A STUDY OF THE ATTITUDES OF PAKISTANI STUDENTS
TOWARDS OTHER NATIONAL GROUPS

AND

SOME OF THE FACTORS RELATED TO THESE ATTITUDES

By

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ATTITUDES OF PAKISTANI STUDENTS

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ABSTRACT

This is a study of the attitudes of Pakistani students, at
the American University of Beirut, towards other national groups.
The purpose of this study was four-fold: (1) to see whether there have
been any changes in the attitudes of Pakistani students towards other
national groups as a result of their face-to-face contacts with indivi-
duals from different groups; (2) to explore whether there are any factors
that have contributed towards favourable or unfavourable changes in the
attitudes of the subjects; (3) to find out whether the Pakistani students
are more favourably disposed towards those national groups among whom
they have intimate friends than towards those groups among whom they do
not have any friends; and (4) to see whether friendships are formed on
the basis of desirable personality traits perceived by the subjects in
other persons or whether there are any other factors that determine the
choice of friends: like similar culture, common religion and common
language.

The conclusions about the changes in the attitudes of Pakistani
students towards other groups are based on a comparison of the responses
of two groups of Pakistani students: (1) the New Pakistani students
(N=48): those who arrived in October 1963, and (2) the Old Pakistani
students (N=46): those who have been at the American University of Beirut
for one academic year or longer. As both the groups of subjects belong
to the similar social-cultural background, it was assumed that any signi-
ficant differences between the responses of the New group of Pakistani

students and the Old group of Pakistani students would indicate changes in the attitudes of Old Pakistani students who have associated for longer period with the members of other groups than the New Pakistani students. The Bogardus social-distance scale was used to measure the attitudes of the subjects.

To find out the factors that have contributed towards changes in the attitudes of the Pakistani students, an open ended questionnaire was given to the subjects with instructions to give reasons for any changes in their attitudes towards other groups.

To measure the degree of favourableness of attitudes towards the groups among whom the subjects have friends, the social-distance responses against the groups among whom the Pakistani students have friends were compared with their social-distance responses against the groups among whom they do not have friends.

To find out whether the friendships were based on desirable personality traits or whether other factors (like. common religion, common language, similar culture, and common race) affect the choice of friends, a questionnaire was given to the subjects to indicate the traits that are important to them in forming friendships. Statements regarding religion, race, culture, language, and political policy were included in the questionnaire.

Following are the important findings in this study:

1. There seems to be a favourable change in the attitudes of Old Pakistani students towards other national groups as a whole.

2. There seems to be a favourable change in the attitudes of Old . Pakistani students towards Christians.

3. Political relations with other nations seem to affect the attitudes of Pakistani students towards the people of those nations.

4. A major factor for a favourable change in attitude towards another national group seems to be a visit to the country under favourable conditions.

5. A major factor for unfavourable change in attitude towards another national group seems to be perceived low national status accorded to Pakistan by the members of the group.

6. The attitudes of the Old Pakistani students are more favourable towards Western national groups as a whole than towards Arab national groups as a whole.

7. The attitudes of the Old Pakistani students are more favourable towards national groups among whom they have friends than towards the groups among whom they do not have friends.

8. The traits that the Pakistani students prefer most in their friends are: neatness, good manners, high morality, kind-heartedness, sense of humor, loyalty to friends, polite speech, religious tolerance, self-confidence, sportsmanship, tolerance of criticism, belief in the equality of mankind, ability to keep a secret, and frankness.

9. The traits that the Pakistani students do not prefer in their friends are: cursing and swaring, being easily insulted, prejudice towards other religions, talkativeness, conservatism and flashy dresses.

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INTRODUCTION

A. The Problem

The American University of Beirut provides opportunities for
students from different countries of the world to come into contact
with one another. Students with different racial, cultural, and reli-
gious backgrounds, and goals are brought face-to-face during their
study sojourn here.

At the time of their arrival at the University, students from
different national groups are likely to have different attitudes
towards other national groups whom they are likely to encounter during
their stay at the university. The question is: whether there are any
changes in the attitudes of the members of a national group towards
other national groups, as a result of their contacts with the members
of these groups. And, if there are any changes, what kinds of experien-
ces are likely to bring them about?

Friendship is one of the many experiences that the members of a
national group are likely to enter into with the members of other
groups. The question is: whether having friends from other national
groups will make the students feel closer to or more favourable towards
those national groups among whom they have one or more intimate friends
as compared to those national groups among whom they have no friends, or
whether close friendships will be taken as an exception and have no
effect on their attitudes that they have towards other national groups.

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Broadly speaking, friendships can be divided into two categories: (1) those which develop as a result of one's membership in the professional organization or club in which one seeks social status, and (2) those which are formed on the basis of free choice as a result of feelings of closeness and warmth for the other person. It is understood that even in the formation of friendships of this latter type, there are limitations in the form of geographic, cultural, religious, and political barriers which delimit the group of persons from which one can select his friends.

With the above limitations in view, the other question that poses itself for consideration is: whether the students from a national group will limit their friendships to their own national group due to the above mentioned barriers between them and other national groups, or whether they will form friendships with students from other groups as well. And, if such friendships are formed, whether the factors of religious, political, linguistic, and cultural proximity will affect the formation of these friendships, or whether they will be based on physical and psychological traits in a person that are essential in face-to-face contacts of friends.

B. Background Material (Review of the Literature)

Contact between people of different nations, races, and religions has been suggested as a method of creating understanding and reducing prejudice. However, research studies have demonstrated that such an outcome is possible but not that it is inevitable. Contact may decrease or increase prejudice.

Horowitz has shown in his study on prejudice or social distance that the positive or negative attitudes of the single individual towards

other groups are formed not on the basis of his contacts with the group in question but in terms of social proximity or social distance of these groups as defined by the prevailing norms of his reference group.[1]

According to Buchman and Cantril, "whether respondents in one nation express themselves as 'friendly' or 'unfriendly' to another 'people' seems to be influenced by the proximity of the latter, their language and policies of their government."[2]

Buchman and Cantril have further remarked that feelings of friendliness or unfriendliness towards the people of other countries correspond closely to the international political alignment. They suggest that most people do not distinguish clearly between the people of a country and the country as an actor on the international scene. The authors advance the hypothesis that the stereotypes held by the people of one country about the people of another country tend to follow their feelings about the official position of that country in relation to their own.[3]

It seems that in the absence of actual contacts the members of a national group form their attitudes towards other national groups on the basis of the norms of their reference group, cultural and geographical proximity, common language, and, to a large extent, on the political relations between the two governments. In this sense, before coming into contact with members of the other group, the members of a particular group are favourably or unfavourably predisposed towards that group.

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[1] E. Horowitz, "Development of Attitudes Towards Negro," quoted by Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn W. Sherif in, Groups in Harmony and Tension (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), PP. 167-168.

[2] William Buchman and Hadley Cantril, How Nations See Each Other (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1953), P.93.

[3] Ibid., P.95.

The question is: whether there is any change in the attitudes of one group towards another after the members of the two groups come into face-to-face contact.

Selltiz and Cook found out in a study that the impressions of a group of Frenchmen who had been in the United States of America on a training mission were quite similar to the opinions held by a comparable group who had never been to that country.[4]

A study by Selltiz and others on the influence of being together in different situations, indicates that personal association for students in a foreign country is not significant influence on attitude change.[5]

Katz and Braly, in a study about the possible influence of personal contact with the members of other groups on the stereotypes of these groups held by the subjects, found out that the students assigned strereotypes with a high degree of consistency even after their personal contact with these groups.[6]

The above examples indicate that actual contact with the members of a national group is not likely to change the attitudes, opinions or stereotypes held by the members of a nation before coming into personal contact with another group. Probably more than superficial contact is needed to bring about a change in attitude. According to Bogardus, where the simplest perception by one individual of another individual exists, the distance is great, but where the perception passes into communication of feelings, ideas, and sentiments the social distance becomes greatly

[4] Claire Selltiz and Stuart W. Cook, "Factors Influencing the Attitudes of Foreign Students Towards the Host Country," The Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 18, No.1 (1962), 11.

[5] Claire Selltiz et al., "The Effects of Situational Factors on Personal Interaction Between Foreign Students & Americans," The Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 12, No.1 (1956), 33-44.

[6] D. Katz and K, Braly. "Racial Stereotypes of One Hundred College Students," quoted by Muzafer Sharif & Carolyn W. Sharif, OP.Cit., P.85.

shortened. The author maintains that with a greater intimacy of association the distance is likely to be shorter.[7] √.

Also, Selltiz and Cook in their study on foreign students in the United States found that the students who reported having made one or more close friends, described both friendship and family relations in the States much closer than did those without a close friend, and expressed greater liking for American friendship and family patterns and greater approval of traits they saw as characteristics of Americans.[8]

People have been known to develop more favourable attitudes towards members of the other race (Whites and Negroes) in integrated housing projects. Positive changes occured among individuals who had relatively intimate contacts with Negroes and perceived these contacts as socially approved.[9]

On an eight-point scale ranging from "I would accept in my family by marriage (value of 8)," down to "should be excluded from the country (value of 1)," Gray and Thompson, in a comparative study of 400 White undergraduate students in the University of Georgia with 300 undergraduate Negro students in three state supported Negro colleges in Georgia found out that acquaintance with at least five individuals of another group raised the social distance rating of both White and Negroes.[10]

Regarding foreign students in the United States, Morris writes: "having a higher proportion of American friends tends to iron out perceived

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[7] Emory S. Bogardus, The New Social Research (Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1926), P.209.

[8] Claire Selltiz and Stuart W. Cook, Op. Cit., 18.

[9] D.M. Wilner, et al., "Residential Proximity and Intergroup Relations in Public Housing Projects," The Journal of Social Issues, No.8(1952), 45-69.

[10] J.Stanley Gray & Anthony H. Thompson, "The Ethnic Prejudices of White & Negro College Students," Journal of Abnormal & Social Psychology. Vol.48 (April, 1953), 311-313.

differences between America and home country. Apparent discrepancies in ways of life disappear in the course of close relations with Americans".[11]

The above studies indicate that when contact with one or more members of another nation or race passes into communication of feelings, sentiments, and ideas--close friendship-- there is likely to be a favoura- ble change in the attitudes towards that nation or race as a whole, and the perceived cultural differences tend to disappear or become less appa- rent.

If close friendships among members of different nations can be expected only in case where the groups have congenial political relations or hold positive stereotypes of each other--preexisting mutual favourable attitudes--there is little hope for improving human relations and over- coming national or racial prejudices. Therefore, one must look for certain other factors that can bring people closer in a harmonious inter- action, despite their cultural, political, and religious differences.

From the moment of its inception the business of life calls for adherence and affiliation. There is an effort for harmony rather than conflict. The individual appears to seek persistently for regard, esteem, and affection towards himself as a person. While this seeking is meeting with reciprocation, he not only feels regard and affection for others but also relates himself well towards their goals. "Modern research in human relations reveals that men are basically eager for friendly relations with their fellows of a sort that respect their own sense of integrity and self- esteem."[12]

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[11] Richard T. Morris, The Two-Way Mirror (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1960), P.116.

[12] Gordon W. Allport, "Basic Principles in Improving Human Relations," Karl W. Bigelow (ed.), Cultural Groups & Human Relations (New York: Bureau of Publications Teachers College-Columbia University, 1951), P.14.

In situations where people from different national groups come into face-to-face contact, friendships are likely to develop between the members of any two groups, despite cultural, religious, racial, linguistic, and political differences between the groups. The writer's assumption is that the criterion, that can transcend the barriers of race, culture, religion, language, and political relations per se, in forming friendships with the members of other national groups, is that of personality traits that are desirable in a person who is to be one's friend. As, the major persoanlity traits that the members of a particular group may consider important in forming friendships are not limited to any specific group orientation, but are to be found in persons all over the world, the members of a group are likely to develop friendships with individuals from other groups who possess the traits they like most. For instance, sincerity, kindness, neatness, sense of humor, ability to keep a secret, and many other traits are such that are to be found in individuals belonging to different societies, and are also liked by people in many societies in the world. Moreover, in free-choice type of friendships which are likely to exist between students at the American University of Beirut, liking for the other person is likely to involve more of desirable personality traits than any other single factor.

C. The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is four-fold: (1) to see whether there is a change in the attitudes of Pakistani students towards other national groups, during their study abroad; (2) to find out whether Pakistani students are more favourably disposed towards those national groups among whom they

have intimate friends; (3) to see whether these friendships are initiated by desirable personality traits; and (4) to explore whether there are any factors that may contribute towards favourable or unfavourable changes in attitudes.

On the basis of the earlier discussion in this chapter the following hypotheses are set:

1. There is a change in the attitudes of Pakistani students towards other national groups as well as towards another religious group (Christians) as measured on the Bogardus Social-Distance Scale.

2. The attitudes of Pakistani students are more favourable towards those national groups among which they have intimate friends as compared to their attitudes towards the national groups among which they do not have intimate friends.

3. In general, the intimate friendships are formed on the basis of desirable personality traits perceived by the Pakistani students in the members of other groups, rather than on political, linguistic, cultural, or religious considerations per se.

4. The changes in the attitudes of Pakistani students are related to favourable or unfavourable experiences with individuals from other nations. Favourable experiences, here, refer to those interaction situations which encourage close contacts with the members of other groups, and unfavourable experiences refer to those interaction situations which discourage close contacts with the members of other groups.

D. Methods of Study

1. The study group. The subjects were all the Pakistani students, sponsored by the United States Agency for International Development, at the American University of Beirut. The number of students as received from the Bursary Students Office is as follows:

Group	Male	Female	Total
Old (students who arrived in October 1961 or earlier)	44	7	51
New (students who arrived in October 1962)	52	15	67
			118

In the Old group, one student is a Christian and all the others are Muslims. In the New group, one student is a Christian, one is a Hindu, and all the others are Muslims. This means, out of the total of 118 subjects, only 3 are non-Muslims.

