

**Gender and Group Entitativity: A study of Prejudice and Aggression
among University students of Delhi towards Afghan Immigrants**

Dissertation Submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University

In partial fulfillment of the requirement

For the award of the degree

MASTERS IN PHILOSOPHY

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2015



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DECLARATION

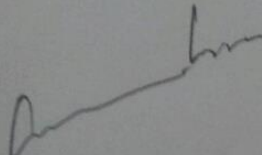
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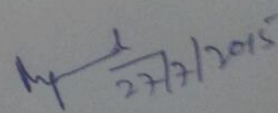
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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled '**Gender and Group Entitativity: A Study of Prejudice and Aggression among University students of Delhi towards Afghan Immigrants**' submitted by Akanksha Dochania, Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi - 110067, India, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY** is her original work and has not been previously submitted for any other Degree of this or any other University.

We recommend that this dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.


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Acknowledgement

I have many people to thank for the contributions that they have made to this thesis, both directly and indirectly. First, I would like to offer thanks to Prof. Arvind Kumar Mishra- my supervisor, who inspired me to undertake this research project, and his support, encouragement and advice throughout has been invaluable.

I would also like to extend my thanks to my sister Rashbha, without her backing, continuous reassurance and unstoppable debates wouldn't have helped me to have a clear vision about my thesis.

There are many people away from academia who I would like to thank, Aman, Pooja and Deeksha for the help in distribution and collection of my data. Mum and Dad, thank you so much for the love and support throughout, I couldn't have done it without you.

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Abstract

Afghanistan is gauged and considered as one of the most dangerous countries, listing at number five (Rogers, 2015). Press release, headlines, books and articles lay out and exhibit Afghans as treacherous and threatening group. However, India and Afghanistan have since centuries shared a convivial and companionable relationship on political front, thereby fostering and enkindling the coming of Afghan immigrants to India. As a result, capital Delhi has become a magnet for immigrants from Afghanistan, to receive education, procure medical treatment, as asylum seekers, as tourists or for business purpose. Yet, this migration of Afghans is not always welcomed, or given a positive response. This study sought to investigate whether Intergroup threat theory (ITT) of prejudice (Stephan & Stephan, 1996) explains prejudice, effect of gender differences and displaced aggression towards Afghan immigrants. The theory suggests that *realistic threat, negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety*, affects prejudice. The sample consisted of N=82 university students of Delhi. A questionnaire was issued to the participants in order to establish how they feel (perception) or how they have felt, or how they would feel when interacting with Afghan immigrants. Various scales were used to ascertain this information. Linear regression, descriptive statistics and independent T test were conducted. Findings indicated that realistic threat, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes proved to be good predictors of prejudice; in terms of gender, realistic threat, intergroup anxiety, negative stereotypes was exhibited towards Afghan males, in comparison to Afghan females; and entitativity and out group homogeneity effect was also recorded towards Afghan immigrants.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

On 20th January 2012, it was a crisp but bracing winter evening; my humble abode was trinketing with candles and flowers, since it was mine and my twin sister's 23rd birthday. I was gleeful and elevated not only because it was my birthday but also because my new friends were coming over. It was a small get together with some old and new friends hailing from Afghanistan and Iran. I have always been able to identify and equate with my new friends, we were compatible in many ways, be it about food, music, movies, or heart-to-heart debate over ruthless Taliban. It was as if we are just divided by boundaries and frontier, we had a lot more common than I imagined when I stumbled on them for the first time.

It was time to cut my scrumptious birthday cake; my mother and all friends got around the table and started crooning "happy birthday", and I blew the candles and carved the cake into a pyramid shapes and hand out the pieces to my mother and my friends. Everything looked and felt perfect; my friends were grooving to the music and all were having a whale of time. I turned to call my mother to draw her in but then I noticed a certain disagreeable or uneasiness on her face. I wasn't sure what was making her apprehensive. I excused myself from everyone and asked mother what was bothering her.

Mother: why did you invite these afghan boys?. I am okay with that Iranian girl but Afghanis..? (displeased).

Me: mum, they are my really good friends; I have known them for a year now. (upset).

Mother: (taking me to the corner) Look at that afghan boy, he looks scary, his eyes...are like terrorist !

Me: (dismayed) No mum, it's nothing like that, he is here in India to study, to get his BBA degree. He is a nice guy with agreeable nature, righteous morals and values and a well behaved human being.

Mother: (wrath) Don't you know these Afghan men? Haven't you read enough about them in books and news? They are all same! What if he is here in India with some vicious plan?! One cannot say about these people.

Me: (perturbed).

This was my first encounter of prejudice against Afghans (especially men). Even my Indian friends were baffled or raised their eyebrows when I told them that I have friends from Afghanistan and Iran coming to my birthday party. One interesting fact I noticed was that without even mentioning the gender, all my friends assumed that my afghan friends are male. They all made remarks like, "Did you find only Afghans to make friends?", "Don't u read newspaper? Or books on Afghans? They are all ruthless. U shouldn't be friends with afghans", "I hope he is not a member of Taliban!", "These people have killed so many innocent Indians (referring to 9/11 attack, Parliament attack (2002) and 26/11 attack), they shouldn't be allowed to enter in our country!", "Was his uncle involved in 9/11 attack?", "Does he know Osama Bin Laden?!". None of them remarked anything averse to Iranians, which was strange to me. Everyone around me was victimizing Afghans, especially men as it was conspicuous in their remarks, "is **he** a member of Taliban", was **he** involved in 9/11 attack, does **he** know Osama bin Laden". A lot of queries emerged in my head. I not only sensed a gender disparity, but also perception that Indians perceive all Afghans as same; and as homogeneous entity- sharing common goals, norms, and values

(Entitativity, Campbell, 1958; Outgroup Homogeneity perception, Park & Judd, 1990). I discerned not only threat among my Indian friends, a threat from an outgroup- of being physically harmed, but also displaced form of aggression towards other innocent Afghan immigrants, for example, Shams Zakarwal, an Afghan Pashtun, narrated one of his experiences when came to Delhi in the year 2009 to attain higher education, faced displaced aggression and teasing from his Indian college friends regarding being an Afghan and perception that perhaps he has links with Osama bin laden and the Taliban. When Shams was asked where he belonged to, the moment he said Afghanistan, it sparked threat and aggression amongst Indians stating that “ you must be having explosives in your bag!” when Shams asked why did you say that, then his friend replied “ you are from Afghanistan right, so that’s what you do, kill people!”.

As I hope to have illustrated with this personal account, prejudice, gender polarity, entitativity and displaced aggression have been perceived and comprehended towards afghan immigrants. The consequential element was that Afghans (males) were not seen as an individual entity-having its own identity, or distinctiveness, rather were judged on basis of their group membership to discrete nationality and gender group, thus leading to the development of negative stereotyping held against them by ingroup members (Indians) in juxtaposition to other gender outgroup (Afghan female). Hence the present dissertation sought to investigate these variables among University students of Delhi. The current study sought to employ one of the social psychological theories of Prejudice, that is, Intergroup Threat Theory, the theory is concerned with the perception of threat. According to Stephan et al., (2002), perceived threats have real consequences, whether or not perception of threat is accurate. Thus, Intergroup Threat Theory is not as concerned with the actual threat posed by theoutgroups as it is the degree to which threats to the ingroup are perceived

to exist. The theory sought to deal with four types of parameters- these are, realistic threat, symbolic threat, negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety. The current study does not pursue to investigate the symbolic threat parameter because of kindred culture, tradition, and values presumed to be shared by both the nationalities (India and Afghanistan) (Das, 2013). Therefore, Intergroup Threat Theory is plausibly the fittest theory to explain the current scenario as mentioned above. While scholars have used ITT (Intergroup threat theory) in number of studies and their results have showed that perceived intergroup threats are good predictors of attitudes towards immigrants, towards racial out groups, towards mass media, and towards patients with cancer and AIDS (Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999; Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzald, & Tur-Kapsa, 1998; Lin, 2005; Gonzalez, Verkuyten, Weesie & Poppe, 2008; Morrison, Fast & Ybarra, 2009; Tausch, Hewstone and Roy, 2009; Murray and Marx, 2012; Meeussen, Phalet, Meeus, Acker, Montreuil & Bourhis, 2012; Croucher, Badenas & Ruotsalainen, 2014; Acker, Phalet, Deleersnyder & Mesquita, 2014; Mashuri & Zaduqisti, 2015), howbeit there is seldom research or empirical evidence on gender differences among immigrants and its effect on threat perception towards ingroup members using ITT. Thus the current paper attempts to employ masculinity multidimensional approach (Mutua, 2013; McGinley & Cooper, 2013) to apprehend and fathom the perception of prejudice, display of aggression, realistic threat and negative stereotyping towards one particular gender out group (Afghan male) in comparison to other gender out group (Afghan female), as a result of interplay of ethnicity, nationality and gender. This area has been unexplored, and the present study pursues to grasp the inequality, prejudice and discrimination exhibited towards male immigrants using Intergroup threat theory. The current paper also strives to unearth and explore one of the consequences of threat of ITT, which is displaced aggression towards immigrants exhibited by ingroup members, using vicarious retribution model (Lickel et al., 2006), where again no empirical evidence on Intergroup threat theory has been

