and not at the mercy of authority figures or a capricious environment.

Various studies have shown that internals not only believe they have the power to affect their outcomes, but that they actually perform more effectively in both laboratory and academic situations. In academic settings, for example, Findlay and have found very strong evidence that internalize is associated positively with superior performance on a variety of standard achievement tests.

Rotter has constructed a theory of personality based on learning concepts and principles. It is an approach that focuses on learned behavior. The assumption is that it is acquired through our experiences with other people

(Rotter, Chance, & Phares, 1972). To understand personality, Rotter also thinks that we must consider it to have unity or interdependence (Rotter, Change, & Phares, 1972). One aspect of this belief is that a person's experiences or interactions influence one another.

The other aspect of the belief that personality has unity is that different behaviors are functionally related (Katkobsky, 1968). In Rotter's position there is also the assumption that behavior is goal directed. This directional aspect is inferred from the effect of reinforcing conditions (Rotter, Chance, & Phares, 1972. In short Rotter considers human behavior to be motivated. People strive to maximize rewards and to minimize or avoid punishment.

A few other corollary points about human motivation should be made. First, when investigators using social learning theory focus on the environmental conditions. Second social learning theory assumes that early goals are learned within a family setting. We are born with certain physiological needs that are satisfied by parents. This view, however, creates special theoretical difficulties. It assumes that all reinforces are reinforcing because they have become associated with drive reduction.

1.16 Social Learning Concept

There are four major concepts in the social –learning approach, behavior potential, expectancy, reinforcement value, and the psychological situation. In its simplest form, the formula for behavior is that “the potential for a behavior to occur in any specific situation is a function of the expectancy that the behavior will lead to a particular reinforcement in that situation and the value of that reinforcement” (Rotter, 1975).

Behavior Potential: For Rotter, behavior potential refers to “the potentiality of any behavior’s occurring in any situation or situations or situations as calculated in relation to any single reinforcement or set of reinforcements” (Rotter, Chance, & Phares, 1972). Thus a complex set of internal or cognitive factors is typically involved in the prediction of behavior. Finally, it should be noted that Rotter’s definition of behavior is quite broad. Behavior may be that which is directly observed but also that which is indirect or implicit.

Expectancy: Rotter defines expectancy as a cognition or belief about the property of some objects or events (Rotter, 1954). Expectancies can vary in magnitude between zero and 100 (from 0% to 100%) and are subject to modification by experience. There are three kinds of expectancy postulated in social learning theory, according to Rotter (1966). They are (1) simple cognitions or labeling of stimuli (2) expectancies for behavior-reinforcement outcomes and (3) expectancies for reinforcement sequences. Within social-learning theory any behavior that has been associated with reinforcement gives rise to expectancy. Thus, expectancy is based on past experience (Rotter, 1975). According to Rotter, simply knowing how important a goal or reinforcement is to a person is no guarantee that we can predict his behavior.

Reinforcement Value: Rotter defines reinforcement value as “the degree of preference for any one of a group of reinforcements to occur, if the probabilities of all occurring were equal” (Rotter, Chance, & Phares, 1972).

Psychological Situation: The fourth major concept utilized in the prediction of behavior is the Psychological situation that is the situation as

it is defined from the perspective of the person. In Rotter's view, this concept plays an extremely important part in the determination of behavior. In general terms, believes that the compiled cues in a given situation arouse in the person expectancies for behaviour-reinforcement out-come and also for reinforcement-reinforcement sequences (Rotter, 1975)

1.17 Internal-External Control of Reinforcement

One of the key constructs in social- learning theory is called internal-external control of reinforcement. According to Rotter, people acquire generalized expectancies to perceive reinforcing events either as dependent on their own behavior or as being beyond their control (Rotter, 1966). Internally oriented people tend to believe that reinforcers are subject to their own control and occur as a result of displaying their skills. Externals, in contrast, see little or no connection between their behavior and various reinforcers. Instead, they perceive the occurrence of the reinforcers as being determined by fate, luck or powerful others. Constructs such as competence, powerlessness, helplessness, hopelessness, mastery, and alienation have all been used by other investigators in psychology and sociology to describe the degree to which people can control important events in their lives. All these constructs are related to a belief in internal-external control. But Rotter's construct has the advantage of being an integral part of a formal theory from which relatively precise predictions can be made.

CHAPTER-TWO

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

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

Racial prejudice is common not only in adults and adolescents but also in children. Defined as a predisposition to respond in an unfavorable manner to members of a racial group, prejudice appears to be high in children as young as 5 years of age (Aboud, 1988; Bigler & Liben, 1993; Doyle & Aboud, 1995). White children, in particular, express prejudice toward Blacks, Native Indians and other minority groups (Corenblum & Annis, 1993; Aboud, submitted). They also respond to out-group members in a way that demonstrates the salience of race in their social judgments (Ramsey, 1991). Furthermore, indices of playmate selection show bias toward friends and chums of the in-group (Aboud, 1993). Thus, many children in the early elementary grades already possess perceptual and attitudinal biases about race. Social influences on these attitudinal biases merit attention. Despite the accumulation of evidence about early racial

prejudice, many people believe that young children are colorblind (Schofield, 1986) and gradually learn prejudice from parents and peers (Rosenfield & Stephan, 1981). Allport (1954) suggested that children learn as a result of hearing racial labels and the emotions associated with these labels. A review of recent findings convinced us that it would be premature to assume that children are influenced by the attitudes of parents and peers, or even to assume that they explicitly talk about race. Most studies find little correlation between a child's attitudes and those of a parent or friend (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) ANOVA, 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. 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 ANOVA was 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. 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.

2.1 The Role of Conflict with Prior Attitudes

When recipients held an opposing prior attitude, however, the minority message was processed more extensively than the majority message. The findings supported the predictions and reconciled seemingly contradictory findings in the literature. Attitude judgments at least partially depend on the effort recipients invest in the processing of persuasive messages. 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 (Nemeth, 1986). In research on 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 as well as the moderating factors have to be taken into account. (Wood, Lundgren, Ouellette, Busceme & Blackstone, 1994). 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). 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. Similar to the effects of high credibility sources on processing (Heesacker, Petty, & Cacioppo, 1983), confrontation with a viewpoint likely to be correct that will increase concern with the objective truth value of the issue. In turn, recipients' attention will be directed to the majority message which results in extensive processing. A minority, on the other hand, lacks objective consensus; hence minority messages will be processed less extensively.

As far as the social conflict between the majority and the recipient's own deviant position is the focus of concern, message content will be of low importance and processed rather superficially. On the other hand, minority influence is guided by the question "How can it (the minority) see what it sees, think what it thinks?" (Moscovici, 1985). 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.

More recent research on the question has focused on other variables determining message scrutiny. 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 (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 (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's (1987) 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 (Erb & Bohner, 2001; Kruglanski & Mackie, 1990). Rather, these conflicting findings point to the fact that situational variables have to be taken into account.

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. 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. Tests of these rival theories have produced mixed results. Early studies supported the relative deprivation theory. 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. 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.

2.2 The Contextual Determinants of Interracial Preferences

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

In the U.S, inequality in socioeconomic standing exists across many social and demographic categories such as gender, age, nativity, and family background. Of all these forms of social inequality, the division across racial lines is perhaps the most consequential and longstanding, for unlike the other personal attributes, race is both unalterable and hereditary. Hence, racial inequality accumulates across the life course and over generations. The consequences of racial inequality are further

aggravated by racial segregation in marriage and residence. The tendency to marry within racial boundaries as well as to live in neighborhoods with high concentrations of members of the same racial group has compounded racial inequality at the household and neighborhood level. As a result, racial inequality has created a much sharper social cleavage than any other form of inequality in the U.S. America's racial divide would gradually disappear. Even if complete racial integration will not occur for many years to come, an increase in interracial friendships would at least mitigate racial inequality. Desegregation is theoretically grounded in Allport's (1954) 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. It has been 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 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. 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 (Von Bertalaffy, 1950). Furthermore, workplace issues have influenced individuals' attitudes and behaviors toward culturally different organizational members.

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.

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

"Projections of Education Statistics to 2011" published by the National Council of Education Statistics (NCES), Department of Education, indicates that enrollment in elementary public schools will continue to grow until 2005. Further, according to NCES, there will be a projected 4 percent increase in public high school student enrollment, between 2000 and 2010. For the past twenty years, Washington, D. C. population had declined. And, even more revealing between April 2000-July 2001, the District's drop in population had leveled off. But recently, Washington, D.C. population had shown "some growth" (Wilgoren, Washington Post, December 12-28-01). 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. Specifically, from 1990 to 2000, the changing demographics of the United States' population are reflective of four major ethnic groupings: the Hispanic or Latino population had the largest increase of any other ethnic groups - from 22 million to 35 million; the African American population increased from 29 million to 34 million; the Asian population increased from 7 million to 10 million; and the European American population decreased from 211 million to 199 million (1990 Census of Population and 2000 Census of Population). The West, the South, and the East coasts, over the next ten years, will experience the largest immigrant growth, according to 2000 Census. Additionally, many cities will experience another kind of population growth that is not attributed to foreign-born.

Since the 1600s African Americans 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. 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" 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”. 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.

In Bangladeshi context, Khatun et al. (2010) did a extensive pioneer study and found that majority group (Bangalee) respondents expressed significantly more favorable attitudes towards the co-operation between bangalee and santal as compared to minority group (Santal). She also found that majority group (Bangalee) respondents expressed significantly more radical attitudes as compared to minority group (Santal). the another study Parvin (2002) found that Hindu respondents expressed significantly more authoritarian attitudes, more conservative attitudes and more authoritarian personality as compared to Muslims.

2.3 Competing Explanations of Minority Mobility

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

The Cultural Thesis

This thesis, the most influential interpretation of minority mobility, holds that certain minority groups -- notably Jews, Chinese, Japanese and Koreans -- occupy a social and economic status between dominant and subordinate groups in the United States due to their own cultural attributes. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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.

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. 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), 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. 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 et al., 1954).

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 behavior.

2.4 Ethnic/Racial Political Participation Significance

This study does not seek to negate the established relationship between SES, social context theory or religiosity to electoral participation. However, this study is significant because while these longstanding theories provide some insight into general participatory activity, they do not tell us enough information regarding the current political behaviors among some racial/ethnic groups. Thus, further empirical research is necessary; to examine the degree to which these extant theories explain variations in ethnic participation, particularly from a neighborhood-level context. This is because arguably, as a unit of analysis, "...neighborhoods continue to play a crucial role in the way individuals perceive their status, their needs, and their opportunities" further contends that neighborhood level analysis, "more consistently measures environmental features and also taps more adequately the underlying contextual mechanisms at work." 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. Thus, following Marschall (2001), this study moves beyond a general model of political participation, usually tested using national survey data, and made-up almost entirely of Anglo-whites, toward a more inclusive analysis among various racial/groups, using community level survey data. In the following analysis, first explored three long-standing theories commonly employed to explain political participation-SES, social context and religiosity. Then, based on this review of extant literature, I posit some related hypothesis. Second, I offer a detailed description of the research design, data and methods employed. The presented multivariate model of electoral participation using ordinary least squares regression (OLS). Third, I present and discuss my central findings. Finally, offered some concluding thoughts concerning future research in this area.

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

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

2.5 Inter- and Intra-Racial Differences in Political Trust

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

2.6 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. 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 (1973 “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.” Specifically, 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”.

2.7 Racial Identification

Recently there has been a good deal of research examining group identity among African Americans. Drawing on Social Identity Theory (Tajfel 1978, 1982; Tajfel and Turner, 1986), provide an in-depth analysis of the structure of African Americans’ racial identity and reach several important conclusions. Foremost among these conclusions is that in group favoritism among African Americans is not strongly related to out group

dislike. Instead, black identity is most strongly defined by individuals' sense of common fate. While African Americans' group identity consists of both affective and cognitive dimensions, the cognitive factors (a sense of common fate and how often they think about being black) are more important to individuals' identity than the affective component. They conclude that "the cultural milieu in which individuals learn the meaning and value of the group may be more causative in identity formation than are negative experiences with the out group". 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 1973). 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.

Levin, (2004) did an extensive pioneering study of Perceived Group Status Differences and the Effects of Gender, Ethnicity, and Religion on Social Dominance Orientation. He examined of his study the extent to which between group differences in Social Dominance Orientation increase as the size of the perceived status gap between the groups increases. Data were collected in Israel, Northern Ireland, and the United States. The results of this study, for arbitrary-set group differences in SDO, gender differences in SDO did not fluctuate when the size of the

perceived status gap between men and women varied in the gender context: Men were found to have higher levels of SDO than women, even when the status gap between men and women was perceived to be very small. These findings contradict the cultural deterministic view that male-female differences in SDO would fluctuate as a function of the same power and status differences that affect differences in SDO between arbitrary-set groups. These findings highlight the effects of perceived group status on SDO and the degree to which these effects vary depending on whether the salient group distinction is based on gender, ethnicity, or religion.

Deaux et al. (2006) conducted an extensive study related to ethnicity. A total of 410 college students at a public university in New York City participated in this study. They found their study that the relationships between ideology, ethnic identification, and orientation toward collective action were depending on the position of one's group. Groups differed in their endorsement of social diversity and social inequality, as well as in their orientation toward collective action and their ethnic group identification. For all groups, ethnic identity mediated the link between ideology and collective action, but the valence and magnitude of paths differed as a function of ethnicity and immigrant status. Social diversity was more critical for U.S. immigrants (White and Black/Latino); social inequality accounted for more variance in native-born U.S. groups (although in opposite directions for the two groups).

Verkuyten & Yildiz (2006) conducted a study of The Endorsement of Minority Rights: The Role of Group Position, National Context, and Ideological Beliefs. The study was conducted in the Netherlands among

204 participants living in this country. Fifty percent of the participants had ethnically Turkish parents and described themselves as Turkish. The other 50% had Kurdish parents who had emigrated from Turkey and described themselves as Kurdis. The results of this study showed that the Turks were less in favor of minority rights in the Turkish context than in the Dutch context, whereas the Kurds were more in favor of minority rights in the Turkish than in the Dutch context. In addition, the endorsement of minority rights was related to beliefs about majority rule, state unity, and in-group identification, as well as to cultural diversity and perceived pervasive discrimination. The associations with the former three measures differed between the two groups and the two national contexts, whereas the latter two measures had main effects on the endorsement of minority right.

Henry & Sears (2009) conducted the study of The Crystallization of Contemporary Racial Prejudice across the Lifespan. The growing crystallization of symbolic racism through the lifespan is tested using two data sets that measure the stability, consistency, and predictive validity of symbolic racism in samples ranging in age from young adults to the elderly. The results of this study showed that crystallization of symbolic racism generally takes on a curvilinear trajectory across the lifespan, showing that it is already largely crystallized by voting age, that it continues to crystallize still further through adulthood and that it begins to decline in coherence in late adulthood. The results also showed that confirming early speculations of symbolic racism theorists concerning the crystallization of symbolic racism across the lifespan and are discussed in terms of different theoretical perspectives on the relationship between aging and attitudes more generally.

Staerkle et al. (2010) conducted a pioneering study of Ethnic Minority-Majority Asymmetry in National Attitudes around the World. They investigated asymmetric attitudes of ethnic minorities and majorities towards their country and explored the impact of human development, ethnic diversity, and social inequality as country-level moderators of national attitudes. The results of this study found that ethnic, linguistic, and religious majorities were more identified with the nation and more strongly endorsed nationalist ideology than minorities. Multilevel analyses revealed that this pattern of asymmetry was moderated by country-level characteristics: the difference between minorities and majorities was greatest in ethnically diverse countries and in egalitarian, low inequality contexts. The greatest minority-majority differences in the relationship between ethnic identification and national attitudes were found in egalitarian countries with a strong welfare state tradition. The results of this study also showed that majorities expressed higher national identification than minorities. Overall, these results of this study provide initial evidence that majorities tend to express higher levels of national identity and nationalism than minorities.

Socio-economic Status

In his early work, William Julius Wilson (1980) argued, among other things, that the civil rights movement provided economic benefits for middle-class African Americans at the exclusion of poor and working class blacks, and that social class, rather than racial discrimination, will be the most important determinant of life chances among most African Americans. As African Americans become more heterogeneous in terms of class, we would expect increasing diversity in their political behavior

(Dawson, 1973). Economic polarization among African Americans has indeed been increasing in the last several decades. From 1960 to 1991, the black middle class more than doubled in size. Forty percent of respondents in the 1996 National Black Election Study Tate, 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 lead to a corresponding *political* polarization among African Americans. Katherine Tate, 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 including the dominant, group in society. My consideration of this issue derives from what sociologically speaking is the nature of ethnically diverse societies: Distinct minority ethnic groups existing in a society whose institutions are determined by the culture of a different, but dominant, ethnic group.

While on the one hand the dominant culture, by that fact, presents a challenge to the minority groups' cultures -- a challenge that in our society is usually approached through the process of assimilation of the minority groups -- the persistence of cultural identity of the minority groups in turn must present some kind of challenge to the majority identity.

Sociological literature has not dealt systematically with this issue. Most often, the persistence of the minority ethnic identity over generations had been seen as either a factor of segregation or categorization, 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 for example, saw a close relationship between ethnicity, consciousness of kind and political unity.

He devoted to the discussion of ethnicity only a few pages and felt that when analyzed, the concept dissolves itself into the concept of nation. He pointed to examples where differences in language preclude a feeling of

common nationality and to those where such differences exist, yet there is a sense of common nationhood. Still he concluded that the concept of nation ultimately links a common “pathos” with a shared common language, religion or customs. The question of minority and majority identities existing within one nation is not systematically considered by him.

Other scholars who were influential in the development of theories of the nation also have defined diversity of identity not as part of the nation’s structure but as a problem for the existence of the nation-state. In a famous report on nationalism by a Study Group of Members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (1963) 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"), and 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 are influenced 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). Positive relationship between "ethnic density" and preference for social diversity has been found in several studies. George and Hoppe (1979) discovered that white children in mixed (white and Native Indian) schools, as compared with children in all white schools, were more likely to select non-whites as potential friends.

The previous literature on how ethnic and racial attitudes are related to ethnic presence allowed for no clear prediction. Research based on realistic conflict theory, and dealing primarily with black white relations

in the United States, suggests negative relationships (Pettigrew, 1958, 1959; Giles, 1977). Also possible are curvilinear relationships with increasing slope (Blalock, 1967), decreasing slope (Giles and Evans, 1986), or with an inverted U-shape (Bullock, 1976; Longshore, 1982). On the other hand, research stemming from the contact hypothesis has found predominantly positive linear relationships (Brigham, 1993; Ellison and Powers, 1994; Kalin and Berry, 1982; Wagner and Zick, 1995).

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

The significant positive relationships between ethnic attitudes and ethnic presence are in line with all those obtained in the tradition of the contact studies (Brigham, 1993; Ellison and Powers, 1994; Ford 1973; George and Hoppe, 1979; Hamilton, 1972; Kalin and Berry, 1982; Reich and Purbhoo, 1975; Wagner and Zick, 1995; Williams, 1964; Ziegler, 1980). They are also consistent with investigations in which the beneficial effects on ethnic attitudes of contact through travel or educational experiences were demonstrated (Blake, Lambert, Sidoti and Wolfe, 1981; Clément, 1980; Clément, Gardner and Smythe, 1977; Kalin and Berry, 1980).

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

The contact hypothesis states that regular interaction between members of different groups reduces prejudice, providing it occurs under favorable conditions. Neglected aspect of the hypothesis, namely it's interconnectedness with the spatial organization of intergroup relations. As a developing theme, the paper emphasizes the need to devise social psychological theory that is adequate to the spatial dimension of group processes. This will require a shift away from a conception of social

space as an inert background to social life towards a conception of social space as a meaningful and dynamic production that constitutes our collective relations and identities. This study was supportive of and critical with the generalizations of the contact hypothesis.

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

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

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

An extensive pioneering study, Santal subjects as member of disadvantaged group are subjected to the strategy of individual mobility and as such they compare themselves with the members of their own group in higher frequency than the out-group (Moeed, M.A, et al., 1993). They are prone to leave or dissociate themselves from their own group for upward social mobility. Thus they might move from a low to a high status group as is found in their acts of religious conversion into Christianity. In a word Santals as members of tribal groups move in search of cognitive alternatives in order to get rid of their insecure social status.

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

The investigation revealed that Muslim Ss expressed more conventional attitudes on the total socio-political attitudinal constellation than Hindu Ss. Particularly on the dimension of nationalism. Muslim Ss expressed more nationalistic attitudes in comparison to their Hindu counterpart. On religiosity dimension, Hindu Ss expressed more secular attitude as compared to Muslim Ss. An inspection of the results showed that Hindu Ss expressed more liberal attitudes on the minority issue in comparison to Muslim Ss. These results are similar to those obtained by Adorno, Frankle, Brunswick, Levinson and Sanford (1950). These investigators explained that conventionalism, authoritarianism, aggression, authoritarian submission, projectivity, stereo-typing and destructiveness can well be attributed to the personality make up of the individual concerned. In Indian context, Sinha (1972) investigated the phenomenon of socio-political attitudes on traditionalism and conservatism.

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

A number of studies have shown that many subordinate groups in any given society indicate a wide range of identity problems such as low self-esteem, devaluation of 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; Hrabie and Grant, 1970; Bourhis et al. 1973; Giles and PoweIsland, 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, the in group evaluation depends on the outcome of the comparison between in group and relevant out groups. It is, therefore, the subjectively defined as social reality under which conditions an ethnocentric orientation may generate resulting in positive or negative social identity. More precisely, when the members of a group evaluate themselves positively and devalue or perceive out group 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.

2.8 Liberalism-Conservatism Attitude Scale

Earlier studies of sociopolitical attitudes were initiated by Moore (1929). Moore conducted his experiment on conservatives and radicals using 20-yes/no type of questions. These questions were related to mimetic politics, industrial problems and international relations. The results showed that conservative subjects were more susceptible to the influence of the majority under group pressure as compared to the radicals. The radicals, on the other hand, were found to be superior in her breaking long established habits.

A comprehensive study of conservatism - radicalism attitudes includes in its analysis an extensive understanding of traits as an aspect of personality. Traits prefer to the persistence and rigidity levels of personality. They initiate and guide consistent form of adaptive and expressive behaviour. Hence in several studies the analysis of trait-

attitudes have been undertaken to provide an insight into the dynamics of political behaviour. A number of studies have shown the conservatism radicalism attitudes as related to trait characteristics. Vetter (1930-31) conducted a study on this dimension and the aim of this study was to find out the relationship between conservatism - radicalism attitudes and various personality traits. The findings showed that radicals were superior in intelligence, more introverted and possessed greater individualization in comparison to the conservatives who were found inferior in intelligence, extroverted in approach and having lesser individualization. Another study of similar nature was done by Dexter (1938-39).

The work of Adorno et al. (1950) and Eysenck (1954) is another example of trait-attitude correctional approach in the field of sociopolitical attitudes. On the basis of his findings Eysenck concluded that tender mindedness and tough-mindedness are not in themselves representative of attitude constellations but rather the projection of personality variables on to a radical-conservative attitude continuum. Eysenck and Coulter (1972) conducted further investigation into the personality and attitudes of working class British communists and fascists. The findings of the investigation showed marked differences between communists and fascists being more tough-minded, authoritarian, and rigid in tolerant of ambiguity and emphatic than the control groups. Communists were the least ethnocentric group of all and fascists were found to be highly ethnocentric. Communists were more radical and fascists were more conservative than the control groups. In continuation to his earlier work Eysenck (1972) made a factor analytic study into the structure of social attitudes. The findings of the investigation showed that these attitudes were completely orthogonal and independent of each other. It indicates

that there are two kinds of conservatism, independent of each other and related in different ways to social class. The first type of conservatism represents a philosophical conservatism characterized by anti-progressive attitudes, which look back to the past. The second type of conservatism is characterized by class-consciousness attitude aimed at increasing the financial and other rewards expected by the middle class. Middle class people are marginally more radical on the first type and less radical on the second type as compared with working class people. Recognizing the necessity of cross-cultural comparison Dator (1969) administered Eysenck's inventory of conservative and progressive ideology in Japan on 193 Supreme and High court judges. Dator found that Eysenck's inventory could be used in different countries and for different groups of persons because of the common ideological space of progressivism and conservatism. In addition to this factor pattern similarity, the inventory could be administered as a satisfactory measure by which people would be classified as conservative or progressive.