In the beginning, it was intended to find differences in the responses of the subjects according to sex. But, as the number of girls in the two groups of Pakistani students was very small, both the male and female subjects in each group were considered together in the final analysis. Hence, a reference to either Old or New Pakistani students, may be understood to include all the male as well as female subjects in that group.

With reference to the psychological and social background of the subjects, the following assumptions underlie this study:

(1) that, in general, both the groups are equally eager to form friendships with the members of other national groups;

(2) that, in general, both the groups are equally liberal-minded or prejudiced;

(3) that, in general, the subjects belong to the middle class families in Pakistan.

So far as the procedure for selecting the two groups of Pakistani students is concerned, it was ascertained through an inquiry from the Regional Training Office of the Agency for International Development at Beirut that, there have not been any basic changes in the procedure for the selection of Pakistani students who come to the American University of Beirut.

2. Procedure. A questionnaire[*], of four parts, was prepared to test the hypotheses. Part one was a social-distance scale to find out the attitudes of the subjects towards other national groups and to determine whether there were any significant difference between the attitudes of the two groups.

The second part was an opinionaire to find out what were some of the factors that contributed towards favourable or unfavourable changes in the attitudes of the subjects towards other national groups.

In the third part, to see whether the subjects had friends that belonged to their own religious group (Muslims) alone or whether they belonged to other religious groups as well, the Pakistani students were required to give the religion of their friends. The subjects were also required to give the nationalities of their friends, to enable the writer to know whether there were any significant differences in the social distances at which the subjects held those national groups among which they had friends and those among which they did not have any friends.

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[*] See Appendix.

The fourth part dealt with the traits that the subjects liked most or liked least in persons whom they were to accept as their friends.

3. The Questionnaire. The questionnaire was ready for distribution on 6th November 1962. The questionnaires were personally given to most of the subjects by the researcher on 6th and 7th of November, along with a self-addressed return envelope. The remaining ones, about ten, were sent by mail.

Seventy questionnaires were returned before 14th November--41 by the New students and 29 by the Old. After that, the remaining questionnaires started trickling in by ones and twos. Those who were slow in sending back their questionnaires were personally approached. Ninety six questionnaires were back, by the end of November. As there was little hope for receiving the remaining questionnaires, tabulation was started.

In all 80 percent of the questionnaires were returned, duly filled in. The Old group returned 90 percent of the questionnaires while the New group returned 72 percent of the questionnaires. Out of these questionnaire two were found to be incomplete and hence were not included in the tabulation. The following is the distribution of the population in this study:

Group	Male	Female	Total
Old	42	4	46
New	37	11	48
			94

The responses of the two groups were analysed separately and then compared with each other to find out significant differences in the overall responses of the two groups.

E. Limitations

Because of the complexity of human behaviour and individual
differences that are involved in attitude formation or attitude change
and that affect the nature of responses, no effort has been made to
establish a cause-effect relationship between favourable attitudes and
friendship. Hence, it will not be proper to assume that the differences
of social distance between the Old and the New groups are only due to
friendship or absence of friendship with the members of other nations, or
that shorter or greater distances maintained by the subjects against other
national groups are caused by the presence or absence of the factor of
friendship alone. Because while the out-going friendly type of students
may form friendships irrespective of cultural, political, or religious
differences, the prejudiced type of students may restrict their friendships
to those groups to which they are favourably predisposed on religious,
cultural, or political grounds. In the first instance a favourable attitude
may be an outcome of friendship while in the latter case a friendship is
likely to be initiated by a favourable attitude. Moreover while a liberal-
minded student is likely to maintain a shorter distance between himself and
other groups, a prejudiced student may maintain a comparably greater distance.
Besides being members of a group the students are individuals who differ in
many ways. An experience in a foreign country presents different aspects
about which a student may gain impressions or make evaluations. His views
about certain aspects may be influenced by one kind of experiences and his
views about other aspects may be influenced by other kind of experiences.
It is likely that while one student may approach an experience for the

purpose of seeking friendship and recognition as a person, the other
student may approach the same experience seeking friendship and recognition
as the representative of a country. A third student may enter into an
experience as a visitor to a country and expect treatment as such, and yet
another student may form his impressions about a nation from his experiences
as a customer. In each case favourable or unfavourable experiences in a
particular role can lead to attitude formation or attitude change about the
group as a whole. Though the causes may be different the effect is the
same.

In the analysis of the opinionaire an effort has been made to
locate other factors that contribute towards a change in the attitudes of
Pakistani students, specially in the light of different roles under which
the students interact with other national groups, and their effect on attitude
formation or change. However the results are only indications and lack
reliability or validity due to absence of control. But they can be used as
samples for a further study or an extention of this study.

Due to the small size of the two populations comparisons were not
made on such variables as personality orientation (liberalminded-prejudiced)
age, foreign travel, and sex. However it would be important to test these
variables with a larger population.

This study is focused upon four major issues: (1) attitudes of the
two groups of Pakistani students towards other national groups, (2) attitudes
of the Pakistani students towards Christians, (3) friendship with the
members of other nations and its relation with favourableness of attitudes
towards these nations, and (4) determination of the traits that are important
to the Pakistani students in forming friendships.

F. Explanation of Some of the Important Terms Used in this Study

New Group. Those of the Pakistani students—male as well as female—who have come to the American University of Beirut in October 1962.

Old Group. Those of the Pakistani students—male as well as female—who have been here for one academic year or more.

Change in attitude. The term, as used in this study, means a reversal from negative to positive or positive to negative, or a change in the degree of favourableness or unfavourableness.

Friendship. Friendship has been taken not in the sense of volume (the kinds of situations in which the subjects interact with the members of other groups or the number of such interactions) but in the sense of depth (the feelings of intimacy or closeness).

Prejudice. Prejudice is connected with the in-group attitudes in reference to out-groups. "Prejudice seems to be more or less instinctive and spontaneous disposition to maintain social distances."[13] It is the negative attitude of members of one group derived from their group norms towards the other group.

Stereotypes. "Stereotypes can be taken as an index of social distance at which groups are held. Stereotypes are part of all mental patterns of culture. They are connected with values and weighted down

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[13]R.E. Park, "Social Distance and Prejudice," Kimball Young (ed.), Source Book for Social Psychology (New York: Crofts & Co., 1931), P.487.

with strong feelings and emotions."[14]   Whenever a national group

perceives a threat to their values from another group, a set of negative

traits is attributed to that group; and when these values are perceived

to be supported by another group, a set of positive traits is attributed

to that group.

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[14]Kimball Young (ed.), "Introduction to the Chapter XVI", Ibid., P.420.

CHAPTER II

ATTITUDE FORMATION AND ATTITUDE CHANGE

A. The Definition

Attitude has been defined by Dewey as, "an acquired predisposition to ways and modes of response."[1]

According to Thurstone, attitude is "the sum total of a man's inclinations and feelings, prejudices or bias, preconceived notions, ideas, fears, threats, and convictions about any specific topic."[2]

Katz calls attitude, "the predisposition of the individual to evaluate some symbol or object or aspect of his world in a favourable or unfavourable way."[3]

Also, Katz and Stotland define attitude, "as an individual's tendency or predisposition to evaluate an object or the symbol of that object in a certain way."[4]

To sum up the above definitions, it may be said that attitude is an acquired tendency of a person to react to or to evaluate an object or a symbol of an object, in a favourable or unfavourable way, according to his feelings, prejudices, preconceived ideas, and beliefs.

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[1] John Dewey, Human Nature and Conduct (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1922),P.42.

[2] L.L. Thurstone, "Attitudes can be Measured", American Journal of Sociology, Vol.33 (January, 1928), p.531.

[3] Daniel Katz, "The Functional Approach to the Study of Attitude," The Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol.24, No.2 (Summer, 1960), .168.

[4] Daniel Katz & Ezra Stotland, "A Preliminary Statement to a Theory of Attitude Structure and Change." Sigmund Koch (ed.), Psychology: A Study of a Science (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1959), P.428.

As an evaluating tendency, attitude includes both the affective elements of liking or disliking and the cognitive elements related to beliefs and ideas which describe the object of the attitude and its characteristics. The evaluative role of the attitude, attributes qualities to the object which can be placed on a dimension of desirability or of goodness-badness. Evaluation in this sense includes cognitive and affective elements.

Attitude, as an acquired tendency, finds its source in the individual's experiences. Through the socialization process, his personal experiences, the influence of mass media, and public opinion, the individual develops beliefs, ideas, prejudices, values, likes and dislikes, about certain objects or events.

Though an attempt has been made in the following pages in this chapter to discuss the social and psychological aspects of attitudes under separate headings, it does not imply that, there is a cause-effect relationship between the two. Attitudes develop as a result of the interaction of these two factors.

B. Social Foundations of Attitudes

In a society, when interaction between individuals with common motives and goals endures for a long time, the by-products of the interaction process, such as ways of doing things, expectations, aspirations, notions of value, and beliefs are standardized and become social norms. The individual, as a member of a particular society, learns to conform to the norms of his society by internalizing its beliefs, ideology, and values.

The groups that serve functionally as major anchorings for the individual, in a society, are his reference groups. These are the groups to which the individual relates himself as a part or aspires to relate himself. According to Sherif, "the individual's directive attitudes, viz: ego-attitudes, which define and regulate his behavior to other persons, other groups, and to an important extent even to himself, are formed in relation to the values and norms of his reference groups."[5] The reference group relatedness usually develops through the actual participation of the individual in the groups in question: family, professional organizations, political groups etc. Once this relatedness is established by the individual, it serves as the main regulating agent for his behaviour in a host of situations and circumstances that he faces subsequently.

The adult individuals from a national group, who come to a new group situation or foreign country, have well established personality patterns which include attitudes towards other groups, beliefs, opinions, prejudices, values, and self-concept. If the values or patterns of behaviour in the new group setting are congenial with the old, the process of adjustment is relatively easy. If they are not congenial, the adjustment is difficult.

C. Psychological Foundations of Attitudes

The experiences of an individual are both active and passive. One purposely does something and is conscious of the return wave of consequences which flow from the activity, or the stimulus impinges upon

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[5] Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn W. Sherif, Op.cit., P.169.

his consciousness and he reacts to it. In the first instance the individual responds to the stimulus which is basically internal in nature, such as some need or purpose. In the second instance the individual responds to the stimulus which is initially external in nature, and which draws his attention.

In the latter type of experiences, it is the perception of the stimulus that describes the direction of a response or activity. One sketches briefly first the external and then the internal conditions of perception, drawing his illustrations, where ever possible, from past experiences. In fact one of the most significant group of factors determining perception is the field of old associations.

As a result of his personality orientation, one holds images and concepts of mother, father, family, right, conduct, desirable person, and other objects. The images that one holds of other objects, affect his perceptions. According to Lippmann "we imagine things before we experience them. Our perceptions mark out certain objects as familiar or strange, and emphasize the differences."[6] In this sense, percepteral structuring is not merely a cognitive affair. It is jointly determined by the totality of functionally related external factors and internal factors coming into the structuring process at a given time. These interrelated factors—external and internal—constitute the frame of reference of the ensuing reaction.

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[6] W. Lippmann, "Stereotypes as Subjective Environment," Kimball Young (ed.), op.cit., P.274.

In fact, one does not see with his eyes alone or hear with his ears alone, but he sees and hears as well with the person he is at a given time. As regards to other individuals, if the perception of one individual of some self-experience in another person makes a positive difference in his experiential field, then he is experiencing a positive regard for the individual, which includes the attitudes of warmth, liking, and sympathy. If, on the other hand, the perception makes a negative difference, then he is experiencing a negative regard for the individual, which may include the attitudes of hatred, disliking and disgust.

In the first type of experiences--active--while, "the instinctive-emotional trends furnish the foundations of social behaviour, the intellectual foundations play a very important part in determining the direction which the behavior takes."[7]   These intellectualized foundations are the purposes, values, and self concept of the individuals.

The individuals interact with other persons or objects with certain goals in mind. And it is the attainment or frustration of these goals that are sought for in the interaction that conditions the attitudes of individuals towards other persons or objects. In the words of Rosenberg, "the individual tends to relate positive attitude objects to goal attainment and negative attitude objects to frustration of his goal orientation."[8]

However, attitudes are not related to momentary satisfactions or dissatisfactions, or achievements or frustrations. The relatedness of the

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[7]Kimball Young (ed.), "Introduction to the Chapter XVI," op.cit., P.268.

[8]Milton J. Rosenberg, "A Structural Theory of Attitude Dynamics," The Public Opinion Quarterly, op.cit., 321.

individual to his surroundings is not merely in terms of positive or
negative aspects of objects, persons, and groups as regulated momenta-
rily by ups and downs of his hunger, thirst, sex desires or the like.
As one develops beyond infancy and childhood, his relatedness to objects
or situations displays an increasing degree of consistency and conti-
nuity. As Osgood has said, "We try to maintain internal consistency among
our attitudes and beliefs, often at the price of doctoring reality."[9]
The consistency criterion implies the integgration of numerous specific
responses of the similar types and the individualization and segregation
of these responses through further experiences, which make the attitude
more specific.

The problem of personal consistency from situation to situation
is being expressed more and more in terms of self or ego which has been
characterized as a developmental formation or a sub-system in the psycho-
logical make-up of the individual consisting of functionally interrelatd
attitudes. These attitudes are acquired in relation to the individual's
own body, his family, groups, objects, values, and institutions which
define and regulate his relatedness to all these in so many concrete
situations.[10]

To sum up the above discussion, it may be said that, the attitudes
of the individual develop, through repeated experiences of the similar
nature, as a result of the functional relationship between his goals and
the persons and objects with whom he intereacts, as defined by his own

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[9] Charles E. Osgood, "Cognitive Dynamics in the Conduct of Human Affairs",
Ibid., 343.