reported so far. ITT explicates on out group homogeneity perception towards immigrants as one of the cognitive consequences that in groups sought to employ, nevertheless the theory didn't take into account the importance of entitativity perception towards out group members which strongly influences of how ingroup members think about out groups, for example the degree of entitativity of a target influences the perception of threat (Abelson, Dasgupta, Park, & Banaji, 1998). No empirical work has so far been done to look into the entitativity perception towards out group members in keeping the importance and relevance of ITT. Therefore, the present dissertation also seeks to expound on entitativity perception towards afghan immigrants among university students of Delhi.

Thus the central intent and objective of the present dissertation is to reconnoiter and examine, which has so far been neglected, the effect of gender differences of the out groups (afghan immigrants) on threat perceptions towards in group (Delhi students studying in university); to probe and examine displaced aggression exhibited towards out group (afghan immigrants) using vicarious retribution model; and to unravel the entitativity perception towards out group members (afghan immigrants) perceived by the in group members (Delhi students).

Copious and in abundance of Afghans seen in capital and the association of terror and threat with Afghans, makes it requisite and imperative to explore and scrutinize the perception of prejudice, displaced aggression, entitativity and threat perception held against Afghan immigrants among the university students of Delhi. It is hoped that the research presented in this thesis will go some way and provide a fresh theoretical approach to the social psychology of prejudice and threat perception, and in particularly, contributing to the Intergroup threat theory. Hope fully this empirical work will render an understanding and help to

comprehend the perception towards Afghan immigrants using Intergroup threat theory approach.

1.2 Thesis Overview

Now we will have an overview for the coming chapters and what are the features that we can expect from the upcoming study using Intergroup Threat Theory.

Chapter 2 presents detailed view on the Intergroup Threat Theory literature, in which an attempt will be made to define the theory in the context of this body work. The chapter provides the historical overview of empirical research using intergroup threat theory, beginning with the early work by Stephan, Ybarra and Bachman (1999) on immigrants, and then moving on to empirical work that has attempted to uncover and study attitude not only towards immigrants, but also empirical work towards cancer patients, elderly, evacuees and poor minorities (Stephan et al., 1999, 2000; Stephan & Stephan, Gudykunst, 1999; Berrenberg et al., 2002). Chapter 2 also offers cognizance to the denominates: Entitativity and Outgroup homogeneity perception, and its interconnection with prejudice, and how they have an effect on out group members (immigrants), thus ushering to threat perception towards the out groups, beginning with the definition of terms and then supporting the relationship between entitativity, out group homogeneity, prejudice and threat with empirical evidences. The chapter also offers insight into one of the consequences of threat, which is displaced aggression, one of the key variables this paper has sought to investigate. Since the present study has endeavored in unearthing the impact of displaced aggression towards immigrants, vicarious retribution model has been used to probe the study on displaced aggression towards Afghan immigrants. It goes on expounding the definition of the term, and then goes on deciphering the

connection and alliance between threat, prejudice, entitativity and out group homogeneity effect towards immigrants, supported by empirical corroboration. Chapter 3 deals with the inception of the hypotheses of the present study. It offers deeper understanding of the present study by providing an overview of the current research. It goes on discussing the method, descriptive information of the participants involved, the measures undertaken to assess the responses of the participants, followed by procedure of how respondents were approached and how the present study was undertaken. The following chapter, which is chapter 4, discusses the results that came out after assessing the respondents on the questionnaire, and finally chapter 5, which is discussion, giving compendium of the present results and expressing and indicating the link between the present results with the theoretical backing, with the support of other empirical research on intergroup threat theory. The chapter will also conclude this work with the evaluation of how the research presented in this thesis contributes to the theory and prejudice literature, both in theoretical and practical terms, and will also signal the potential avenues for future researchers who are interested in intergroup threat theory and prejudice towards immigrants

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Background

A recent study by a Washington based organization has listed Afghanistan among world's 10 most dangerous countries, ranking the fifth in the list (Roggio, 2015). Landlocked and mountainous Afghanistan is one of the most misperceived countries around the world. Afghanistan is not only known for its aesthetic hand embroidered carpets, luscious oversized fruits and famous dry fruits, (Fruits, Crafts and more from Afghanistan, The Hindu, 17th Nov, 2011) but is also known for its interminable war and terrorism. In recent years, terrorist attacks have been a salient threat to everyone. News broadcasts frequently report about the threat of Muslim extremist terrorist acts, using vivid pictures of terrorist bombing, buildings crashing down, and innocent people being killed. The 9/11 attack has caused enormous pain, anger, fear and threat in people who have lost their closed ones and among those who have caught the sight of this dreadful event (Wagner, 2012). As Afghanistan comes under the scrutiny for harboring Osama bin Laden, the prime suspect in 9/11 attack, Afghans who fled their homeland for a new life in United States, UK, India or any other country are troubled to find themselves subject to suspicion and mistrust on the basis of their nationality and religion (Juade, 2010). An Afghan when interviewed said that "We don't have any way to go back and we don't know any way to forward, and that's destiny of the Afghan people. We are good people, we are civilized. We are not the kind of Afghans that people are thinking of us" (Juade, 2010). In view of these facts and figures, people around the globe have evolved the perception of all Afghans as threatening and treacherous. Afghan nationals never envisioned that the world, after the event of a single day, would come to view their homeland as host of terrorism, or that those events would make them

targets of misguided retribution (Garrett, 2011). From then on, Afghans have been held culpable and singled out for the actions it did not commit. Afghanistan has always been on headlines since 9/11 attack. No one knew where Afghanistan was located in the world map until the infamous ambush (Entezar, 2011); people around the globe got their reprobation eyes on the country and on their natives. After 9/11, the terms "Muslim"/"Afghans" or "terrorists" became synonymous in many Western countries (Mesic, 2012). Mutual contacts are based mainly on prejudice and stereotypes, which are clearly observable in the various reports in the media in which Afghans are described as fanatics, extremists, irrational and dangerous (Shadid & Koningsveld, 2002). Needless to say, presenting Afghans as threat to the Western and other world instigates negative effects in the intercultural relations between the groups concerned. For these reasons such attitudes are based mainly on prejudice and stereotypes, thereby sharpening the differentiation between "us" and "them", leading to vicious circle in the relationship between the Muslim world and Western world in general. It is well known that prejudice and stereotype function as filters for the observation and interpretation of the behavior of others and at the same time create self-fulfilling prophecies. In other words, because of the prejudice towards others, people see in their behavior what they expect to see on the basis of their prejudice, with the result that they inevitably will make wrong predictions concerning the behavior of members of the other group (Shadid & Koningsveld, 2002). Along with people from other nationalities, Indians too lost their lives in the gruesome attack (9/11), leaving the victim's families devastated, vexated and traumatized. Even after thirteen years, time didn't bring any heal to those Indian families who lost their kith and kin in the worst terror attack (Time no healer for 9/11 victims, Hindustan Times, 2011).