Socio-political attitudes were studied by Sinha (1972) on the continuum of traditionalism-progressivism. The study was conducted on a sample of 300 students' and 150 younger teachers' and 150 older teachers of Allahabad University. An attitude inventory consisting of 50-likert type was developing attitude to dress and fashion, family structure, marriage, religion, traditionalism-progressivism. The study reflected attitude of the three generation on above dimensions. The result reflected that the younger generation expressed progressive attitudes desiring social change.

In Bangladesh context several studies (Ara, 1983, 1985, 1988, 1998) were done on socio-political attitudes. In her study Ara (1983) has attempted at investigating the similarities and differences of socio-political attitudes of student activists of India and Bangladesh in relation to certain personality variables, demographic factors and value attitudinal preferences within the framework of socio-political background. For this purpose, Ara constructed conservatism-radicalism scale for measuring socio-political attitudes having six dimensions i.e. nationalism, democracy, seniority attitudes, religiosity, violence, and social change. In this cross- national study both Indian and Bangladeshi rightists group were found more conservative as compared to leftists and non-activists. Furthermore, leftists group were found more radical in comparison to other groups and this group desired extreme social change on the C-R scale. But the rightists were found resistant to social change.

Ziauddin (1989) did an extensive study on voting attitudes as related to socio-political attitudes, personality variables of I-E control and socio-demographic factors like political-apolitical group, gender and urban-rural residential differences. The findings revealed that regardless of gender and residential background, political Ss were found significantly more radical on socio-political attitudes as compared to apolitical Ss. Again, male Ss were found significantly more radical on socio-political attitudes as compared to female Ss. Also, urban Ss were found significantly more radical as compared to rural Ss.

Haque (2002) did a pioneering study on political behaviour relating to inter-generation gap, socio-political attitudes, personality variables and socio-demographic factors of older and younger political generations. The findings revealed that three younger political generations of student

group were found significantly more radical on socio-political attitudes as compared to three older political generations of Bangladesh. The study has emphasized that political, cultural and environmental factor instead of genetic factors as the determinants of socio-political attitudes, which had enormous effect on intergenerational gap between two political generations as well as on intra-generational differences among three ideological groups.

Rahman (2004) attempted to investigate the sociopolitical attitudes of present conditions of the students of social science and law faculty of Rajshahi University. Ara's modified form of questionnaire of sociopolitical attitude scale was administered as a sample of social science and law faculty. It was revealed from this investigation that the students of social science possessed more radical attitudes as compared to the students of law. On the other hand, the female students of both faculties expressed more conservative attitudes as compared to their male counterpart.

Haque (2004) conducted a pioneering study of conservatism-radicalism as related to inter-generation gap in the socioeconomic and cultural context of Bangladesh. A total of 360 Ss equally divided into older and younger generations were utilized as the sample of the study. Again each group was subdivided into male and female. The results revealed that the older political generation exhibited more conservative attitudes as compared to younger political generations. On the contrary, the younger political generation expressed more radical attitudes as compared to the older political generations. The result also revealed that the male political generation is more conservative as compared to the female political generation.

Haque & Rahman (2006) conducted a study of sociopolitical attitudes as related to socioeconomic status difference among three generations in the context of Bangladesh. A total of 360 Ss equally divided into younger, middle aged and older generations were utilized as the sample of the study. Again each generation was subdivided into upper middle social class and lower middle social class. The results showed that the younger generation expressed more radical attitudes as compared to the middle and older generations. The result also showed that the individuals having upper middle social class generation was more radical as compared to their lower middle social class counterpart.

Kabir (2006) attempted at investigating inter generations gap among older teachers, younger teachers and students of different educational institution of Rajshahi in relation to socio-political attitudes in the continuum of conservatism-radicalism and conventionalism-progressivism for measuring social change, value pattern of terminal and instrumental, personality variables of I-E control and socio-demographic factors. The study composed of total 180 respondents equally divided into older teachers, younger teachers and students. Each group was sub-divided into male and female. The result of the study revealed some specific findings. In this study both male and female youngest student educational generation expressed radical socio-political attitudes on conservatism-radicalism scale supporting social change as compared to male and female, younger and older educational generations. Furthermore, these youngest generations also are supportive of progressive attitudes as compared to younger and older educational generations on the conventionalism-progressivism attitudes. In these findings both youngest student generations and younger teachers are also desired social change on the socio-political attitudes.

Shahria (2008) did an extensive pioneering study to find out the differences and similarities of women's attitudes towards social change in relation to national development in Bangladesh. The findings revealed that Dhaka women were found to possess more modern attitudes on modernism-traditionalism attitude scale as compared to Rajshahi women. In this finding also revealed that high SES women were found to possess more modern attitudes on modernism-traditionalism attitude scale as compared to middle SES women.

Sharmin (2008) did an extensive study on value pattern of Bangladeshi working male and female as a function of attitudes, personality and age. The findings revealed that working male significantly more radical on socio-political attitudes as compared to working female Ss respectively. Again, younger group having working male and female were found significantly more radical on socio-political attitudes as compared to older group Ss respectively.

2.9 Internal-External Control of Personality

Another attempt to the study of attitudes in relation to personality variables has utilized Rotter's (1954) internal-external control, model of personality references. The research on internal-external control dimension was first started at Ohio University in mid. 1950 by James and Rotter. Internal control refers to the degree to which an individual perceives that the events that happen to him are dependent on his own behaviour. External control, on the other hand, has reference to the result of fate, luck, chance or powers which are beyond individual's personal control and understanding, Social learning theory has been found to be predictive of, and related to, a wide range of behaviors across numerous situations with diverse groups of people.

Extensive reviews and studies are available related to locus of control (Gore and Rotter, 1963; Strickland, 1965; Rotter, 1966; Joe, 1971; Lefcourt, 1972; MacDonald, 1973; Phares, 1973; Hill, Chapman and Wertzer, 1974). Rotter's I-E dimension has been used in several studies related to Social Change. Gore and Rotter, (1963) social activism ranging from doing nothing to signing petitions, to taking a freedom ride across the southeastern states. They found, as expected, intent students more likely to commit themselves to the more dramatic types of social action. Strickland (1965) replicated this work using I-E responses of young black activists who were living in situations of daily harassment and threats to their well-being. She found Civil Right activists to be significantly more internal than matched non-activists. The nature of the activist movement changed with progress.

Several studies (Sanger and Alker, 1972; Ryckman, Rodda and Sherman, 1972; Pawlicki and Almquist, 1973) have been conducted which demonstrate a relationship between I.E. and social activism leading to social and educational change. But Abramowitz (1974) maintained that with any investigation of social activism in relation to I-E beliefs one must consider the multifactor clusters within the I-E beliefs, some of which may relate to socio-political activities and some of which may not.

In internal-external control of social action research, a number of studies (Johnson, 1961; Rotter, 1966; Thomas, 1970; Lefcourt, 1971; Mirels and Garrett, 1971; Fink & Hjelle, 1973) have been interested in the degree to which I-E expectancies may predict political beliefs which lead to change. These investigators suggest that internals do attempt to take responsibility for their lives and to change uncomfortable and aversive

situations. They appear to support political structures that emphasize individual responsibility. If internals have more information about their situations and greater problem-solving ability than those of externals, it should not be surprising that they are more resistant to influence from others. They found that internals tended to make judgments independently of the demands of others, whereas externals were much more compliant in same situations. Internals always act rationally (Phares, 1965; Ryckman, Rodda, & Sherman, 1972). These findings indicated that some internals are capable of acting quite irrationally under certain circumstances. Internals not only tend to resist influence attempts by others but, when given an opportunity, make more efforts, to control the behavior of others. They also tend to like people they can easily manipulate and to dislike those they cannot influence.

Palmore and Luikart (1972) found that internality as measured by four locus of control question was the third most important variable to account for life satisfaction in the elderly. Kuyper with an abbreviated locus scale, found internal elderly to be more competent in coping, less defensive, more cognitively complex and intellectually superior. Some interesting research has shown that internal and external students differ in the number and kinds of romantic heterosexual experiences they have (Dion & Dion, 1973). Internals were found to have proportionally fewer romantic attachments than externals. They also reported experiencing romantic love as less mysterious and volatile than externals. In addition, internals were more strongly opposed to an idealistic view of romantic love than were externals. In comparison with externals, they disagreed more with these statements: (1) there is only one real love for a person; (2) true love lasts forever; and (3) true love leads to almost perfect happiness.

Wolk found the internality on the Nowicki-Strickland Locus of control Scale correlated with adjustment, satisfaction, positive self-concept, and activity only in those elderly living in low-constraining environment. Research has also shown that internals attribute their failures to internal factors, whereas external blame them on external factors. Thus internals experience more shame and guilt than externals when they suffer defeat (Phares, 1976). It has therefore, been proposed that an internal orientation is necessary for adequate social adjustment functioning and change (Phares, 1971; 1979).

Phares and Lamiell (1974) also found that externals employ defensive strategies before task performance as well as after it. These investigators gave internals and externals choices of taking four kinds of intelligence tests. Two of the tests contained built-in rationalizations for subsequent failure. The other two did not contain such rationalization. Externals, more than internals, chose to take the tests that contained the excess for failure already built in. Research has also indicated that internals not only take responsibility for own actions but also assume that others are responsible for theirs. Externals, in contrast, assume that their behavior and the behavior of others are controlled by outside forces (Phares, 1976). Internals are thus more likely, when given the opportunity, to meet out more severe punishment to rule violators in various situations than are externals. Thus they may be seen as being more punitive and less sympathetic than externals in their judgments and behavior toward wrongdoers.

Ryckman & Cannon (1977) conducted a study on the judgment about internals in which internal and external college women were asked to evaluate an autobiographical essay allegedly written by a woman applying for admission to a university and then to make a decision about whether to reject her application on the basis of the information in the essay. A photo of either an attractive or an unattractive woman was attached to the application form. It was predicted that when evaluating an essay of objectively good quality, as determined by ratings from a comparable and independent student sample, internal women would discriminate more against the unattractive person-and they did. They downgraded her essay and indicated a greater willingness to reject her application than one completed by attractive person.

Several studies (Strickland, 1978, 1979) have shown that internals are also more likely than those of externals to reduce or quit smoking. Wallston & Wallston (1982) showed that internals have more positive attitudes than externals about physical exercise and cardiovascular fitness. Thus an internal locus of control is associated generally with good health, preventive health care, and more adequate coping with illness once it does occur. It means that any change of attitudes for individual or societal is highly accepted by the internals.

Research evidence (Strickland, 1979; Wallston & Wallston, 1981) indicted internally oriented individuals are physically more healthy than externally oriented individuals. Specifically Lau (1982) has found that internals more than externals were encouraged by their parents when they were children to follow a good diet, to get enough exercise, to brush their teeth properly, and to have regular dental and medical checkups. As a

consequence of these early experiences, internals have learned to see themselves as responsible for the maintenance or improvement of their physical health. Thus it was expected to find that internals know more about the conditions that cause poor health and to be more likely to steps to improve or maintain their health.

Wallston & Wallston's (1982) study concerned with the relationship between locus of control and information seeking in tuberculosis patients showed the internal patients knew more about their particular medical problems and sought more information from their physicians than did external patients. Other research has shown that internals take more precautionary measures to protect their health than do externals. Internally oriented high school students report greater use of seat belts when driving than do externals. They also report greater going to the dentist for checkups and maintenance more often than externals even when their teeth or gums do not hurt.

Ara (1983) did an extensive pioneering study to find out the similarities and differences of socio-political attitudes of activists and non-activist in India and Bangladesh in relation to certain ideological preferences like right and left, personality variables like authoritarianism, dogmatism, internal-external control, demographic factors and value attitudinal differences within the frame work of socio-cultural background. On internal-external control score Indian right activist and Indian left activist were found significantly more internally controlled as compared to Indian non-activist. In Bangladesh both right activist and left activist were more internally controlled as compared to Bangladesh non-activist. On cross national comparison Indian right activist and left activist were found significantly, more internally control, as compared to Bangladeshi right and left activist respectively.

Lachman and Leff (1989) examined whether control beliefs are related to individual differences in intellectual aging by administering a battery of intellectual tests and perceived control scales to 63 elderly adults in 1981 and in 1986. Results indicated that fluid intelligence was a significant predictor of changes in intellectual control beliefs, but control beliefs did not affect performance.

Ziauddin (1989) conducted a study on voting attitudes as related to personality variables of I-E control and socio-demographic factors like political-apolitical group, gender and urban-rural residential differences. The findings revealed that in political groups, urban male and rural male Ss were more internally controlled followed by urban female and rural female Ss. For apolitical groups male Ss were more internally controlled followed by rural male, urban female and rural female Ss. This finding revealed with considerable clarity that a phenomenon like voting behaviour is intimately embedded in the matrix of socio-political attitudes and personality variables and differential demographic context.

Nelson (1990) studied intrinsic/extrinsic religious orientation of the elderly individuals. Result shows subjects with high self-esteem had more intrinsic religious orientation and were less depressed. Clements (1999) studied intrinsic religious motivation and attitudes towards death among the elderly. Data provides some support for the hypothesis that people whose religious motivation tends to be primarily intrinsic fear certain aspects of death less than do people who tend to be more extrinsic in their religious orientation. In Indian context, Ramamurti and Jamuna (1994) examines now religiosity and externality are related to adjustment in old age. Findings indicate that religiosity and externality are positively associated with good adjustment.

Parveen (2002) conducted a study at investigating the differences and similarities of Rajshahi University as related to gender and socio-economic status differences within the framework of socio-cultural background in Bangladesh. The study utilized two samples from Rajshahi University consisting of Muslim (N=120) and Hindu (N=120) students. Each sample composed of 120 respondents equally divided into male and female. Again male and female were sub divided into high and low SES. Thus the respondents were 240 undergraduate and post graduate students of Rajshahi University. In her study some important results were revealed: (i) Both Bangladeshi Muslim male and female of high and low SES combinedly was found to possess democratic attitudes supporting social change as compared to both SES Ss combinedly.

Elizabeth (2004) found a relationship between higher intrinsic religiosity and lower Eysenck's psychoticism scores in adult populations. The present study examined the relationship between religiosity and Eysenck subscales in a psychiatric outpatient sample when age and sex were controlled. Findings suggest that a tired variable such as age may be responsible for both the decrease in psychoticism and concomitant increase in intrinsic religiosity. Results highlight the need to account for background and other status variables when examining relationships between personality and religiosity.

William and Matthew (2005) investigated the study of personality variation and age. The evidence suggests that traits are less stable in younger adults than older adults. This finding supports the notion that it is the underlying traits that are less stable in the young rather than the instrument having poor psychometric properties in younger people.

Ara, et al. (2006) conducted a study the impact of certain personality factors such as internal-external control on student political participation within the socio-cultural framework of Bangladesh. The samples was divided into political students (N = 60) and non-political students (N = 60) between the age range of 20-25. Again, political and non-political subjects were subdivided into male (N = 30) and female (N = 30). The results showed that the political students were more internally controlled as compared to non-political students. Moreover, male Ss were found more internally controlled in comparison to their female counterpart.

Kashem (2008) attempted at investigating the similarities and differences of violence-aggressive attitudes for student activists, non-student activists and student non-activists of different educational institutions of Bangladesh in relation to manifest hostility attitudes, personality variables and socio-demographic factors. The findings revealed that student activists were found more internally controlled on I-E control of personality variable as compared to non-student activists and student non-activists respectively. This study also revealed that student activists, non-student activists and student non-activists having upper middle SES background were found more internally controlled as compared to lower

middle SES background respectively. In this finding besides violence-aggressive attitudes along with manifest hostility attitudes, personality characteristics of I-E control and socio-economic status context jointly shape the violent and aggressive attitudes.

Shahria (2008) did an extensive pioneering study to find out the differences and similarities of women's attitudes towards social change in relation to national development in Bangladesh. The findings revealed that Dhaka women were found more personal efficacy, more socio-political control and more internality on personality scale of spheres of control and internality, powerful others and chance as compared to Rajshahi women. On the other hand, Rajshahi women were found expressed more interpersonal control, powerful others and chance on personality scale of spheres of control and internality, powerful others and chance as compared to Dhaka women. In this finding also revealed that high SES women were found more personal efficacy, more socio-political control and more internality on personality scale of spheres of control and internality, powerful others and chance as compared to middle SES women. On the other hand, middle SES women were found expressed more interpersonal control, powerful others and chance on personality scale of spheres of control and internality, powerful others and chance as compared to high SES women.

Sharmin (2008) conducted a study on value pattern of Bangladeshi working male and female as a function of attitudes, personality and age. The findings revealed that working female were found more internally controlled on I-E control of personality variable as compared to working male Ss respectively. This study also revealed that younger group having working male and female were found more internally controlled as compared to older group respectively. In this finding also revealed that working male were found more personal efficacy, more socio-political control and less inter-personal control as compared to working female Ss respectively. Again the study indicated that younger group having working male and female were expressed more personal efficacy, more socio-political control and less interpersonal control as compared to older group Ss respectively.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DEVELOPMENT AND BACKGROUND OF THE PRESENT STUDY AND THE STATEMENT OF THE OBJECTIVES

3.1. Bangladesh and Demographics

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

3.2. History

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

Bengal was thus divided into an eastern part called East Pakistan and a western part, the Indian state of West Bengal. East Pakistan was dominated and frequently neglected by West Pakistan and tensions turned into a struggle for independence in 1971. The attempted repression of this

movement in March resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Bengalis and a refugee problem that led to Indian intervention in December and, subsequently, independence from Pakistan.

3.3. Politics

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

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

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

3.4. Geography

Bangladesh consists mostly of a low-lying river delta located on the Indian subcontinent with a largely marshy jungle coastline on the Bay of Bengal known as the Sundarbans, home to the Bengal Tiger. The densely populated delta is formed by the confluence of the Ganges (local name Padma), Brahmaputra (Jamuna), and Meghna rivers and their tributaries

as they flow down from the Himalayas. Bangladesh's alluvial soil is highly fertile but vulnerable to both flood and drought. Hills rise above the plain only in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (highest point: the Keokradong at 1,230 m) in the far southeast and the Sylhet division in the northeast.

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

3.5. 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.

3.6. Societal Attitudes

Relations between the religious communities generally are amicable. Persons who practice different religions often join each other's festivals and celebrations, such as weddings. Shi'a Muslims practice their faith

without interference from Sunnis. Nevertheless, clashes between religious groups occasionally occur. In recent years, there have been cases of violence directed against religious minority communities that have resulted in the loss of lives and property. In the past, intercommunal violence caused many Hindus to immigrate to India, but recent emigration of Hindus has decreased significantly and generally can be attributed to economic or family reasons. Nevertheless, incidents of communal violence continue to occur.

3.7. 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).

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.

3.8. 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 been 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) 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). 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). 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 marginalized 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)

3.9. Ethnic Communities

About 27 minority ethnic communities live mainly in four regions of Bangladesh. One is the Chittagong Hill Tracts, north-west, mid-north and in the districts of north Bangladesh. According to latest population census the total population of the ethnic communities is 1.2 million in the country, which constitutes 1.13 per cent. From a couple of isolated and limited surveys it is anticipated that the actual population of the minority ethnic communities are considerably higher than it is accounted in the government census. 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". One can easily make such mistakes if one does not have adequate knowledge about the ethnic people and their ethnic, religious, and linguistic background.

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 that limited the scope to practice their rights. (Earth Touch, 1998).

3.10. Religion of Ethnic Communities

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

rule created a power vacuum in this region as a whole and the tribal (ethnic communities), suspicious and indignant of their plain land neighbors for generations, got simply alarmed. A process of Christianization has been going in the ethnic areas since the British period. Before Christianization, however, most of the ethnic groups of the northern and north-eastern borders had been influenced by Hinduism, while those in the borders had been influenced by Hinduism, while those in the CHT by Buddhism. The rate of if Islamization is very significant compared to that of Christianization. There are a few converted Muslims among the Rajbansis and also among the Garo, but their number is very insignificant in both cases.

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

The situation of minorities in Bangladesh is a human rights issue. Status of minorities all over the world has demonstrated a pattern of discrimination and insecurity. Bangladesh is no exception. However, the example of minorities in Bangladesh has a typical trend (State of Human Right, 1994) 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.

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

3.11. Rationale of the Study

Bangladesh is a Muslim living country but here people of other religions also live. The large portions of religious minority people of this country are Hindus along with other people of different religions such as Christianity, Buddhists and so on. The custom and rituals of minority groups are quite different from the majority groups in Bangladesh. For this, minority group's people are evaluated somewhat differently from their majority counterpart due to various socio-cultural barriers that led them to be more conservative. As the religious myths exist at different intensities between the majority and minority groups of people and these types of myths are more intense in minority group than in majority group, it is one of the main causes for the minority group's people of being more conservative. There is higher tendency for survival of the fittest in minority group than in majority group because of the feeling that the minority groups are somewhat deviated from the mainstream of a society. It creates feeling of inferiorities which is a great barrier for their normal life leading. Lower self-perceptions, self confidence and self regard are also responsible for their feeling of inferiority which is developed because of social, emotional and religious barriers in minority group and they compensate this feeling by showing more conservative attitudes in different issues. Advantages and availability of religious or social institutions existing for the majority group members facilitate them to practice their own religion and cultures smoothly. As a result, they are facilitated to be more liberal. The discrimination in infrastructural or institutional facilities in terms religion and a dishonoring attitude towards the religion of minority group by their majority counterpart are creating regular clash at the state. This clash is hampering the peaceful

coexistence among different religions' people. This threatening situation created for the humiliation of other religions may be one of the most important reasons for minority groups to be more conservative for their existence in the state. The present study would be helpful to reduce gaps between majority and minority groups by maintaining peaceful and appropriate interactions in social, political, cultural and religious issues. In fine, by the help of this investigation, our nation would get an insight to establish secularism in the country without any discrimination in religious, political, and social issues by ensuring the practice of each individual's own religion.

3.12 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the study was to find out the similarities and differences in majority-minority attitudes, liberalism-conservatism attitudes and internality, powerful others and chance with reference to gender and SES of Muslim and Hindu ethnic groups of Bangladesh. Some specific objectives of the study are as follows:

1. To study the patterns of similarities and differences in majority-minority attitudes as a function of ethnicity.
2. To study the patterns of differences and similarities in liberalism-conservatism attitude with reference to ethnicity.
3. To study patterns of similarities and differences in certain personality variables including internality, powerful others and chance as related to ethnicity.
4. To study the differences and similarities in majority-minority attitudes with reference to gender.

5. To study differences and similarities in liberalism-conservatism attitude with reference to gender.
6. To study differences and similarities in certain personality variables i.e. internality, powerful others and chance with reference to gender.
7. To study differences and similarities in majority-minority attitudes with reference to SES.
8. To study differences and similarities in liberalism-conservatism attitude with reference to SES.
9. To study differences and similarities in certain personality variables i.e. internality, powerful others and chance with reference to SES.

3.13 Hypotheses of the Study

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

- H₁:** Majority group would express significantly more liberal attitude as compared to minority group.
- H₂:** Males would express significantly more liberal attitude as compared to their female counterpart.
- H₃:** Upper middle SES individuals would express significantly more liberal attitude as compared to lower middle SES individuals.
- H₄:** Majority group would express significantly more favorable attitude toward majority-minority relationship as compared to minority group.
- H₅:** Males would express significantly more favorable attitude toward majority-minority relationship as compared to their female counterpart.