[10] Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn W. Sherif, Op.cit., PP.168-169.

self-concept. As the attitudes of the individual remain fairly consistent, the activation of his need states relevant to specific attitudes and the perception of the appropriate cues associated with the content of the attitude will arouse the attitude in any subsequent situations.

Katz has mentioned four categories of functions which attitudes perform for the individual: (1) instrumental, adjustive, or utilitarian function, (2) the ego-defense function, (3) the value-expressive function, and (4) the knowledge function. According to Katz the dynamics of the attitude formation with respect to the adjustment function are dependent upon present or past perceptions of the utility of the attitudinal object for the individual. The clarity, consistency, and awareness of the rewards and punishment, as they relate to the individual's activities and goals, are important factors in the acquisition of such attitudes. Both attitudes and habits are formed towards specific objects, people and symbols as they satisfy specific needs.

The attitudes that are related to values, have the function of giving positive expression to the individual's central values and to the type of person he conceives himself. The individual gets satisfaction from the expression of attitudes which reflect his beliefs and self image.

The ego-defensive attitudes stem, basically, from internal conflicts and resulting in securities. These attitudes help to protect the individual from internally induced anxieties or from external dangers. The attitudes of withdrawal or aggression are related to ego-defensive needs.

The attitudes that perform the knowledge function are related to the individual's search for knowledge for standards or frame of

reference for the understanding of his world.[11]

On the basis of the preceding discussion in this chapter, the following conclusions may be drawn:

(1) that the perception of a new stimulus is conditioned by the individual's past associations and his goals. Hence, perception imposes a certain character on the data of the individual's senses before the data is intellectualized;

(2) that the individual's past associations with the world of objects play a major role in directing his behaviour in future situations;

(3) that the individual's attitudes towards other objects or persons are related to the satisfaction of his needs, values, and ego, as initiated by his social orientation in general, and his reference group norms in particular;

(4) that ego-attidues define and regulate the individual's behaviour to other persons, and other groups;

(5) that positive and negative attitudes are related to goal attainment and goal frustration;

and (6) that attitudes tend to be consistent.

D. Attitude Change

Attitudes, like habits represent, the stable and organized aspects of personality, and tend to persist so-long as they work out well and allow conduct to proceed in satisfying way. Attitudes are formed towards specific objects, people, and symbols, as they satisfy specific needs.

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[11]Daniel, Katz, op.cit.,   170-190.

According to Katz, "the psychological reasons for holding or for changing attitudes are found in the functions they perform for the individual, specially, the functions of adjustment, ego-defense, value-expression, and knowledge."[12]   Katz has mentioned different conditions which must prevail in changing the attitudes that perform the functions of adjustment, ego-defense, value-expression, and knowledge. To change the attitudes which serve adjustment function, one of the two conditions is necessary: (1) the attitude and activities related to it no longer provide the satisfactions they once did, or (2) the individual's level of aspiration has been raised.

Three basic factors can help change ego-defense attitudes: in the first place removal of threat or minimizing of threat is a necessary condition; in the second place humour and   emotional appeal are good for attitude change related to ego-defense; and, in the third place ego-defensive behavior can be altered as the individual acquires insight into his own mechanisms of defense.

Two conditions are relevant in changing value-expressive attitudes: (1) some degree of dissatisfaction with one's self concept or its associated values, and (2) dissatisfaction with one's old attitudes in-appropriate to one's values.

The factors related to change in attitudes performing knowledge function are, inadequacies of existing attitudes to deal with new and changing situation and conflict of old attitudes with new information and new experiences.[13]

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[12] Ibid., 170.

[13] Ibid., 170-190.

The most general statement that can be made about the conditions conducive to attitude change is that the expression of the old attitudes or its anticipated expression no longer gives satisfaction to its related need state. As attitude formation and attitude change must be understood in terms of the goals they serve, and as the motivational processes will differ in relations to these goals, the conditions and techniques for attitude change will also be different.

1. The conditions which bring about attitude change.

A functional approach by Katz for changing attitudes has been mentioned in the preceding pages. This part will deal with the findings of some of the other studies related to attitude change.

Katz and Stotland have written that, "if there is a change in the person's needs, in his beliefs, in his values, in his perceptions, or in his behavior, there can be a modification of his attitudes."[14]

While Resenberg has shown that attitudes are intimately related to the capacity of the attitude object to be instrumental in the attainment of the individual's values,[15] Carlson has shown that if the perceived instrumentality of the object with respect to person's values and needs is changed, the attitude itself may be modified.[16]

Group inter-action is seen as a major determinant in attitude formation and attitude change. When contacts between members of socially

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[14] Daniel Katz and Ezra Stotland, op.cit., P.464.

[15] Milton J. Rosenberg, "Cognitive Structure and Attitudinal Affect", Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 53 (October, 1956), .367-372.

[16] Earl R. Carlson, "Attitude Change Through Modificiation of Attitude Structure," Journal of Abnormal & Social Psychology, Vol.52 (March, 1956), .256-261.

distant out-groups involve joint participation, the individual's
attitudes towards members of the out-groups are likely to be altered.[17]

According to Klinberg, not the contact itself but the nature
of contact is important in the change of attitude. Equal-status contacs
bring favourable change in attitude.[18]

In the words of Faris, "the key to the problem of attitude change
lies in the concept of crisis."[19] A crisis is to be found just in those
situations where existing attitudes fail to apply and where existing
objects fail to satisfy one's expectations. One may approach an experience
with a favourable attitude towards an object but at the time of inter-
action may find the attitude related to that object ineffective, and hence
may change his attitude.

2. Attitudes which are difficult to change.

Ego-defense attitudes are particularly resistant to environmental
forces which exert direct pressure to create change. In this instance the
change is related to a need within the individual which is sufficiently
complex in origin to make personality change the necessary condition for
modification of the attitude.[20]

If an attitude is tied to a value system which is closely related
to or which consists of the individual's conception of himself, then the

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[17] Muzafer Sherif & Carolyn W. Sherif, op.cit., P.222.

[18] Otto Klineberg, Tensions Affecting International Understanding,
(New York: Social Science Research Council, 1950), PP.139-142.

[19] Ellsworth Faris, "The Concept of Social Attitudes", Kimball Young (ed.),
Social Attitudes (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1931). P.10.

[20] G. Sorel, "Myths and Social Imagination," Sigmund Koch (ed.), op.cit., P.465.

appropriate procedures for attitude change become more complex.[21]

Efforts to change a person with a negative evaluation of an object are peculiarly difficult, since mere mention of the object calls forth the negative attitude and interferes with further consideration of the matter.[22]

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[21]Daniel Katz, op.cit., .169.

[22]G.Sorel, Op.cit., P.462.

CHAPTER III

ATTITUDES OF PAKISTANI STUDENTS TOWARDS
OTHER NATIONAL GROUPS

A. The Measurement of Attitudes

A common practice in measuring attitudes towards other national
groups is through social-distance scales. These scales generally show
the degree of a person's acceptance or rejection of a group. They gene-
rally refer to differential degrees of understanding or intimacy
which characterize perceived or actual relations. In this sense social-
distance may be thought of in terms of social contacts. Where there
are no social contacts of any kind, complete isolation exists, and the
social distance is indeterminable.

But, in this twentieth century, nations are no longer isolated
by physical distances. There is contact between any two of the world's
nations at some level. If there is no direct contact between the people
of two nations, there is contact through their governments, through trade,
and through mass media. Social distance is likely to develop when the
members of a national group perceive their interests or values in conflict
with those of another group or being threatened by another group, and
social distance is likely to be minimized when the members of a national
group perceive their interests or values to be in harmony with those of
another group or to be supported by another group.

In a social-distance scale the subject is exposed to symbolic
cues which arouse his attitudes towards another group as related to the

feelings of closeness or hostility towards the group in question. If the subject feels closer to another group, he is likely to show lesser social distance and, if he feels further away from that group he is likely to show greater social distance.

As a word of caution, it must be understood that attitudes exist in the minds of people, and any attempt at measuring them either through language symbols or actual behaviour is by no means certain that true attitudes of people can actually be measured. Actual behaviour or responses to language symbols not only involve those factors which arouse the attitude but are also affected by what is expedient at a given time.

B. Method and Discussion

To measure the attitudes of the Old as well as the New Pakistani students towards other groups, 18 national groups[*] were included in the social-distance scale. Bogardus's revision of his social-distance scale (1933)[1] was used for measuring the attitudes of the subjects. The scale consists of equidistant situations. In making this equidistant scale, the author prepared a list of 60 single sentence descriptions, nearly all of which were heard in ordinary conversations where a person was expressing himself about other persons. These statements represented several different types of social relationships.

One hundred persons, including faculty members and graduate students with some knowledge of research, were invited to rate each

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[*] See form A of the questionnaire given in the Appendix.

[1] Emory S. Bogardus, Introduction To Social Research (Los Angeles: Sutton House Ltd., 1936), PP.97-101.

statement according to the amount of social distance which the state-
ment represented. Each of the 100 persons was also asked to judge
the amount of social distance which he thought existed between the
person making, for example, statement No.1 and the person concerning
whom it was made, from the standpoint of two persons involved. In
the same fashion each statement was judged.

Each judge was given 60 different slips of paper with the state-
ments typed on them, and asked to distribute them in seven boxes or
piles representing seven different degrees of social distance.

When this was done each judge was asked to study carefully
the slips in each box or pile and to reclassify any that might be
rated more accurately. No rule was made looking towards an even distri-
bution. It was stated however, that at the close of the exercise each
of the seven boxes must contain at least one slip. In case more than
15 slips appeared in any box it was concluded that sufficient discri-
mination had not been used, and the work of the judge was discarded.

Social distance was defined in this instance for each judge
as "the degree of sympathetic understanding" that exists between two
persons or between a person and a group. The judges were urged to view
the social distance situations described on the 60 slips as objectively
as possible. Each judge worked independently of the others.

The judgments, ranging from 1 to 7 for each of the 60 state-
ments by the 100 judges were added and the arithmetic mean taken.
The mean varied from 1.00 for statement No.1 to 6.98 for statement
No.53. In order to obtain a series of equal social distance situations,

the situations having means nearest to 2.00, 3.00, 4.00, 5.00, and 6.00 were selected. The seven statements are as follows:

1. Would marry

2. Would have as a regular friend

3. Would work beside in an office

4. Would have several families in my neighbourhood

5. Would have merely as speaking acquaintances

6. Would have live outside my neighborhood

7. Would have live outside my country

The only change that the writer made in the above scale, while using it in the present study, was that of replacing the word "regular" in the statement No.2 by the word "close". The reason for such a change is that 'close' makes the statement more meaningful.

The following instructions were given to the subjects answering the scale:[*]

Instructions

In Part A of the questionnaire, seven kinds of social contacts are given after each national group.

You are asked to give in each instance your first feeling reactions. Do not stop to think.

Give your reactions to a nation or a religion as a group. Do not give your reactions to the best or worst members you have known.

Put a cross X in one of the boxes after each nationality or religion, showing the kind of contact that you want to have with that national or religious group.

Leave those groups with whom you are completely unfamiliar; but give your reactions in case of each of the other groups. For example:

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[*] To know about the attitudes of the Pakistani students towards the two major religious groups to which most of the students on the campus belong, namely, the Christians and the Muslims, the two groups were also included in the social-distance scale.

If you would choose to marry one of the group, in case you wanted to marry, put a cross X in the column "would marry" after that group.

If you would like to have a close friend from the group, put a cross X in the column "would have as a close friend" after that group.

If you would be willing to work side-by-side with the members of the group, put a cross X in the column "would work beside in an office" after that group.

If you would be willing to accept many families from the group as your neighbours, put a cross X in the column "would have several families in my neighbourhood" after that group.

If you would like to have only casual relations with the members of the group-talking with a person when you meet on the street or saying hello!--put a cross X in the column "would have merely as speaking acquaintances" after that group.

If you would not be willing to accept the members of the group as your neighbours, put a cross in the column "would have live outside my neighbourhood" after that group.

If you would not like that the members of the group should live in your country, put a cross X in the column "would have live outside my country" after that group.*

Out of the total number of 118 questionnaires distributed to the Pakistani students--67 New and 51 Old--a total number of 94 questionnaires (80%) were returned completely filled in by the subjects--48 New and 46 Old. As the subjects were instructed to leave those groups with whom they were completely unfamiliar, no social distance was shown in 199 cases by the New group, and in 74 cases by the Old group.

A summary of the responses of the subjects towards other national groups is presented in Table I. The mean scores are computed by assigning "would marry" a value of 1 and "would have live outside my country" a value of 7, on the criterion that the first statement shows the least social distance and the 7th statement shows the greatest social distance. Table I shows the frequencies of social distance responses made by the subjects against different national groups.

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*See questionnaire given in the Appendix.