Misconceptions have evolved regarding Afghans and their complicity in the attack because of media misrepresentation (The Myth of Afghan Terrorism, [www.spiked online](http://www.spikedonline.com), 7th Sept, 2009). In this age, media is indispensable and powerful source of dissemination and communication of facts and information to the target audience. According to Bernard (1963), most of us gather and garner information and impressions about ourselves and images of other countries and societies from the media. Several studies have endorsed and proved the power of media that audience communicate in the language used by the channel, they mostly follow the media agenda, respond according to media reports. It can be inferred that media slowly and steadily develop as a force to reckon within the business of shaping, reshaping, manipulating, building or distorting the images of nations, communities, religion, caste, creed, color and different ethnic group (Mugheess-ud-Din, 1997). It is said that elite media of U.S. like New York Times carry out propaganda services for the manipulation of information on behalf of the political establishments. In view of Edward Herman (2002), mainstream media primarily utilize the tricks of language that serve propaganda ends with the perspective of manipulation of images, for instance word 'terrorist' is applied to target enemy. Other tricks involving negative tags and connotations, snarling (words that induce negative reactions like fanatics, barbaric, extremist, terrorist), suppression by omission (playing down of information), exaggerating the seriousness of an events/over reporting, positive/negative labeling (e.g. black turban Taliban, fundamentalist/terrorist). American media like New York Times, Washington Post, News Week, CNN has been found using this technique thereby distorting and manipulating the image of Muslim world, especially Afghanistan (Shabir, 2011). The cultivation analysis theory of media (Gerbner & Gross, 1980) states that heavy exposure to media causes individuals to develop-or cultivate an illusionary perception of reality based on the most repetitive and consistent messages of a particular medium. This theory most commonly applies to analyses of television because of that

medium's uniquely pervasive nature. Under this theory, someone who watches a great deal of television may form a picture of reality that does not correspond to actual life. In a study in UK post 9/11, elucidates and unfold the negative media representation of Muslims and its end results on British Muslims inhabiting in UK. Prior to 9/11 there were scant emphasis by media on Muslims, it was of course after 9/11 that media began to dedicate prodigious amount of time, space and attention to Muslims living across the globe. Authors have employed two main theoretical frameworks (integrated threat theory and identity process theory) to prioritize and explain the nature of threats allegedly posed by British Muslims. British Muslims were seen as a threat to the British people. Predominant media representations of Muslims in the British press have positioned Muslims in such a way that they represent hybridized threat i.e. realistic threat (physical well being) and symbolic threat (cultural) to the dominant ethno-national in group. The realistic threat posed by Muslims is conceived in terms of terrorism. Culture clash (freedom vs. constraint) between British Muslims and British represents symbolic threat, because Muslims have norms, values and traditions which are conventional in nature and are poles apart from the values of the British. Such threats are by no means confined only to British context but are seen in Australia, Canada, and Europe where media leaves negative reverberations about Muslims (Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010).

Misunderstanding and misperception have caused grave predicament and obstruction whenever an Afghan, especially men travels across the country to acquire higher education, employment or to reside as permanent resident. People began to perceive threat when Afghans are around (especially men). Issues like these induce feelings of displeasure, peevishness and discontentment for Afghans. A feeling of insecurity to one's life, being prejudice and developing negative stereotypes "Afghans are all same", being suspicious about actions of

the Afghans, petrified of being harmed, begets the feeling of being threatened. One of the most fittest understanding to such viewpoint is Entitativity (Campbell, 1958) and Out group homogeneity effect (Park & Judd, 1990) which describes the perception that group members are bonded together into a unified, coherent unit, and the degree of interdependence of its members in terms of common goals, social norms, shared knowledge and interaction, which unconsciously results in outgroup homogeneity effect, where people begin to perceive out group members to be more similar to each other than one's ingroup members (Mullen, Ho, 1989; Ostrom & Sedikides, 1992; Park & Judd, 1990; Quattrone & Jones, 1980). Entitativity seems particularly important in understanding anti Afghan prejudice, because media coverage often reveals lay perception of Afghans as isolated, interdependent, and sharing common social norms and goals.

Nonetheless, bilateral relations between India and Afghanistan have traditionally been strong and friendly. Their relations can be traced back to Indus Valley civilization. During the Mughal period, many Afghans migrated to India due to political unrest in Afghanistan. Migration of Afghans to India has always been embraced and welcomed. Many Afghan students, families, and business oriented relocate themselves to countries, especially India, to pursue higher education or employment. Because India-Afghanistan relation have been well grounded and deeply rooted, it becomes undemanding and effortless for Afghan youth and families to migrate to India for education or pursue good life, or seek medical care. Apart from good relations, India and Afghanistan share since centuries old cultural heritage with deep rooted linkages in the field of music, arts, architecture, language and cuisine. Today Indian films, songs and TV serials are hugely popular with the masses, contributing significantly to the popularization of Hindi and familiarization of the populace with Indian socio-cultural value

system as compared to those of United States, Europe or UK. Many popular TV serials are dubbed in Pashto and Dari language and are shown on prime time slots, both on the national as well as private TV channels (*India-Afghan Culture Relations, Embassy of India Kabul, Afghanistan, 2014*). Because of historical ties and cultural similarities, low cost of living and easy to obtain visas, India therefore becomes an ideal place for Afghans to derive higher education, employment or seek asylum and medical treatment. Arif Ahmady, an Afghan residing in Delhi, and seeking bachelors degree in Computer Science, said that “I want to study in a peaceful space, getting an Indian degree has great reputation in Afghanistan. Low cost of living, scholarships, familiarity with the country’s culture and language, good relations between governments, easy to obtain visas, and the use of English in the classroom are some of the mains reasons Afghans like to study in India” (Bijoyeta Das, 2013). Afghan faces are visible throughout the Indian hospitals too. Some of the Afghan men and women have translators with them. Even more Afghans are seeking medical treatment in New Delhi- almost all head to Lajpat Nagar, a suburb of the capital city Delhi, which is known as “Little Afghanistan” due to its high concentration of Afghans. Ashraf Haidari, Afghanistan’s Deputy Ambassador to India, said that of the approximately 1,000 Afghans who come to India every day, about 70 percent are health tourists. The staggering influx of Afghans travelling to Delhi is partially the result of India’s introduction of a special medical visa for Afghans in 2005. Most Afghans rely heavily on already established presence Afghan refugees. The office of the United Nations High Commissioner for refugees in Delhi estimated that over 11,000 Afghan refugees reside in and around Delhi. Many of the refugees run the business that line Little Kabul’s streets in Lajpat Nagar, providing the comforts of home as well as services tailored to the needs of medical tourists (Bearak, 2015). Howbeit, in the view of the fact that media reports, books, news headlines play a momentous role in our lives, and the convention of other countries of beholding Afghans as “threatening and minacious”, it thus becomes imperative and

indispensable to understand and investigate the attitude and outlook that university students of Delhi hold towards Afghans regardless of genial and affable political relationship between both the countries.

2.2 Intergroup Threat theory

We all live in a society centralized and compacted by religion, nationality, race, ethnicity, sex, social class and many more others. These social groups form and filter our lives and our identities. Hence all of these social groups are characterized by certain inclusion criteria and boundaries or confines- they include some people and exclude others. Social identity theorists argue that one reason for intergroup antagonism is the psychological benefits conferred on group members, particularly those associated with identification with ingroups (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). These benefits include acceptance, belonging, and social support, as well as system of roles, rules, norms, values and beliefs. Because of the needs they fill, groups are as precious to us as life itself, and we all get alarmed and petrified by their destruction as much as we panic for our own lives. As a result, we tend to favor our own group and exhibit hostility towards other groups, especially during dangerous and threatening times (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears & Doosje, 1999; Tajfel and Turner, 1986). Prejudice as a preformed evaluation of people based on their membership in a social group. This appraisal can have both negative and positive effects towards the outgroup. Even when it is positive, prejudice disadvantages individuals who belong to the social group because it denies the individual of its individuality. When prejudice is negative, it can lead to avoidance, aggression, discrimination, and other negative behavior against the disadvantaged group (Fiske, 1998; Brown, 2010). Although prejudice is an affective response, but it is also closely intertwined with