- H₆:** Upper middle SES individuals would express significantly more favorable attitude toward majority-minority relationship as compared to lower middle SES individuals.
- H₇:** Majority group would express significantly more internality as compared to minority group.
- H₈:** Males would express significantly more internality as compared to their female counterpart.
- H₉:** Upper middle SES individuals would express significantly more internality as compared to lower middle SES individuals.
- H₁₀:** Minority group would achieve significantly higher scores on powerful others and chance sub-scales as compared to majority group.
- H₁₁:** Females would achieve significantly higher scores on powerful others and chance sub-scales as compared to their male counterpart.
- H₁₂:** Lower middle SES individuals would achieve significantly higher scores on powerful others and chance sub-scales as compared to upper middle SES individuals.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHOD AND PROCEDURE

The chapter describes the method and procedure used for the study. Major focus of this chapter is on sample, description of the tools and measurement and procedure of administration of the tests. The development of the research methodology was guided by the objectives described in chapter I.

4.1. Sample

4.1.1. Background of the Sample Settings

The investigation would be conducted on two types of samples one majority (i.e. Muslim) Ss and the other Ss minority (i.e. Hindu). The samples were collected from greater Dhaka and Rajshahi district. Before describing the details of the sample and procedure it is essential to get acquainted with the background of the sample settings. Dhaka and Rajshahi are two old cities of Bangladesh. They are comparable on having reputation for educational centers since late 19th century. The educational institutions of the two cities are the equally loaded with heavy pressures of the student haling from urban as well as from remote rural areas.

Dhaka is a traditional old city on the eastern part of Bangladesh and it is situated on the confluence of river Buriganga. This city bears the testimony of high reputation for the production of intelligentsia. This city was the center for politics during pre-1947. Since then the teachers and student community of this city were well known for their participation in local, national and different international socio-political, cultural and economic issues. Dhaka city is famous for Dhaka University from the very beginning of the then East Pakistan. Many private educational institutions like Universities, Medical and Engineering Universities have contributed a lot in the educational sector. Many of the educational institutions have joined link venture with developed Western countries. Though most of the working and nonworking upper class women reside in the pause areas but middle class SES women came from different negligible areas of Dhaka city. In present time Dhaka city has been developed after independence of Bangladesh and is now the capital city of the country. Thus importance of Dhaka has been increased in different perspectives. Particularly in educational sector, so many Private Universities are now having been able to show high achievement.

Rajshahi is one of the oldest towns on the northern part of Bangladesh. It is situated on the riverside of Padma. Since British period the city is well known for educational, cultural and political activities. This city is famous for particularly for Rajshahi University having more than twenty five thousand students. On the other hand, Medical College, Engineering University and some Private Universities have achieved their reputation in the national and international sector. Very few numbers of women have been working as the teachers' of these educational institutions and

have been able to prove themselves as reputed intelligentsia in the national and international levels. Female students have been obtaining higher degrees from Rajshahi University, Private Universities, Medical College, Engineering University, Govt. and Non-govt. reputed colleges. Rajshahi is also famous for taking part in the independence of Bangladesh in 1971. Dr. Zoha's major lies at the University of Rajshahi who was protested against Army interference in the University and was brutally killed by the Pak Army.

4.1.2. Demographic and Personal Information Sheet (PIS)

A questionnaire was set for collecting the personal information of the subjects, such as name, religion, sex, SES background, age, educational qualification, occupation, monthly income, husband/parental income, marital status etc.

4.1.3. Adoption of Criteria Questionnaire

Selection of sample is an important step in any scientific study. Representative character of sample depends on the criteria by which the sample is selected. This is because sample should be representative of the entire population. If the sample does not possess all the characteristics of the population, it shall not be able to fulfill the objective of the study. With this end in view of selecting the representative sample, the investigator thought it appropriate to develop a criteria questionnaire which would contain the salient characteristics of Muslim and Hindu community. Muslims, irrespective of the variation in caste and creed, were selected for the present study. Hindu subjects were also selected in the same process. Keeping in view of these characteristics of Muslim and

Hindu, the investigator found it appropriate to use a questionnaire in the present study. Hence the investigator used the Criteria Questionnaire (CQ). This form of CQ is given in the appendix A. ranged from 0-8, indicating the lower and higher scores for Muslim persons.

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

4.1.4. Final Sample Selection

Before the application of Criteria Questionnaire, the bio-data form was administered on 120 Muslim and 120 Hindu residents from the four districts of Bangladesh. In selecting the subjects, the investigator interviewed each person separately. A structured interview method was used. The subjects were interviewed on the basis of following questions. These are as follows:

- (1) Are you a Hindu or a Muslim? Your caste? Creed? Ethnicity?
- (2) Do you belong to upper middle SES or lower middle SES group?
- (3) What is your source of income? How much money earn per-month?
- (4) What is your educational qualification?
- (5) What is your occupation?

Thus subjects were identified as Muslim and Hindu, upper middle SES and lower middle SES on the basis of self-assessment of the subjects. Following this procedure, 120 Muslim were selected, among them 60 subjects were male and 60 subjects were female. In the male category, 30 were identified themselves as upper middle SES and 30 as lower middle SES. In female category also, half of them were identified themselves as upper middle SES and the rest as lower middle SES. Similar procedure of structured interview method was followed for the selection of 120 Hindu subjects who identified themselves as Hindus irrespective of any caste and creed were included in Hindu group of subjects. Among them 60 was male and 60 was female. In both the categories, half of them were upper middle SES and rest was lower middle SES. Criteria Questionnaire was administered on these pre-selected respondents. The subjects were contacted individually in their homes or place of residences. The investigator requested them to fill up the questionnaire as accurately as possible. The instruction and items to the questionnaire was in Bengali.

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

Following the method of elimination 120 subjects were selected as Muslim group suited to the criteria set. Among them 60 were males and 60 were females. In each category 30 were upper middle SES and 30 were lower middle SES. Similarly, 120 subjects were selected as Hindu group. 60 of them were males and 60 were females. Again in each category 30 were upper middle SES and 30 were lower middle SES.

Thus, the present study used 240 subjects selected purposively from Dhaka and Rajshahi cities of Bangladesh. The sample distribution of the present study is given in the following table.

Table – 4.1: Showing Sample distribution of the present study

	Muslim		Hindu		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Upper Middle SES	30	30	30	30	120
Lower Middle SES	30	30	30	30	120
Total	60	60	60	60	240

Thus, the study utilized a sample composed of Muslim subjects and Hindu subjects (N=240). The subjects of Hindus and Muslims having heterogeneous socio-economic status and 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 sociopolitical attitudes of the minority groups. Here an ethnic group of religious minority (Hindu) was most comparable in many respects with the Muslim majority. Both the groups have a neighbourship country with an ethnic majority. Hindus are minority in Bangladesh and vice versa 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. It is true for the Muslims in their sub-continent. Hindus are taken in the sample because they are

culturally close to the Muslim majority, sharing common language, unlike the other ethnic or religious minorities. Bengali is their common language. Hindu population is widely distributed through out Bangladesh. They work together with their Muslim 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. Bangladesh is racially and linguistically nearly homogenous country. Both the Hindu and Muslims are Bengali speakers. Bengali is the dominant language (99%). Muslims constitute the majority of the population (88%). Hindus constitute the most significant religious minority. Thus Hindus and Muslims are comparable in all respect. They differ only in religion. Bangladesh has 12.6 percent minority population out of 130 million estimated on 1991 (census report). Demographic changes have had a wide ranging impact on minority communities in Bangladesh of the depriving them of land, forest and property. The Hindu population since partition of India decreased from 25 percent of population in 1947 to an estimated 10.5 percent in 1991. A perspective is grounded in this study that, despite all problems of Hindu-Muslim 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 this decrease in population were to be traced in the present study. Thus sample was appropriate for the study.

4.2. Method and Procedure

As stated in chapter one the present study utilized multidimensional approach with a criterion group design to highlight the similarity and

differences on the majority-minority attitudes and personality variables of Muslim and Hindu Ss in Bangladesh. In addition certain demographic measures were also used for measuring similarities and differences in majority-minority attitudes and personality.

4.3. Selection of Instruments

Considering the kind of data of interest, the task was to use suitable tools for measuring majority-minority attitudes and also personality characteristics. The selection of tools for a particular study depends on various considerations such as objectives of the study, the amount of time at the investigator's disposal, availability of suitable tests, personal competence of the investigator to administer, score and interpret the tests' results. So after carefully reviewing the various attitudes and personality tests the three measures were chosen for the present study. Among the factors taken into consideration in the selection of the scales were: (1) The efficiency of the measuring (2) easy in administration and scoring (3) the educational level for which the measures were suited (4) the content of the scales (5) the suitability of the measures to the objectives of the research. On the basis of these rational the investigator selected the following measures of which Criteria Questionnaire (CQ), Majority-Minority Attitude (MMA) Scale was constructed by the investigator and Liberalism-conservatism Attitude scale, Internality, Powerful Others and Chance Scale were used for the present study.

4.4. Instruments Used

Selected instruments are the following:

1. Criteria Questionnaire (CQ) developed by the investigator.
2. Majority-Minority Attitude (MMA) Scale constructed by the investigator.
3. Levenson's (1981) Internality, Powerful others and Chance (IPC) Scales were used for the measurement of personality (Shahria's Bengali version).
4. Modification of Ara's Liberalism-Conservatism Attitude Scale in the Present Form (Bengali Version)
5. Demographic and Personal Information Sheet.

4.5. Modification of Ara's Liberalism-Conservatism Attitude Scale in the Present Form (Bengali Version)

Due to non availability of a suitable test for the measurement of certain socio-political attitudes, in the Bangladesh contest Ara (1983) realized the need for construction of conservatism - radicalism (C-R) attitude scale. Numerous issues to social, political, economic and religious areas have been studied for conservatism- radicalism attitudes. Ara (1983) attempted to cover six major dimensions like nationalism, democracy minority attitude, religiosity, violence and social change. The definition and conception of sociopolitical attitudes with its six components were used in the C-R Scale. The conceptualization of C-R attitudes and some major dimensions made for its measurements are described below.

The concept of Conservatism- Radicalism is associated with the arena of sociopolitical attitudes. It divides the vast arena of political ideology into two opposite poles. Viewed from ideological standpoint conservatism

refers to a disposition of mind, a set of attitudes towards the preservation of things as they are. A conservative person is one who clings to the status quo, opposes all changes and believes that anything new is going to be worse. He follows the principle that nothing should be tried for the first time. Conservatism believes that man's traditional inheritance is rich and grand. The components of conservatism include the belief that inequality is a natural and inevitable phenomenon and as such they support the existing inequality. 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 constituent property of radicalism consists in the explicit intellectualization of human action and experiences. Consequently radicals tend to favour modification and reformation of existing inequalities. They think that large group like social classes or ethnic communities are the units of inequality. Thus Conservatism-Radicalism constitutes a continuum of the ideology ranging from extreme support for conventionalism to extreme support for social change. Conservatism-Radicalism is thus, identifiable with pattern of many interrelated variables- encompassing areas of social, cultural, economic, religious and political phenomena. But for the present purpose of the study Ara's C-R attitude scale were modified, named as liberalism-conservatism scale.

The present liberalism-conservatism scale has been conceptualized as follows: liberalism has been conceptualized as (i) an extreme positive support of modern nationalism (i.e. International friendship) as against closed nationalism: (ii) an emphasis on freedom, equality and liberty for all citizens irrespective of race, religion and sex (iii) positive evaluation

of teacher's power (iv) a possession of humanitarian secular feeling as against rigid pro-religious feelings v) supportive of student movement and (vi) supportive of progressive foreign policy. Conservatism, on the other hand, has been conceptualized as (1) an extreme support of closed or authoritarian nationalism (2) resistant to freedom, equality and liberty for all citizens, irrespective of race, religion and sex (3) a negative attitude towards leaders power influence (4) a possession of extremely extrinsic pro-religions attitude as against humanitarian secular feelings (5) resistant to student movement and (6) rigid attitude toward foreign policy.

The 40 items were selected the present scale was administered on 50 Ss of Rajshahi University. Ara's original scale was also administered. The correlation coefficient between two scales were found ' r '=0.88. The split half reliability of the present form of the scale was computed with odds and even numbers of 40 items scores and the Pearson's ' r ' was found 0.82. On the basis of the reliability and validity, the C-R scale comprising of 40 items were selected for the present study. However, the reliability and validity of the scale were again computed (N=240). Secondly concurrent validity of the present scale was obtained with Ara's original C-R scale which correlated significantly and the ' r ' was 0.88.

The L-C Attitude scale was comprised of both types of favorable and unfavorable statements. Its favorable positive statements directly express liberal attitudes but its unfavorable negative statements express conservative attitudes. Strong agreements with favorable items i.e. positive were given a score of 5 and strong dis-agreement with those items was given score of 1. Scoring was reversed for unfavorable i.e.

negative items such as strong agreement with unfavorable items was scored as 1 and strong disagreement with those items were given score of 5. Thus for 40 items, the scores ranged from $(40 \times 1) = 40$ to $(40 \times 5) = 200$. Thus, the highest score indicated liberal attitudes and the lowest score indicated conservative attitudes. Hence, the mid-point was

$$\frac{\text{Highest possible score} + \text{Lowest possible score}}{2} - \text{lowest possible score} =$$

$$\frac{200 + 40}{2} - 40 = 80$$

The scores above this mid-point were indicative of liberal attitudes and the scores under this mid-point were indicative of conservative attitudes.

4.6. Construction of the Majority-Minority Attitude Scale

Investigation of socio-political attitudes behaviour 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 intergroup conflict, but Tajfel (1972) 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, 1972; 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'. 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 et al.1977); 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). Social identity, however, as Tajfel (1972) 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

are reinforced by 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 groups 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 majority-minority attitudes and prediction of ethnic relations, the investigator attempted to develop a measure of ethnic attitudes using the salient dimensions of ethnic relation such as secularism, social and economic justice, peaceful co-existence, fundamental human rights and nationalism 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 majority-minority attitude 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 majority-minority attitude scale were (1) secularism (2) fundamental human rights (3) peaceful coexistence (4) social and economic justice (5) nationalism vs internationalism. It is, therefore, necessary to give short definitions of these dimensions in order to conceptualize majority-minority attitude has been used in the present study.

Secularism

The term secularism has been conceptualized in this study as set of favourable attitudes towards different religion and faith. A belief on the equality of different religious groups what supports the protection of religious rights of each and every individual by the law and constitution of the country. It does not like to mix religion and politics. It does not discriminate individuals on the basis of religion or faith. It does not separate religious minority from the majority as different groups. There is no room for the hegemony of one religion or majoritarian religious sentiments and aspirations.

Fundamental Human Rights

The term fundamental human rights has been conceptualized in this study as set of favourable attitudes towards standards of behavior which is essential to human survival, integrity and autonomy of the person and

fulfillment of the human political in society. These rights include right to life, the right to an adequate standard of living, the prohibition of genocide, freedom from torture and other mistreatment, freedom of expression, freedom of movement, the right to self determination, the right to education and the right to participation in cultural and political life.

Peaceful Co-existence

The term peaceful coexistence has been conceptualized in this study as set of favourable attitudes towards a state in which two or more groups are living together while respecting their differences and resolving their conflict nonviolently. It encourages to exist together and to exist in mutual tolerance. To have a relationship between persons or groups in which none of the party's is trying to destroy the other. A favourable awareness that individual and groups differ in numerous ways including class, ethnicity, religion, gender and political inclination.

Social and economic justice

The term social and economic justice has been conceptualized in this study as set of favourable attitudes towards "giving to each what he or she is due ".It provide us with access to what is good for the person , both individually and in our association with others. It perfects our institutions as tools for personal and social development. Economic justice encompasses social justice .It's ultimate purpose is to free each person to engage creativity in unlimited work beyond economics, that of mind and spirit.

Nationalism

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

The steps used for the construction of attitude towards healthy minority-majority relationship scale have been described as follows:

4.6.1. Technique and Method used

Bird (1940) have suggested several methods for the measurement of the attitudes, Thurstone and Chave (1929) developed a technique for measuring attitude which is called methods of equal appearing intervals. Likert (1932) have also dealt with the development of methodology for measuring attitudes. His device is called methods of summated rating. Investigators who have used the Likert method are in agreement that it is similar in its application and statistical calculation. One advantage of Likert's method is that its reliability co-efficient can be computed with fewer number of items. Thurstone's method, on the other hand, requires relatively more number of items for calculating reliability co-efficient. Likert method needs less time for administration than the Thurstone technique. 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.

4.6.2. Initial Item Selection

This step involved gathering a large number of statements relating to the dimensions of majority-minority Attitude scale relationship such as secularism, fundamental human rights, peaceful co-existence, socio-economic recognition, nationalism. A total of 300 statements were collected on these dimensions in the initial stage. This distribution of these statements was as follows: Secularism = 67, Fundamental human rights = 63, Peaceful co-existence = 56, social justice = 54 and Nationalism Vs Internationalism = 60. Based on the informal criteria as

suggested by Wang (1952), Bird (1940), Edwards and 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 exceed 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.

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

These statements were given to three teachers for scrutiny. Among these three teachers, one was from Bengali department, one from Political Science department and one from Psychology department of Rajshahi University. These teachers acted as judges for making scrutiny as to the relevancy of each item, the judges were requested to classify each statement according to its connotation. They were required to look into each statement and to think about the nature of the statement. The classification was made on 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 favourable or unfavourable attitude concerning the Attitude towards healthy minority-majority relationship in question. Item which were preferred by each of the three judges was selected for the pilot study. Thus, 91 statements were commonly chosen by the judges. These items on each dimension were as follows: Secularism = 25, Fundamental human rights = 23, Peaceful co-existence = 14, social justice = 13, Nationalism Vs Internationalism Issue orientation = 16.

4.6.3. Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted for the construction of majority-minority Attitude Scale. In this study the selected items were administered to an

incidental sample of 100 postgraduate students of Rajshahi University. The subjects were equally divided into male and female.

They were asked to respond to each item in terms of 5-point scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The instruction given to the subjects was as follows: “please find some statements were about a number of Socio-political issues. I think that these are relevant to our Socio-political problems. Many a time you may find an answer to these statements about minority-majority relationship in our country. Please read each statement carefully and think about each statement. You will find five alternatives against each statement. Please express your opinion about each statement by putting a tick (✓) 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 majority-minority Attitude Scale contained both types of favorable and unfavorable statements. Each favorable and positive statement directly expressed higher attitudes towards healthy majority-minority relations and each unfavorable and negative statement expressed lower attitudes towards healthy minority- majority relations. Strong agreements with favorable items were given a score of five and strong disagreement was given a score of one. Scoring was reversed for unfavorable items. Thus strong agreement with unfavorable item was scored as one and strong disagreement with them was given a score of five. The scores of each item reported by 100 Ss-were summated for item selection. Thus

for each item the scores ranged from $(100 \times 1) = 100$ to $(100 \times 5) = 500$. Hence, the mid-point was

$$\begin{aligned} & \frac{\text{Highest possible score} + \text{Lowest possible score}}{2} - \text{lowest possible score} \\ &= \frac{500 + 100}{2} - 100 = 200 \end{aligned}$$

Investigator computed total scores of each subject. According to the criteria used in test construction, highest score was indicative of more favourable attitude towards majority-minority relationships and lowest score was indicating of less favourable attitude towards majority-minority relationships. As the test was supposed to contain the items reflecting majority-minority attitude, the highest scores above mid-point (200) was considered a principle for selecting items in the initial stage. Accordingly 60 items were selected from highest scores on the basis of the results of the pilot study (Chart of item section is given in the Appendix). In the second stage Likert's criterion of internal consistency was adopted. The internal consistency can be computed in two ways. Firstly, internal item consistency can be computed by finding correlation between each item and the total score and secondly by comparing item scores of highest 25% and lowest 25% Ss. Investigator used computation of the correlation between each item and the total score for finding out internal consistency of items. The score of each subject was obtained by summing up all his/her item scores. A given item was supposed to meet the criterion of internal consistency when the item score was correlated positively with the total score. Accordingly the bi-serial correlation between each item

score and total score was computed. Elimination of items was done on the strength of the correlation. The highest possible score could be $91 \times 5 = 455$ and the lowest possible score for the same would be $91 \times 1 = 91$. A given item meets the criteria of internal consistency if the item score correlates significantly with the total attitude score. The items with negative correlation were excluded. Again items which failed to attain level of significance at 0.01 were also excluded. Following this principle of elimination, item nos. 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 30, 33, 36, 39, 44, 46, 49, 53, 56, 57, 61, 63, 70, 74, 81, 86, 88 were retained to be included in the final study.

4.6.4. Reliability and Validity of Majority-Minority Attitude Scale

The split-half method was used to find out the reliability of the scale. The split-half reliability was computed with odd and even numbers of those 31 items ($N = 100$) scores in the pilot study and the correlation was found 0.79. Split-half reliability was again computed of the scores in the final study ($N = 240$) with odd and even number of 31 items and correlation was found 0.67. After applying Spearman Brown prophecy formula (Garretts et al. 1965, 1966; & 1975), the co-efficient was found to rise from 0.67 to 0.80 which was very high. Thus, it can be said that the reliability of the measure of attitudes towards healthy minority-majority relationship scale is statistically sound. The split-half reliability of attitudes towards healthy minority-majority relationship Scale was computed with the scores of final study in order to find out whether the change in size of the sample ($N = 240$) will affect the reliability of the scale. To find out the validity of the scale, correlations of each dimension with the total scores of final study were computed which ranged from

0.41 to 0.54 (Table 4.2). Correlation of each dimension with total scores of the pilot study was also computed and it ranged from 0.28 to 0.41.

Table 4.2: Showing correlation of the scores of each dimension with the total scores of Majority-Minority Attitude Scale (both pilot and final study).

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

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

Table 4.3: Showing inter-dimensional correlations with the scores of Majority-Minority Attitude Scale in the pilot study (N=100).

	S	FHR	PC	SEJ	N
S		0.44**	0.43**	0.35*	0.69**
FHR			0.36**	0.44**	0.29*
PC				0.30*	0.34*
SEJ					0.28*
N					

* = $p < 0.05$, ** = $p < 0.01$

S = Secularism, FHR = Fundamental Human Rights, PC = Peaceful Coexistence, SEJ = Social and Economic Justice, N = Nationalism.

The high positive correlation between inter-dimensions indicated the validity of majority-minority attitude scale. Thus homogeneity of the scale was established. It is also an indication of content validity of the scale. The co-efficient of correlation between two equivalent forms of the test in the pilot study (N = 100) was 0.79 and that of final study (N = 240) was 0.67. This high correlation in the final study is an indication of the predictive validity of the majority-minority attitude scale. The majority-minority attitude scale contains both positive and negative statements. The number of statements having positive and negative directions in each dimension is reported in table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Showing the number of statements having positive and negative direction on each dimension.

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

Thus, in the final shape, the majority-minority attitude scale included 31 items. The specific areas covered by each of 31 items have been given in the Appendix.

4.7. Levenson's (1981) Internality, Powerful others and Chance Scale (Shahria's Bengali Version)

4.7.1. Variable

These scales represent three separate components of the control construct, each viewed as independent and therefore to be used in a profile of causal beliefs.

4.7.2. Description

Internality (I) measures the extent to which, people believes that they have control over their own lives. The Powerful others (P) scale concerns the belief that other persons control the events in one's life. The Chance (C) scale measures the degree to which a person believes that chance affects his or her experiences and outcomes. The I, P, and C subscale was comprised of items derived from Rotter's I-E Scale and some written specifically to assess these three components or attributions for control. Each subscale was comprised of eight items with a five-point Likert format that are presented as a unified scale of 24 items. This final scale was derived from a larger measure of 36 items that was reduced following item analyses and correlations with the Crowne-Marlowe Social Desirability Scale. All statements are worded in the first person. The Likert scale ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) so that with a constant of 24 added to the total to eliminate negative scores, the range of scores per subscale is from 0 to 120.

4.7.3. Samples

The I, P, and C scales have been used with a wide variety of samples including psychiatric patients, reformatory prisoners, students, adults in different walks of life, and members of some non-American cultures (Japan). An extensive description of samples and norms can be found in Levenson (1981). Levenson has presented extensive norms for the scale based on the results of more than a dozen studies. For the Internality subscale means ranged from the low 30s to the low 40s, with 35 being the modal mean. SD values approximating 7. The Powerful others subscale has produced means ranged from 18 through 26 with 20 being

characteristic of normal college student subjects ($SD = 8.5$). The Chance subscale produces means between 17 and 25, with 18 being a common mean among undergraduates ($SD = 8$).