TABLE I

FREQUENCIES OF RESPONSES OF THE PAKISTANI STUDENTS TOWARDS THE NATIONAL GROUPS ON THE SOCIAL DISTANCE SCALE

National Group	Frequencies of Responses of the New Group									Frequencies of Responses of the Old Group								
	No response	Dist ance 1	Dist ance 2	Dist ance 3	Dist ance 4	Dist ance 5	Dist ance 6	Dist ance 7	Dist Means	No response	Dist ance 1	Dist ance 2	Dist ance 3	Dist ance 4	Dist ance 5	Dist ance 6	Dist ance 7	Dist Means
Afghanistanis	7	2	12	2	2	13	2	8	4.29	3	8	12	5	2	10	1	5	3.39
Americans	1	4	27	9	3	4	0	0	2.53	0	15	22	6	1	2	0	0	1.98
Armenians	18	1	12	7	0	1	0	0	3.23	6	12	9	6	1	8	1	3	2.98
Egyptians	13	7	12	3	5	8	0	0	2.86	7	17	5	2	5	10	0	0	2.65
English	5	5	18	10	2	5	1	2	2.89	3	13	14	8	1	2	0	2	2.59
Ethiopians	14	0	14	6	2	10	2	0	3.41	4	9	19	5	2	6	0	1	2.54
French	14	3	12	5	1	12	1	0	3.29	5	14	13	6	2	4	0	2	2.43
Germans	7	8	21	6	1	5	0	0	2.34	1	21	18	1	3	2	0	0	1.83
Greeks	19	0	10	2	2	13	1	1	3.86	3	12	13	5	2	9	0	2	2.80
Iranians	8	9	21	5	2	3	0	0	2.22	4	17	15	2	4	4	0	0	2.11
Iraqis	11	4	14	6	3	9	1	0	3.05	6	12	12	4	5	6	0*	1	2.62
Jordanians	11	4	18	4	4	6	0	1	2.84	6	17	15	1	2	5	0	0	2.07
Lebanese	3	14	14	6	3	5	3	0	2.55	1	16	9	5	1	7	1	6	3.06
Nepalese	18	0	9	4	1	13	3	0	3.90	9	9	10	4	4	9	0	1	2.95
Saudi Arabs	11	7	16	3	2	8	1	0	2.75	5	11	9	4	3	13	0	1	3.04
Sudanese	15	1	15	4	0	12	1	0	3.33	3	10	17	5	2	8	1	0	2.65
Syrians	14	6	15	3	1	9	0	0	2.76	6	17	11	4	4	3	0	1	2.22
Turks	10	9	16	5	1	7	0	0	2.50	2	26	13	1	2	2	0	0	1.66
TOTAL	199	84	276	90	35	151	17	12		74	256	236	74	46	110	7	25	

Table I shows that social distance means of the Old group are lower than those of the New group except where they are judging Lebanese and Saudi Arabs. A general statement that can be made about the social-distance scales of the two groups of Pakistani students is that social-distance means of the Old group, in general, indicate a more favourable attitude towards other national groups than those of the New group.

To find out whether there is a significant difference between the attitudes of the two groups of Pakistani students towards other national groups, as indicated by their responses on the social-distance scale, the following procedure was used:

Because of personality differences and lack of precise discrimination, i.e., one person may show his closeness to a national group by checking item 1 and the other may show the same amount of closeness by checking item 2, and to avoid such discrepancy, all the responses of the New as well as the Old Pakistani students to the seven items on the social-distance scale were item-wise grouped in the following way:[*]

Group	Distance 1	Distance 2	Distance 3	Distance 4	Distance 5	Distance 6	Distance 7
NEW	84	276	90	35	151	17	12
OLD	256	236	74	46	110	7	25
	340	512	164	81	261	24	37

Out of the total of 1419 responses, 50 percent of the responses were found to include almost all the responses to items 1 and 2 ("would marry" and "would have as a close friend"). As these two items show less social distance as compared to the other five items on the social-

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[*] For reference see Table I

distance scale, the responses to these items were defined as showing "more favourable" attitude and responses to the remaining 5 items were defined as showing "less favourable" attitude. The following table shows the distribution of responses showing "more favourable" attitude and "less favourable" attitude.

TABLE II

NUMBERS OF RESPONSES OF THE PAKISTANI STUDENTS SHOWING "MORE FAVOURABLE" ATTITUDE AND "LESS FAVOURABLE" ATTITUDE TOWARDS OTHER NATIONAL GROUPS

	New Group	Old Group
More Favourable	360	492
Less Favourable	305	262

$$x^2 = 17.74$$

The chi-square is significant at the 0.001 level.[*] This shows that the attitudes of the Old Pakistani students are significantly more favourable towards other national groups as a whole, as compared to those of the New students.

At the individual national group level, the social-distance means of the Old group were found to be significantly lower than those of the New group, at the 0.05 level for Turks, Germans, Americans,

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[*] A difference or disproportion which is "significant at the 0.001 level" is one which chance sampling factors could not account for more than one time in one thousand such experiments. Thus when significance is claimed in this thesis there is a 99.9% (or 99% in case of 0.01 level or 95% in case of 0.05 level) probability that the difference or disproportion is due to some systematic factor rather than to the operation of chance sampling factors, and that similar differences would occur in other years with comparable samples.

Afghanistanis, Ethiopians, French, Greeks, Nepalese, and Sudanese. This means that the Old Pakistani students have significantly more favourable attitudes towards the above mentioned national groups as compared to the New students.

The social distance studies made by Bogardus in America show that the national groups which are closer to the Americans (White) from racial and cultural point of view (English, Canadians, French, Scotch, Germans, and others) rank highest in the social-distance scales of the subjects and the national groups which are further away from the Americans from racial and cultural point of view (Japanese, Turks, Chinese, Indians, and others) rank lowest.[2]

Prothro and Melikian made another social-distance study of Christian and Muslim students from different Arab countries at the American University of Beirut. Among the Christian subjects, the average mean distance for the Arab national groups was 39.3 and for the non-Arab national groups was 38.4. Among the Muslim subjects the average social distance for the Arab national groups was 35.5 and for the non-Arab groups was 44.0. This shows a preference for the Arab groups, among the Muslim subjects. The Muslim subjects seem to feel closer to those groups which have a culture and a religion similar to their own.[3]

The above two studies indicate that similar race, culture, and religion are likely to make the responses of the subjects more favourable; in other words, individuals from a national group are likely to show more

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[2] Muzafer Sherif & Carolyn W. Sherif, op.cit., PP.80-81.

[3] E. Terry Prothro & Levon Melikian, "Social Distance & Social change in the Near East," Sociology & Social Research, Vol.37, No.1 (September-October, 1952), 3-11.

favourable attitudes towards other national groups with race, culture, and religion similar to their own.

To find out whether the factors of common religion and similar culture have favourably affected the responses of the Pakistani students towards other national groups given in the social-distance scale the following procedure was used:

First, the responses of each group of Pakistani students (New and Old) towards predominantly Muslim national groups.(Afghanistanis, Egyptians, Iranians, Iraqis, Jordanians, Saudi Arabs, Syrians, and Turks) were compared with their responses towards predominantly Christian national groups (Armenians, Americans, English, Ethiopians, French, Germans, and Greeks), to find out the possible influence of the factor of common religion on the social-distance scales of the subjects.

Second, the responses of each group of Pakistani students(New and Old) towards Arab national groups (Egyptians, Iraqis, Lebanese, Saudi Arabs, Syrians, and Jordanians) were compared with their responses towards the western national groups (Americans, English, French, Germans, and Greeks), to find out the affect of the factor of similar culture on the social-distance scales of the subjects.

The criterion that has been used for testing the favourableness of the responses of the subjects towards the above mentioned groups is the same as in case of national groups: responses to items 1 and 2 on the social-distance scale are defined as "more favourable" and the responses to the items 3 to 7 are defined as "less favourable".

The four parts of the Table III show the "more favourable" and "less favourable" responses of the Pakistani students towards predominantly-Muslim, Predominantly-Christian, Arab, and Western national groups.

TABLE III

MUMBERS OF RESPONSES OF THE PAKISTANI STUDENTS SHOWING
"MORE FAVOURABLE" AND "LESS FAVOURABLE" ATTITUDES
TOWARDS
PREDOMINANTLY-MUSLIM VERSUS PREDOMINANTLY-CHRISTIAN
AND
ARAB VERSUS CHRISTIAN NATIONAL GROUPS

NEW GROUP

III.A	Predominantly Muslim	Predominantly Christian	III.B	Arab	Western
More Favourable	216	135	More Favourable	131	108
Less Favourable	162	123	Less Favourable	95	86
	$x^2 = 1.25$			$x^2 = 0.14$	

OLD GROUP

III.D	Predominantly Muslim	Predominantly Christian	III.D	Arab	Western
More Favourable	269	204	More Favourable	151	155
Less Favourable	148	96	Less Favourable	94	63
	$x^2 = 0.79$			$x^2 = 4.26$	

As seen from Table III.A and Table III.B, the responses of the New Pakistani students show a favourable disposition towards predominantly-Muslim and Arab national groups. However, the Chi-square values 1.25 and 0.14 are too small to demonstrate anything but the possible presence of chance factors accounting for the differences in the responses.

The responses of the Old Pakistani students in Table III.C show a favourable disposition towards predominantly-Christian national groups, but again the Chi-square value 0.79 is too small to account for anything but the possible presence of chance factors.

In table III.D the chi-square (4.26) is significant at the 0.01 level. This shows that the attitudes of the Old Pakistani students are significantly more favourable towards the Western national groups as compared to the Arab national groups. The feeling of closeness towards the Western national groups among the Old Pakistani students, can possibly be due to status rivalry with Arab national groups coupled with a sense of deprivation in which the subjects see the Western nations more developed and with better amenities of life. More favourable attitude towards Western national groups shows an appreciation for the higher state of development of Western peoples in the economic field and standard of living, and aspiration of such a state for Pakistan.[4]

As the major religions of the national groups given in the social-distance scale,[*] except Nepalese, are Christianity and Islam, the two

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[4]Morris has also attirubted favourable attitudes of foreign students from less developed countries and unfavourable attitudes of foreign students from developed countries towards America to the factors of competition and deprivation. See Richard T. Morris, The Two-Way Mirror (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1960), PP.81-87.

[*]See form A in the questionnaire given in the Appendix.

religious groups were added to the lists of national groups given in the scale. The objective was to know whether there has been any difference in the attitudes of Pakistani students towards these two religious groups as a result of their contact with the individuals belonging to the two religions. The following table shows the responses of the two groups of Pakistani students:

TABLE IV

FREQUENCIES OF RESPONSES OF THE PAKISTANI STUDENTS TOWARDS
CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS ON THE
SOCIAL DISTANCE SCALE

Reli-gious Group	Frequencies of Responses of the New Group.								Frequencies of Responses of the Old Group.							
	distance 1	distance 2	distance 3	distance 4	distance 5	distance 6	distance 7	mean	distance 1	distance 2	distance 3	distance 4	distance 5	distance 6	distance 7	mean
Christians	3	29	2	2	10	0	2	2.89	17	25	3	0	1	0	0	1.77
Muslims	28	19	1	0	0	0	0	1.43	35	10	1	0	0	0	0	1.26

One can see from the above table that the responses of the Old group towards Christians are more favourable than those of the New group. However, there does not appear to be much difference in the responses of the two groups of Pakistani students towards Muslims.

To find out, whether there is a significant difference between the responses of the two groups towards Christians or Muslims, chi-squares were computed on the same lines as in the case of national groups:

responses to items 1 and 2 defined as "more favourable" and responses to items 3 to 7 defined as "less favourable".

Tables V.A and V.B show these comparisons.

TABLE V.A

NUMBERS OF RESPONSES OF THE PAKISTANI STUDENTS SHOWING
"MORE FAVOURABLE" AND "LESS FAVOURABLE" ATTITUDES
TOWARDS CHRISTIANS

	New Group	Old Group
More Favourable	32	42
Less Favourable	16	4

$$x^2 = 7.13$$

The chi-square is significant at the 0.01 level. The social-distance mean for christians was also found to be significantly higher in the New group at the 0.01 level. This shows that the attitude of the Old Pakistani students is significantly more favourable towards Christians, as compared to the New group. However, the difference between the responses of the New and the Old Pakistani students towards Muslims was not found to be significant, which can be seen from the following table.

TABLE V.B

NUMBERS OF RESPONSES OF THE PAKISTANI STUDENTS SHOWING
"MORE FAVOURABLE" AND "LESS FAVOURABLE" ATTITUDES TOWARDS
MUSLIMS

	New Group	Old Group
More Favourable	47	45
Less Favourable	1	1

The chi-square test did not show any significant difference in
the responses of the two groups of Pakistani students. The expected
frequency came out to be almost the same as the frequency of the responses
of the subjects. Also, no significant difference was found between the
social-distance means of the two groups, for Muslims.

The preceding discussion shows that the attitudes of the Old
Pakistani students are signficantly more favourable towards other
national groups as well as towards Christians, when compared with the
attitudes of the New Pakistani students. The question is: whether these
differences indicate a change in the attitudes of the Old students, or
whether these differences indicate that the two groups are basically
different.

Bogardus measured social distance against 40 national groups,
first in 1926 and later in 1946, against the same groups. The responses
on the two studies show that the social-distance scale in America did
not change much in the space of 20 years. When arranged according to their

social-distance means, the national groups which were in the first

quarter in 1926 were also in the first quarter in 1946. There were no

changes in rank orders of national groups within the remaining three

quarters, except in the case of Chinese who were in the fourth quarter

in the first study and in the third quarter in the second study.[5]

This indicates that the social-distance scale of a national group is

fairly consistent, and the changes in the rank order of nations are

likely to result from changes in attitudes towards those groups.

On the above evidence it may be said that a positive correlation

between the rank order of the national groups in the present study will

support the hypothesis that the two groups involved in the study are

similar, and that the changes in the rank order of different groups on the

social-distance scale of the Old Pakistani students are likely to be due

to changes in the attitudes of the subjects towards those groups. The

following table shows the rank order of different national groups, when

arranged according to their social-distance means.