behavioral and cognitive components of attitude. It is important to understand and recognize that prejudice towards outgroup is embedded in complex array of related misperceptions, biases, and negative responses to outgroups. There are other facets of intergroup perception, such as, social categorization, inhumanization, negative emotional responses and perceived threats that must also be addressed and looked into (Brown, 2010). In the context of Intergroup threat theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000), intergroup threat is experienced when members of one group perceive that another group is in a position to cause them harm. It is a social psychological theory in that it is primarily concerned with perception of threats. According to Intergroup threat theory, perceived threats have real consequences, regardless of whether or not the perceptions of threats are accurate. The theory is not as concerned with the actual threat posed by the out groups as it is the degree to which threats to the in group are perceived to exist. To illustrate this point, a study on attitude towards immigrants in Germany was conducted by Semyonov, Tov and Schmidt (2004). It tested four variables: 1) the actual proportion of immigrants in counties of Germany, 2) the respondents' perceptions of the proportion of immigrants in the counties, 3) the respondents' perceptions of the threats posed by the immigrants, and 4) the respondents' exclusionary attitudes towards immigrants, it was found that the actual proportion of immigrants in the respondents' localities did not predict exclusionary attitudes towards immigrants. Instead, the perceived proportion of immigrants predicted both perceived threats and exclusionary attitudes. The primary reason that intergroup threats are important is because their effects on intergroup relations are largely negative. Even when a threat from an outgroup leads to non-hostile behavioral responses (e.g. negotiation, compromise), the cognitive and affective responses to threat are likely to be negative. Intergroup threat theory argues that there are four basic types of threat that lead groups to be prejudiced towards one another. First one is, realistic threat, which is concerned with the threats to the

very existence of the ingroup, threat to the political and economic power of the ingroup, and threat to the physical or material well being of the ingroup members (Stephan et al, 1999). Realistic group conflict theory (LeVine & Campbell, 1972; Quillian, 1995; Sherif, 1966) incorporates and encompasses many of these threats, although it is primarily concerned with competition over scarce resources, such as territory, wealth or natural resources. The focus however, here is on somewhat eclectic and all-embracing than realistic conflict theory because it incorporates any threat to the physical well being of the group and its members. Realistic group conflict theory is concerned more with objective conflict and subjectively perceived conflicts between groups (Bobo, 1988). Stephan et al., like Sherif (1966), are concerned chiefly and dominantly with the subjectively perceived threat posed by the out group. The emphasis here is on perceived threats because the perception of threat can lead to prejudice, regardless of whether or not the threat is 'real' (Stephan, 1999). The greater the threat that the outgroup is perceived to pose to the ingroup, the greater the level of prejudice and negative attitude towards the out group members (LeVine & Campbell, 1972). A study consistent with this view found that perceived realistic threats were highly correlated with evaluative ratings of African Americans (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1976). Second type of threat is Symbolic threat, which is concerned with group differences in terms of morals, values, beliefs, norms, standards, and attitudes. It is such beliefs that make groups ethnocentric, leading group members to believe that their group is superior to others (Sumner, 1906). Groups holding differing values, morals and beliefs threaten the ingroup's ethnocentric worldview, hence leading to hostility towards the outgroups. Symbolic threat is closely related to the concept of symbolic racism (Sears & McConhay, 1973) in some sense. Theory of symbolic racism argue that the hostility of white people in America towards African Americans is a response to the manner in which African Americans are perceived to violate traditional values shared by most Whites (Sears, 1981; McConhay,

1976). The underlying premise of symbolic racism is that African Americans have different values from Whites, and this leads Whites to hold negative attitude towards African Americans. Esses, Haddock, and Zanna (1993) formulated another approach to symbolic beliefs which is similar and in line with Stephan's symbolic threat. They argued that the more the ingroup's values, customs, or traditions are blocked by the outgroup, the more negative the ingroup's attitude will be towards the outgroups.

Third type is intergroup anxiety, Stephan and Stephan (1985) argued that people often feel personally threatened in intergroup interactions because they are concerned about negative outcomes for the self, such as being embarrassed, rejected and ridiculed. This line of research suggests that inter anxiety towards specific outgroup: a) predicts prejudice towards outgroup, and b) is predicted by a lack of knowledge about the outgroup and by past negative contact with the outgroup (Stephan et al., 2002). Thus, intergroup anxiety typically has negative impact on intergroup relations by stimulating negative attitude towards an outgroup (i.e. prejudice). In the intergroup anxiety model, it is hypothesized that anxiety will be particularly more or high if the groups have a history of antagonism; have little prior contact; perceive the outgroup different from the ingroup; know little about the outgroup members; and have to interact in relatively unstructured manner and environment (Gudykunst, 1988, 1995). Research studies have generally supported these ideas (Stephan & Stephan, 1985, 1989, 1992). Intergroup anxiety has been shown to be related to prejudice in several studies (Brown, 1996; Islam & Hewstone, 1993).

Last of the threats is the negative stereotypes. It often leads to avoidance of out group members, provide negative trait attributions to explain their behavior, and justify discrimination against them. As a consequence negative stereotypes are

likely to lead to prejudice, as indicated by number of studies (Esses et al., 1993; Stephan & Abalokina, 1994; Stephan & Stephan, 1993). The degree to which these threats are related to prejudice is likely to depend on the nature of the relationships between the two groups. If one group perceives threat to one's physical well being and security from the other group, then realistic threat becomes a strong predictor of prejudice. If groups are extremely dissimilar in terms of values, norms, beliefs and practices, symbolic threat is a strong predictor of prejudice. If groups have had limited contact or have had contact in situations that were threatening, intergroup anxiety then predicts prejudice. And if relations between the groups have led to the creation of negative stereotypes (particularly those that portend harm), predicts prejudice. For example the conflict between Israelis and Arabs illustrates types of threats. For both groups, realistic threats are ubiquitous in the form of open warfare, terrorism and assassinations of civilians. Symbolic threat is nearly obvious in the sense that, these two groups differ in religion, culture and the language they speak. The conceptualization of threat is related to social identity theorists, who postulate that the actions of outgroups often lead ingroups to feel as their group's status is threatened (Branscombe et al., 1999). However the social identity definition of 'status threat' involves both tangible resources (Postmes & McAuliffe, 2002) and group self esteem (Branscombe, Spears, Ellemers & Dooje, 2002). But from the intergroup threat theory perspective, threats to tangible resources is considered realistic, whereas threats to group esteem is considered as symbolic.

Intergroup threat theory like mentioned before is a social psychological theory of prejudice which very clearly explains and illustrates the perceptions and apprehension that ingroup members hold against outgroup members as a result of perceived threat and not really the 'real' threat. Many studies and research work has been done expounding on the relationship between four types of

threat (realistic, symbolic, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes) and prejudice against out group members. The almost initial and introductory research work on intergroup threat theory was conducted by Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald and Tur-Kaspa (1998), probing the prejudice attitude towards immigrants groups in Spain and Israel. They studied all the four variables of intergroup threat (realistic, symbolic, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotype) and found them as significant predictors of attitude towards the immigrant groups. They found that intergroup anxiety and negative stereotype was more powerful and consistent predictor of prejudicial attitude towards the immigrants than were realistic threat and symbolic threat. In parallel and similar line, Stephan, Ybarra and Bachman (1999) studied the prejudice towards immigrants from Cuba, Mexico and Asia in United States. In this study all the four variables (realistic, symbolic, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotype) were found to be significant predictors of attitude towards these immigrants groups. Followed by research work on intergroup threat theory, Schweitzer, Perkoulidis, Krome, Ludlow and Ryan (2005), used intergroup threat theory to elucidate and unravel the attitude towards refugees and seeking asylum in Australia. The study examined the prevalence and the correlates of negative attitudes towards refugees in an Australian sample. Participants comprised 261 volunteer university students (119 males and 142 females). Participants were assessed on a prejudicial attitude measure, measures of realistic and symbolic threat. The result indicated over half (59.8%) of participants scored above the mid-point on prejudicial attitude. Males reported less favorable attitude towards refugees than females. Analysis revealed both realistic and symbolic threats were influential in predicting prejudicial attitudes and, of these; realistic threat was the better predictor. Gonsalkorale, Carlisle, Hippel (2007), examined the effects of collective threat on stereotyping using the intergroup threat model. Two studies were conducted to test the hypothesis that intergroup threat leads to greater implicit stereotyping of the threatening