4.7.4. Reliability

Internal Consistency: For a student sample of 152, the Kuder-Richardson reliabilities were 0.64 for I, 0.77 for P and 0.78 for C. Similar estimates have been found among 115 adults (0.51, 0.72, and 0.73). Split-half reliabilities using Spearman-Brown formula were 0.62, 0.66, and 0.64 for the three subscales. **Test-Retest:** test-retest reliabilities with a 1-week interval ranged between 0.60 and 0.79, while a 7 week interval produced values between 0.66 and 0.73. Factor analysis supports the independence of the three subscales (Levenson, 1974).

4.7.5. Validity

Convergent: The P and C subscales have been found to correlate with each other from 0.41 to 0.60; whereas the P and C scales correlated with I scale between -0.25 and 0.19. With Rotter's I-E Scale, the P and C subscales produce values of 0.25 and 0.56, respectively, while the I scale is correlated negatively ($r = -0.41$). Similar correlations (0.24, 0.44, -0.15; 0.22, 0.43, -0.32) have been found among other samples. Extensive validity research has been conducted with the I, P and C subscales related to achievement, occupational behaviour, socio-political involvement, interpersonal perception and behaviour; much of it is reviewed in Levenson (1981). **Discriminate:** The I, P, and c scales have been evaluated opposite the Crowne-Marlowe social desirability scale, and correlations for the subscales have been negligible (0.09, 0.04, and -0.10 in one study and 0.04, 0.11, 0.08 in a second study).

4.7.6. Results and Comments

This measure was one of the first (along with the Crandall's IAR) to disaggregate the components of locus of control and to create a multidimensional scale. As such, it has had considerable influence upon the development of other scales. At the same time, however, the very richness afforded by the profiles, where in one can regard oneself as internal and yet also believe in the power of luck, results in some problems because conceptualization has not kept pace with empirical results. Although there has been much theoretical development for the uni- dimensional locus of control concept, little has been made of the meaning to be attributed to control profiles. This awaits future research, for which this scale seems well adapted. Whatever research is done will require foresight from theoretical considerations. In other words, this scale is not recommended if the researcher is not prepared to do the conceptual work necessary. Otherwise, he or she will be left with too many data, which will afford more confusion than knowledge. For the present study used Shahria's Bengali version.

4.8. Procedure of Data Collection and Administration of Scales

The present investigation utilized majority-minority attitude scale, modification of Ara's liberalism-conservatism attitude scale and modification of Levenson's Internality, Powerful Others and Chance Scale (Shahria's Bengali Version) for collection of data in the present study. These three measures were administered to each of the 240 participants separately for Muslim Ss (N = 120) and Hindu Ss (N = 120). Data collection job was done at Dhaka and Rajshahi in March, 2010 and it was continued up to July, 2010.

50% samples were collected from the Dhaka and 50% samples were collected from the Rajshahi. The following instruments were administered on the final sample. These three measures and Criteria Questionnaire are as follows: (i) Criteria Questionnaire (CQ); (ii) Majority-Minority Attitude (MMA) Scale; (iii) Modification of Ara's Liberalism-Conservatism Attitude (LCA) Scale; (iv) Modification of Levenson's Internality, Powerful Others and Chance Scale (Shahria's Bengali Version).

Each sample was administered with a time gap of one week in order to prevent serial position effect from one measure to another. In addition, Majority-Minority Attitude Scale was administered first, followed by Liberalism-Conservatism Attitude Scale and lastly Internality, Powerful Others and Chance Scale. This sequence was maintained in order to check the response set effect of the participants. In both the groups of the participants took half an hour to fill up each questionnaire. However, the participants were very much eager to fill up these questionnaires. They co-operated the investigator to fill up the scale. The investigator was able to make a rapport with the participants. They were told that these collections of data would help to take majority-minority relationship, unless and until they expressed their views and opinions frankly. All the scales and instructions were given to the participants for each scale with instructions have been put in the appendices.

4.9. Design of the Study

The present study was designed to investigate the majority-minority attitudes and liberal-conservative attitudes and certain personality variables of Muslim and Hindu ethnic groups of Bangladesh with reference to gender and socio-demographic factors in Bangladesh. The study used three independent variables such as group composition, gender and SES. Group composition was divided into majority group (Muslim) and minority group (Hindu). Gender was divided into male and female. SES included upper middle SES and lower middle SES. These independent variables were tested for measuring majority-minority attitudes, liberal-conservative attitudes and personality variables i.e. internality, powerful others & chance. Thus, $2 \times 2 \times 2$ factorial design was used in this study. It was a three-way analysis of variance consisting of two levels of group composition (Muslim and Hindu), two levels of gender (male and female) and two levels of SES (upper middle SES and lower middle SES).

4.10. Method of Analysis

The data thus collected has been analyzed for Muslim Ss and Hindu Ss of male and female having upper middle SES and lower middle SES in Bangladesh separately. Scoring was made for each subject and coding was done for final analyses of the results. The analyses were done in two parts. In the first part, Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was computed for each variable separately. In the second part, correlational analyses like bi-serial correlation and inter-variable correlation were computed.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS

The present chapter contains the analysis of results and its interpretations. In the computation of results, the analysis of variance was used. In the first part, the factorial ANOVA using $2 \times 2 \times 2$ design was applied on the scores of Liberalism-Conservatism Attitude Scale, Majority-Minority Attitude Scale, and Internality, Powerful Others and Chance Personality Scale. The ANOVA was conducted separately. In each computation a $2 \times 2 \times 2$ factorial design involving two levels of group composition (majority and minority), two levels of gender (male and female) and two levels of SES (upper middle SES and lower middle SES) 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. In the second part, the correlation analyses like bi-serial and inter variable correlation were computed. Finally, a summary of main findings is given for an overall view of the results.

5.1. Liberalism-Conservatism Attitude Scale

The scores on liberalism-conservatism attitude scale were tabulated accurately for the analysis of data. The data were analyzed by computing Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). In this analysis, a factorial design was used. Thus a $2 \times 2 \times 2$ factorial design involving two levels of group composition (majority and minority), two levels of gender (male and female) and two levels of SES (upper middle SES and lower middle SES) were utilized for the collection of data. A high score indicated liberalism and a low score indicated conservatism. The highest possible score in this

scale was $(40 \times 5) = 200$ and the lowest possible score was $(40 \times 1) = 40$. The mid point of scale is $(200+40) \div 2 = 120$. The Ss were asked to give their response on a five point scale ranging from strong agreement to strong disagreement. So the highest score of the Ss indicated strong agreement with the statements relating to liberalism-conservatism attitudes. The summary of ANOVA has been reported in table – 5.1.

Table-5.1: Showing summary of factorial ANOVA involving group composition, gender and SES on the scores of Liberalism-Conservatism Attitude Scale.

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F
Group Composition (A)	20130.02	1	20130.02	26.56**
Gender (B)	4133.40	1	4133.40	5.45*
SES (C)	3124.82	1	3124.82	4.12*
AB	3016.56	1	3016.56	3.98*
AC	2887.71	1	2887.71	3.81*
BC	1432.49	1	1432.49	1.89 ns
ABC	704.87	1	704.87	0.93 ns
Within Cell (Error)	175839.76	232	757.93	
Total	211269.63	239		

P<0.05*, P<0.01**, ns = not significant

The results reported in table-5.1 showed that the main effect for group composition ($F=26.56$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.01$), gender ($F=5.45$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.01$) and SES ($F=4.12$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.01$) were found statistically significant. However, two-way interaction effect involving group composition and gender ($F=3.98$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.05$), and group composition and SES ($F=3.81$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.05$) were also found statistically significant.

5.1.1. Main Effect

5.1.1.1. Group Composition

The results reported in table-5.1 showed that the main effect for group composition was statistically significant ($F=26.56$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.01$). The mean scores and significant mean difference between majority group and minority group have been reported in table – 5.2.

Table-5.2: Showing overall mean scores and significant mean difference for the main effect of group composition on the scores of liberalism-conservatism attitude scale ($N=120$ for each group).

Group Composition	Mean Scores
Majority Group (Muslim)	132.18
Minority Group (Hindu)	113.87

Note: Mean differences were computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores reported in table-5.2 showed that regardless of gender and SES, majority group ($M=132.18$) expressed socio-politically significant more liberal attitude as compared to minority group ($M=113.87$).

5.1.1.2. Gender

The results reported in table-5.1 showed that main effect for gender was statistically significant ($F=5.45$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.01$). The mean scores and significant mean difference between male and female have been reported in table – 5.3.

Table-5.3: Showing overall mean scores and significant mean difference for the main effect of gender on the scores of liberalism-conservatism attitude scale ($N=120$ for each group).

Gender	Mean Scores
Male	127.17
Female	118.88

Note: Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores reported in table-5.3 showed that regardless of group composition and SES, male Ss ($M=127.17$) expressed socio-politically significant more liberal attitude as compared to their female counterpart ($M=118.88$).

5.1.1.3. Socio-Economic Status

The results reported in table-5.1 showed that main effect for SES was statistically significant ($F=4.12$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.01$). The mean scores and significant mean differences between upper middle SES and lower middle SES have been reported in table – 5.4.

Table-5.4: Showing overall mean scores and significant mean difference for the main effect of SES on the scores of liberalism-conservatism attitude scale (N=120 for each group).

SES	Mean Scores
Upper Middle SES	126.63
Lower Middle SES	119.41

Note: Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores reported in table-5.4 showed that regardless of group composition and gender, upper middle SES Ss (M=126.63) expressed socio-politically significant more liberal attitude as compared to lower middle SES Ss (M=119.41).

5.1.2. Interaction Effect

5.1.2.1. Group Composition $\times$ Gender

An observation of table-5.1 showed that a two-way interaction effect involving group composition and gender was statistically significant ($F=3.98$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.05$). Table – 5.5 contains the mean scores and their significant mean differences between different comparison groups of group composition and gender.

Table-5.5: Showing overall cell means and their significant mean differences of two-way interaction involving group composition and gender on the scores of liberalism-conservatism attitude scale ($N=60$ for each group).

Group Composition	Gender	
	Male	Female
Majority Group	136.82	127.55
Minority Group	117.53	110.20

Note: Mean differences were computed using Newman-Keuls formula (Winer, 1971; PP. 191-195). $P<0.05$

An inspection of mean scores reported in table-5.5 showed that in case of majority group, it was found that male Ss ($M=136.82$) expressed socio-politically significant more liberal attitude as compared to their female counterpart ($M=127.55$). Similarly, in case of minority group, it was found that male Ss ($M=117.53$) expressed

socio-politically significant more liberal attitude as compared to their female counterpart ($M=110.20$).

Results also showed that in case of male, majority group ($M=136.82$) expressed socio-politically significant more liberal attitude as compared to minority group ($M=117.53$). Again, in case of female, majority group ($M=127.55$) expressed socio-politically significant more liberal attitude as compared to minority group ($M=110.20$). The interaction effect has been graphically plotted in Figure - 5.1.

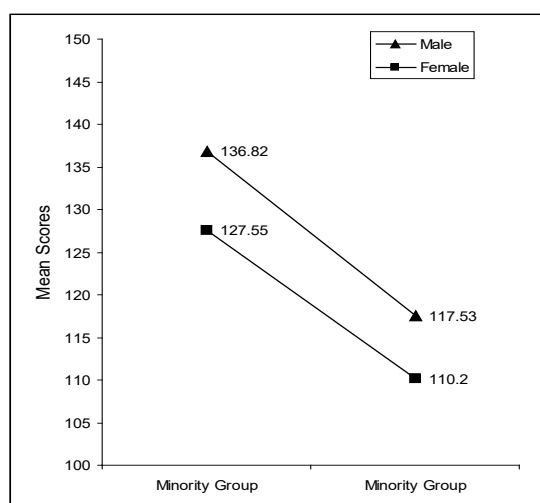


Figure - 5.1: Showing two-way interaction effect between group composition and gender.

5.1.2.2. Group composition × Socio-Economic Status

An observation of table-5.1 showed that a two-way interaction effect involving group composition and SES was statistically significant ($F=3.81$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.05$). Table – 5.6 contains the mean scores and their significant mean differences between different comparison groups of group composition and SES.

Table-5.6: Showing overall cell means and their significant mean differences of two-way interaction involving group composition and SES on the scores of liberalism-conservatism attitude scale ($N=60$ for each group).

Group Composition	SES	
	Upper Middle SES	Lower Middle SES
Majority Group	136.02	128.35
Minority Group	117.25	110.48

Note: Mean differences were computed using Newman-Keuls formula (Winer, 1971; PP. 191-195). $P<0.05$

An inspection of mean scores reported in table-5.6 showed that in case of majority group, it was found that upper middle SES Ss ($M=136.02$) expressed socio-politically significant more liberal attitude as compared to lower middle SES ($M=128.35$). Similarly, in case of minority group, it was found that upper middle SES Ss ($M=117.25$) expressed socio-politically significant more liberal attitude as compared to lower middle SES ($M=110.48$).

Results also showed that in case of upper middle SES, majority group ($M=136.02$) expressed socio-politically significant more liberal attitude

as compared to minority group ($M=117.25$). Again, in case of lower middle SES, majority group ($M=128.36$) expressed socio-politically significant more liberal attitude as compared to minority group ($M=110.48$). The interaction effect has been graphically plotted in Figure – 5.2.

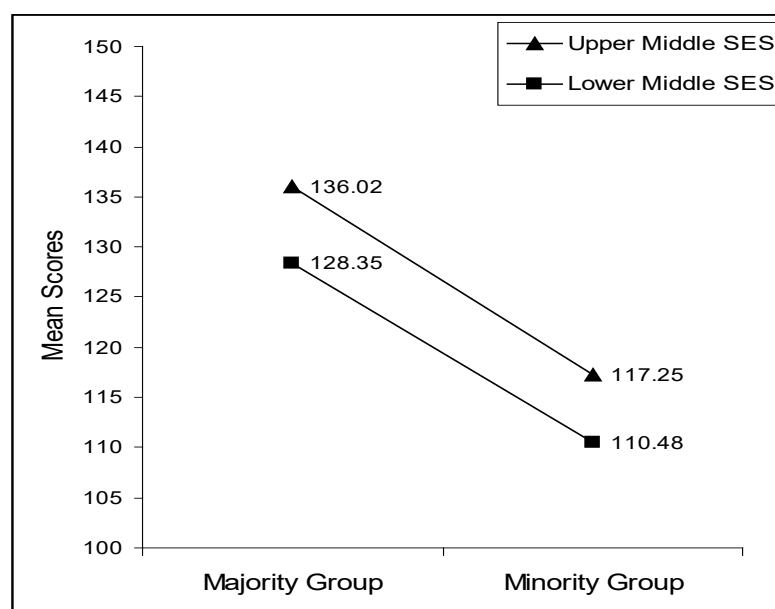


Figure - 5.2: Showing two-way interaction effect between group composition and gender.

5.2. Majority-Minority Attitude Scale

The scores on Majority-Minority attitudes scale were tabulated accurately for the analysis of data. The data were analyzed by computing Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). In this analysis, a factorial design was used. Thus a $2 \times 2 \times 2$ factorial design involving two levels of group composition (majority and minority), two levels of gender (male and female) and two levels of SES (upper middle SES and lower middle SES) were utilized for the collection of data. A high score was indicative of favorable attitudes toward majority-minority relationship and a low score was indicative of unfavorable attitudes toward majority-minority relationship. The highest possible score in this scale was $(31 \times 5)=155$ and

the lowest possible score was $(31 \times 1) = 31$. The mid point of scale is $(155 + 31) \div 2 = 93$. The Ss were asked to give their response on a five 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 toward Majority-Minority relationship. The summary of ANOVA has been reported in table - 5.7.

Table-5.7: Showing summary of factorial ANOVA involving group composition, gender and SES on the scores of Majority-Minority Attitude Scale.

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F
Group Composition (A)	8061.23	1	8061.23	15.09**
Gender (B)	7404.15	1	7404.15	13.86**
SES (C)	4567.54	1	4567.54	8.55**
AB	2110.13	1	2110.13	3.95*
AC	2078.08	1	2078.08	3.89*
BC	2152.87	1	2152.87	4.03*
ABC	580.50	1	580.50	1.09 ns
Within Cell (Error)	123936.72	232	534.21	
Total	150891.22	239		

P<0.05*, P<0.01**, ns = not significant

The results reported in table-5.7 showed that the main effect for group composition ($F=15.09$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.01$), gender ($F=13.86$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.01$) and SES ($F=8.55$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.01$) were found statistically significant. However, two-way interaction effect involving group composition and gender ($F=3.95$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.05$), group composition and SES ($F=3.89$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.05$), and gender and SES ($F=4.03$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.05$) were found statistically significant.

5.2.1. Main Effect

5.2.1.1. Group Composition

The results reported in table-5.7 showed that the main effect for group composition was statistically significant ($F=15.09$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.01$). The mean scores and significant mean difference between majority group and minority group have been reported in table – 5.8.

Table-5.8: Showing overall mean scores and significant mean difference for the main effect of group composition on the scores of Majority-Minority attitude scale ($N=120$ for each group).

Group	Mean Scores
Majority Group (Muslim)	114.57
Minority Group (Hindu)	96.89

Note: Mean differences were computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores reported in table-5.8 showed that regardless of gender and SES, majority group ($M=114.57$) expressed significantly more favourable attitude toward Majority-Minority relationship as compared to minority group ($M=96.89$).

5.2.1.2. Gender

The results reported in table-5.7 showed that main effect for gender was statistically significant ($F=13.86$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.01$). The mean scores and significant mean difference between male and female have been reported in table – 5.9.

Table-5.9: Showing overall mean scores and significant mean difference for the main effect of gender on the scores of Majority-Minority attitude scale ($N=120$ for each group).

Gender	Mean Scores
Male	113.02
Female	98.44

Note: Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores reported in table-5.9 showed that regardless of group composition and SES, male Ss ($M=113.02$) expressed significantly more favourable attitude toward Majority-Minority relationship as compared to their female counterpart ($M=98.44$).

5.2.1.3. Socio-Economic Status

The results reported in table-5.7 showed that main effect for SES was statistically significant ($F=8.55$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.01$). The mean scores and significant mean differences between upper middle SES and lower middle SES have been reported in table – 5.10.

Table-5.10: Showing overall mean scores and significant mean difference for the main effect of SES on the scores of Majority-Minority attitude scale (N=120 for each group).

SES	Mean Scores
Upper Middle SES	110.09
Lower Middle SES	101.37

Note: Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores reported in table-5.10 showed that regardless of group composition and gender, upper middle SES Ss (M=110.09) expressed significantly more favourable attitude toward Majority-Minority relationship as compared to lower middle SES Ss (M=101.37).

5.2.2. Interaction Effect

5.2.2.1. Group Composition $\times$ Gender

An observation of table-5.7 showed that a two-way interaction effect involving group composition and gender was statistically significant ($F=3.95$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.05$). Table – 5.11 contains the mean scores and their significant mean differences between different comparison groups of group composition and gender.

Table-5.11: Showing overall cell means and their significant mean differences of two-way interaction involving group composition and gender on the scores of Majority-Minority attitude scale ($N=60$ for each group).

Group composition	Gender	
	Male	Female
Majority	120.38 _a	108.75 _b
Minority	105.65 _b	88.14 _c

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean differences were computed using Newman-Keuls formula (Winer, 1971; PP. 191-195).

An inspection of mean scores reported in table-5.11 showed that in case of majority group, it was found that male Ss ($M=120.38$) expressed significantly more favourable attitude toward Majority-Minority relationship as compared to their female counterpart ($M=108.75$). Similarly, in case of minority group, it was found that male Ss

($M=105.65$) expressed significantly more favourable attitude toward Majority-Minority relationship as compared to their female counterpart ($M=88.14$).

Results also showed that in case of male, majority group ($M=120.38$) expressed significantly more favourable attitude toward majority-minority relationship as compared to minority group ($M=105.65$). Again, in case of female, majority group ($M=108.75$) expressed significantly more favourable attitude toward majority-minority relationship as compared to minority group ($M=88.14$). The interaction effect has been graphically plotted in Figure - 5.3.

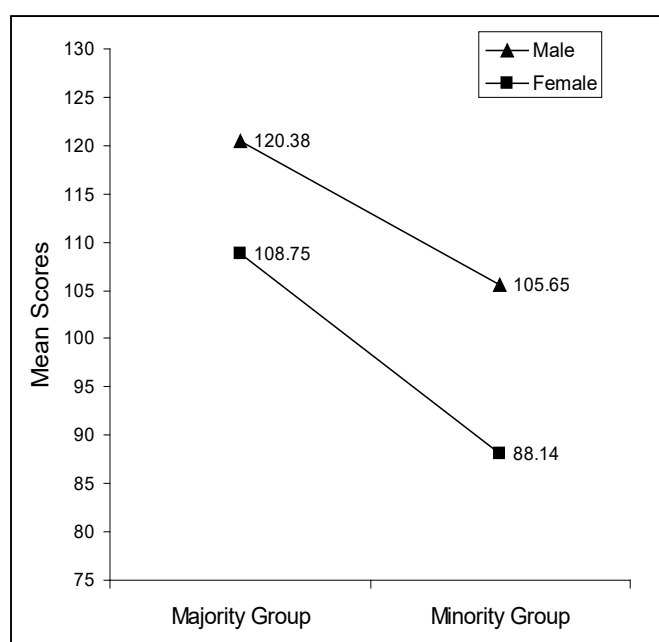


Figure - 5.3: Showing two-way interaction effect between group composition and gender.

5.2.2.2. Group composition $\times$ Socio-Economic Status

An observation of table-5.7 showed that a two-way interaction effect involving group composition and SES was statistically significant ($F=3.89$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.05$). Table – 5.12 contains the mean scores and

their significant mean differences between different comparison groups of group composition and SES.

Table-5.12: Showing overall cell means and their significant mean differences of two-way interaction involving group composition and SES on the scores of Majority-Minority attitude scale (N=60 for each group).

Group Composition	SES	
	Upper Middle SES	Lower Middle SES
Majority Group	118.07	111.07
Minority Group	102.12	91.67

Note: Mean differences were computed using Newman-Keuls formula (Winer, 1971; PP. 191-195). $P < 0.05$

An inspection of mean scores reported in table-5.12 showed that in case of majority group, it was found that upper middle SES Ss ($M=118.07$) expressed significantly more favourable attitude toward Majority-Minority relationship as compared to lower middle SES ($M=111.07$). Similarly, in case of minority group, it was found that upper middle SES Ss ($M=102.12$) expressed significantly more favourable attitude toward Majority-Minority relationship as compared to lower middle SES ($M=91.67$).

Results also showed that in case of upper middle SES, majority group ($M=118.07$) expressed significantly more favourable attitude toward majority-minority relationship as compared to minority group ($M=102.12$). Again, in case of lower middle SES, majority group

($M=111.07$) expressed significantly more favourable attitude toward majority-minority relationship as compared to minority group ($M=91.67$). The interaction effect has been graphically plotted in Figure – 5.4.

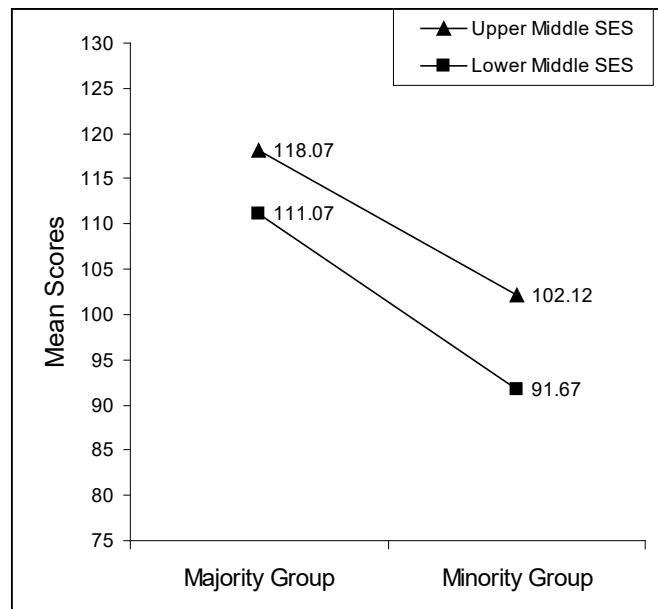


Figure - 5.4: Showing two-way interaction effect between group composition and SES.