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[5]Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn W. Sherif, op.cit., PP.79-81

TABLE VI

RANK ORDERS OF INDIVIDUAL NATIONAL GROUPS ACCORDING
TO THEIR SOCIAL DISTANCE MEANS

New Group			Old Group		
National Group	Social Distance Mean	Rank	National Group	Social Distance Mean	Rank
Iranians	2.22	1	Turks	1.66	1
Germans	2.34	2	Germans	1.83	2
Turks	2.50	3	Americans	1.98	3
Americans	2.53	4	Jordanians	2.07	4
Lebanese	2.55	5	Iranians	2.11	5
Saudi Arabs	2.75	6	Syrians	2.22	6
Syrians	2.76	7	French	2.43	7
Jordanians	2.84	8	Ethiopians	2.54	8
Egyptians	2.86	9	English	2.59	9
English	2.89	10	Sudanese	2.62	10
Iraqis	3.05	11	Iraqis	2.62	11
Armenians	3.23	12	Egyptians	2.65	12
French	3.29	13	Greeks	2.80	13
Sudanese	3.33	14	Nepalese	2.95	14
Ethiopians	3.41	15	Armenians	2.98	15
Greeks	3.86	16	Saudi Arabs	3.04	16
Nepalese	3.90	17	Lebanese	3.06	17
Afghanistanis	4.29	18	Afghanistanis	3.39	18

The striking feature of the table showing rank orders is the remarkable correspondence. The national groups to which greatest nearness is shown is the New group are also near to the Old group. The national groups which are placed at the greatest distance by the New group are also placed at the greatest distance by the Old group. To know whether there is a relationship between the ranks of the national groups, the spearman Rank-order Correlation Co-efficient (Rho) was computed. The value is + 0.57 which is significant at the 0.02 level. This shows a consistency between the social-distance responses of the two groups of Pakistani students. The two groups in this study correspond with one another in the degree of acceptance or rejection of the other national groups.

But a glance at the relative rankings of various groups will show that there are differences in the positions of the national groups. When national groups with ranks from 1 to 9 are taken as the upper half and 10 to 18 as the lower half, and the national groups with ranks from 1 to 4 are taken as the upper quarter and the ranks from 15 to 18 as the lower quarter, the following differences are found:

According to their positions in the first, second, third, and fourth quarters in the social-distance scale, the following national groups have a higher rank in the Old group than in the New group:[*]

National Group	Position in the New Group	Position in the Old Group
1. Jordanians	2nd quarter	1st Quarter
2. English	3rd "	2nd "
3. Ethiopians	4th "	2nd "

*. The social-distance means of these groups were found to be significantly lower in the Old group than in the New group, at the 0.05 level.

(cont'd)- <u>National Group</u>   <u>Position in the New Group</u>   <u>Position in the Old group</u>

4. French   3rd quarter   2nd quarter

5. Greeks   4th   "   3rd   "

6. Nepalese   4th   "   3rd   "

According to their position in the first, second, third, and fourth quarters in the social distance scale, the following national groups have a lower rank in the Old group than in the New group:

<u>National group</u>   <u>Position in the New group</u>   <u>Position in the Old group</u>

1. Iranians   1st quarter   2nd quarter

2. Egyptian   2nd   "   3rd   "

3. Lebanese   2nd   "   4th   "

4. Saudi Arabs   2nd   "   4th   "

5. Armenians   3rd   "   4th   "

The relative differences in the positions of different national groups in the social-distance scale of the Old Pakistani students suggest changes in the attitudes of the subjects towards other groups. Hence, it will be reasonable to say that the more favourable attitudes of the Old Pakistani students towards other national groups as a whole, towards Western national groups, towards individual national groups, and towards Christians indicate favourable changes in their attitudes towards these groups.

The comparatively lower positions of Iranians, Egyptians, Armenians, Lebanese, and Saudi Arabs indicate that there have been unfavourable changes

in the attitudes of the Old Pakistani students towards these national
groups. But no significant differences were found when the social-
distance means of the above groups on the social-distance scale of the
New group were compared with those of the Old group. Moreover, though
the positions of Iranians, Egyptians, and Armenians are relatively lower
in the Old group, they are not as close in social-distance to the New
group as they are to the Old group. The only national groups whose
social-distances are greater in the Old group than in the New group are
Saudi Arabs and Lebanese. The possible reason why no significant differences
were found can be the generally higher level of social-distance in the New
group.

Before ending the discussion on the relative rank orders of the
national groups, it will be proper to say something as to why the Afgha-
nistanis occupy the last position on the social-distance scales of both
the groups of Pakistani students. A plausible reason can be the nature of
political relations that exists between the two countries at present:
It must be understood that the political relations between Pakistan and
Afghanistan are strained at the time of this study. Both countries have
severed diplomatic relations with each other. The carry-over of the attitude
of the Pakistan Government into the personal attitudes of the subjects can
be better understood, when one looks at Pakistan as a newly independent
nation where national feelings are likely to be high.

C. Summary

1. When the individual national groups are ranked according to their social-distance means, there is a significant positive correlation between their ranks in the two groups of the subjects.

2. There seems to be a favourable change in the attitudes of Old Pakistani students towards other national groups as a whole.

3. There seems to be a favourable change in the attitudes of Old Pakistani students towards Western national groups, as a whole.

4. There seems to be a favourable change in the attitudes of Old Pakistani students towards Americans, French, Germans, Greeks, Jordanians, Ethiopians, Sudanese, Nepalese, Turks, and Afghanistanis.

5. There seems to be a favourable change in the attitudes of Old Pakistani students towards Christians.

6. Common religion and similar culture do not seem to affect the attitudes of Pakistani students towards other national groups.

7. Strained political relations between their own government and another government seem to have a negative influence on the attitudes of the Pakistani students towards the people of that country.

CHAPTER IV

FACTORS RELATED TO CHANGES IN THE ATTITUDES
OF PAKISTANI STUDENTS TOWARDS OTHER
NATIONAL GROUPS

The analysis of the data presented in the previous chapter
indicates that there has been a change in the attitudes of Old Pakistani
students towards other national groups. An attempt is made here to
explore the factors that are related to such a change.

A. Friendship and Attitudes

One of the hypotheses to be tested in this study was that "the
attitudes of Pakistani students are more favourable towards those
national groups among whom they have intimate friends". Forms C and D[*]
were included in the questionnaire to obtain data on intimate friends
of the subjects. The subjects were instructed to mention the names or
initials of their close friends at the American University of Beirut or
outside the University. The following specific instructions were given:

Form C. Please give the first names of five of your best friends
in the A.U.B. Put a cross X in the boxes below the statements that are
true regarding each of your friends. If you do not want to give the names
write just their initials.

Form D. If you have not given the names of any non-Pakistani
friends in the previous list, please give their names or initials here,
if you have any non-Pakistani friends in the A.U.B. or outside in Beirut.[**]

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[*] See form C and D in the questionnaire given in the Appendix.
[**] See forms C and D in the questionnaire given in the Appendix.

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To avoid any compulsive responses, the subjects were instructed (as above) to give the names or initials of their non-Pakistani friends if they had any, and they were also allowed the choice of mentioning friends that were outside the University.

As friendship is an association of feelings and sentiments, a definition of friendship was not included in the instructions. The friends that have been mentioned by the subjects are those whom they accept as their close friends.

In the process of filling in the questionnaire the subjects were required to give the nationalities and religions of their friends and check those activities and situations which they share with their friends. The purpose of obtaining such information was threefold : (1) to compare the social-distances shown against the national groups among which the subjects have friends, with the social distances shown against national groups among which the subjects have no friends, (2) to find out whether they choose as their friends, from other national groups, only those individuals who belong to their own religion, and (3) to find out what situations are most commonly shared by the subjects and their friends.

Table VII

DISTRIBUTION OF FRIENDS OF THE PAKISTANI STUDENTS
ACCORDING TO NATIONALITY AND RELIGION

Group	Total Number of Friends	Pakistani Friends	Non-Pakistani Friends		
			Total Percent of non-Pakistani Friends	Muslims	Non-Muslims
New Students	162	95%	5%	43%	57%
Old Students	·246	36%	64%	57%	43%

The above data show that while almost all the friends of the
New group are Pakistanis, the Old group has more non-Pakistani friends
than Pakistani friends. The reason why the New group has very few
friends among other national groups is probably the lack of contacts:
The New students were given the questionnaire after they had been here
for only one month.

TABLE VIII

RESPONSES OF THE PAKISTANI STUDENTS SHOWING
PERCENT OF CASES IN WHICH THEY
SHARE DIFFERENT SITUATIONS WITH THEIR FRIENDS

Group	Total number of friends	Majoring in the same subject	Being together in one of the courses	Being together in more than one course	Living in the same room or House	Eating in the same Restaurant	Being members of the same Club	Sharing the same Carrel	Being members of the same team	Being Neighbours
New Students	162	47%	49%	38%	39%	43%	18%	5%	6%	15%
Old Students	246	32%	33%	35%	31%	34%	17%	4%	4%	13%

The situations given in the questionnaire were those having poten-
tialities for interaction i.e., situations in which individuals are brought
face-to-face with one another and in which the participants have the oppor-
tunity for repeated interaction in the same situation.

Situations that are more commonly shared by both the groups of Pakistani students with their friends are (1) majoring in the same subject, (2) Being together in one of the courses, (3) being together in more than one course, and (4) living in the same room or house. These situations can be categorized as unorganized group activities in which the participants have the opportunity to come into close association with other members of the group. The individuals are thrown together in situations which have a common core of goals, objectives, interests, and problems.

It can be assumed that these situations preceded the formation of friendships, specially when more commonly shared situations by the New Pakistani students with their friends are the same as in case of the Old group: It should be understood that the New Pakistani students come from various parts of Pakistan and there are likely to be very few students who were friends before coming here or even knew one another. What has probably preceded friendship are the situations that have initially brought these individuals together: Common academic interests-- majoring in the same subject or taking the same courses, common problems-- living and eating, and common nationality.

As the New Pakistani students had no non-Pakistani friends, the responses of only the Old students were taken into consideration to find out whether the attitudes of the Pakistani students were more favourable towards those national groups among which they had intimate friends as compared to their attitudes towards those national groups among which they did not have any intimate friends. The following method was used:

The social-distances shown by each subject against all the 18 national groups or any number of national groups against whom the subject had made social-distance responses, were averaged. The national groups which were _above_ the personal social-distance mean of all the groups, were defined as the national groups towards whom the attitude of the subject was "less favourable" and the national groups which were _below_ the personal social-distance mean of all the groups were defined as the national groups towards whom the attitude of the subject was "more favourable".

The following chi-square table shows the "more favourable" and "less favourable" responses of the Old Pakistani students towards other national groups.

TABLE IX.A

NUMBERS OF RESPONSES OF THE OLD PAKISTANI STUDENTS SHOWING "MORE FAVOURABLE" AND "LESS FAVOURABLE" ATTITUDE TOWARDS NATIONAL GROUPS AMONG WHOM THEY HAVE INTIMATE FRIENDS AND THOSE AMONG WHOM THEY DO NOT HAVE FRIENDS

	Number of national groups among whom the subjects report having close friends	Number of national groups among whom the subjects do not report having close friends
More Favourable	95	373
Less Favourable	11	203

$$x^2 = 24.52$$

The chi-square is significant at the 0.001 level, which shows that the attitudes of Old Pakistani students are more favourable towards those national groups among which they have intimate friends as opposed to the groups among which they do not have intimate friends.

Another confirmatory chi-square was computed on the basis of the numbers of subjects showing "more favourable" and "less favourable" attitudes towards national groups among which they had intimate friends and towards the national groups among which they did not have intimate friends. The following procedure was used:

The mean of social distances shown against all the groups was computed in case of each subject. All the national groups were classified into two categories: (1) those among which the subject had intimate friends, and (2) those among which the subject did not have any friends. If, any subject showed a degree of social-distance against any number of the national groups from the two above mentioned categories, which was higher than his personal mean of social-distance of all the groups, he was considered to be showing a "less favourable" attitude towards that category as a whole. If any subject showed a degree of social distance against any number of the national groups from the two categories (friend-no friends), which was lower than his personal mean of social distance of all the national groups, he was considered to be showing a "more favourable" attitude towards that category as a whole. For instance, a subject had friends in three national groups; the social-distance shown against two of the groups was lower than the subject's personal mean of social distance of all the groups, but the social

distance shown against the third group was higher than the subject's personal mean of social distance of all the groups; in this case the subject was considered to be showing both "more favourable" attitude and "less favourable" attitude towards the national groups among which he had friends. The following table shows the distribution.

TABLE IX.B

NUMBERS OF THE OLD PAKISTANI STUDENTS SHOWING "MORE FAVOURABLE"
AND "LESS FAVOURABLE" ATTITUDES TOWARDS NATIONAL GROUPS AMONG
WHOM THEY HAVE INTIMATE FRIENDS AND THOSE AMONG WHOM
THEY DO NOT HAVE FRIENDS

	Number of students reporting one or more friends in the national group or groups	Number of students reporting no friends in the national group or groups
Showing more favourable attitude towards the group or groups	39	42
Showing less favourable attitude towards the group or groups	5	29

$$x^2 = 9.92$$

The chi-square is significant at 0.01 level. The result again supports the conclusion: "that the attitudes of the Old Pakistani students are more favourable towards those national groups among whom they have intimate friends."

B. The Traits that the Pakistani Students Consider to be
    Important in the Formation of Friendships

One of the hypothesis of this study is that, in the process of
forming friendships with members of other national groups, which are
likely to be based on free-choice, "the Pakistani students will form
such friendships on the basis of desirable traits in other individuals,
as seen by them, rather than linguistic, religious, cultural and
political considerations per se."