group. In study 1, white participants were exposed to information portraying Asians as collectively threatening implicitly stereotyped Asians more than did participants who were not threatened. In study 2, collective threat again resulted in greater stereotypic processing of Asians, which was also associated with increase in collective self-esteem. Lin (2005), worked on the dilemma of Asian Americans as the model minority in United States. Two experiments addressed the discrepancy of holding Asian Americans as a 'model minority', while maintaining negative attitudes towards them. The hypothesis was that individuals feel Asian Americans constitute a realistic threat because they possess too many positive qualities (Ho & Jackson, 2001). The first study surveyed factors related to Asian Americans, including positive stereotypes, negative attitudes, and threats reported by participants, adapted from (Stephan ,et al., 2002). The second study used scenarios to place participants in a situation to test the effects of realistic threat in a classroom context. Realistic threat proved to mediate the relationship between positive stereotypes (i.e. too good) and negative attitudes (i.e. threatening) in the first study. Gonzalez', Verkuyten, Wessie and Poppe (2008), employed intergroup threat theory to scrutinize Dutch adolescents (187), prejudice towards the Muslim minorities. One out of the two participants was found to negative feelings towards Muslims. Perceived symbolic and realistic threat and negative stereotypes were examined as mediators between antecedent factors (in-group identification, intergroup contact, and the endorsement of multiculturalism) and prejudice. Based on structural equation modeling, it was found that stereotypes and symbolic threat, but not realistic threats, predicted prejudice towards Muslims. Further. It was found that the effects of in-group identification on prejudice were fully mediated by symbolic threat, the effect of contact was partially mediated by stereotypes, and the effect of the endorsement of multiculturalism was mediated by both symbolic threat and stereotypes. In addition, contact and multiculturalism were directly associated with prejudice towards Muslims. Hawabibi Laher (2008), illustrated

and deciphered the increasing segregation and discrimination in Johannesburg and South Africa. The researcher sought to study prejudice, discrimination, and social distance towards African immigrants in South Africa by using Intergroup threat theory. The sample consisted of 345 South African citizens. A questionnaire was issued to the participants in order to establish how they feel (perception) or have felt when interacting with the immigrants from African countries. Multiple linear regression and path analysis was conducted. Findings indicated that intergroup anxiety, symbolic threat, realistic threat, stereotype as well as nature of communication predicted prejudice in large scale (68% of the variance explained) and predicted social distance to a moderate extent (42% of the variance explained). Tausch, Hewstone and Roy (2009), to investigate the context of Hindu-Muslim relation in India, used Intergroup threat theory model (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). The study examined the mediating role of intergroup anxiety, realistic and symbolic threats and the moderating role of group membership (Hindu Vs Muslims) in the relationships between cross-community contact, relative in-group status and prejudice. Overall, intergroup anxiety, realistic, but not symbolic threat emerged as proximal predictors of prejudice and partial mediators between the predictor and criterion variables. But these findings were qualified by majority (Hindu) versus minority (Muslims) group membership. As predicted, while symbolic threat was a predictor of prejudice for Hindus, realistic threat was a paramount predictor for Muslims. In group status was as a significant predictor for low-status minority group only. Scheibner and Morrison (2009), showed that the experience of threat plays a role in attitudes towards the immigrants. Using intergroup threat theory of prejudice, the researchers explored the attitude of people from Ireland towards Polish immigrants. The study investigated the putative association between three threat variables (realistic threat, symbolic threat and intergroup anxiety) and prejudice and discrimination. Findings from two studies using community and university samples (N=112 and 83, respectively) revealed limited support for

integrated threat when applied to assessments of Polish versus Irish job applicants. Morrison, Fast and Ybarra (2009) showed that members of high-status groups favor social inequality. They suggested that perceived intergroup threat moderates the relationship between group status and support for social inequality, especially among highly identified group members. In study 1, Democrats and Republicans rated their party's relative status and were later exposed to leading US Presidential candidate from the opposing party (high threat) or their own party (low threat). In study 2, university students were made to believe that their school had high or low status and were then presented with threatening or non-threatening information about a rival institution. The results of both studies supported the prediction that status only increases preferences for group-based inequality under conditions of highly threat and high ingroup identification. Hunt, Armenta, Seifert and Snowden (2009), provided a social psychological framework for understanding the reception of Hurricane Katrina evacuees in predominantly White relocation communities. According to this work, racial prejudice and perception of economic and social threat were likely to have an important influence on residents' reactions from Colorado Springs, CO, Salt Lake City, UT, and San Antonio-three cities that had African American populations. The respondents' evaluations of and judgements about the evacuees, including overall attitudes and support for continued assistance, were explained to a greater extent by perceived threat and prejudice than by their actual experiences with the evacuees. Study by Pearson (2010), investigated as to why two terms (illegal aliens and undocumented workers) evoke different levels of prejudice. He inspected that although the terms "illegal aliens" and "undocumented workers" are often used interchangeably to refer to the same immigrant population, they have different connotations. A group of undergraduates students (n=269) were assigned to evaluate either "illegal aliens" or "undocumented workers". Two models were tested based on Intergroup threat theory and instrumental model of group conflict (Esses,

Jackson & Armstrong, 1998). ITT situates threat-related variables (realistic threat, symbolic threat, negative stereotypes) as proximal determinants of prejudice; IMGC situates perceived competition-related variables (zero-sum competition beliefs, social dominance orientation) as proximal determinants of prejudice. The ITT model was found to be a better design that accounted for the fact that “illegal aliens” evoked greater prejudice as compared to “undocumented workers”, indicating that the term “illegal alien” is associated with increased perception of threat. Sonnenschein, Bekerman and Horenczyk (2010), grappled with the question of majority-minority relations in conflict-ridden societies. An ethnographic study was conducted and data was analyzed in a dialogue form, conducted at an Israeli university among Jewish and Palestinian students. The authors identified four different and interrelated components of threat as these were perceived by the Jews participating in the dialogue: a permanent existential threat, the realistic threat from Palestinians, the threat to Jewish hegemony in the state of Israel, and the threat to the moral worth of the Jews’ national identity. Rates of human migration are steadily rising and have resulted in significant sociopolitical debates over how to best respond to increasing cultural diversity and changing migration patterns. Research on prejudicial attitude towards immigrants has focused on the attitude and beliefs that individual in the receiving country hold for the immigrants. Murray and Marx (2012) enhanced this literature by examining how young adults view authorized and unauthorized immigrants and refugees. Using a between-groups design of 191 undergraduates, they found that participants consistently reported more prejudicial attitudes, greater perceived realistic threat, and greater intergroup anxiety when responding to questions about unauthorized compared with authorized immigrants. Additionally, there were differences in attitudes depending on participants’ generalized status, with older-generation participants reporting greater perceived realistic threat and symbolic threat, prejudice, and anxiety than newer-generation students. Lastly, perceived realistic threat,

symbolic threat, and intergroup anxiety were significant predictors of prejudicial attitudes. Croucher, Badenas & Ruotsalainen (2014), explored the intricate relationships between a dominant group's fear of an immigrant group, religiosity, and the dominant culture's perception of if an immigrant group is motivated to culturally adapt. Specifically, Muslim immigrants in Spain were analyzed. The study found the following: 1) threat from an immigrant group was negatively correlated with perception of immigrant motivation to adapt, 2) highly religious members of the dominant culture were less likely to believe in Muslim immigrants are motivated to adapt, and 3) increased contact with Muslim immigrants led to higher levels of realistic threat and symbolic threat among Spanish Catholics. Acker, Phalet, Deleersnyder and Batja (2014), examined how majority perceptions of intergroup relations afford different contact experiences with immigrant minorities, majority students attending culturally diverse high schools first completed a survey that measured the extent to which they perceived immigrant minorities as either threatening to the majority or discriminated by the majority. Findings suggested that generalized threat perceptions can become self enforcing through repeated threatening contact experiences, but also that an alternative perception of minorities as disrespected by the majority may underlie more positive contact experiences. Mashuri & Zaduqisti (2015), tested how intergroup threat (high v low) and social identity as a Muslim (salient vs non salient) affected belief in conspiracy theory. Data among Indonesian Muslim students (N=139) from this study demonstrated that intergroup threat and social identity salience interacted to influence belief in conspiracy theories. High intergroup threat triggered greater belief in conspiracy theories than low intergroup threat, more prominently in the condition in which participants' Muslim identity was made salient collective angst also proved to mediate the effect of intergroup threat on the belief. However, in line with the prediction, evidence of this mediation effect of collective angst was only on the salient social identity condition.

Intergroup threat theory focused not only on changes of attitudes towards the outgroup (Stephan & Stephan, 2000), but also concentrated on number of other cognitive, affective and behavioral outcomes of threat. We will discuss these outcomes one by one.