5.2.2.3. Gender $\times$ Socio-Economic Status

An observation of table-5.7 showed that a two-way interaction effect involving gender and SES was statistically significant ($F=4.03$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.05$). Table – 5.13 contains the mean scores and their significant mean differences between different comparison groups of gender and SES.

Table-5.13: Showing overall cell means and their significant mean differences of two-way interaction involving gender and SES on the scores of Majority-Minority attitude scale ($N=60$ for each group).

Gender	SES	
	Upper Middle SES	Lower Middle SES
Male	116.85	109.18
Female	103.34	93.55

Note: Mean differences were computed using Newman-Keuls formula (Winer, 1971; PP. 191-195). $P<0.05$

An inspection of mean scores reported in table-5.13 showed that in case of male, it was found that upper middle SES Ss ($M=116.85$) expressed significantly more favourable attitude toward Majority-Minority relationship as compared to lower middle SES ($M=109.18$). Similarly, in case of female, it was found that upper middle SES Ss ($M=103.34$) expressed significantly more favourable attitude toward Majority-Minority relationship as compared to lower middle SES ($M=93.55$).

Results also showed that in case of upper middle SES, male Ss ($M=116.85$) expressed significantly more favourable attitude toward majority-minority relationship as compared to their female counterpart

($M=103.34$). Again, in case of lower middle SES, male Ss ($M=109.18$) expressed significantly more favourable attitude toward majority-minority relationship as compared to their female counterpart ($M=93.55$). The interaction effect has been graphically plotted in Figure - 5.5.

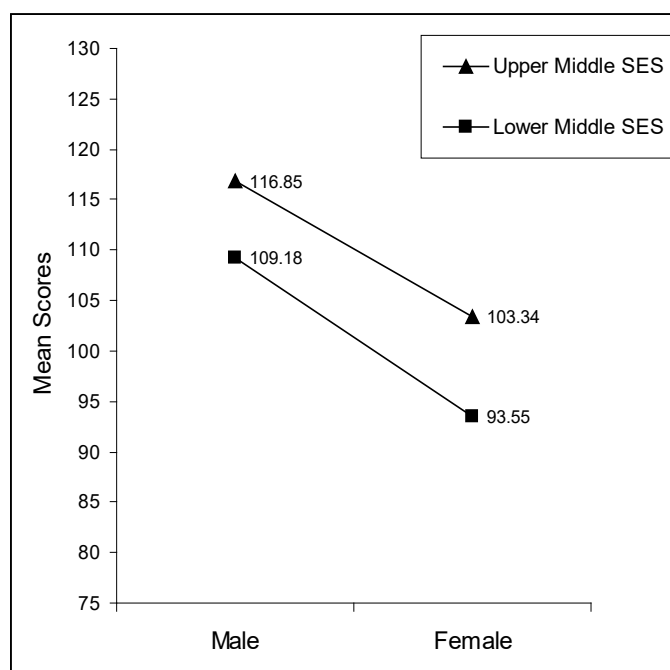


Figure - 5.5: Showing two-way interaction effect between gender and SES.

5.3. Internality, Powerful Others and Chance Personality Scale

5.3.1. Internality Sub-Scale

The scores on internality sub scale were tabulated accurately for the analysis of data. The data were analyzed by computing Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). In this analysis, a factorial design was used. Thus a $2 \times 2 \times 2$ factorial design involving two levels of group composition (majority and minority), two levels of gender (male and female) and two levels of SES (upper middle SES and lower middle SES) were utilized for the collection of data. A high score indicated more internality and a low score indicated less internality. The highest possible score in this scale was $(8 \times 5) = 40$ and the lowest possible score was $(8 \times 1) = 8$. The mid

point of scale is $(40+8) \div 2 = 24$. The Ss were asked to give their response on a five point scale ranging from strong agreement to strong disagreement. So the highest score of the Ss indicated strong agreement with the statements relating to internality. The summary of ANOVA has been reported in table - 5.14.

Table-5.14: Showing summary of factorial ANOVA involving group composition, gender and SES on the scores of internality sub scale.

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F
Group Composition (A)	4191.70	1	4191.70	24.71**
Gender (B)	2070.94	1	2070.94	12.21**
SES (C)	870.20	1	870.20	5.13*
AB	765.03	1	765.03	4.51*
AC	269.71	1	269.71	1.59 ns
BC	654.77	1	654.77	3.86*
ABC	123.83	1	123.83	0.73 ns
Within Cell (Error)	39354.16	232	169.63	
Total	48300.34	239		

P<0.05*, P<0.01**, ns = not significant

The results reported in table-5.14 showed that the main effect for group composition ($F=24.71$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.01$), gender ($F=12.21$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.01$) and SES ($F=5.13$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.05$) were found statistically significant. However, two-way interaction effect involving group composition and gender ($F=4.51$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.05$), and gender and SES ($F=3.86$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.05$) were also found statistically significant.

5.3.1.1. Main Effect

5.3.1.1.1. Group Composition

The results reported in table-5.14 showed that the main effect for group composition was statistically significant ($F=24.71$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.01$).

The mean scores and significant mean difference between majority group and minority group have been reported in table – 5.15.

Table-5.15: Showing overall mean scores and significant mean difference for the main effect of group composition on the scores of internality sub scale (N=120 for each group).

Group	Mean Scores
Majority Group (Muslim)	28.79
Minority Group (Hindu)	20.43

Note: Mean differences were computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores reported in table-5.15 showed that regardless of gender and SES, majority group (M=28.79) expressed significantly more internality as compared to minority group (M=20.43).

5.3.1.1.2. Gender

The results reported in table-5.14 showed that main effect for gender was statistically significant ($F=12.21$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.01$). The mean scores and significant mean difference between male and female have been reported in table – 5.16.

Table-5.16: Showing overall mean scores and significant mean difference for the main effect of gender on the scores of internality sub scale (N=120 for each group).

Gender	Mean Scores
Male	27.55
Female	21.68

Note: Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores reported in table-5.16 showed that regardless of group composition and SES, male Ss ($M=27.55$) expressed significantly more internality as compared to their female counterpart ($M=21.68$).

5.3.1.1.3. Socio-Economic Status

The results reported in table-5.14 showed that main effect for SES was statistically significant ($F=5.13$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.01$). The mean scores and significant mean differences between upper middle SES and lower middle SES have been reported in table – 5.17.

Table-5.17: Showing overall mean scores and significant mean difference for the main effect of SES on the scores of internality sub scale ($N=120$ for each group).

SES	Mean Scores
Upper Middle SES	26.52
Lower Middle SES	22.71

Note: Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores reported in table-5.17 showed that regardless of group composition and gender, upper middle SES Ss ($M=26.52$) expressed significantly more internality as compared to lower middle SES Ss ($M=22.71$).

5.3.1.2. Interaction Effect

5.3.1.2.1. Group Composition $\times$ Gender

An observation of table-5.14 showed that a two-way interaction effect involving group composition and gender was statistically significant ($F=4.51$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.05$). Table – 5.18 contains the mean scores and their significant mean differences between different comparison groups of group composition and gender.

Table-5.18: Showing overall cell means and their significant mean differences of two-way interaction involving group composition and gender on the scores of internality sub scale (N=60 for each group).

Group Composition	Gender	
	Male	Female
Majority Group	31.92	25.67
Minority Group	23.18	17.68

Note: Mean differences were computed using Newman-Keuls formula (Winer, 1971; PP. 191-195).

An inspection of mean scores reported in table-5.18 showed that in case of majority group, it was found that male Ss ($M=31.92$) expressed significantly more internality as compared to their female counterpart ($M=25.67$). Similarly, in case of minority group, it was found that male Ss ($M=23.18$) expressed significantly more internality as compared to their female counterpart ($M=17.68$).

Results also showed that in case of male, majority group ($M=31.92$) expressed significantly more internality as compared to minority group

($M=23.18$). Again, in case of female, majority group ($M=25.67$) expressed significantly more internality as compared to minority group ($M=17.68$). The interaction effect has been graphically plotted in Figure - 5.6.

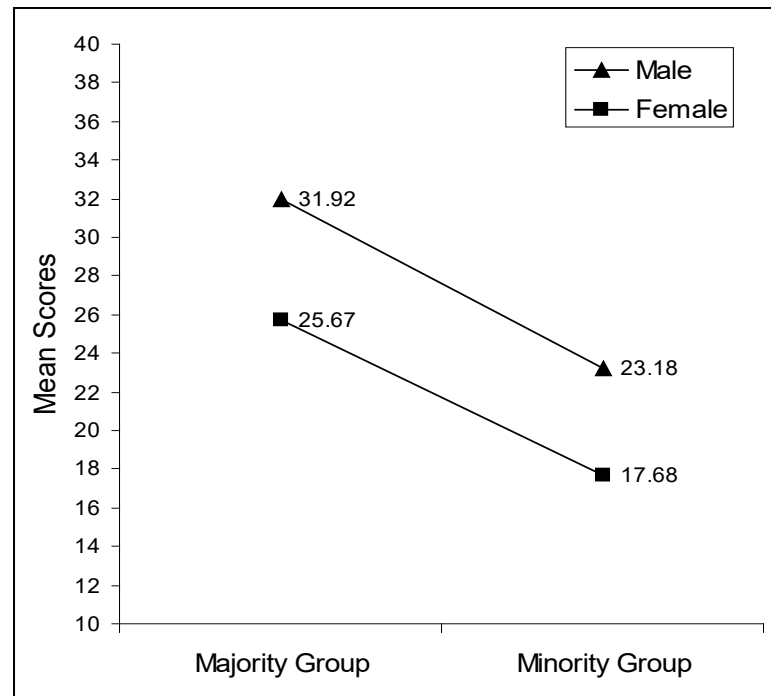


Figure - 5.6: Showing two-way interaction effect between group composition and gender.

5.3.1.2.2. Gender $\times$ Socio-Economic Status

An observation of table-5.14 showed that a two-way interaction effect involving gender and SES was statistically significant ($F=3.86$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.05$). Table – 5.19 contains the mean scores and their significant mean differences between different comparison groups of gender and SES.

Table-5.19: Showing overall cell means and their significant mean differences of two-way interaction involving gender and SES on the scores of internality sub scale (N=60 for each group).

Gender	SES	
	Upper Middle SES	Lower Middle SES
Male	29.64	25.47
Female	23.40	19.95

Note: Mean differences were computed using Newman-Keuls formula (Winer, 1971; PP. 191-195).

An inspection of mean scores reported in table-19 showed that in case of male, it was found that upper middle SES Ss ($M=29.64$) expressed significantly more internality as compared to lower middle SES ($M=25.47$). Similarly, in case of female, it was found that upper middle SES Ss ($M=23.40$) expressed significantly more internality as compared to lower middle SES ($M=19.95$).

Results also showed that in case of upper middle SES, male Ss ($M=29.64$) expressed significantly more internality as compared to their female counterpart ($M=23.40$). Again, in case of lower middle SES, male Ss ($M=25.47$) expressed significantly more internality as compared to their female counterpart ($M=19.95$). The interaction effect has been graphically plotted in Figure - 5.7.

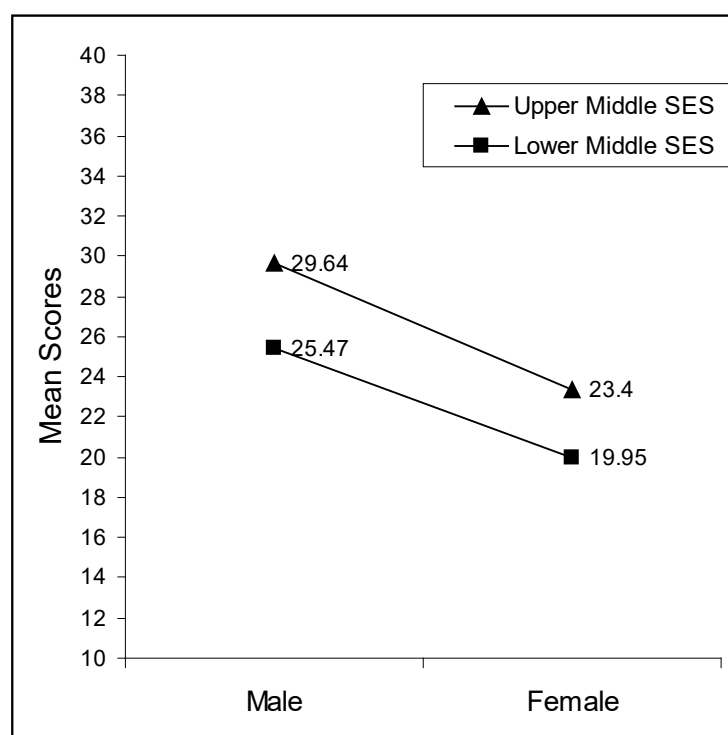


Figure - 5.7: Showing two-way interaction effect between gender and SES.

5.3.2. Powerful Others Sub Scale

The scores on powerful others sub scale were tabulated accurately for the analysis of data. The data were analyzed by computing Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). In this analysis, a factorial design was used. Thus a $2 \times 2 \times 2$ factorial design involving two levels of group composition (majority and minority), two levels of gender (male and female) and two levels of SES (upper middle SES and lower middle SES) were utilized for the collection of data. The highest possible score in this scale was $(8 \times 5) = 40$ and the lowest possible score was $(8 \times 1) = 8$. The mid point of scale is $(40+8) \div 2 = 24$. The Ss were asked to give their response on a five point scale ranging from strong agreement to strong disagreement. So the highest score of the Ss indicated strong agreement with the statements relating to powerful others. The summary of ANOVA has been reported

in table - 5.20.

Table-5.20: Showing summary of factorial ANOVA involving group composition, gender and SES on the scores of powerful others sub scale.

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F
Group Composition (A)	2252.23	1	2252.23	11.61**
Gender (B)	788.44	1	788.44	4.06*
SES (C)	956.01	1	956.01	4.93*
AB	863.26	1	863.26	4.45*
AC	758.50	1	758.50	3.91*
BC	735.22	1	735.22	3.79*
ABC	263.82	1	263.82	1.36 ns
Within Cell (Error)	45005.68	232	193.99	
Total	51623.16	239		

P<0.05*, P<0.01**, ns = not significant

The results reported in table-5.20 showed that the main effect for group composition ($F=11.61$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.01$), gender ($F=4.06$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.05$) and SES ($F=4.93$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.05$) were found statistically significant. However, two-way interaction effect involving group composition and gender ($F=4.45$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.05$); group composition and SES ($F=3.91$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.05$); and gender and SES ($F=3.79$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.05$) were also found statistically significant.

5.3.2.1. Main Effect

5.3.2.1.1. Group Composition

The results reported in table-5.20 showed that the main effect for group composition was statistically significant ($F=11.61$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.01$).

The mean scores and significant mean difference between majority group and minority group have been reported in table – 5.21.

Table-5.21: Showing overall mean scores and significant mean difference for the main effect of group composition on the scores of powerful others sub scale (N=120 for each group).

Group	Mean Scores
Majority Group (Muslim)	18.66
Minority Group (Hindu)	27.93

Note: Mean differences were computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores reported in table-5.21 showed that regardless of gender and SES, minority group (M=27.93) were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others sub scale as compared to majority group (M=18.66).

5.3.2.1.2. Gender

The results reported in table-5.20 showed that main effect for gender was statistically significant ($F=4.06$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.05$). The mean scores and significant mean difference between male and female have been reported in table – 5.22.

Table-5.22: Showing overall mean scores and significant mean difference for the main effect of gender on the scores of powerful others sub scale (N=120 for each group).

Gender	Mean Scores
Male	21.49
Female	25.11

Note: Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores reported in table-5.22 showed that regardless of group composition and SES, female Ss ($M=25.11$) were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others sub scale as compared to their male counterpart ($M=21.49$).

5.3.2.1.3. Socio-Economic Status

The results reported in table-5.20 showed that main effect for SES was statistically significant ($F=4.93$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.01$). The mean scores and significant mean differences between upper middle SES and lower middle SES have been reported in table – 5.23.

Table-5.23: Showing overall mean scores and significant mean difference for the main effect of SES on the scores of powerful others sub scale (N=120 for each group).

SES	Mean Scores
Upper Middle SES	21.30
Lower Middle SES	25.29

Note: Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores reported in table-5.23 showed that regardless of group composition and gender, lower middle SES (M=25.29) were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others sub scale as compared to upper middle SES (M=21.31).

5.3.2.2. Interaction Effect

5.3.2.2.1. Group Composition $\times$ Gender

An observation of table-5.20 showed that a two-way interaction effect involving group composition and gender was statistically significant ($F=4.45$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.05$). Table – 5.24 contains the mean scores and their significant mean differences between different comparison groups of group composition and gender.

Table-5.24: Showing overall cell means and their significant mean differences of two-way interaction involving group composition and gender on the scores of powerful others sub scale (N=60 for each group).

Group Composition	Gender	
	Male	Female
Majority Group	16.35	20.97
Minority Group	26.62	29.25

Note: Mean differences were computed using Newman-Keuls formula (Winer, 1971; PP. 191-195).

An inspection of mean scores reported in table-5.24 showed that in case of majority group, it was found that female Ss (M=20.97) were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others sub scale as compared to their male counterpart (M=16.35). Similarly, in case of minority group, it was found that female Ss (M=29.25) were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others sub scale as compared to their male counterpart (M=26.62).

Results also showed that in case of male, minority group (M=26.62) were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others sub scale as compared to majority group (M=16.35). Again, in case of female, minority group (M=29.25) were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others sub scale as compared to majority group (M=20.97). The interaction effect has been graphically plotted in Figure - 8.

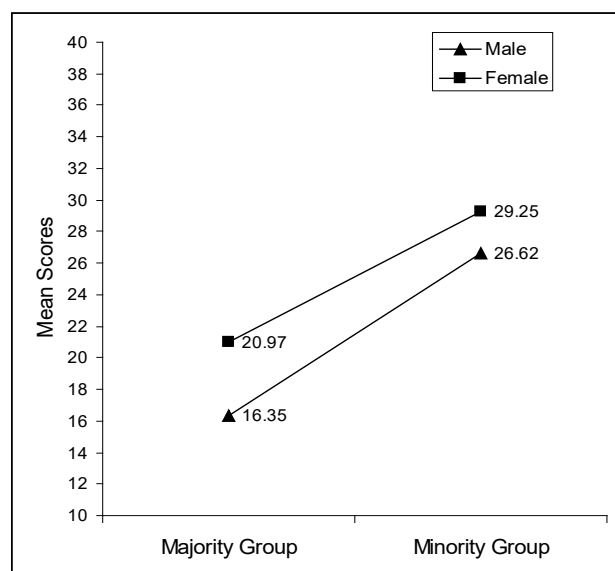


Figure - 8: Showing two-way interaction effect between group composition and gender.

5.3.2.2.2. Group Composition $\times$ SES

An observation of table-5.20 showed that a two-way interaction effect involving group composition and gender was statistically significant ($F=3.91$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.05$). Table – 5.25 contains the mean scores and their significant mean differences between different comparison groups of group composition and SES.

Table-5.25: Showing overall cell means and their significant mean differences of two-way interaction involving group composition and SES on the scores of powerful others sub scale ($N=60$ for each group).

Group Composition	SES	
	Upper Middle SES	Lower Middle SES
Majority Group	16.42	20.90
Minority Group	26.04	29.68

Note: Mean differences were computed using Newman-Keuls formula (Winer, 1971; PP. 191-195).

An inspection of mean scores reported in table-5.25 showed that in case of majority group, it was found that lower middle SES ($M=20.90$) were

found to achieve higher scores on powerful others sub scale as compared to upper middle SES (M=16.42). Similarly, in case of minority group, it was found that lower middle SES (M=29.68) were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others sub scale as compared to upper middle SES (M=26.04).

Results also showed that in case of upper middle SES, minority group (M=26.04) were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others sub scale as compared to majority group (M=16.42). Again, in case of lower middle SES, minority group (M=29.68) were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others sub scale as compared to majority group (M=20.90). The interaction effect has been graphically plotted in Figure – 5.9.

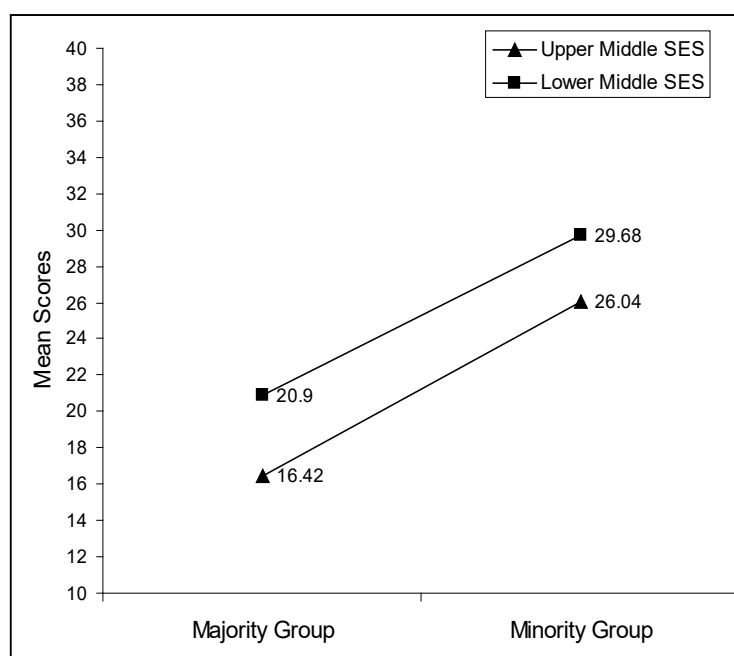


Figure -5.9: Showing two-way interaction effect between group composition and SES.

5.3.2.2.3. Gender $\times$ Socio-Economic Status

An observation of table-5.20 showed that a two-way interaction effect involving gender and SES was statistically significant ($F=3.79$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.05$). Table – 5.26 contains the mean scores and their significant mean differences between different comparison groups of gender and SES.

Table-5.26: Showing overall cell means and their significant mean differences of two-way interaction involving gender and SES on the scores of powerful others sub scale (N=60 for each group).

Gender	SES	
	Upper Middle SES	Lower Middle SES
Male	19.22	23.75
Female	23.39	26.83

Note: Mean differences were computed using Newman-Keuls formula (Winer, 1971; PP. 191-195).

An inspection of mean scores reported in table-5.26 showed that in case of male, it was found that lower middle SES ($M=23.75$) were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others sub scale as compared to upper middle SES ($M=19.22$). Similarly, in case of female, it was found that lower middle SES ($M=26.83$) were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others sub scale as compared to upper middle SES ($M=23.39$).

Results also showed that in case of upper middle SES, it was found that female Ss ($M=23.39$) were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others sub scale as compared to their male counterpart ($M=19.22$). Again, in case of lower middle SES, it was found that female Ss ($M=26.83$) were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others sub scale as compared

to their male counterpart ($M=23.75$). The interaction effect has been graphically plotted in Figure - 5.10.