The analysis of the responses on the social-distance, scale
indicates that strained political relations of Pakistan with another
government seem to have a negative influence on the attitudes of the
Pakistani students towards the people of that country. Religion and
culture, do not seem to influence the attitudes of Pakistani students,
in one way or another. However, the purpose of this part of the study
is not to establish whether the above factors affect the social distance
attitudes of the subjects but to find out whether these factors influence
their choice of friends from other national groups.

A questionnaire used by Winlow and Frankel[1] to investigate the
traits that the adults, in the Brooklyn College of the City of New
York, considered most important from the stand point of friendship, was
readapted by the writer with certain modifications. The traits that
were given in noun words or noun phrases such as "neatness, same
religion as your own" in the original questionnaire were changed into

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[1] C.N.Winlow & M.N. Frankel, "The Questionnaire study of the Traits that
the Adults consider to be most Important in the Formation of Friendship
with Members of their own sex," The Journal of Social Psychology,
Vol.13(1941), 37-49.

active verb phrases to make them more vivid to the subjects. The traits that were obviously culture-bound or too specific were discarded. The following items were particularly included in the list of traits in the questionnaire:

1. Appreciates your culture
2. Likes Pakistani people
3. Has much in common with your culture
4. Supports the foreign policy of your Government
5. Has same religion as yours
6. Can speak your mother tongue
7. Is of the same race as you are

The first two items were included to find out how the subjects would react towards those individuals from other national groups who liked or disliked Pakistani people, and appreciated or disapproved of their culture.

The third item was to find out whether the subjects would like to form friendships with those persons whose culture was similar to their own.

The fourth item was included to find out whether the subjects would consider being in favour of the policy of Pakistani Government as a necessary quality in a friend.

The fifth, sixth, and seventh items were included to find out how important religion, common language, and race are to the Pakistani students in forming friendships.

The questionnaire[*] was given to both the groups of Pakistani

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[*] See form E in the questionnaire given in the Appendix.

students in order to compare the qualities that are considered important for forming friendships in both the groups.

The questionnaire is loaded with positive traits, as the main objective was to find out the traits that are important to the subjects in the positive sense. The traits were placed on a five-point scale with the following instructions:

Instructions

Below is a list of qualities and characteristics of persons of your own sex. Basing your judgement upon past and present experiences, please indicate how important each characteristic is in forming an intimate friendship with one of the members of your own sex.

Put a circle around +2 after the characteristic, if it is essential attribute of a person who is to be a close, lasting friend of yours.

Put a circle around +1 after the characteristic, if it is a desirable, though not essential, attribute of a person who is to be close, lasting friend of yours.

Put a circle around zero 0 after the characteristic, if it is of no importance in your judgement.

Put a circle around -1 after the characteristic, if it is an undesirable attribute, which makes friendship with such a person unlikely.

Put a circle around -2 after the characteristic, if it is a very undesirable attribute, which makes friendship with such a person impossible.*

Basically it was a 5-point scale. However, on account of personality differences due to which while one subject may show how important a trait is by checking the item as desirable or undesirable, another with the same absolute value in mind may check the item as essential or very undesirable, all the traits were lumped into three categories: (1) desirable, (2) no importance, and (3) undesirable.

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* See form E in the questionnaire in the Appendix.

Only these three categories were taken into consideration in the final analysis of the responses. The table that follows, shows the responses of the subjects and the rank order of the traits according to the sum of positive or negative responses in both the groups.

TABLE X

RESPONSE OF THE PAKISTANI STUDENTS INDICATING TRAITS
THAT ARE LIKED OR DISLIKED BY THEM IN PERSONS
WHO ARE TO BE THEIR INTIMATE FRIENDS

	New Group N=48		Old Group N=46	
	Algebraic Sum of po sitive & negative responses	Rank	Algebraic Sum of po sitive & negative responses	Rank
1. Has good social manners	+44	1	+45	3
2. Is neat	+43	2.5	+41	13
3. Has a high moral standard	+43	2.5	+38	18.5
4. Is kind-hearted	+42	4.5	+42	11
5. Has a sense of humor	+42	4.5	+44	5.5
6. Is loyal to his best friends	+41	6.5	+45	3
7. Is polite in speech	+41	6.5	+42	11
8. Has religious tolerance	+40	8	+43	8
9. Has self-confidence	+39	9	+40	15
10. Has sportsman spirit	+38	10.5	+45	3
11. Can tolerate criticism	+38	10.5	+46	1
12. Is frank	+37	13	+42	11
13. Believes in the equality of mankind	+37	13	+44	5.5
14. Has the ability to keep a secret	+37	13	+43	8
15. Is modest	+36	15	+40	15
16. Is liberal-minded	+35	16	+38	18.5
17. Appreciates your culture	+34	17	+29	22
18. Likes Pakistani People	+33	18	+19	24
19. Curses and swores freely	-31	19	-43	8
20. Is easily insulted	-30	20	-33	20.5
21. Is courageous	+29	21	+40	15
22. Is optimistic	+28	22	+33	20.5
23. Is prejudiced towards other religions	-26	23	-39	17
24. Has much in common with your culture	+23	24	+13	28
25. Has a critical attitude towards religion	-21	25	+ 3	39
26. Is generally popular	+20	26	+11	31
27. Is handsome	+18	27.5	+16	25
28. Is strongly religious-minded	+18	27.5	-11	31
29. Is talkative	-16	29	-15	26.5
30. Supports the foreign policy of your Govt.	+15	31	+ 7	37
31. Is more intelligent than you	+15	31	+10	33.5
32. Is delicate in tastes, behaviour and language	+15	31	+15	26.5
33. Has same religion as yours	+14	33.5	+10	33.5
34. Agrees with your decisions	+14	33.5	+11	31
35. Can speak your mother tongue	+13	35	+ 6	38
36. Has same economic status as your own	+11	36	+ 9	35.5
37. Is conservative in his/her ideas	-10	37	-12	29
38. Is popular with the opposite sex	+ 8	38	+ 9	35.5
39. Dresses flashily	- 4	39	-21	23
40. Is of the same race as you are	+ 1	40	- 2	40

The Spearman Rank-order Correlation Coefficient (Rho) was computed and found to be +0.85 which is significant at the 0.001 level. This shows that in general the traits that are higher in rank from the point of importance in the New group are also higher in the Old group.

To know which traits, out of the 40 traits given in the questionnaire, were significantly important—positively or negatively—to the subjects in forming friendships, the following method was used:

The relatively larger number of positive or negative responses in case of each trait was taken as "majority", and the relatively smaller number of positive or negative responses in case of each trait was taken as "minority". Then, $\left(\dfrac{\text{Majority-Minority-1}}{N}\right)^2$ formula* was applied in case of each trait to find out whether a trait was significantly important—either positively or negatively. A difference of 15 responses between the sum of positive and negative responses of the subjects for a trait was found to be significant at the 0.05 level. Table $\underline{X}$ shows the sum of these responses.

The seven statements that were included in the questionnaire to find out how important the factors of religion, culture, common language, and political relations were for the subjects in forming friendships, have serial numbers 17, 18, 24, 30, 33, 35, and 40 in Table $\underline{X}$. The traits, "likes Pakistani people" and "appreciated your culture" are significantly important for both the groups of Pakistani students (the sum responses for each trait is more than +15). This shows that these two traits are considered to be desirable traits in persons who are to be intimate friends of the Pakistani students.

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* This formula yields a chi-square with 1 d/f. and is mathematically equivalent to the chi-square or binomail test of the significance of the difference between an obtained proportion and .5, with the correction for continuity (Yates' correction included, it was formulated by Professor F.R.Korf, American University of Beirut.

The remaining five traits: (1) has much in common with your culture, (2) supports the foreign policy of your Government, (3) has same religion as yours, (4) can speak your mother tongue, and (5) is of the same race as you are, are not significantly important for the Old Pakistani students in forming friendships (the sum of responses in each case is less than 15). Hence it seems that a favourable attitude towards the Pakistani Government, similarity in culture, common language common religion, and common race are not important traits for the Old Pakistani students in forming friendships with other people. However, "has much in common with your culture" and "supports the foreign policy of your Government" are significantly important to the New Pakistani students in forming friendships (the sum of responses in each case is above +15).[*]

To know whether there are any traits that are common between the ten top ranking traits in Winlow-Frankel study and the ten top ranking traits in each of the two groups of Pakistani students in the present study, the following table was prepared.

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[*] As it is not the purpose of this study to find the relative importance of the individual traits given in the questionnaire, such a discussion will not be undertaken.

TABLE XI

TEN TRAITS MOST PREFERED BY THE PAKISTANI STUDENTS AND BY MALE
SUBJECTS IN WINLOW-FRANKEL STUDY[2] ARRANGED IN RANK ORDER

Rank.	Trait	.Rank.	Trait	.Rank.	Trait
1[#]	Has good social manners*	1[#]	Can tolerate criticism*	1	Loyalty*
2.5	Is neat[+]	3[#]	Has sportsman spirit*	2	Ability to be Confided in[+]
2.5	Has a high moral standard	3[#]	Has good social manners*	3	Frankness[+]
4.5[#]	Is kind-hearted	3[#]	Is loyal to his/ her friends*	4	Ability to take criticism from you*
4.5[#]	Has a sense of humor	5.5	Believes in the equality of man-kind	5	Good sports-manship*
6.5[#]	Is loyal to his/ her friends*	5.5[#]	Has a sense of humor	6	Conventional good social manners*
6.5[#]	Is polite in speech	8[#]	Has religious tolerance	7	Ability to be critical of you
8[#]	Has religious tolerance	8	Has the ability to keep a secret[+]	8	Neatness[+]
9	Has self-confidence	8	Is frank[+]	9	Intelligence equal to your own
10.5[#]	Has sportsman spirit*	10.5[#]	Is polite in speech	10	Poise, self possession
10.5[#]	Can tolerate criticism*	10.5[#]	Is kind-hearted		

2. Ibid., P.44
* The traits that are common in all the three groups
+ The traits that are common between Winlow-Frankel group & one of the Pakistani groups.
# The traits that are common between the two groups of Pakistani students

It will be seen from Table XI that many of the traits that are considered most important for forming friendships, are common between the Pakistani students and Winlow-Frankel study group: The New group has 5 traits and the Old group has 6 traits in common with the first 10 traits prefered by a group of adults in America. This shows that many of the traits that are most prefered by the Pakistani students in forming friendships are such that people in America also consider important.

The number of traits that both the groups of Pakistani students prefer most in their friends is eight.[*] On the basis of these most prefered eight traits it may be said that, the Pakistani students are likely to form friendships with individuals that are well mannered, have sportsman-spirit, are kind-hearted, are humorous, are loyal to their friends, are polite in speech, have religious tolerance, and can tolerate criticism. It can be seen that none of these traits is likely to hinder the process of developing friendship with members of other national groups.

The traits that the Pakistani students do not prefer in their friends are: cursing and swaring, being easily insulted, prejudice towards other religions, talkativeness, conservatism and flashy dresses.

C. Opinionaire

To find out what factors have contributed to favourable and unfavourable changes in the attitudes of Pakistani students towards other national groups, the following opinionaire was included in the questionnaire:

To the people of what nations do you now feel closer to than when you were in Pakistan? (Please indicate).....................
Describe briefly some of your experiences or actual contacts with each of the national groups above, which account for your feeling closer to these nations.
....

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[*] See Table XI

To the people of what nations do you now feel farther away from than when you were in Pakistan? (Please indicate)............

Describe briefly some of your experiences or actual contacts with each of the national groups above, which account for your feeling farther away from these nations*.........

The opinionaire was given to both the groups of Pakistani students. Only, 30 Old and 2 New students filled in the opinionaires. As the number of responses from the New students was only 2, these responses were not taken into consideration. Out of the 30 opinionaires filled in by the Old students, 9 were discarded due to incomplete information. The responses of the 21 subjects are included in the analysis of the opinionaire. Each of the 21 subjects has reported a favourable change in his attitude towards one or more national groups given in the social-distance scale. The highest percent (43%) of the 21 subjects have reported favourable changes in their attitudes towards Turks as a result of their visit to Turkey. However, only 13 out of 21 subjects have reported unfavourable changes in their attitudes towards one or more of the national groups given in the social-distance scale. The highest percent (62%) of these 13 subjects have reported unfavourable changes in their attitudes towards Lebanese as a result of undesirable personality traits perceived by the respondents in Lebanese people.**

It will be proper to mention here that, when a subject reported a favourable change in his attitude towards a national group, the degree

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*See form B in the questionnaire given in the Appendix.

**As, the purpose of the opinionaire was to explore the causes which have contributed towards changes in the attitudes of the subjects, a further discussion of the national groups towards whom these changes have been reported, is beyond the scope of this study. Moreover the numbers of subjects reporting such changes are too small for any conclusions about the attitudes of the whole group of Pakistani students

of social distance shown against that group was found to be lower
than his personal social-distance mean of all the groups; and when
a subject reported an unfavourable change in his attitude towards a
national group, the degree of social distance shown against that group
was found to be higher than his personal social-distance mean of all
the groups.

As, in many cases, the subjects gave positive or negative
stereotypes of the national groups, instead of giving specific
experiences which accounted for the changes in their attitudes, the
analysis of the answers, given below, has been made accordingly.

TABLE XII

REASONS GIVEN BY THE OLD PAKISTANI STUDENTS FOR FAVOURABLE
CHANGES IN THEIR ATTITUDES TOWARDS OTHER NATIONAL GROUPS

Reason	Number of subjects	Reason	Number of subjects	Reason	Number of subjects
Visit to the country	11	Are sincere	3	Are fair in dealing	1
Having friends	8	Are frank	3	Are cultured	1
Close association	6	Have good social manners	3	Have a sense of humor	1
More knowledge	5	Are honest	2	Are polite	1
Are friendly	5	Common religion	2	Are disciplined	1
Are warm-hearted	5	Being neighbours	1	Are simple	1
Are hospitable	5	Good teacher-student relations	1	Are broad-minded	1
Are helpful	4	Are intelligent	1	Are kind	1
Are hard-working	4	Are understanding	1		

Table XII shows that the major factors that are responsible for a favourable change in the attitudes of a number of Old Pakistani students are: (1) visit to the country, (2) friendship, (3) close association (4) more knowledge, and (5) favourable stereotypes of other groups based on desirable personality traits. Hence it will be worth while to discuss each factor separately to know what kind of experiences are involved in each case.