2.3 Entitativity and Out group homogeneity effect

We all belong to broad spectrum of groups in our everyday quotidian lives. We all belong to families, we all work closely with colleagues in our careers; we belong to social, religious network and associations; and we are all members of multiple social categories based on gender, race, ethnicity, nationality, socioeconomic status, age, occupation and many others. Categorical or grouping divergence impacts how we think about, perceive, feel about, and interact with other member of the group, and they often define the way the groups themselves relate to each other. As a result people begin to develop belief systems- stereotypes- about the groups. Cognitive responses to intergroup threat includes changes in perceptions of the outgroup such as changes in stereotype (Quist & Resendez, 2003), perceived out group homogeneity (Rothgerber, 1997) and others. Cognitively sorting people into groups is one way of framing information in an effort to understand complex, and overwhelming, social world. Some social categories (e.g. race, ethnicity, nationality, gender) are activated more readily than others. Nearly all social categories are associated with stereotypes that tend to be more negative for the outgroups than ingroups. Negative stereotypes are closely linked to prejudice (Brown, 2010). In general, a less cognitive effort is expended on understanding members of the outgroups than ingroups. One result of this decreased effort is that members of the

outgroup is seen or perceived as similar to one another as are members of the ingroups- “they” are all alike. In addition, once people make a distinction between the ingroup and outgroup, they tend to be biased in favor of ingroup because of familiarity, attachment and preference for the ingroup members (Stephan, Renfro, Esses & Martin, 2005; Brown, 2010). A stereotype can be defined as a person’s “knowledge, beliefs, and expectancies about some social group” (Hamilton & Trolie, 1986). They are belief systems about groups, belief systems that represent the attributes, characteristics, behavior patterns, and so on, associated with a particular group. Once formed, that set of beliefs is applied to all members of the group, generalizing across individuals, despite the fact that those persons may show considerable dissimilarity in numerous ways. This generalization affair leads to the perception of homogeneity among group members (Hamilton, Sherman, Crump and Rodgers, 2009). This perception of homogeneity is inherent in stereotyping, and consequently, as Allport (1954) emphasized, stereotyping involves the over generalization of attributes to group members. One cardinal and radical way in which groups varies is the degree to which they may be viewed as systematic, coherent unit or entities (Campbell, 1958; Hamilton & Sherman, 1996; Lickel et al., 2000). Collections of individuals differ in the extent to which they possess the quality of “groupness”. Campbell (1958) introduced the term ‘entitativity’ to refer to the degree to which members of a group are bonded together in a coherent social unit. There are many types of social groups that seem solid and coherent (e.g. Ku Klux Klan or the local fire department), whereas other seems meaningless and diffuse (e.g. group of people on a bus). Don Campbell (1958) (Hamilton, Sherman & Lickel, 1998), introduced the term ‘entitativity’ to differentiate the groups that evoke a sense of continuity and coherence from more nebulous and fugitive collection of people. Entitative groups, as the name suggests, seem more like entities- more like “real” groups. Campbell originally proposed four components that contribute to group’s entitativity: proximity, similarity, common fate, and good

continuation (Correll and Park, 2005). *Similarity* refers to the uniformity of attitudes and traits across the members of the group. Correll and Park (2005) expanded the concept *common fate* to include both common fate and common goals. This component refers, essentially, to positive interdependence among group members, such that the success of one group member benefits the others and the failure of one constitutes to the failure of all. The suggestion is that fate has woven the group together. In integration, then, similarity and common fate outline internal consistency of the group. These elements bind or secure members together, and internal articulation is thought to make the group more psychologically meaningful. All else being equal, as unity increases, the category provides more accurate and precise information about the group members and serves more effectively as a basis for generalization (Correll & Park, 2005). To provide meaningful conjecture, though, a group must not only cohere but must also provide information that differentiates members from nonmembers. Campbell (1958), proposed that entitativity also depends on *good continuation*. Good continuation refers to the Gestalt principle of perception that permits discrimination of an object (the group) from the field (nonmembers or the other group). When boundaries are distinct, perpetual, and impermeable, a group should be easily distinguished from the social context. For a group with fuzzy, shifting, or permeable boundaries, the process of differentiation becomes more strenuous (Correll & Park, 2005). Dissection on the basis of bloodline among Latinos offers an example of the role of good continuation. Many people in the United States may not perceive meaningful differences between people from Honduras, Mexico, and Venezuela. Even if these groups seem internally consistent, their boundaries may appear fuzzy and unclear if a perceiver sees little semantic distinction between them. Without polarity, the groups meld together and offer little in the way of novel inductive potential. Only after learning about disparity among the categories can an individual identify contrasts, and only then will the groups stand out as separate units. Entitativity

then, requires both the potential to distinguish or discern the features of the group (by virtue of clear and meaningful category boundaries) and the ability to generalize those features to individual members (by virtue of the group's homogeneity and interdependence) (Correll & Park, 2005). Correll and Park (2005) hypothesized that high entitative groups should constitute more significant facets of personal identity. Because they are both coherent and meaningful, these groups may provide conclusion about the individual in much the same way that they provide inferences about other group members. Because more amorphous groups seem less meaningful and real they should offer less information about the individual member (Correll & Park, 2005).

Many researchers have emphasized and gave weight to the close relationship between the perceived homogeneity of a group and degree of entitativity (Brewer et al., 1995; Dasgupta, Banaji & Abelson, 1999; Yzerbyt, Rogier, & Fiske, 1998). When accosted with an entitative group, social perceivers overestimate the influence of group characteristics on a group member's behavior and they disregard the impact of situational forces (Hamilton & Sherman, 1999). According to Lickel et al., (2009), group types differed significantly in their average perceived level of entitativity. He found that intimacy groups were viewed as more entitative than task groups, which in turn, were regarded as more entitative than social categories. Loose associations were perceived as the least entitative type of group. The literature on outgroup homogeneity effect has shown that people perceive outgroup members to be more similar to each other than one's ingroup members (Park & Judd, 1990). A number of theories have been proposed to elucidate on this discovery. According to social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978), ingroup members desire positive distinctiveness from outgroup members. One way of attain such distinctiveness is by viewing members of the ingroup as unique and distinctive, whereas members of the outgroup are seen as

“all the same”. Another theory is that individuals perceive the outgroup to be more homogeneous because of less familiar and accustomed with members of the outgroup and greater familiarity with the ingroup (Linville & Fischer 1989; Quattrone & Jones, 1980). Judd, Park, Yzerbyt, Gordijn and Muller (2005), conducted studies designed to assess people’s perceptions of the extent to which their own ingroup and an outgroup endorsed outgroup homogeneity. In three studies examining a variety of ingroups and outgroups, participants were asked to provide their own perceptions of each other, in addition to predicting outgroup perceptions of each group (study 1) and ingroup perceptions of each group (studies 2 and 3). Across the three studies, the results showed that perceivers assumed that both ingroup and outgroup members perceived outgroups to be more homogenous than ingroups. In contrast, individuals only showed evidence of the outgroup homogeneity effect when they were judging different nationalities, not when rating ethnic or gender outgroups.

The perception that the member of an outgroup are homogenous can lead to overgeneralization about the outgroup members, and as a consequence, to stereotyping. In a study by Wilder (1984), participants were separated into two groups and asked to rate the beliefs of members of both the ingroup and outgroup on a variety of dimensions. Wilder found that participants tended to attribute a wide range of artistic and political beliefs to the ingroup, whereas members of the outgroup were thought to share similar artistic and political beliefs. Howard and Rothbert (1980) showed that people have better memory for the negative behaviors of outgroup than of ingroups. So, in addition to thinking that the outgroup members share the same thoughts, individuals are also biased to remember that outgroup members have also behaved in the same negative manner. The work by Rothbert and Lewis (1988) focused on the conditions under which people generalize from an individual group member to

the group as a whole. Fiske and Neuberg (1990) proposed a model designed to outline conditions under which people move in the opposite direction; that are, making generalization from the group to the individual. For example, a perceiver may meet a new person briefly and assume that they have characteristics that are similar to others of the same race, nationality, etc.