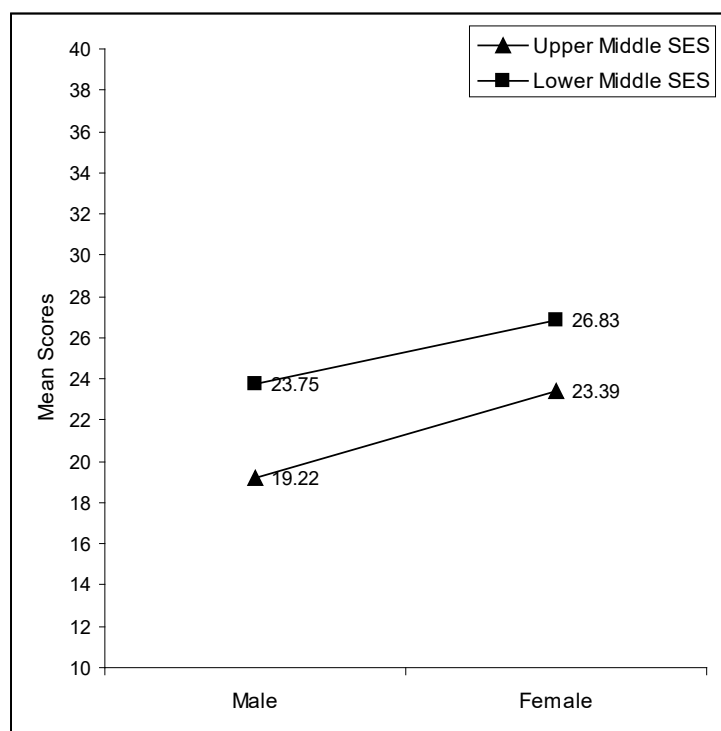


Figure - 5.10: Showing two-way interaction effect between gender and SES.

5.3.3. Chance Sub Scale

The scores on chance sub scale were tabulated accurately for the analysis of data. The data were analyzed by computing Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). In this analysis, a factorial design was used. Thus a $2 \times 2 \times 2$ factorial design involving two levels of group composition (majority and minority), two levels of gender (male and female) and two levels of SES (upper middle SES and lower middle SES) were utilized for the collection of data. The highest possible score in this scale was $(8 \times 5) = 40$ and the lowest possible score was $(8 \times 1) = 8$. The mid point of scale is $(40+8) \div 2 = 24$. The Ss were asked to give their response on a five point scale ranging from strong agreement to strong disagreement. So the

highest score of the Ss indicated strong agreement with the statements relating to chance. The summary of ANOVA has been reported in table - 5.27.

Table-5.27: Showing summary of factorial ANOVA involving group composition, gender and SES on the scores of chance sub scale.

Source of Variance	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F
Group (A)	1882.01	1	1882.01	9.26**
Gender (B)	777.60	1	777.60	3.83*
SES (C)	814.02	1	814.02	4.01*
AB	804.83	1	804.83	3.96*
AC	762.15	1	762.15	3.75*
BC	83.32	1	83.32	0.41 ns
ABC	235.76	1	235.76	1.16 ns
Within Cell (Error)	47151.68	232	203.24	
Total	52511.37	239		

P<0.05*, P<0.01**, ns = not significant

The results reported in table-5.27 showed that the main effect for group composition ($F=9.26$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.01$), gender ($F=3.83$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.05$) and SES ($F=4.01$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.05$) were found statistically

significant. However, two-way interaction effect involving group composition and gender ($F=3.96$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.05$); and group composition and SES ($F=3.75$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.05$) were also found statistically significant.

5.3.3.1. Main Effect

5.3.3.1.1. Group Composition

The results reported in table-5.27 showed that the main effect for group composition was statistically significant ($F=9.26$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.01$). The mean scores and significant mean difference between majority group and minority group have been reported in table –5. 28.

Table-5.28: Showing overall mean scores and significant mean difference for the main effect of group composition on the scores of chance sub scale (N=120 for each group).

Group Composition	Mean Scores
Majority Group (Muslim)	20.94
Minority Group (Hindu)	30.19

Note: Mean differences were computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores reported in table-5.28 showed that regardless of gender and SES, minority group ($M=30.19$) were found to achieve higher scores on chance sub scale as compared to majority group ($M=20.94$).

5.3.3.1.2. Gender

The results reported in table-5.27 showed that main effect for gender was statistically significant ($F=3.83$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.05$). The mean scores and significant mean difference between male and female have been reported in table – 5.29.

Table-5.29: Showing overall mean scores and significant mean difference for the main effect of gender on the scores of chance sub scale (N=120 for each group).

Gender	Mean Scores
Male	23.77
Female	27.37

Note: Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores reported in table-5.29 showed that regardless of group composition and SES, female Ss (M=27.37) were found to achieve higher scores on chance sub scale as compared to their male counterpart (M=23.77).

5.3.3.1.3. Socio-Economic Status

The results reported in table-5.27 showed that main effect for SES was statistically significant ($F=4.01$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.05$). The mean scores and significant mean differences between upper middle SES and lower middle SES have been reported in table – 5.30.

Table-5.30: Showing overall mean scores and significant mean difference for the main effect of SES on the scores of chance sub scale (N=120 for each group).

SES	Mean Scores
Upper Middle SES	23.73
Lower Middle SES	27.41

Note: Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores reported in table-5.30 showed that regardless of group composition and gender, lower middle SES

($M=27.41$) were found to achieve higher scores on chance sub scale as compared to upper middle SES ($M=23.73$).

5.3.3.2. Interaction Effect

5.3.3.2.1. Group Composition $\times$ Gender

An observation of table-5.27 showed that a two-way interaction effect involving group composition and gender was statistically significant ($F=3.96$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.05$). Table – 5.31 contains the mean scores and their significant mean differences between different comparison groups of group composition and gender.

Table-5.31: Showing overall cell means and their significant mean differences of two-way interaction involving group composition and gender on the scores of chance sub scale ($N=60$ for each group).

Group Composition	Gender	
	Male	Female
Majority Group	19.48	22.40
Minority Group	28.05	32.33

Note: Mean differences were computed using Newman-Keuls formula (Winer, 1971; PP. 191-195).

An inspection of mean scores reported in table-5.31 showed that in case of majority group, it was found that female Ss ($M=22.40$) were found to achieve higher scores on chance sub scale as compared to their male counterpart ($M=19.48$). Similarly, in case of minority group, it was found that female Ss ($M=32.33$) were found to achieve higher scores on chance sub scale as compared to their male counterpart ($M=28.05$).

Results also showed that in case of male, minority group ($M=28.05$) were found to achieve higher scores on chance sub scale as compared to majority group ($M=19.48$). Again, in case of female, minority group ($M=32.33$) were found to achieve higher scores on chance sub scale as compared to majority group ($M=22.40$). The interaction effect has been graphically plotted in Figure - 5.11.

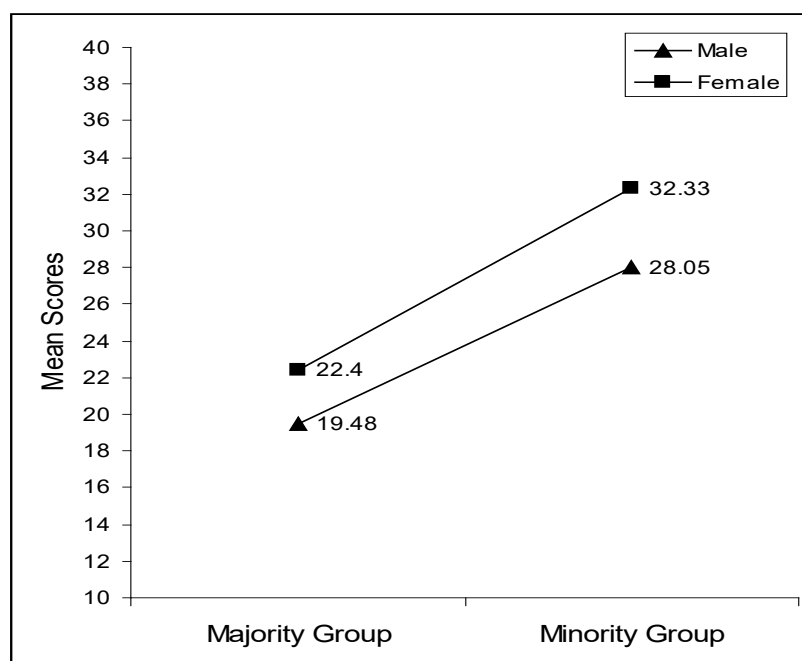


Figure - 5.11: Showing two-way interaction effect between group composition and gender.

5.3.3.2.2. Group Composition $\times$ SES

An observation of table-5.27 showed that a two-way interaction effect involving group composition and gender was statistically significant ($F=3.75$, $df=1/232$, $P<0.05$). Table – 5.32 contains the mean scores and their significant mean differences between different comparison groups of group composition and SES.

Table-5.32: Showing overall cell means and their significant mean differences of two-way interaction involving group composition and SES on the scores of chance sub scale (N=60 for each group).

Group Composition	SES	
	Upper Middle SES	Lower Middle SES
Majority Group	18.94	22.95
Minority group	28.52	31.87

Note: Mean differences were computed using Newman-Keuls formula (Winer, 1971; PP. 191-195).

An inspection of mean scores reported in table-5.32 showed that in case of majority group, it was found that lower middle SES (M=22.95) were found to achieve higher scores on chance sub scale as compared to upper middle SES (M=18.94). Similarly, in case of minority group, it was found that lower middle SES (M=31.87) were found to achieve higher scores on chance sub scale as compared to upper middle SES (M=28.52).

Results also showed that in case of upper middle SES, it was found that minority group (M=28.52) were found to achieve higher scores on chance sub scale as compared to majority group (M=18.94). Again, in case of lower middle SES, it was found that minority group (M=31.87) were found to achieve higher scores on chance sub scale as compared to majority group (M=22.95). The interaction effect has been graphically plotted in Figure – 5.12.

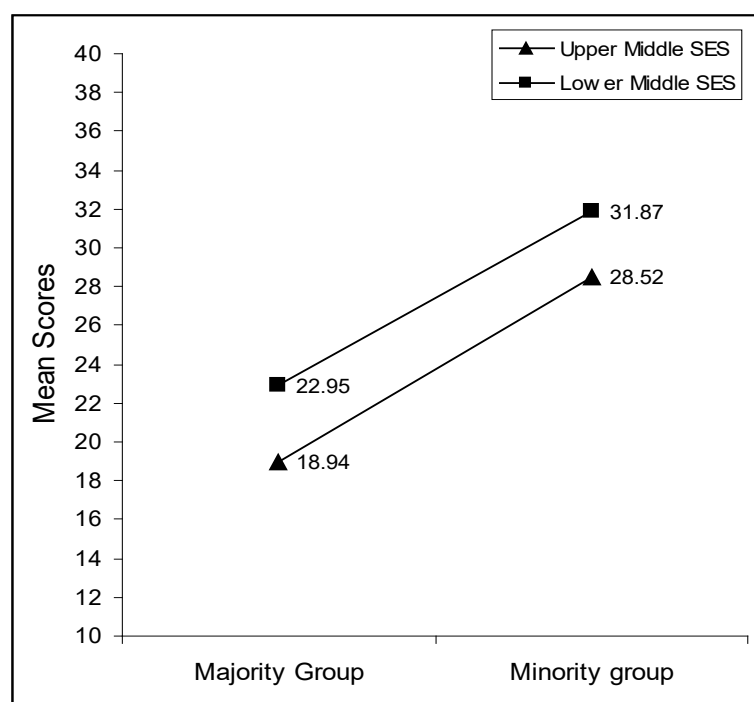


Figure - 5.12: Showing two-way interaction effect between group composition and SES.

5.4. Part II: Correlational Analyses

5.4.1. Bi-serial Correlation

Table – 5.33: Showing Similarities between Majority Group and Minority Group on Each Variable Separately (N = 120 for each group).

Measures	Majority - Minority
Liberalism-Conservatism Attitude	0.09*
Majority-Minority Attitude	0.15*
Internality	0.11*
Powerful Others	0.18*
Chance	0.23**

** = $p < 0.01$, * = $p < 0.01$)

The result (table - 5.33) showed that the similarities between majority group and minority group through the method of product moment bi-

serial correlation on each variable separately. This result indicated the highest correlations on the measures of Chance sub-scale ($r = 0.23$, $p < 0.01$) followed by Powerful Others sub-scale ($r = 0.18$, $p < 0.05$), Majority-Minority Attitude scale ($r = 0.15$, $p < 0.05$), Internality sub-scale ($r = 0.11$, $p < 0.05$) and lowest correlations on the measures of Liberalism-Conservatism Attitude scale ($r = 0.09$, $p < 0.05$).

Table – 5.34: Showing Similarities between male and female on Each Variable Separately (N = 120 for each group).

Measures	Male - Female
Liberalism-Conservatism Attitudes	0.24**
Majority-Minority Attitudes	0.15*
Internality	0.19*
Powerful Others	0.25**
Chance	0.29**

** = $p < 0.01$, * = $p < 0.05$)

The result (table - 5.34) showed that the similarities between male and female through the method of product moment bi-serial correlation on each variable separately. This result indicated the highest correlations on the measures of Chance sub-scale ($r = 0.29$, $p < 0.01$) followed by Powerful Others sub-scale ($r = 0.25$, $p < 0.01$), Liberalism-Conservatism Attitude scale ($r = 0.24$, $p < 0.01$), Internality sub-scale ($r = 0.19$, $p < 0.05$) and lowest correlations on the measures of Majority-Minority Attitudes scale ($r = 0.15$, $p < 0.05$).

Table – 5.35: Showing Similarities between upper middle SES and lower middle SES on Each Variable Separately (N = 120 for each group).

Measures	Upper Middle SES and Lower Middle SES
Liberalism-Conservatism Attitudes	0.33**
Majority-Minority Attitudes	0.19*
Internality	0.29**
Powerful Others	0.28**
Chance	0.31**

** = $p < 0.01$, * = $p < 0.01$)

The result (table - 5.35) showed that the similarities between upper middle SES and lower middle SES through the method of product moment bi-serial correlation on each variable separately. This result indicated the highest correlations on the measures of Liberalism-Conservatism Attitude scale ($r = 0.33$, $p < 0.01$) followed by Chance sub-scale ($r = 0.31$, $p < 0.01$), Internality sub-scale ($r = 0.29$, $p < 0.01$), Powerful Others sub-scale ($r = 0.28$, $p < 0.01$) and lowest correlations on the measures of Majority-Minority Attitudes scale ($r = 0.19$, $p < 0.05$).

5.4.2. Intervariable Correlation

Table – 5.36: Intervariable Correlation for Majority Group (N = 120).

	Attitudinal Variables		Internality, Powerful Others and Chance Personality Scale		
	Liberalism-Conservatism Attitude	Majority-Minority Attitude	Internality	Powerful Others	Chance
Liberalism-Conservatism Attitude		0.39**	0.23**	0.18*	0.15*
Majority-Minority Attitude			0.21**	0.13*	0.17*
Internality				0.29**	0.16*
Powerful Others					0.51**
Chance					

(* = $p < 0.05$, ** = $p < 0.01$)

In this analysis (table - 5.36) product moment correlations have been computed to find out the strength of relationships among all the attitudinal and personality variables of majority group (N =120). The highest positive and statistically significant correlation was obtained between powerful others and chance ($r = 0.51$, $p < 0.01$), followed by liberalism-conservatism attitude and Majority-Minority attitude ($r = 0.39$, $p < 0.01$), internality and powerful others ($r = 0.29$, $p < 0.01$), liberalism-conservatism attitude and Internality ($r = 0.23$, $p < 0.01$), Majority-Minority attitude and internality ($r = 0.21$, $p < 0.01$), liberalism-conservatism attitude and powerful others ($r = 0.18$, $p < 0.05$), Majority-Minority attitude and chance ($r = 0.17$, $p < 0.05$), internality and chance ($r = 0.16$, $p < 0.05$),

liberalism-conservatism attitude and chance ($r = 0.15$, $p < 0.05$), and the lowest positive and statistically significant correlation was obtained between Majority-Minority attitude and powerful others ($r = 0.13$, $p < 0.05$).

Table – 5.37: Inter variable Correlation for Minority Group (N = 120).

	Attitudinal Variables		Internality, Powerful Others and Chance Personality Scale		
	Liberalism-Conservatism Attitude	Majority-Minority Attitude	Internality	Powerful Others	Chance
Liberalism-Conservatism Attitude		0.45**	0.29**	0.25**	0.12*
Majority-Minority Attitude			0.26**	0.19*	0.15*
Internality				0.32**	0.17*
Powerful Others					0.41**
Chance					

(* = $p < 0.05$, ** = $p < 0.01$)

In this analysis (table - 5.37) product moment correlations have been computed to find out the strength of relationships among all the attitudinal and personality variables of minority group (N =120). The highest positive and statistically significant correlation was obtained between liberalism-conservatism attitude and Majority-Minority attitude ($r = 0.45$, $p < 0.01$), followed by powerful others and chance ($r = 0.41$, $p < 0.01$), internality and powerful others ($r = 0.32$, $p < 0.01$), liberalism-conservatism attitude and Internality ($r = 0.29$, $p < 0.01$), Majority-Minority

attitude and internality ($r = 0.26$, $p < 0.01$), liberalism-conservatism attitude and powerful others ($r = 0.25$, $p < 0.05$), internality and chance ($r = 0.17$, $p < 0.05$), Majority-Minority attitude and chance ($r = 0.15$, $p < 0.05$), liberalism-conservatism attitude and chance ($r = 0.12$, $p < 0.05$), and the lowest positive and statistically significant correlation was obtained between Majority-Minority attitude and powerful others ($r = 0.19$, $p < 0.05$).

5.5. Summary of the Main Findings

5.5.1. Liberalism-Conservatism Attitude Scale

1. Regardless of gender and SES, majority group expressed significantly more liberal as compared to minority group.
2. Regardless of group composition and SES, male Ss expressed significantly more liberal as compared to their female counterpart.
3. Regardless of group composition and gender, upper middle SES Ss expressed significantly more liberal as compared to lower middle SES Ss.
4. In case of majority group, it was found that male Ss expressed significantly more liberal as compared to their female counterpart. Similarly, in case of minority group, it was found that male Ss expressed significantly more liberal as compared to their female counterpart.
5. In case of male, majority group expressed significantly more liberal as compared to minority group. Again, in case of female, majority group expressed significantly more liberal as compared to minority group.
6. In case of majority group, it was found that upper middle SES Ss expressed significantly more liberal as compared to lower middle SES. Similarly, in case of minority group, it was found that upper middle SES Ss expressed significantly more liberal as compared to lower middle SES.

7. In case of upper middle SES, majority group expressed significantly more liberal as compared to minority group. Again, in case of lower middle SES, majority group expressed significantly more liberal as compared to minority group.

5.5.2. Majority-Minority Attitude Scale

8. Regardless of gender and SES, majority group expressed significantly more favourable attitude toward Majority-Minority relationship as compared to minority group.
9. Regardless of group composition and SES, male Ss expressed significantly more favourable attitude toward Majority-Minority relationship as compared to their female counterpart.
10. Regardless of group composition and gender, upper middle SES Ss expressed significantly more favourable attitude toward Majority-Minority relationship as compared to lower middle SES Ss.
11. In case of majority group, it was found that male Ss expressed significantly more favourable attitude toward Majority-Minority relationship as compared to their female counterpart. Similarly, in case of minority group, it was found that male Ss expressed significantly more favourable attitude toward Majority-Minority relationship as compared to their female counterpart.
12. In case of male, majority group expressed significantly more favourable attitude toward majority-minority relationship as compared to minority group. Again, in case of female, majority group expressed significantly more favourable attitude toward majority-minority relationship as compared to minority group.

13. In case of majority group, it was found that upper middle SES Ss expressed significantly more favourable attitude toward Majority-Minority relationship as compared to lower middle SES. Similarly, in case of minority group, it was found that upper middle SES Ss expressed significantly more favourable attitude toward Majority-Minority relationship as compared to lower middle SES.
14. In case of upper middle SES, majority group expressed significantly more favourable attitude toward majority-minority relationship as compared to minority group. Again, in case of lower middle SES, majority group expressed significantly more favourable attitude toward majority-minority relationship as compared to minority group.
15. In case of male, it was found that upper middle SES Ss expressed significantly more favourable attitude toward Majority-Minority relationship as compared to lower middle SES. Similarly, in case of female, it was found that upper middle SES Ss expressed significantly more favourable attitude toward Majority-Minority relationship as compared to lower middle SES.
16. In case of upper middle SES, male Ss expressed significantly more favourable attitude toward majority-minority relationship as compared to their female counterpart. Again, in case of lower middle SES, male Ss expressed significantly more favourable attitude toward majority-minority relationship as compared to their female counterpart.

5.5.3. Internality, Powerful Others and Chance Personality Scale

5.5.3.1. Internality Sub Scale

17. Regardless of gender and SES, majority group expressed significantly more internality as compared to minority group.
18. Regardless of group composition and SES, male Ss expressed significantly more internality as compared to their female counterpart.
19. Regardless of group composition and gender, upper middle SES Ss expressed significantly more internality as compared to lower middle SES Ss.
20. In case of majority group, it was found that male Ss expressed significantly more internality as compared to their female counterpart. Similarly, in case of minority group, it was found that male Ss expressed significantly more internality as compared to their female counterpart.
21. In case of male, majority group expressed significantly more internality as compared to minority group. Again, in case of female, majority group expressed significantly more internality as compared to minority group.
22. In case of male, it was found that upper middle SES Ss expressed significantly more internality as compared to lower middle SES. Similarly, in case of female, it was found that upper middle SES Ss expressed significantly more internality as compared to lower middle SES.

23. In case of upper middle SES, male Ss expressed significantly more internality as compared to their female counterpart. Again, in case of lower middle SES, male Ss expressed significantly more internality as compared to their female counterpart.

5.5.3.2. Powerful Others Sub Scale

24. Regardless of gender and SES, minority group were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others sub scale as compared to majority group.
25. Regardless of group composition and SES, female Ss were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others sub scale as compared to their male counterpart.
26. Regardless of group composition and gender, lower middle SES were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others sub scale as compared to upper middle SES.
27. In case of majority group, it was found that female Ss were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others sub scale as compared to their male counterpart. Similarly, in case of minority group, it was found that female Ss were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others sub scale as compared to their male counterpart.
28. In case of male, minority group were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others sub scale as compared to majority group. Again, in case of female, minority group were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others sub scale as compared to majority group.

29. In case of majority group, it was found that lower middle SES were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others sub scale as compared to upper middle SES. Similarly, in case of minority group, it was found that lower middle SES were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others sub scale as compared to upper middle SES.
30. In case of upper middle SES, minority group were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others sub scale as compared to majority group. Again, in case of lower middle SES, minority group were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others sub scale as compared to majority group.
31. In case of male, it was found that lower middle SES were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others sub scale as compared to upper middle SES. Similarly, in case of female, it was found that lower middle SES were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others sub scale as compared to upper middle SES.
32. In case of upper middle SES, it was found that female Ss were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others sub scale as compared to their male counterpart. Again, in case of lower middle SES, it was found that female Ss were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others sub scale as compared to their male counterpart.

5.3.3.3. Chance Sub Scale

33. Regardless of gender and SES, minority group were found to achieve higher scores on chance sub scale as compared to majority group.
34. Regardless of group composition and SES, female Ss were found to achieve higher scores on chance sub scale as compared to their male counterpart.
35. Regardless of group composition and gender, lower middle SES individuals found to achieve higher scores on chance sub scale as compared to upper middle SES.
36. In case of majority group, it was found that female Ss were found to achieve higher scores on chance sub scale as compared to their male counterpart. Similarly, in case of minority group, it was found that female Ss were found to achieve higher scores on chance sub scale as compared to their male counterpart.
37. In case of male, minority group were found to achieve higher scores on chance sub scale as compared to majority group. Again, in case of female, minority group were found to achieve higher scores on chance sub scale as compared to majority group.
38. In case of majority group, it was found that lower middle SES were found to achieve higher scores on chance sub scale as compared to upper middle SES. Similarly, in case of minority group, it was found that lower middle SES were found to achieve higher scores on chance sub scale as compared to upper middle SES.

39. In case of upper middle SES, it was found that minority group were found to achieve higher scores on chance sub scale as compared to majority group. Again, in case of lower middle SES, it was found that minority group were found to achieve higher scores on chance sub scale as compared to majority group.