1. Visit to the Country. The largest number of respondents have mentioned a favourable change in attitude due to a visit to the country. The majority of the subjects (9) have reported a favourable change towards Turks as a result of their visit to Turkey. Here are two accounts of that visit:

In 1961 I visited Turkey, and was warmly received everywhere. They were really pleased to help us. For instance a person who was going to office, went late in order to take us to our destination.
I knew in Pakistan that Turks accept us as friends. But I had to visit Turkey to experience how warm their feelings are. In our travel everywhere they gave us a helping hand. Even while they had been waiting in ques for a long time they would allow us the first preference.

What has probably happened in the above cases is that the subjects had visited Turkey as members of a nation which has close political, cultural, and religious ties with the country. They had expected to be treated as friends and guests. As the experiences were according to their expectations, or even above their expectations, the favourable attitudes that they held towards Turks became more favourable due to personal experiences. Hence it does not seem unreasonable to say that there is likely to be a favourable change in the attitudes of

Pakistani students towards the people of a country if a visit to the country is satisfying.

2. <u>Friendship</u>. The factor of friendship has been discussed earlier. The responses in the opinionaire further support the hypothesis that there is likely to be a favourable change in attitude towards those national groups among which the subject has friends.

3. <u>Close association</u>. A favourable change due to close association is obviously related to desirable personality traits in the individuals with whom the subjects associate. This facilitates friendly relations. For example one student has written:

> I never happened to meet any Afghani in Pakistan. But at A.U.B. there are two class-mates of mine who are quite friendly and understanding, though we differ on political matters still I found them good people to meet.

It seems that though the subject had an unfavourable attitude towards Afghanistanis, with close association he discovered them to be persons with likable traits, hence, a change in attitude. It is reasonable to say that close association with the members of a national group under favourable conditions is likely to bring about a favourable change in the attitudes of Pakistani students towards that nation.

4. <u>More Knowledge.</u> The following examples will show, how more knowledge has brought a favourable change in attitude:

> There are various reasons. Generally speaking, I knew about them (Sudanese and Ethiopians) only through literature and here I had the chance to know them closely.

Had image of them (Arabs, Iranians, Africans) as back-ward nations. On real contact found them to be culturally and socially more advanced than people of my own country.

The above examples show that more knowledge gained through personal contact with the members of a group is likely to bring about a favourable change in attitude towards that group as a whole, when the already held attitude is based on information which has been acquired by means other than personal contact.

What has probably happened is that, after coming into personal contact with the members of other groups, the subjects found their old attitudes towards these groups inconsistent with the new information they had acquired about these groups in various face-to-face situations. As a result they modified their beliefs about these groups. It must be understood that personal contact provides a more accurate information which is authentic and more reliable than information acquired through books and other sources.

5. Favourable stereotypes based on desirable personality traits. In many cases no specific examples were given by the subjects for a change in their attitudes towards other national groups. Only the stereotypes of other national groups were given.[*]

As mentioned earlier in this thesis, attitudes of an individual are intimately related to the capacity of the attitudinal object to be instrumental in the attainment of his values. The values of an individual are often involved in his self-concept. Interaction with other people in various situations arouses these values. Ascribing certain personality traits to other people, involves value judgments on the part of the ascriber.

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[*] See Table XII

The perception of personality traits in the members of other national groups, which the subjects valued most, aroused the attitudes of warmth and liking for the members of other national groups. The perceived desirable personality traits in the members of a national group seem to have been generalized into favourable stereotypes of that group. Hence, it may be said that Pakistani students are likely to feel a favourable change in their attitudes towards a group in whose members they perceive desirable personality traits.

As mentioned earlier, some of the subjects reported unfavourable changes in their attitudes towards some of the national groups. The following table shows the reasons given by the subjects for such changes.

TABLE XIII

REASONS GIVEN BY THE OLD PAKISTANI STUDENTS FOR UNFAVOURABLE CHANGES
IN THEIR ATTITUDES TOWARDS OTHER NATIONAL GROUPS

Reason	Number of subjects	Reason	Number of subjects
Accord low national status to Pakistan	5	Are materialistic	2
Are unfriendly	4	Are narrow-minded	1
Are proud	3	Are talkative	1
Are business-minded	3	Are impolite	1
Cheat in business	2	Are unhelpful	1
Are selfish	2	Lack of reciprocity	1

Table XIII shows that the major factors that have contributed to favourable changes in the attitudes of some of the Pakistani students are: (1) accorded low national status, and (2) unfavourable stereotypes of other national groups based on undesirable personality traits as seen by the respondents.

1. Accorded low national status. The feeling of accorded low national status seems to result from status competition with India. As will be seen from the examples given later, some of the students came here with favourable attitudes towards all the Arab national groups because of the religious and cultural ties with the Arabs. (How Pakistanis, in general, feel towards Arabs can be understood from President Ayub Khan's remark: "we are blood-brothers of Arabs" which he made to Rashid Karami the Prime Minister of Lebanon.)[3] After their personal contact with the members of Arab national groups, these students were disturbed to see that the Arabs did not accord to their nation (Pakistan) the status expected by them. On the contrary, it seemed to the subjects, the Arabs accorded a higher status to Indians as compared to Pakistanis. Consequently, some feeling of hostility was caused due to perceived threat to their national status. The following examples will show how favourable attitudes have changed into unfavourable attitudes:

Arabs gave us religion and every one in Pakistan holds them in esteem. But on coming to Beirut I was shocked to find out that they like and respect Nehru more than our leaders, and they consider us inferior to Indians.

The people from all the nationalities described above (Iraqis, Jordanians, Egyptians, Lebanese, Syrians) have greater sympathy for India than Pakistan in every aspect of life, specially political.

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[3]The Daily Star (Beirut), January 28, 1963.

Arabs are thought to be best friends of Pakistan but they are not--they hate Pakistan and her Policy. Some of them dared to ask, "why did they divide India, after all; can't you live peacefully with the 'hero of peace' Nehru?"

The above given two examples show that some of the Pakistani students came here with very favourable attitudes towards all the Arab national groups, but changed their attitudes when the national status accorded to them by some of the members of Arab national groups was perceived to be below the expected national status.

The perceived loss in their national status is likely to affect the attitudes of the members of a group only when they feel a greater degree of involvement in the status of their country. Morris in his study on national status found that "satisfaction with accorded national status is significantly related to favourableness, among those students who are highly involved in their home country."[4] It will be reasonable to assume that the subjects reporting unfavourable changes in their attitudes due to perceived loss in national status feel a high degree of involvement in the status of their country. Probably the perceived loss in national status was considered as a loss in their own status by the subjects, which changed their attitudes: Hence, it may be said that the Pakistanis who have a greater involvement in their home country are likely to develop unfavourable attitudes towards those national groups whose members are perceived to accord low national status to Pakistan.

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[4] Richard T. Morris, op.cit., P.94.

2. Unfavourable stereotypes based on undesirable personality traits.
The nature of an individual's needs differs. As mentioned earlier,
the attitudes of an individual are functionally related to his utili-
tarian needs, his value-expressive needs, and his ego-expressive needs.
Ascribing certain personality traits to other persons is related to the
instrumentality of these persons in the realization of these need
states within the individual. The satisfaction of a need state will
arouse the attitudes of warmth and liking and the frustration of a need
will arouse the attitudes of disliking and disgust, and the concomitant
positive or negative evaluation of the role of the other person or
persons in the realization of that need.

The perceived undesirable personality traits (pride, unfriend-
liness, selfishness, narrow-mindedness, talkativeness, cheating) in
the members of other national groups aroused the attitude of disliking
towards those persons. The negative personality traits of some of the
members of a national group were generalized in unfavourable stereotypes
of that group. It seems that Pakistani students are likely to develop
unfavourable attitudes towards those national groups whose members they
perceive to possess undesirable personality traits.

D. Summary

1. Only 5 percent of the New Pakistani students' friends are non-
Pakistanis.

2. A large number (64%) of the Old Pakistani students' friends are non-
Pakistanis.

3. The attitudes of the Old Pakistani students are significantly
more favourable towards those national groups among whom they have
intimate friends as opposed to those national groups among whom they
do not have intimate friends.

4. The traits that are higher in rank in the New group from the point
of importance for forming friendships are also higher in the Old group.

5. Common religion, common language, similar culture, and favourable
attitude towards Pakistan Government are not significantly important
traits for the Old Pakistani students in forming friendships.

6. The traits of common religion and common language are not significantly
important to the New Pakistani students in forming friendships.

7. The sums of positive and negative responses of the Pakistani
students towards traits that are liked and disliked by them in persons
who are to be their friends, were arranged in rank order The ten top
ranking traits in both the groups of Pakistani students do not include
a single trait which could hinder their friendship with the members of
any other national group.

8. The analysis of the opinionaire indicates that there have been
favourable changes in the attitudes of some of the Old Pakistani students
towards other national groups on account of (1) visit to the country,
(2) friendship with the members of the group, (3) more knowledge about
the national group through personal contact, and (4) perceived desirable
personality traits in the members of the group.

9. The analysis of the opinionaire also indicates that there have
been unfavourable changes in the attitudes of some of the Old Pakistani
students towards other national groups on account of (1) perceived loss
in the national status, and (2) perceived undesirable personality traits
in the members of the group.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to find out whether there have
been any changes in the attitudes of Pakistani students towards other
national groups, as a result of their study sojourn abroad, and to
explore the factors which have affected the attitudes of the subjects.
The summary given below shows the major findings of this study.

A. Summary

1. There seems to be a favourable change in the attitudes of Old
Pakistani students towards other national groups as a whole. When
all the responses of the Old as well as the New Pakistani students to
the 7-item Bogardus's social-distance scale were grouped by items   50
percent of all the responses were found to include almost all the
responses to items 1 and 2 ('would marry' and 'would have as a close
friend'). As these two items show a lesser degree of social distance
as compared to the other five items on the scale, the responses to
these items were defined as showing "more favourable" attitude, and
the responses to the remaining 5 items were defined as showing "less
favourable" attitude. The chi-square value (17.74) showed that the
attitudes of the Old Pakistani students towards other national groups
were significantly (0.001 level) 'more favourable' as compared to the
attitudes of New Pakistani students.

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2. There seems to be a favourable change in the attitudes of Old
   Pakistani students towards Christians. When a chi-square on the
   same basis as in case of the national groups (responses to items 1 and
   2 on the social-distance scale defined as showing 'more favourable
   attitude' and to items 3 to 7 as showing 'less favourable attitude')
   was computed, the attitudes of the Old Pakistani students, towards
   Christians were found to be significantly (0.01 level) 'more favourable'
   as compared to the attitudes of the New group.

3. There seem to be favourable changes in the attitudes of Old
   Pakistani students towards Turks, Germans, Americans, French,
   Greeks, Jordanians, Ethiopians, Sudanese, Nepalese and Afghanistans.
   When means of social distances shown by the Old Pakistani students
   against each of the above national groups were compared with those of
   the New Pakistani students, the social-distance means of these groups
   were found to be significantly lower (0.05 level) in the Old group.

4. There seems to be a favourable change in the attitudes of Old
   Pakistani students towards Western national groups as a whole.
   The responses of each group of Pakistani students towards Arab national
   groups as a whole and Western national groups as a whole, were compared.
   The responses to items 1 and 2 on the social-distance scale were defined
   as "more favourable" and the responses to items 3 to 7 were defined
   "less favourable". When the responses of the New group of Pakistani
   students towards Arab national groups were compared with their responses
   towards Western national groups the chi-square value came out to be 0.14
   which is not significant. However, when the social-distance responses

of the Old group towards Arab national groups were compared with their responses towards Western national groups the chi-square value came out to be 4.26 which is significant at the 0.05 level.

5. The analysis of the opinionaire indicates that there have been favourable change in the attitudes of some of the Old Pakistani students towards other national groups on account of (1) visit to the country, (2) friendship with the members of the group, (3) close association with the members of the group, (4) more knowledge about the group through personel contact, and (5) perceived desirable personality trait in the members of the group. When a subject reported a favourable change in his attitude due to one or more of the above given reasons, the degree of social-distance shown against that group by the subject, was found to be lower than his personal social-distance mean of all the groups.

6. The analysis of the opinionaire also indicates that there have been unfavourable changes in the attitudes of some of the Old Pakistani students towards other national groups on account of (1) perceived loss in national status, and (2) perceived undesirable personality traits in the members of group, when a subject reported an unfavourable change in his attitude towards a national group, the degree of social distance shown against that group was found to be higher than his personal social-distance mean of all the groups.

7. <u>Strained political relations of Pakistan with another country seem to have a negative influence on the attitudes of Pakistani students towards the people of that country.</u> Afghanistanis rank lowest in the

social-distance scales of both the groups of Pakistani students. The influence of the factor of political relations becomes obvious when one knows that relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan are strained at the time of this study (both the countries have severed diplomatic relations with one another).