Entitativity and homogeneity or similarity are closely intertwined. The perception that a group is meaningful, entitative unit is often based on the belief that the members share some form of similarity, whether it is the appearances shared by the members of a racial or ethnic group, the thoughts and beliefs held by the members of the group (Brewer et al., 1995; Yzerbyt, 2003). For example, Dasgupta, Banaji & Abelson (1999), conducted experiments to test whether the perceived entitativity groups (i.e. cohesiveness) influences judgment about those groups, in terms of both physical properties and underlying psychological traits. Entitativity was manipulated with groups whose members were similar or dissimilar in skin color. Experiment 1 demonstrated that beliefs about entitativity elicited more accurate judgments of skin color for entitative than non entitative groups. Experiment 2 revealed that entitative groups were viewed not only physically similar but also psychologically similar and homogeneous and elicited strong negative trait and behavior judgments. Together, these findings suggested that physical properties (e.g. similarity) can create perceptions of psychological 'groupness' that have important consequences for group perception. The perception of entitativity for a group has predominant ramifications, with many of these effects having relevance for stereotyping. As we seen that perceived entitativity leads to the perception of interchangeability among group members. Therefore any inferences or reckoning regarding traits attributes, or abilities that are build up about any group member are then transferred to all other members. This occurs even when the other group

members have not engaged in any behavior that would warrant or justify such trait or ability attributions. All members end up 'looking alike' and the individuality and exclusiveness of individuals is comparatively weakened or diminished (Hamilton, Sherman, Crump and Rodgers, 2008). Perceived group homogeneity reinforces stereotyping by leading people to make judgments from one group member to rest of the group (Park, Hastie, 1987). It also bolsters stereotypes by leading people to psychologically exclude nonstereotypical members from the group (Hastie & Park, 1987). Research work has confirmed that perceived group homogeneity leads to prejudice and discrimination (Brauer & Er-rafiy, 2011; Hee, Finkleman, Lopez and Ensari, 2011). People are more likely to hold the same attitude towards all the members of a group if they perceive them to be 'all the same'. This attitude can be negative, reflecting prejudice (Ryan, Hunt, Peterson & Cascas, 2007). For example, Marilyn Monroe once commented- "All a girl really wants is for one guy to prove to her that they are not all the same." So like her, people often perceive the members of a social group, such as men, as being 'all the same'. It is expected that Marilyn's negative perceptions of one man to generalize to other men she met (Rubin & Badea, 2012).

The relation between entitativity and stereotyping have much in quotidian and have established association with social categorization theory (Haslam, Oakes, Turner, 1996). Self categorization theory focuses on the operation of the categorization process as the cognitive basis of group behavior. This categorization process underlines the similarities among members of the ingroup and the differences between the ingroup and some outgroup as a contrast category, thus, self categorization theory proposes cogent and strong links among the perceived entitativity of a group, and a perception of interchangeability of the different members of that group. Research by Lickel et

al., (2000) and Pickett et al., (2002) has shown that social categories are perceived as having moderate degree of entitativity, yet social categories such as gender, race, ethnicity have the strong associated stereotypes (Spencer-Rodgers, Hamilton & Sherman, 2007). Social categories that are composed of members who are 'all the same' are more strongly allied with specific psychological attributes than are those whose members are perceived to be highly disparate and divergent. Likewise, social groups that are viewed as having a deeply rooted 'essential' nature (e.g. based on race, ethnicity, nationality, gender etc) are more apt to be stereotyped than are those based on less intrinsic factors such as occupations or geographical region of residence (Hamilton & Sherman, 2008). In a nutshell, the perception of entitativity and outgroup homogeneity appears to play cardinal role in group impression formation.

Intergroup threat theory goes on discussing the consequences of threat, one of them being behavioral in nature. The theory says that the consequences of threat are not only limited to stereotyping, out group homogeneity which we have discussed above in cognitive responses, but also goes on talking about an increase in likelihood of perceiving threat-related emotions (e.g. anger) in others. We will see how entitativity is related to Behavioral responses to threat, reactions ranging from anger, resentment, aggression (direct or displaced), discrimination and other forms of open intergroup conflict. We will now discuss in length about these reactions in the upcoming section.

2.4 Vicarious Retribution effect

Untimely perspectives on intergroup relations dwelled on the belligerent nature of intergroup relations. In the words of sociologist William Sumner (1906), in intergroup contexts, "loyalty to the ingroup, sacrifice for it, hatred and contempt for outsiders, brotherhood within, warlikeness without- all grow together,

common products of the same situation". Sumner's bleak but galling depiction has been marked by the expansion of several major approaches to intergroup relations, including realistic conflict theory (Sherif, 1961), social identity theory (Tajfel, 1971), and the breakthrough of social cognition approaches to the study of stereotyping and social judgments related to groups (Hamilton, 1981). Negative emotions, such as resentment, anger, fear, and anxiety are common responses towards the out group. Resentment can arise when an in group member feels they have been deprived of a resource (e.g. position of authority in school organizations) that is available to another group. These feelings of relative deprivation are closely tied to perception of injustice and unfairness, which are common features of intergroup relations. Anger can arise in response to discrimination, ill-treatment, disrespect, or aggression. Anger is especially important because it is closely linked to intergroup aggression. Feelings of fear may result from perceived threats. These threats can be perceived in realistic and symbolic form (as explained above). Primary reason prejudice is so important is that it is associated with wide range of negative responses towards the out group, such as, negative evaluations of members of the out group, avoidance of the out group, and overtly aggressive acts such as insults, bullying, taunting, name calling, and discrimination. Being on the receiving end of negative treatment by out group members is correlated with prejudice (Wagner & Christ, 2007; Whitley & Kite, 2006). Much of the research on stereotyping and intergroup relations have focused on those factors that affect how affirmatively people treat their ingroups (Lickel, Miller, Denson and Schmader, 2009). According to Lickel et al., little research has examined the pivotal psychological factors that contribute directly to the 'warlikeness' that characterizes human treatment of outgroup in many circumstances. In order to fathom and comprehend the situation, Lickel et al., came up with vicarious retribution model. It occurs when a member of a group commits an act of aggression of an outgroup for a provocation that had no personal consequences for him or her,

but did harm a fellow ingroup member. In these situations the aggression is often directed at outgroup members who themselves were not the direct causal agents in the original attack against the person's ingroup. Thus, retribution is vicarious in the sense that neither the agent nor the target of retribution was directly involved in the original event (Lickel, Miller, Stenstrom, Denson and Schmader, 2009). For example, in US history, white violence towards blacks often occurred as a result of a provocation (often itself imagined rather than real) from one Black person toward White individual. In many instances, Whites within the community sought revenge not only against the Black person who was perceived as the instigator, but often attacked other Blacks who may not have any link or association with that Black person whose real or imagined actions sparked the violence (Boskin 1976).

With regard to aggression literature, there are several models that describe general mechanisms and processes underlying aggressive acts. The majority of literature focuses on interpersonal aggression, but many of these concepts are vital to vicarious retribution too. More specifically model like General Aggression model (Anderson & Bushman, 2002) and Huesmann's (1998) social information processing model seek to understand aggressive behavior as occurring in the context of social encounter. For example, in the GAM, this social encounter then drives inputs that influence cognitive and affective 'routes', which determines higher order cognition and behavior. Inputs can be either personality variables or situational variables. These inputs affect the degree of negative affect, aggressive cognition, and physiological arousal that the individuals involved may experience. In turn, these internal states mediate the effect of the inputs on higher levels of aggression-related affect, cognition, and arousal affect the likelihood of aggressive behavior. These outcomes are evaluated such that over time aggressive behavior may become a learned response to particular social

encounters. This general framework for understanding acts of aggression helps to deconstruct an interrelated set of processes that underlie an aggressive response (Lickel, Miller, 2008). Vicarious retribution also seeks to identify a set of cognitive and affective variables that more specifically apply to cases of vicarious retribution. Many of the factors that have been shown to increase interpersonal aggression (e.g. temperature, frustration etc); Berkowitz (1993). However, vicarious retribution model is concerned with additional variables that are unique to intergroup conflict. For example, in cases of intergroup conflict, group identification becomes a critical factor to consider as an input to the process by which vicarious retribution takes place. In addition to drawing from these general frameworks for understanding aggression, there are several other existing literature that is relevant in comprehending vicarious retribution model. This model has been drawn from the literature of displaced aggression, because the situation that concern involves directing one's aggressive impulse to a person other than the individual who was the original or thought to be the perpetrator or source of provocation. But research on displaced aggression is largely concerned with instances of interpersonal aggression (Dollard, Miller, Mowrer & Sears, 1939), however vicarious retribution model moves the analysis of displaced aggression from the interpersonal level to the intergroup level (Lickel et al, 2008). The model also draws few key aspects of group based emotions (Smith & Mackie, 2000) of how and why people may become motivationally invested in their group memberships and come to feel anger or fear in response to threatening outgroups.