5.3.3.4. Correlational Analyses

40. The highest positive and statistically significant correlations between majority group and minority group on the measures of Chance sub-scale followed by Powerful Others sub-scale, Majority-Minority Attitude scale, Internality sub-scale and the lowest correlations on the measures of Liberalism-Conservatism Attitude scale.
41. The highest positive and statistically significant correlations between male and female on the measures of Chance sub-scale followed by Powerful Others sub-scale, Liberalism-Conservatism Attitude scale, Internality sub-scale and lowest correlations on the measures of Majority-Minority Attitudes scale.
42. The highest positive and statistically significant correlations between upper middle SES and lower middle SES on the measures of Liberalism-Conservatism Attitude scale followed by Chance sub-scale, Internality sub-scale, Powerful Others sub-scale and lowest correlations on the measures of Majority-Minority Attitude scale.
43. The Intervariable correlation for majority group were found the highest positive and statistically significant correlation was obtained between powerful others and chance, followed by

liberalism-conservatism attitude and Majority-Minority attitude, internality and powerful others, liberalism-conservatism attitude and Internality, Majority-Minority attitude and internality, liberalism-conservatism attitude and powerful others, Majority-Minority attitude and chance, internality and chance, liberalism-conservatism attitude and chance and the lowest positive and statistically significant correlation was obtained between Majority-Minority attitude and powerful others.

44. The Intervariable correlation for majority group were found the highest positive and statistically significant correlation was obtained between liberalism-conservatism attitude and Majority-Minority attitude followed by powerful others and chance, internality and powerful others, liberalism-conservatism attitude and Internality, Majority-Minority attitude and internality, liberalism-conservatism attitude and powerful others, internality and chance, Majority-Minority attitude and chance, liberalism-conservatism attitude and chance and the lowest positive and statistically significant correlation was obtained between Majority-Minority attitude and powerful others.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION

Muslim-Hindu relations in Bangladesh are complicated by many contrasting and often contradictory elements. Demographic, political, economic, social and ethnic factors affect the ways in which Muslims and Hindus relate, in both positive and negative ways. Imbalances in relationships of power can be a particular source of tension and even conflict. The group that lacks power feels vulnerable at the mercy of the good will of those in positions of power. Ethnic factors can play an important role in Muslim-Hindu relations, particularly when one group identifies their Islamic or Hindu faith as part of their ethnic identity.

Racial conflicts beginning in the twentieth century have become a reality in the region for the last fifty years of British colonialism. 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 (Staerkle et al., 2010).

Groups are a fact and a medium of social life. The evolution of humankind as well as the development of each single individual took and still take place within social groups. Physical as well as social existence critically depends on, and is shaped by, coordinated human action within and between social groups. In turn, groups are embedded in a structured context of inter-group relations characterized by a number of parameters such as goal interdependence, relative power, size, status, prestige, etc. An adequate analysis of human perception and behavior must therefore take into account social group memberships as well as the wider inter-group context.

The focus in this study is on the effect of group membership in the context of minority-majority relations. Many, if not most, real-life inter-group contexts consist of groups that hold either a minority or majority position vis-à-vis each other (Tajfel, 1981). A common definition of minority or majority group membership rests on numbers. Groups with fewer members are then defined as minorities and numerically larger groups as majorities (Levin, 2004).

The situation of minorities in Bangladesh is 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. 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. The state constitution extends guarantee for the majority, the Bangla Muslims. The Bangladeshi Constitution does not reflect the existence of the cultural and ethnic minorities.

Religion has been used as a tool by the political parties and politicians in Bangladesh to consolidate their power base. It is time that our elected representatives take cognizance of the fact that Bangladesh is not homogenous state rather it is a multi-national state, this reality ought to be incorporated into the Constitution. In light the available literature reviews, the results of the present study with reference to the related variables are discussed in a coherent manner in the following section.

6.1. Liberalism-Conservatism Attitudes

The result of the study also showed that regardless of gender and SES, Majority group express significantly more liberal attitude as compared to Minority group (Table – 5.2).

An extensive pioneering study by 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 ethnicity have conservative attitudes and individuals with majority group would exhibit liberal attitudes.

In Bangladesh, Haque and Ara (1985) found that individuals with high ethnicity exhibit conservative attitude and individuals with non ethnicity exhibit liberal attitudes.

Majority group of individuals used to enjoy more facilities and more beneficiaries to society and they have more power and privilege in the country and thereby possess more liberal attitudes. Thus the above empirical findings and the Bangladeshi context provided confirmation to our first hypothesis (H_1) that majority group expressed significantly more favorable attitude toward majority-minority relationship as compared to minority group.

The findings of the study showed that regardless of group composition and SES, male subjects express significantly more liberal attitude as compared to their female counterpart (Table-5.3).

This result provided confirmation to the second hypothesis (H_2). A large number of studies (Clark and Clark, 1947; Horowitz, 1947; Radke and Trager, 1950) have provided empirical findings in favour of this hypothesis.

Majority –minority relationship stated by Brown (2000) have closely related with in-group bias. In this respect gender has appeared as an important dimension. It was found that differentiation in terms of male and female is visited by in-group bias. In developing country like Bangladesh the dominating society possess more power, more privilege of job facility, business and share of parental properties. So the male showed more liberal attitude than the female which confirms our second

hypothesis (H₂) that males expressed significantly more favorable attitude toward majority-minority relationship as compared to their female counterpart.

The findings of the study also showed that regardless of group composition and gender, subjects of upper middle SES expressed more liberal attitude as compared to the subjects of lower middle SES (Table-5.3). This finding of the study is at the same line to our third hypothesis (H₃). The result on socioeconomic status is supported by the result of Brown, Vivian and Hewstone, 1999. They found that respondents with middle SES evaluated self-group and out-group significantly more positively than the respondents of low SES. These findings indicate that SES differentiation may be regarded as an important variable for the attitude of majority-minority. It appears from these analyses of results that upper middle SES has greater influence on the formation liberal attitude towards majority-minority relationship.

Upper middle SES individual used to enjoy more power, more financial solvency and maintain their high status. Thus they have liberal attitudes toward lower middle SES individuals. Thus the above findings and explanation confirms our third hypothesis (H₆) that upper middle SES individuals expressed significantly more favorable attitude toward majority-minority relationship as compared to lower middle SES individual.

6.2. Majority-Minority Attitudes

It was found from the result that regardless of gender and SES, Majority group expressed significantly more favorable attitude toward Majority-Minority relationship as compared to Minority group (Table-5.8). This result provided confirmation to the fourth hypothesis (H₄). Several previous studies (Mackie and Hunter, 1999; Murphy et al., 1937; Burke, 1950; Jones, 1953; McClosky, 1958) have provided empirical findings in favour of this hypothesis.

Thus the result of the present study is at the same line to the result of Mackie and Hunter (1999). They found that African-Americans expressed significantly more concern for pollution and other neighborhood environmental issues, while Whites expressed more concern for global level environmental problems. There, Whites are the majority group and African-Americans are the minority groups. In this study of Hunter, majority groups are concerned about the global environmental problems where both majority and minority live whereas minority groups are concerned about the neighborhood environmental issues. These findings suggest that the majority groups are at favorable attitude toward majority-minority relationship than minority group.

In the context of Bangladesh, as the Majority groups (Muslims) try to establish the rights of minority groups for making democratic process regular. Majority groups of Muslims know that they have power and they are policy maker of the country. Therefore they have to maintain intergroup relation well. They have to look the interest of Minority group as a citizen of the country. Majority groups of Muslims have shown broadness toward ethnic Minority groups.

Hence the above empirical findings and personal observation provided confirmation to our fourth hypothesis (H₄) that majority group expressed significantly more liberal attitude as compared to minority group.

It was also found that regardless of group composition and SES, male subject expressed significantly more favorable attitude toward Majority-Minority relationship as compared to female subject (5.9). This result provided confirmation to the fifth hypothesis (H₅). A large number of studies (Nemeth, 1986; Kelly, 1967; Erb et al., 1998) have provided empirical findings in favour of this hypothesis.

Rahman (2004) attempted to investigate the sociopolitical attitudes of the students of social science and law faculty of Rajshahi University. Ara's modified form of questionnaire of sociopolitical attitude scale was administered as a sample of social science and law faculty. It was revealed from this investigation that the female students of both faculties expressed more conservative attitudes as compared to their male counterpart. It means that male students expressed more liberal attitude than their female students.

In the context of Bangladesh the male individual has higher exposure to mass-media and outward world as compared to female individuals. Female individual has more interest towards household affairs. They are least concerned with public relations on the country. The above empirical findings and personal observation provided confirmation to our fifth hypothesis (H₅) that males expressed significantly more liberal attitude as compared to their female counterpart.

The result of the study showed that regardless of group composition and gender, upper middle SES subjects expressed significantly more favorable attitude toward Majority-Minority relationship as compared to lower middle SES (Table-5.10).

This result provided confirmation to the sixth hypothesis (H₆). A large number of studies (Brigham,1993; Ellison and Powers,1994; Kalin and Berry,1982) have provided empirical findings in favour of this hypothesis.

In favour of the hypothesis Dawson, (1973) showed that African Americans become more heterogeneous in terms of class, we would expect increasing diversity in their behavior. Economic polarization among African Americans has indeed been increasing in the last several decades. From 1960 to 1991, the black middle class are 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 lead to a corresponding polarization among African Americans. Katherine Tate, 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). The summarize of the study is that in case of socioeconomic status the upper middle or middle class are more liberal than their lower counterpart.

As the upper middle SES subjects possessed financial solvency so they have broader and liberal attitudes. In Bangladesh most of the people suffer poverty, unemployment and financial crisis but the upper middle SES individual maintains their life more easily than the lower middle SES. The above empirical findings and the Bangladeshi context provided confirmation to our sixth hypothesis (H₆) that upper middle SES individuals expressed significantly more liberal attitude as compared to lower middle SES individuals.

6.3. Internality, Powerful Others and Chance

6.3.1. Internality

When measured with internality scale Majority group expressed significantly more internality as compared to Minority group regardless of gender and SES (Table-5.15). This result provided confirmation to seventh hypothesis (H₇). Several previous studies (Ara, 1983; Lachman and Leff, 1989; Nelson, 1990) have provided empirical findings in favour of this hypothesis.

The effects of group classification were studied by Billig and Tajfel (1973). In their study the Ss were assigned the task of monetary distribution. The result showed that white group favouritism occurred when the Ss used the strategies of maximum in-group profit along with maximum difference in favour of self. The result also showed that interpersonal similarity per se is not sufficient for in-group formation and the Ss do not tend to favour similar others unless the others have been explicitly categorized as members of the same group.

Majority group of the country hold more power, enjoy more facilities and even more privilege as compared to Minority groups. Majority group are placed on higher post possess more property and money. Thus they are confident enough to do anything they desire. They do not have to depend on powerful others and chance factor to do whatever they think good for them.

Hence the above empirical findings and personal observation provided confirmation to our seventh hypothesis (H₇) that majority group expressed significantly more internality as compared to minority group.

Again when measured with internality scale, male subjects expressed significantly more internality as compared to their female counterpart regardless of group composition and SES (Table-5.16). This result provided confirmation to our eighth hypothesis (H₈). Several previous studies (Elizabeth, 2004; Ara, et al. 2006; Shahria, 2008) have provided empirical findings in favour of this hypothesis.

Sharmin (2008) did a study on value pattern of Bangladeshi working male and female as functions of attitudes, personality and age. The findings revealed that working male were found more internally control as compared to working female. This finding also revealed that working male were found more personal efficacy and more socio-political control as compared to working female respectively. Again the study also indicated that younger group having working male and female were expressed more personal efficacy and more socio-political control as compared to the older group.

As the male individuals are dominating member of the family and the society so family and society runs according to their desire. Thus they possess more internality to personality pattern. Thus the above findings and explanation confirms our eighth hypothesis (H₈) that males expressed significantly more internality as compared to their female counterpart.

Again, regardless of group composition and SES, subjects of upper middle SES expressed significantly more internality as compared to the subjects of lower middle SES (Table-5.17). This finding of the study is at the same line to our ninth (H₉) hypothesis.

Like many other researchers Shahria (2008) did an extensive pioneering study which is in favour of the findings. She tried to find out the differences and similarities of women's attitudes towards social change in relation to national development in Bangladesh. The findings revealed that Dhaka women were found more internally controlled on personality scale of spheres of control as compared to Rajshahi women. On the other hand, Rajshahi women were found to express more interpersonal control as compared to Dhaka women. This finding also revealed that high SES women were found more internally controlled on personality scale of spheres of control as compared to middle SES women.

In our society upper middle SES individuals maintain their life luxuriously and they do not have to suffer from financial crisis. On the other hand, lower middle SES suffers from unemployment, poverty and financial crisis. Thus they lose confidence. On the other hand, upper

middle individuals possess wealth that makes them more confident and more internally controlled. Thus the above findings and explanation confirms our ninth hypothesis (H₉) that upper middle SES individuals expressed significantly more internality as compared to lower middle SES individuals.

6.3.2. Powerful Others and Chance

The finding of the result showed that regardless of gender and SES, Minority groups were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others and chance sub scale as compared to Majority group (Table-5.21 & 5.28). This result provided confirmation to tenth hypothesis (H₁₀).

In the context of Bangladesh, the Majority groups are the authority of the country; they enjoy more power and possess higher post of the government. Thus, they think that they can change the society in whatever way they like.

In the present study, Minority groups were found to achieve higher scores on ‘powerful others’ and ‘chance’ sub scale as compared to Majority groups. Thus, Minority group thinks that they do not have any rights to do anything to Majority groups. So they have to depend on powerful others and chance as compared to majority groups. Hence the above explanation provided confirmation to our tenth hypothesis (H₁₀) that minority group achieved higher scores on powerful others and chance sub scale as compared to the majority group.

Again, the results also showed that regardless of group composition and SES, female subjects were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others and chance sub scale as compared to their male counterpart (Table-

5.22 & 5.29). This result provided confirmation to our eleventh hypothesis (H_{11}). Several previous studies (McClendon, 1985; Ara, et al. 2006; Studlar, 1979) have provided empirical findings in favour of this hypothesis. As Bangladesh is in male dominating area thus whatever they like they can do. Female subjects are still second authority of the family. They get little benefit of the parental property. Thus the dominated male has more confidence that they can do whatever they like.

In this study female individuals were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others and chance as compared to their male counterpart. In our society female get still less privilege than male counterpart. They are dependent on male subjects to change their fate. Thus the above explanation confirms our eleventh hypothesis (H_{11}) that females achieved higher score on powerful others and chance sub scale as compared to their male counterpart.

The findings also showed that regardless of group composition and gender, lower middle SES individuals were found to achieve higher scores on powerful others and chance sub scales as compared to upper middle SES counterpart (Table-5.23 & 5.30). This result provided confirmation to our twelfth hypothesis (H_{12}). Several previous studies (Sniderman and Tetlock, 1986; Moreh, 1988; Hechter, 1986) have provided empirical findings in favour of this hypothesis.

A large number of previous findings have reported widespread occurrence of biased perception, judgements and behaviour due to difference in socioeconomic status (Muller, Brown and Smith, 1992). It is now

common places that group members are prone to think that their group and products are superior to other group. This process of thinking is initiated by variations in SES. As a result different status groups are ready behaviourally to discriminate between their evaluation resulting from differences in high, middle and low SES. According to Tajfel, Billig, Bundy and Flament (1971) it is a prototypical manifestation of the need for positive distinctiveness. Further support for the hypothesis reveals that SES is responsible for creating differences in powerful others and chance (Rubin and Hewstone, 1998).

Finally, we can say that as the lower middle SES individuals suffer from financial crisis, poverty and unemployment they have to depend on powerful others and chance to change their fate. Thus the above explanation and empirical findings confirms our twelfth hypothesis (H_{12}) that lower middle SES individuals achieved higher scores on powerful other and chance sub scales as compared to upper middle SES individuals.

6.4. Implication of the Present Study

The study has made an empirical investigation on the majority-minority attitudes, Liberalism-Conservatism, Personality variables of internality, powerful others and chance and socio-demographic variables like gender and SES of Muslims and Hindus in Bangladesh. Both in Bangladesh and India Hindu-Muslim relationship has been recognized as a subculture which have become instrumental in various issues. Viewed in this perspective, the present study may be regarded as a valuable addition in the understanding of Hindu-Muslim problems in Bangladesh. Literature on these issues provided various competing explanations which are not sufficient to draw conclusive generalization applicable in explaining Hindu-Muslim relationship in Bangladesh. The study has been conducted with the specific aim of having empirical findings about attitudes toward Majority-Minority relationship to Liberalism-Conservatism personality variables, socio-demographic factors in Bangladesh.

Furthermore, it should be pointed out that the study provided across category background between majority-minority which is unique in the sense of that not even a single attempt has been made previously in Bangladesh.

Covering all these variables, the data has been collected from homogenous culture and monolingual people. It is therefore, suggested that a comparative between group study and within group would be a scientific value in understanding intergroup relation in the context of religious subculture variations. Thus, the present study is a novel

approach for understanding and explaining intergroup relation scientifically, methodically and a broader perspective of social settings.

The most important feature of the study is that it is useful in the evaluation and guidance of the majority minority relationship as related to Liberalism-Conservatism, Personality Variables and socio-demographic factors.

The study is concerned with the integration of several factors that might have both predisposing and precipitating effects on intergroup relations. Thus, the study makes an effort to an empirical study in understanding the natural intergroup relation.

Considered in its social context of Bangladesh, it is controversial aspects about the role of majority-minority empirically. The strong conviction is that the minority groups' feeling of inferiority due to the interaction between these two groups in developing countries is stemmed from frustration, deprivation having educational stance and working personality factors. All these explanations cited above may be the basic information of the present study.

6.5. Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

The study utilized multi-dimensional criterion group design method which proves to be an effective investigation toward majority-minority relationship of Muslim-Hindu in the present context of Bangladeshi culture. The results relating to various dimensions of attitudes towards majority-minority suggested that majority-minority relationship are the joint product of Liberalism-Conservatism attitudes, personality variables, internality as related to certain socio-demographic factors. It has also direct reference to the cultural and religious variation of Hindu and Muslim intergroup relations concerned. The interpretation of the important findings reflected that majority attitude toward minority with a very small population may not be sufficient for making reference and assumption leading to conclusive theoretical orientations about intergroup relation. A large number of literature reported conflicting findings which cannot be covered by the findings of the present study. Hence, the significant findings of the investigation could not be emphatically generalized without substantial empirical researches in the literature in order to get specific and conclusive picture on the present findings.

It is, therefore, suggested that well designed and sophisticated researches with a large sample covering different areas of Bangladesh emphasize the basic necessity for future research.

Bangladesh being a multi-racial and multi-religious country it may be doubted how far the sample from Bengali speaking Hindu, Muslim would be the representative of the population of Bangladesh.

The main purpose of the study was to investigate differences and similarities of majority-minority attitudes, personality factors, socio-demographic variables of two residential groups. Urban-rural differences have been passed for pragmatic reasons of making the investigation less complicated and statistically watchful. Future empirical studies covering this area may be conducted with the specific objectives for obtaining conclusive results.

In spite of all these limitations of the study, the investigator hopes that in the absence of any specific study in the area of majority-minority relationship in relation to Liberalism-Conservatism, Personality variables, socio-demographic factors at varied cultural context of Bangladesh, this investigation might provide valuable insights to the future researches for making conclusive and valid generalization.

APPENDIX

Bio- data form

1. bvg:
2. eqm.....
3. wk¶vMZ †hvM`Zv
4. `’vqx wVKvbv:
5. eZ@gvb wVKvbv: :.....
6. †ckv:.....
7. gvwmK Avq
8. Av_@-mvgvwRK Ae`’v: D”Pga`weĚ / wbgœga`weĚ (wUK wPý w`b)
9. ag@:.....
10. evsjv‡`‡ki `’vqx bvMwiK? nuv/ bv

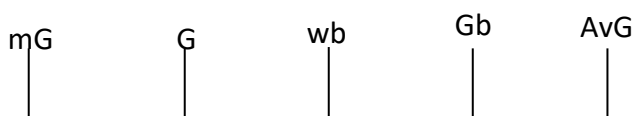
Bio- data form (English Version)

1. Name:
2. Age:
3. Educational Qualification:
4. Permanent Address:
5. Present Address:
6. Occupation:
7. Monthly Income
8. Socio-economic Status: Upper Middle SES/Lower Middle SES
9. Religion:
10. Permanent Citizen of Bangladesh ----- Yes / No.

Liberalism-Conservatism Attitude Scale

wb†`©kvejx

wb†æ 40wU evK" wewfbœ mvgvWRK, A_©%bwZK, agx©q l mvs`˘...wZK mgm"vi
 Dci wfwË K†i ^Zix Kiv n†q†Q| GwU GKwU M†elbvg~jK Kv†Ri Rb" wbwg©Z Afx¶v gvî|
 GLv†b e" w³i gZvgZB cÖavb; †Kvb e" w³ cÖavb bb| evK", wji †Kvb DËiB fyj bq& Avgiv
 5wU fv†M DËi Rvb†Z PvB, †hwU Ôm¸ú~Y©Õ GKgZ †_†K Av†`Š GKgZ bBÕ ch©š—
 we`Z...Z| GKwU ev†K"i D`vni†Yi gva"†g DËi †`evi cÖwµqvWU †`Lv†bv n†jv|
 D`vniY : Avwg Aa"qb†K c,,w_exi me wRwb†li †P†q †ekx fv†jvevwm|



GB †`†ji 5wU fv†Mi DËi wbæifc :-

- 1| Ôm¸ú~Y© GKgZÕ †K †`Lv†bv n†q†Q ÒmGÓ if†c|
- 2| GKgZ †K †`Lv†bv n†q†Q ÒGÓ if†c|
- 3| ÔAvswkK GKgZ Ges AvswkK GKgZ bBÕ †K †`Lv†bv n†q†Q wbi†c¶ A_v©r Òwbr if†c|
- 4| ÔGKgZ bBÕ †K †`Lv†bv n†q†Q ÒGbÓ if†c|
- 5| ÔAv†`Š GKgZ bBÕ †K †`Lv†bv n†q†Q ÒAvGbÓ if†c|

Avcwb cic„ôv,wji th ev†K“i ms†M mǻú~Y© GKgZ †m evK“wUi wecix†Z †~†ji
 ÔmÕ (√) wPý w`b| Avcwb th ev†K“i ms†M GKgZ †mLv†b ÔGÕ †K (√) wPý w`b| Avi
 th evK“wUi ms†M AvswkKfv†e GKgZ Ges AvswkKfv†e GKgZ bb †m evK“wUi ÔwbÕ †K
 (√) wPý w`b| A\_v©r Avcwb wbi†c¶ gZ †cvlY K†ib| Avcwb th evK“wUi mv†\_ Av†`Š
 GKgZ bb †mLv†b ÔAvGbÓ †K (√) wPý w`b| g†b ivL†eb †Kvb ev†K“i DĚi w`†Z †hb ev`
 bv c†o|

Avcbvi mwK“q mn†hvwMZvi Rb“ ab“ev`|

1	RvZxq ^v_©†K Aek“B gvbeZvi D†aŸ© `vb w`†Z n†e	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
2	wi†ivax `j,†jv†K msm†` Aeva Av†jvPbvi my†hvm †`lqv n†j AwaK weks•Ljvi m„wó n†e	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
3	msL“vjNy†`i MwZwewai cÖwZ AZ“š— mZK© `„wó ivLv DwPZ	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
4	cÖwZwU wki†K agx©q wk¶v †`lqv DwPZ	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
5	AvµgYvZ¥K Av†`vjb mgm“v mgvav†bi MwZ Zivwš^Z Kivi DrK...ó cš`v	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
6	†cÖgNwUZ weevn cwiev†ii `yYA©g Av†b	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
7	mKj bvMwi†Ki Rb“ mvgwiK cÖwk¶b eva“Zvg~jK Kiv DwPZ	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
8	gwnjv†`i M„†ni evwn†i †Kvb Awd†m KvR Kiv Kvg“ bq	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
9	we†`kx†`i†K Avgv†`i †`†k Avmvi Aeva AbygwZ w`†j †`†ki mvs`...wZK gvb n«vm cv†e	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
10	agx©q Abykvmb Øviv †Kn Zvi Avw`g cÖe„wĚ wbqš¿b Ki†Z cv†i bv	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
11	AvµgbvZ¥K cš`v Qvov wk¶vbxwZ cwieZ©b mǻce bq	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
12	D”P we“vjq ch©v†q cwievi cwiKíbv welqK wk¶v †`lqv	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb

	DwPZ					
13	Ab" †`k†K N„bvi wewbg†q n†jl ^†k†K fvjev mv DwPr	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
14	msev` cĭ, †eZvi Ges Rb ms†hv†Mi Ab"vb" cš'v mg~n miKv†ii wbqšžvwab _vKv DwPZ	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
15	msL"vjNy mxcÖ`v†qi †bZvMY RvZxq gsMj†K D†c¶v K†i	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
16	eZ©gvb mvgvwRK KvVv†gv AZ"š— wbK...ó †Kb bv GUv agx©q cÖwk¶Y†K Ae†njv K†i	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
17	ivR%bwZK we†¶vf cÖ`k©†b Ask MÖn†Yi gva"†g Qv†îiv ivR%bwZK cÖwk¶Y AR©b Ki†Z cv†i	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
18	GKwU my" RvwZi Rb" cwievi cwiKíbv AZ"š— Avek"K	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
19	RvZxq †PZbvi †P†q Avš—Rv©wZK †PZbv AwaK Kvg" nlqv DwPZ	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
20	eywxgĖvi wePv†i gwnjvMY cyi"l†i †P†q wbægv†bi weavq Zviv cyi"†li m¶gZv `vex Ki†Z cv†i bv	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
21	Avgv†`i mgvR†K wbR^ ms^...wZi g†a?" mxgvex ivLv DwPZ	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
22	^bw>`b Rxe†b a†g©i AwaKZi cÖfve _vK†j G ††ki Avil g½j nZ	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
23	Qvĭ Av†>`vjb ††ki ms^vi K†i e†j Bnv†K DrmvwnZ Kiv DwPZ	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
24	mgvR †_†K †hšZzK cÖ_v `~ixKi†Y wb†qvwRZ ms'v mg~n†K cyi^...Z Kiv DwPZ	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
25	mgv†R kvwš— eRv†qi Rb" agx©q bxwZ ag© wbi†c¶Zvi †P†q †kªq	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
26	we†ivax `†ji ^vaxbZv kvmK`†ji mgvbB _vKv DwPZ	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
27	†Kvb msL"vjNy mxcÖ`v†qi m`m"†K ^mwbK c†` envj Ki†j †m Aš—Nv©Zx Kv†h©i my†hvM cv†e	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
28	agx©q a"v†b gMœ _vKvi †P†q mgvR †mev DrK...ó	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb

29	wek!we``vj†qi cÖkvmwbK †¶†ŵm×vš— MÖn†Y Qvŵ†i `vwqZi †lqv DwPZ	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
30	RbmsL``v AZ``š— `a“Z MwZ†Z e„w× cv†”Q e†j cwievi cwiKÍbv†K DrmvwnZ Kiv DwPZ	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
31	j“Zic~Y© PvKzixmn msL``v,j“ m`m`†i g†a`` mxgvex ivLv cÖ†qvRb	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
32	AvR†Ki GB Aw``i we†k ag©B n†”Q kvwš— I k„•Ljvi Drm	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
33	Qvŵ†i RvZxq ivRbxwZ†Z mwµq AskMÖnY Kiv DwPZ	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
34	cÖMwZi Rb`` Avgv†i eZ©gvb mvgvwRK e``e``v ewnivMZ K...wó†K Aek``B ``^MZ Rvbv†e	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
35	^eÁvwbK Ávb agx©q Ávb A†c¶v †kªô	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
36	Qvŵ we†¶¶vf RvwZi Rb`` Awfkvc n†q `uvovq	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
37	wn>`y I gymjgvb cwievi cÖwZ†ekx wn†m†e emevm Kiv ¶wZKi bq	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
38	ag©B my`` Rxeb hvc†bi c_ wb†`©k K†i	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
39	msL``vjNy mæcÖ`v†qi ivR%bwZK †bZv†i cÖwZ mæšvb cÖ`k©b Kiv `iKvi	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
40	††ki DbœwZi Rb`` a†g©i cyivZb cÖ_v Ges ixwZbxwZ AZ``š— cÖ†qvRb	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb

Liberalism- Conservatism Attitudes Scale (English Version)

1. National interests should of course be placed above humanity.
2. Situation will be degraded if the opposition parties are allowed unbridled freedom to discuss in the parliament.
3. Movement of the majority people should strictly be brought under supervision.
4. Every child should be provided with religious learning.
5. Aggressive movement is the best of solving problems quickly.
6. Affair marriage brings dishonour to the families.
7. Military training should be compulsory for every citizen.
8. Women are not expected to work in any office outside home.
9. Our culture will be degraded if the foreigners are allowed free access.
10. Primitive natural instinct can not be controlled by religious practice.
11. Bringing change in education policy is not possible without adoption of coercion.
12. Family planning should be taught at high school level.
13. We should love motherland in exchange of hatred for other countries.
14. Press, radio, television and other communication media should be brought under the control of the government.
15. The leaders of the minority communities ignore national well-being.
16. Existing social structure is of the worst type as it neglects religious learning.
17. Students may get political training through taking part in political agitation on the streets.
18. Family planning is utmost necessary for a healthy nation.
19. Feeling for internationalisms is expected much more than national feeling.
20. Women can not claim equal competency with men since they are less competent than men in terms of intellectuality.
21. Our society should be kept within our cultural limits.
22. Much more well-being of the country could be made possible if our day to day life would be influenced by religion in a greater degree.

23. Students movement should be encouraged since it brings about changes in country's life.
24. Organizations involved in removing dowry system from the society should be rewarded.
25. Practice of religious principles is more effective than secularism in maintaining peace and harmony in the society.
26. Opposition parties should enjoy equal freedom with the party in power.
27. If the members from minority community are appointed in the army, they will get opportunity to be involved in sabotage.
28. Social work is better than getting absorbed in religious practice.
29. Students should be allowed to take part in the decision making process of the university administrative affairs.
30. Family planning should be encouraged to control rapid growth of population.
31. Professional posts with special importance should be restricted only for the members of the majority community.
32. Religion is the sole source of peace and harmony in this restless world.
33. Students should take part actively in national politics.
34. Prevailing social system must welcome any foreign culture for the sake of progress.
35. Scientific knowledge is better than religious knowledge.
36. Students demonstration/agitation becomes a curse for the nation.
37. It is not harmful for Hindu and Muslim families to live as neighbors.
38. It is religion that leads to the way of living healthy life.
39. Political leaders from minority community should be treated with honour.
40. Religious rites and rituals in original forms are essential for the development of the country.

Majority-Minority Attitude Scale

wbʃ`@kvejx

wbʃæ 31wU evK` wewfbœ mvgvwRK, A\_@%bwZK l ag@xq mgm`vi Dci wfwĖ
 Kʃi gʃbvfvtēi cwigvcbx ^Zix Kiv nʃqʃQ| GLvʃb e`w³i wbR`^ gZvgZB cÖavb bb|
 evK` wji tKvb DĖiB fyj bq| Avgiv 5wU fvʃM (□) wPýi gva`ʃg RvbʃZ PvB, t̃mwU
 mʃú~Y@ GKgZ t_ʃK mʃú~Y@ AgZ bB ch@š— we`Z...Z| Avcwb ci c,,ôv,wji th evʃK`i
 msʃM mʃú~Y@ GKgZ t̃m evK`wUi wecixʃZ cwigvcbxi ÔmKŎ tK (□) wPý w`b| Avcwb
 th evʃK`i msʃM GKgZ t̃mLvʃb ÔmKŎ tK (□) wPý w`b| Avi th evK`wUi msʃM GKgZ
 bb t̃mLvʃb ÔGbŎ tK (□) wPý w`b| th evK`wUi msʃM mʃú~Y@ AgZ t̃mLvʃb ÔmKŎ tK
 (□) wPý w`b| A\_@vr GB 5wU fvʃMi DĖiʃi gʃa` t̃hwUʃK Avcbvi KvʃQ cÖʃhvR` gʃb
 nʃe t̃mwUʃK Avcwb (□) wPý w`b| Avcbvi gZvgZ mʃú~Y@ifʃc t̃Mvcbxq ivLv nʃe|
 evʃµi D`vniʃYi gva`ʃg DĖi t`evi cÖwµqvU t`Lvʃbv nʃjv|
 D`vniY t̃msL`vjNy mʃcÖ`vʃqi t̃bZvʃi cÖwZ cÖ`k@b Kiv DwPZ|

1	ag@wfwĖK t`ʃki tPʃq ag@ wbiʃc¶ t`ʃk wewfbœ mʃcÖ`vʃqi gʃa` kvwš— l mʃcÖxwZ eRvq _vʃK	m	G	wb	Gb	GGB
2	mKj AvevwmK GjvKvB msL`vjNyʃi emevʃmi Rb` myeʃ`ve`— _vKv DwPZ	m	G	wb	Gb	GGB
3	msL`vj, mʃcÖ`vʃqi AwaK `^vaxbZv`vb t`ʃki msL`v ,i` mʃcÖ`vʃqi gʃa` eÜzZic`Y@ mʃúK@ e,,wx Kʃi	m	G	wb	Gb	GGB
4	msL`v jNy mgm`viv mgm`ʃi tPʃq AwaKvsk t¶ʃi Kg@wbôZvi cÖgvb t`q	m	G	wb	Gb	GGB
5	ag@ wfwĖK t`ʃki miKvi msL`vjNy mʃcÖ`vʃqi gʃa` AwaK kvwš— l mʃcÖxwZ eRvq ivLvi Rb` t̃ewk Zrci _vʃK	m	G	wb	Gb	GGB
6	RvwZ ag@ wbwe@ʃkʃi cÖwZwU e`w³iB PvKzixi t¶ʃi mgvb myʃhvM cvlqv DwPZ	m	G	wb	Gb	GGB
7	msL`v,i` l msL`vjNy cwievi cÖwZʃekx wnmvʃe emevm Kiv ¶wZKi bq	m	G	wb	Gb	GGB
8	fviZʃK UʃvbwRU cÖ`vʃbi myʃhvM t`qv nʃj evsjvʃ`k A_@%bwZK w`ʃK w`ʃq AwaK mg,,xkvjx nʃe	m	G	wb	Gb	GGB
9	cÖwZwU we`vjʃqi t̃gav Abyhvqx msL`vjNy mʃcÖ`vʃqi t̃Qʃjʃgʃqʃi fwZ@i t¶ʃi myʃhvM myweav cÖ`vb Kiv DwPZ	m	G	wb	Gb	GGB
10	msL`vjNy mʃcÖ`vʃqi t̃bZvMY KLʃbv RvZxq g½jʃK Dʃc¶v Kʃi bv	m	G	wb	Gb	GGB
11	ag@wbiʃc¶Zv wewfbœ mʃcÖ`vʃqi mymʃúK@ `vcb Kʃi	m	G	wb	Gb	GGB
12	msL`vj, mʃcÖ`vʃqi e`w³iv Aĭvš— bg³ wKš' mOL`v,i`i mʃ½ mʃúK@ `vcʃbi mgq gvʃS gvʃS Zviv wbʃRʃi Dci wbqšĭb nvivq	m	G	wb	Gb	GGB
13	dviv`v evʃai dʃj Avgvʃi RvZxq mʃú` ¶wZMŎ` nʃqʃQ	m	G	wb	Gb	GGB

14	wek!we`vj#qi fwZ@i +¶# msL`vjNy mxcÖ`v#qi +gav#KI cÖavb` +`qv DwPZ	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
15	#h +Kvb Z`v#Mi wewbg#q msL`vjNy mxcÖ`vq Zv#`i wbR`^ K...wó a#i ivL#Z msL`v,i` mxcÖ`v#qi +P#q AwaK g#bv#hvMx	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
16	Avgv#`i +`#k msL`vjNy#`i mgm`v, #jv GZ Mfx#i +h, iaygv! MYZvwšK c#wZ myôzfv#e Zvi mgvavb Ki#Z cv#ib	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
17	eZ@gvb mg#q cvwK`—v#bi ms#½ evsjv#`ki mvs`<...wZK wewbgq +cÖvMÖvg kxNÖB Pvjy Kiv DwPZ	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
18	fviZxq miKv#ii n`—#¶#ci Kvi#Y G#`#ki msL`vjNy mxcÖ`v#qi wbivcEv e,,wx +c#q#Q	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
19	#Kvb msL`vjNy mxcÖ`v#qi m`m`#`i weevn msL`v,i` m#ú`v#qi m#½ nlqv DwPZ bq	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
20	G#`#ki msL`viNy `cÖ`vq Zviv wb#R#`i#K memgq we#`kx g#b K#i bv	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
21	cvwK`vbx#`i m#½ evsjv#`kx#`i gZwe#iv#ai KviY fvlvwi +P#q A_%bwZK ^elg`B cÖavb	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
22	#h +Kvb m#švbRbK cÖwZôvb n#Z msL`vjNy mxcÖ`v#qi m`m`#`i msL`v,i` mxcÖ`v#qi m`m`#`i gZB my#hvM myweav Ges m#švb cÖ`vb Kiv DwPZ	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
23	msL`vjNy mxcÖ`v#qi m`m`#`i +h +Kvb +¶# my#hvM`v#b evav cÖ`vb msL`v,i` mxcÖ`v#qi m`m`#`i G#Kev#iB DwPZ bq	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
24	#Kvb msL`vjNy mxcÖ`v#qi m`m`#K RvZxq cwiKíbv AZ`vwaK ¶lgZv cÖ`vb Kiv DwPZ	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
25	wZb weNv Kwo#Wvi iaygv! evsjv#`#ki bvMwiK#`i e`env#ii Rb` ivLv DwPZ	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
26	msL`vjNy mxcÖ`v#hi m`m`iv me@`vB Zv#`i wbR Kv#R msL`v,i` mxcÖ`v#qi +P#q tekx AvMÖnx	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
27	cve@Z` AvBbPzw ³ evwZj Kivi cÖ#qvRb +bB	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
28	msL`viNy mxcÖ`v#qi g#a` eY@MZ wef#`~i Kiv +Kvb g#ZB m#ce bq +Kbbv GB ^elg` Zv#`i DËivwaKvi m~# cÖvß	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
29	msL`vjNy mxcÖ`v#qi m`m`#`i AbyMZ` cÖwZ#ekx ivó ^a _vi#Zi wbKU cÖKvk Kiv DwPZ bq	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
30	msL`v,i` mxcÖ`v#qi e`w#`i msL`vjNy mxcÖ`v#qi cÖwZ c~e@ ms`<vi n«vm nlqv DwPZ	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
31	msL`v,i` mxcÖ`v#qi +P#q msL`vjNy mxcÖ`vq Zv#`i `^RvwZi cÖwZ AvbyMZ` A#bK tekx cÖKvk K#i	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb

Majority- Minority Attitudes Scale (English Version)

1. Peace and communal harmony prevail in secular states more than in religion based states.
2. Arrangements should be made in every residential areas for the habitation of minority people.
3. Providing the minority with more freedom increases friendly relation among the people of the majority community.
4. The members of the minority community prove in most cases worthier than the members of the majority community.
5. Governments of the country based on religion remain more vigilant in maintaining peace and harmony among minority people.
6. Every person irrespective of caste and colour should have equal rights to job opportunity.
7. Living together as neighbours is not harmful for the families of both of the communities.
8. If India is extended with transit facilities, Bangladesh will enrich being economically benefited.
9. Educational institutions should provide equal opportunities for the children from minority communities.
10. Leaders of minority community never ignore national interests.
11. Secularism builds up the basis of mutual understanding among various communities.
12. People of minority communities though submissive, sometimes lose control in keeping relation with the members of majority community.
13. Farakka Barrage has badly affected our national resources.
14. Talents of minority communities should also be counted in getting students admitted into universities.
15. Minority communities are more serious than the majority in preserving and upholding their own culture.
16. The problems of minority communities in our country are so deep-rooted that only democratic process can solve them.

17. In the present context cultural exchange programs with Pakistan should start soon.
18. The security of minority communities has been increased by the interference of Indian government.
19. Marriage between the members of minority and majority should be avoided.
20. Minority people do not always consider themselves alien in this country.
21. The cause of dispute between Pakistanis and Bangladeshis lies mainly in economic discrimination rather than cultural differences.
22. Minority people should be given honour and privileges equally with those of majority in every distinguished institution.
23. Members of majority community should not at all oppose any member of the minority from getting benefits in any field of life.
24. Individuals from minority community should get more opportunities to take part in planning to the national level.
25. 'Tin Bigha Koridor' should be restricted to the use of Bangladeshi citizens only.
26. The member of minority communities are always more interested in doing their own business than the majority people.
27. Peace agreements on "Hill Tracts" need not to be neglected.
28. It is by no means possible to remove the discrimination based on caste among minority as it has descended upon generation from generation for thousands of years.
29. Minority people should not express their loyalty to the neighbouring country, India.
30. Prejudices of the majority against the minority should be reduced.
31. Minority community is much more loyal to its own community compared to majority community.

Internality, Powerful others and Chance (IPC) Scales

wb†`©kvejx

wb†gœ KZK,†jv Dw³ †`qv Av†Q| G,†jvi cÖ†Z`KwUi cÖwZ Avcbvi mg_©b ev Amg_©b m~PK cQ>` μ†gi cuvPwU gvÎv (mαú~Y© GKgZ = m G, GKgZ = G, wbi†c¶ = wb , GKgZ bB = G b, G†Kev†i GKgZ bB = G G b) wba©viY Kiv n†q†Q| cÖwZwU Dw³ g†bv†hvM mnKv†i co–b Ges Dw³wU Avcbw KZUzKz mg\_©b ev Amg\_©b K†ib Zv wbw`©ó `v†b wUK (✓) wPý w`†q cÖKvk Ki“b|

Internality

1	Avwg †Kvb Kv†R †bZ...Zi w`†Z cvi†ev wKbv Zv wbf©i K†i Avgvi wbR`^`¶Zvi Dci	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
2	Rxe†bi AwaKvsk `~N©Ubv Avwg g†b Kwi Avgvi Ag†bv†hvMxZvi Kvi†bB N†U†Q	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
3	hLb Avwg cwiKíbv Kwi ZLb, †m,†jvi Kv h©KvwiZv djcÖm~ Kivi wbđqZv wb†qB Kwi	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
4	Avwg KZ fvj e`w³ Zvi Dci wbf©i K†i Avgvi KZRb eÜz-evÜex i†q†Q	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
5	Avgvi Rxe†b wK NU†e †m e`vcv†i Avwg fvj wm×vš—wb†Z cvwi	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
6	Avgvi ew³MZ `^v_© i¶vi †¶†Â Avwg mvaviYZ `¶	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
7	Avwg hv PvB Zv Avwg cvB , GwU mvaviYZ wbf©i K†i †h†nZz Avwg Gi Rb` A†bK cwikªg K†iwQ	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb
8	Avgvi Rxeb wKfv†e cwiPvwjZ n†e Zv wbf©i K†i Avgvi wbR`^ wμqvi Dci	m	G	wb	Gb	GGb

Powerful Others

9	Avwg g#b Kwi Avgvi Rxe#bi NUbvejx ¶lgZvevb e" w ³ Øviv wbqwsžZ	mG	G	wk	Gb	Ggb
10	Avgvi `¶Zv m#Ej  ¶lgZvevb e" w <sup>3</sup> eM© Avgv#K †bZ,,#Zji `vwqZi †`#e bv	mG	G	wk	Gb	Ggb
11	Avgvi Rxe#bi ,i"Zjc~Y© wRwbm,†jv ¶lgZvevb e" w ³ #i Øviv wbqwsžZ nq	mG	G	wk	Gb	Ggb
12	hLb †Kvb cÖfvekvjx `†ji Pvc Avgvi Dci Av#m ZLb e" w ³ MZ ~^v_© i¶v Kiv KwVb n#q ØvivB	mG	G	wk	Gb	Ggb
13	Avwg hv wKQz PvB Zv wbf©i K#i hviv Avgvi †P#q kw ³ kvjx e" w ³ Zv#i#K mš—yó Kivi Dci	mG	G	wk	Gb	Ggb
14	Avwg AwaK e" w ³ i mv#_ eÜzZi Ki#ev wKbv Zv wbf©i K#i ,i"Zjc~Y© e" w ³ iv Avgv#K cQ>` K#i wKbv Zvi Dci	mG	G	wk	Gb	Ggb
15	Avwg ~N©Ubvi m#š~Lxb ne wKbv Zv wbf©i K#i Ab" †KD †m ~N©UbvWU NUv#”Q wKbv Zvi Dci	mG	G	wk	Gb	Ggb
16	Avwg hv cwiKíbv Kwi Zv KvH©Kix n#e wKbv Zv wbf©i K#i Avgvi †P#q ¶lgZv m#úboe e" w ³ i B”Qvi Dci	mG	G	wk	Gb	Ggb

Chance

17	Avgvi Rxe#bi †ekxi fvM K...ZKvh©Zv AvKw~\$K NUbvejxi Øviv wbqwsžZ nq	mG	G	wk	Gb	Ggb
18	Avgvi ~fv#M"i Kvi#Y Avgvi e" w ³ MZ ~^v_© i¶v Kivi †KvbB my#hvM bvB	mG	G	wk	Gb	Ggb
19	Avwg hv wKQz PvB Zv mvavibZ Avgvi †mšfv#M"i Kvi#Y N#U _v#K	mG	G	wk	Gb	Ggb
20	Avwg cÖvqB †`wL †h hv NUvi Zv N#UB _v#K	mG	G	wk	Gb	Ggb
21	†h †Kvb ~N©UbvB cwZZ nlqv wbf©i K#i fv#M"i cwibwZi Dci	mG	G	wk	Gb	Ggb
22	c~#e©B †Kvb wKQz cwiKíbv Kiv me©`v Áv#bi cwiPvqK †Kbbv A#bK wKQz wbf©i K#i fvj g>` fv#M"i Dci	mG	G	wk	Gb	Ggb
23	Avgvi mdjZv wbf©i Ki#Q Avwg mwVK RvqMvq mwVK KvR Ki#Z †c#iwQ wKbv Zvi Dci	mG	G	wk	Gb	Ggb
24	Avgvi Aí mSL`K bv †ekx mSL`K eÜy _vK#e Zv wbf©i K#i Avgvi fv#M"i Dci	mG	G	wk	Gb	Ggb

Internality, Powerful Others and Chance Scale (English Version)

Internality

1. Whether or not I get to be a leader depends mostly on my ability.
2. Whether or not I get into a car accident depends mostly on how good a driver I am.
3. When I make plans I am almost certain to make them work.
4. How many friends I have depends on how nice a person I am.
5. I can pretty much determine what will happen in my life.
6. I am usually able to protect my personal interests.
7. When I get what I want, it's usually because I worked hard for it.
8. My life is determined by my own actions.

Powerful Others

9. I feel like what happens in my life is mostly determined by powerful people.
10. Although I might have good ability, I will not be given leadership responsibility without appealing to those in positions of power.
11. My life is chiefly controlled by powerful others.
12. People like myself have very little chance of protecting our personal interests when they conflict with those of strong pressure groups.
13. Getting what I want requires pleasing those people above me.
14. If important people were to decide they didn't like me, I probably wouldn't make many friends.
15. Whether or not I get into an accident depends mostly on the others.
16. In order to have my plans work, I make sure that they fit in with the desires or people who have power over me.

Chance

17. To a great extent my life is controlled by accidental happenings.
18. Often there is no chance of protecting my personal interests from bad luck happenings.
19. When I get what I want, it's usually because I'm lucky.
20. I have often found that what is going to happen will happen.
21. Whether or not I get into a car accident is mostly a matter of luck.
22. It's not always wise for me to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune.
23. Whether or not I get to be a leader depends on whether I'm lucky enough to be in the right place at the right time.
24. It's chiefly a matter of fate whether or not I have a few friends or many friends.