8. The factors of common religion and similar culture do not seem to affect the attitudes of Pakistani students towards other national groups. To know whether the Pakistani students show lesser degree of social distance against those national groups which are closer to them from religious and cultural point of view as compared to those national groups who are not, all the national groups given in the social-distance scale were grouped on religious basis: predominantly--Muslim national groups and predominantly--Christian national groups. The responses to items 1 and 2 on the social-distance scale were defined as showing "more favourable" attitude and the responses to items 3 to 7 were defined as showing "less favourable" attitude. Chi-squares of the responses of the New and the Old Pakistani students were separately computed and found to be 1.25 in case of the New group and 0.79 in case of the Old group, to demonstrate any thing but the probable presence of chance factors. This shows that attitudes of both the groups of Pakistani students towards predominantly-Christian national groups are as favourable as towards predominantly-Muslim national groups.

Though predominantly-Muslim national groups do not only have a common religion with Pakistani students but also have much in common with them from cultural point of view, the national groups were further

grouped on cultural basis, taking Arab national groups as those compara-
tively closer to Pakistanis and Western national groups as those compa-
ratively farther away from Pakistanis, from cultural point of view. The
responses of the subjects to items 1 and 2 on the social-distance scale
were defined as showing "more favourable" attitude and the responses to
items 3 to 7 were defined as showing "less favourable" attitude. When
the responses of the New Pakistani students towards Arab national groups
as a whole were compared with their responses towards Western national
groups as a whole the chi-square value was found to be 0.14 which is not
significant. However, when the responses of the Old Pakistani students
towards Arab national groups were compared with their responses towards
Western national groups the chi-square value was 4.26 which is signifi-
cant at the 0.05 level. This significant difference was found in favour
of Western national groups.

9. The attitudes of Old Pakistani students are more favourable towards
the national group among whom they have intimate friends than towards
those national groups among whom they do not have intimate friends. [*]
The social-distances shown by each subject against other national groups
on the scale, were averaged. The national groups which were above the
personal social-distance mean of all the groups, were defined as the
national groups towards whom the attitude of the subject was "less favou-
rable", and the national groups which were below the personal social-
distance mean of all the groups were defined as the national groups

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[*] The New Pakistani students had mostly Pakistani friends (95%).

towards whom the attitude of the subject was "more favourable". The responses of all the subjects towards those national groups among whom they had friends were compared with their responses towards the national groups among whom they did not have any friends. The chi-square value came out to 24.52 which is significant at the 0.001 level.

Another confirmatory chi-square was computed on the basis of numbers of subjects showing "more favourable" responses and "less favourable" responses towards the national groups among whom they had intimate friends and the national groups among whom they did not have friends. The chi-square value (9.92) was found to be significant at the 0.01 level.

10. <u>The traits that rank higher in the New group for forming friendships also, in general, rank higher in the Old group.</u> The 40 traits, given in the questionnaire to find out to what extent each of these traits was important to the Pakistani students in forming friendships, were ranked on the basis of the sums of positive and negative responses for various traits. The Rank-order coefficient correlation (Rho) was found to be +0.85 which is significant at the 0.001 level.

11. <u>The traits of common religion, similar culture, common language, and favourable attitude towards Pakistani Government are not significantly important to the Old Pakistani students in forming friendships.</u> The statements related to thes| traits were included in the questionnaire along with other statements to find out how important the given traits were to the subjects in forming friendships. Positive as well as negative traits were included in a list of 40 traits. To know which of

these traits were significantly important—positively or negatively—to
the subjects in forming friendships, relatively larger number of positive
or negative responses in case of each trait was taken "majority" and
the relatively smaller number of positive or negative responses in case
of each trait was taken as "minority". Then, $\frac{(\text{Majority-Minority-1})^2}{N}$
formula was applied in case of each trait to find out whether a trait
was significantly important—either positively or negatively. A
difference of 15 responses between the sum of positive and negative
responses of the subjects for each trait was found to be significant at
the 0.05 level. As the sum of the responses for each of the statements
related to the above mentioned traits was less than 15, it may be said
that the above mentioned traits are not significantly important to the
Old Pakistani students.

12. <u>The traits of common religion, and common language are also not
significantly important to the New Pakistani students in forming
friendships</u>. The sum of negative and positive responses in case of each
of the above traits was less than 15, and hence not significant.

13. <u>The ten traits that are most prefered by each group of Pakistani
students in forming friendships do not include a single trait which
would hinder friendship with the members of any other national group</u>.
The sums of positive and negative responses of the subjects towards
the traits given in the questionnaire were arranged in rank order.
The ten top ranking traits in both the groups of Pakistani students
do not include a single trait to hinder friendship with other national

groups. Eight of the top ranking traits are common in both the groups. The ten top ranking traits are: neatness, good manners, high morality, kind-heartedness, sense of humor, loyalty to friends, polite speech, religious tolerance, self-confidence, sportsmanship, tolerance of criticism, belief in the equality of mankind, ability to keep a secret, and frankness.[*]

B. Conclusions

The following four hypotheses were tested in this study:

1. There is a change in the attitudes of Pakistani students towards other national groups as well as towards another religious group (Christians) as measured on the Bogardus social-distance scale.

2. The attitudes of Pakistani students are more favourable towards those national groups among whom they have intimate friends as compared to their attitudes towards the national groups among whom they do not have intimate friends.

3. In general, the intimate friendships are formed on the basis of desirable personality traits perceived by the Pakistani students in the members of other groups, rather than on political, linguistic, cultural, and religious considerations per se.

4. The changes in the attitudes of Pakistani students are related to favourable or unfavourable experiences with individuals from other nations.

The results of the study support all the four hypotheses. However, the support for the third hypothesis "that the friendships

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[*] See Table XI.

are based on desirable personality traits" is based on various findings
in this study. Hence, it may be said that the evidence in support of
the third hypothesis is logical rather than direct. The results of the
study, as can be seen from the summary given in the beginning, indicate,
(1) that there have been favourable changes in the attitudes of Pakistani
students towards other national groups as well as towards Christians,
during their study sojourn abroad,

(2) that the attitudes of Pakistani students are more favourable towards
those national groups among whom they have intimate friends than towards
those national groups among whom they do not have friends,

(3) that these friendships are not influenced by factors such as common
religion, similar culture, common language, and favourable attitude
towards Pakistani Government (This conclusion is based on a number of
factors: (1) the Old Pakistani students have more non-Pakistani friends
than Pakistani friends; (2) the Old Pakistani students have Muslim as
well as Christian friends among other national groups; (3) the responses
of the Old Pakistani students towards questionnaire on traits important
to them in forming friendships showed that the statements related to the
traits of common religion, similar culture, common language, and favourable
attitude towards Pakistani Government, did not get enough numbers of
positive or negative responses to signify the importance of these traits;
(4), the ten traits that rank highest in the two groups of Pakistani
students from the point of view of forming friendships are not related to
any specific culture but are based on such values that have universal
appeal; and (5) the attitudes of Pakistani students towards other
national groups are not affected by the factors of common religion and
similar culture),

(4), that changes in the attitudes of Pakistani students are, in general, related to satisfying and dissatisfying experiences with the members of other national groups. Friendship, visit to the country under favourable conditions, more knowledge through personal contact, close association under favourable conditions, and perceived desirable personality traits in the members of other national groups can be categorized as satisfying experiences. Low status accorded to Pakistan by members of other national groups, and perceived undesirable personality traits in the members of other national groups can be categorized as unsatisfying experiences.

Dear fellow student   APPENDIX

The attached questionnaire is a part of the Thesis for my
M.A. in Education, which is based on a study of Pakistani students
at the A.U.B.   The success of my work depends upon your cooperation.

I hope, you will return the questionnaire duly filled in, at
your earliest.

You may rest assured that, your identity will not be disclosed
in any part of the Thesis.

                                        Truly yours

P.B. 1263   Ahmed Ali Arain

Information about yourself

Sex............... Age............... Religion....................
                                                Month   Year
Class............ Major..........Arrival at A.U.B. ....
P.Box No: ...... (for the purpose of checking returns)

Instructions

In part A of the questionnaire, seven kinds of social
contacts are given after each national or religious group.

You are asked to give in every instance your first feeling
reactions. Do not stop to think.

Give your reaction to a nation or a religion as a group. Do
not give your reactions to the best or worst members, you have
known.

Put a cross X in one of the boxes after each nationality
or religion, showing the kind of contact that you want to have
with that national or religious group.

Leave those groups with whom you are completely unfamiliar ; but give your reactions in case of each of the other groups. For example:

If you would choose to marry one of the group, in case you wanted to marry, put a cross X in the column "would marry" after that group.

If you would like to have a close friend from the group, put a cross X in the column "would have as a close friend" after that group.

If you would be willing to work side-by-side with the members of the group, put a cross X in the column " would work beside in an office" after that group.

If you would be willing to accept many families from the group, as your neighbours, put a cross X in the column " would have several families in my neighbourhood" after that group.

If you would like to have only casual relations with the members of the group - talking with a person when you meet on the street or saying hello ! - put a cross X in the column "woul' have merely as speaking acquaintance" after that group.

If you would not be willing to accept the members of the group as your neighbours, put a cross X in the column "would have live out side my neighbourhood" after that group.

If you would not like that members of the group should live in your country, put a cross X in the column "would have live out side my country" after that group.

Groups	would marry	would have as a close friend	would work beside in an office	would have several families in my neigh-bourhood	would have merely as speaking acquain-tances	would have live outside my neigh-bourhood	would have live outside my country
Afghanistanis							
Americans							
Armenians							
Egyptians							
English							
Ethiopians							
French							
Germans							
Greeks							
Iranians							
Iraqis							
Jordonians							
Lebanese							
Nepalese							
Saudi Arabs							
Sudanese							
Syrians							
Turks							
Christians							
Muslims							

(This is for those who feel a change in their attitude)

To the people of what nations do you now feel closer to than when you were in Pakistan ? (Please indicate).....................
....

Describe briefly some of your experiences or actual contacts with each of the national groups above, which account for your feeling closer to these nations.

To the people of what nations do you feel farther away from than when you were in Pakistan ? (Please indicate)..............
....

Describe briefly some of your experiences or actual contacts with each of the national groups above, which account for your feeling farther away from these nations.

Please give the first names of five of your best friends in the A.U.B. Put a cross X in the boxes below the statements that are true regarding each of your friends.

If you donot want to give the names write just their initials.

Name	Religion	Nationality	He / She is a person with whom you share your views.	You share your secrets with him / her or would like to share.	You go to movies, clubs and other places with him / her.	You invite him / her for tea or food.	He / She invites you for tea or food.	You visit his / her home.	He / She visits your home.	You are majoring in the same subject.	You are / were together in one of the courses.	You are / were together in more than one course.	You live / lived in the same room or house.	You eat / used to eat in the same restaurant.	You are / were members of the same club.	You share / used to share the same carrel.	You are / were members of the same team.	You are / were neighbours.	You have other things in common (Please specify)

If you have <u>not</u> given the names of any <u>non -Pakistani</u> friends in the previous list, please give their names or initials here <u>if</u> you have any <u>non-Pakistani</u> friends in the A.U.B. <u>or outside</u> in Beirut.

Use the same procedure as before.

Name	Religion	Nationality	He / She is a person with whom you share your views.	You share your secrets with him/her or would like to share.	You go to movies, clubs and other places with him / her.	You invite him / her for tea or food.	He / She invites you for tea or food.	You visit his / her home.	He / She visits your home.	You are majoring in the same subject.	You are / were together in one of the courses.	You are / were together in more than one course.	You live / lived in the same room or house.	You eat / used to eat in the same restaurant.	You are / were members of the same club.	You share / used to share the same carrel.	You are / were members of the same team.	You are / were neighbours.	You have other things in common (Please specify)

Below is a list of qualities and characteristics of persons of your own sex. Basing your judgement upon past and present experiences, please indicate how important each characteristic is in forming an intimate frienship with one of the members of your own sex. Use the following procedure.

Put a circle around (+2) after the characteristic, if it is an essential attribute of a person who is to be close, lasting friend of yours.

Put a circle around (+1) after the characteritic, if it is a desirable, though not essential, attribute of a person who is to be close, lasting friend of yours.

Put a circle around zero (0) after the characteritic, if it is of no importance in your judgement.

Put a circle around (-1) after the characteritic, if it is an undesirable attribute, which makes friendship with such a person unlikely.

Put a circle around (-2) after the characteritic, if it is a very undesirable attribute, which makes frienship with such a person impossible.

Characteristic	Essen-tial	Desir-able	No im-port-ance	Un-desir-able	Very Un-desir-able
Is neat	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Has same religion as yours	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Is frank	+2	+1	0	-1	-2

Characteristic	Essential	Desirable	No importance	Undesirable	Very undesirable
Has sportsman spirit	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Is generally popular	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Is courageous	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Is handsome	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Has a high moral standard	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Supports the foreign policy of your Govt.	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Likes Pakistani people	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Is easily insulted	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Has self-confidence	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Has religious tolerance	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Is talkative	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Has good social manners	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Is loyal to his / her friends	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Is kind-hearted	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Agrees with your decisions	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Has much in common with your culture	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Is conservative in his / her ideas	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Is of the same race as you are	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Believes in the equality of man-kind	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Is polite in speech	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Is liberal - minded	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Can speak your mother tongue	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Can tolerate criticism	+2	+1	0	-1	-2

Characteristic	Essential	Desirable	No importance	Undesirable	Very undesirable
Has the ability to keep a secret	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Is strongly religious-minded	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Appreciates your culture	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Has a sense of humour	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Is optimistic	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Is modest	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Is prejudiced towards other religions	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Is popular with the opposite sex	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Has a critical attitude towards religion	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Is more intelligent than you	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Is delicate in tastes, behaviour and language	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Dresses Flashily	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Has same economic status as your own	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Curses and swears, freely	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
Please add any other qualities that you think are important					
....	+2	+1	0	-1	-2
....	+2	+1	0	-1	-2

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