When an act of aggression has occurred, other individuals who were not directly involved in the provocation first construe the event with regard to possible ingroup-outgroup distinctions that might help them make sense of it. When no relevant ingroup-outgroup distinction is salient, people will either be indifferent

to the event or will view it in interpersonal terms that do not motivate vicarious retribution. If an ingroup-outgroup distinction is salient, people are more likely to make sense of the event in ways that favor the ingroup and motivate retaliation. Those who are more highly identified with their ingroup will experience a stronger motivation to retaliate in behalf of their ingroup members (Lickel et al., 2006). The motivation to carry out the retaliation on behalf of the ingroup members can be directed either at the outgroup member who actually carried out the attack (or thought to carry out the attack), or against other outgroup members who were not directly linked with the attack or the precipitating event (Lickel, Miller, Stenstrom, Denson and Schmader, 2006). According to Lickel et al, the spread of retribution is greatest when the outgroup is perceived to be high in entitativity. Stentrom et al., (2008), showed that perceptions of an outgroup as high in entitativity predicts level of vicarious retribution, in which a person seeks retribution against an outgroup's member, even if those members were not perpetrators of the attack or the event. In other words, for example, even if people know that only one or two Muslim terrorists were responsible for a specific attack, they are more likely to seek retribution against Muslims in general if Muslims are perceived as highly entitative.

An individual's motivation to retaliate against the outgroup is predicted by that individual's degree of group identification. Yzerbyt and colleagues (2003), have shown that ingroup identification is linked to anger and aggressive intentions after members of an ingroup were harmed by an outgroup. According to Lickel et al (2006), asserts that identification increases a sense of anger and influences the motivation for vicarious retribution. Social identity theorists (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) stated that people derive a sense of self-worth and self-esteem not just from their identity as a unique individual, but also from their memberships in social groups (Ellemers, Spears & Doosje; 1997). Just as people are motivated to

protect and enhance their personal identity, social identity theorists maintain that people are motivated to protect and enhance their group identities. Because group identities are tied to one's sense of self-esteem, threats to group identity are also perceived as threats to one's self. Furthermore, those who are highly identified are more likely to favor the ingroup and react negatively to acts that threaten their ingroup (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears & Doosje, 1999). Because other group members embody the qualities of the ingroup, an attack on a fellow ingroup member may be perceived as an attack on the group as a whole. Even when group members are not harmed, an attack on an object or a symbol of the group (e.g. national flag) may be viewed as an attack on one's social identity. Such threats might elicit a strong sense of anger that propels the individuals to lash out at the outgroup in retaliation (Lickel et al., 2006). Empathy provides another reason why people are motivated to retaliate against outgroup members. Empathy has been defined as one's ability to cognitively understand another's internal states (Underwood and Morre, 1982) or experience an emotion similar to that felt by another person (Eisenberg & Miller, 1987). Empathy is a vicarious reaction that occurs from witnessing another person's distressed condition or emotional state. Thus, witnessing harm to fellow group members is likely to lead to sympathy for them as well as feelings of anger and indignation (Davis, 1994).

Ingroup identification does not itself explain why people would be motivated to take revenge against someone other than the perpetrator. Intergroup conflicts are often characterized by a tendency to depersonalize the outgroup, to see individual group members as being undifferentiated, and therefore equally deserving of retaliation (Lickel et al., 2006). Often the retribution to target persons moves past the actual perpetrator. In some instances, the original provocateur is not available for retribution. In such an instance, perceivers may

be particularly likely to target other group members to psychologically even the score. When people are motivated to engage in retaliation against an outgroup for a hostile act against the ingroup members, the degree of vicarious retribution against members of the group other than the perpetrator is influenced by the perceived entitativity of the outgroup (Lickel et al., 2006). If the outgroup is perceived to be highly unified and amalgamated, then other members of that group are more likely to be held culpable and aimed for retribution for the incendiary or seditious acts of an individual group member. If the outgroup is not perceived to be highly unified, then the other outgroup members are less likely to be targeted for collective retribution because they are less likely to be viewed as indefensible for their fellow group member's actions (Lickel, Miller, Stentrom, Denson & Schmader, 2006). Lickel et al., (2000) found that perceptions of group-member interaction, common goals, shared outcomes, importance of the group to group-members, and similarity of the group members are all highly correlated with one another and are strongly correlated with the entitativity ascribed to the group. Research on entitativity has stressed on the importance of an intense underlying quality that creates similarity among group members and allows prediction or speculation of their behavior (Yzerbyt et al., 2001). Thus it may be case that both entitativity based on cohesiveness or based on homogeneity may form the basis for vicarious retribution (Lickel et al., 2006). Crawford, Sherman, and Hamilton (2002) demonstrated that entitativity influenced the extent to which perceivers made unpremeditated or spontaneous trait inferences about a group based on a group member's behavior, and Johnson and Queller (2003) found that people develop abstractions about the traits of a group more promptly for a high entitative group than a low entitative group. Lickel et al.,(2006) also claimed that individuals will encounter stronger reason to strike back to the degree that the torment is viewed as threatening a valued aspect of the ingroup. Whilst acts of physical violence against members of the ingroup may always educe a hankering

for retaliation, some acts of aggression are more symbolic in nature. Research suggests that perceived entitativity predicts intergroup stereotyping and bias. However research by Newheiser, Tausch, Dovidio & Hewstone (2009) yielded that prejudice (towards Muslims in Study 1 and towards South Asians in Study 2) can also predict group's perceived entitativity. In particular, study 1 found that the relationship of two predictors, intergroup contact and social dominance orientation, with perceived entitativity were mediated by prejudice. Study 2 demonstrated that this set of relationships occurred primarily for intergroup attitudes of relatively high certainty.

Intergroup threat theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000), postulated that different types of threats have different end results. For example, threat to the group as a whole is more likely to induce feeling of anger than fear. Supporting this viewpoint, research has shown that different types of threat trigger different types of emotions. For instance, perceived threats to the ingroup are property and economic resources (a realistic group threat) induce self-reported anger, whereas perceived threats to physical safety (a form of realistic individual threat) induce self-reported fear (Correll & Neuberg, 2005). In another study, facial electromyography was used to measure emotions (Davis & Stephan, 2006). This study found that individual threats led to greater activation of facial muscles associated with anger (relative to fear). The author argues that the basic reason for the different pattern of responses is that when individuals are feeling threatened by an outgroup, it is generally more adaptive to respond with fear than anger because fear is more likely to lead to avoidance. In contrast, when the entire ingroup has been threatened, anger is likely to be a more adaptive response than fear because it may mobilize the ingroup to respond to threat (Smith, Stephan, 1993, 2000). Sometimes threat leads to direct hostility against the outgroup that is closely related to the source of threat. For instance Maass,

Cadinu, Guarnieri & Grasselli (2003) has shown that men who experienced a threat to their gender identity are especially likely to sexually harass a female confederate. However in other cases, threat may lead to displaced hostility against an outgroup member that is unrelated to the source of threat (as explained in the vicarious retribution model) (Cadinu & Reggiori, 2002). Overall the nature of cognitive and behavioral responses to threat may depend on symbolic and realistic nature of threat. Symbolic threats would seem to be more likely than realistic threats to lead to dehumanization, moral exclusion of the outgroup, and reduced empathy for the outgroup. Realistic threats on the other hand, would be expected to lead more pragmatic responses towards the outgroup- that is, behavior which might include withdrawal, aggression or avoidance (Stephan et al, 2008).

Chapter 3: Study

3.1 The Present Research

Intergroup threat theory is a theory of prejudice by Stephan and Stephan (2000) which describes and elucidates on the role of threats play in intergroup conflicts between groups. Threats are believed to be a major cause of conflict between groups (Stephan & Mealy, 2012). Intergroup threat theory has been used to understand number of conflicts, frictions and disputes betwixt groups and categories. Plethora of empirical studies have been done using Intergroup threat theory and their results have shown that perceived intergroup threats are good predictors of attitudes towards immigrants, towards racial out groups (Walter G.Stephan, 1998,1999; Schweitzer et al., 2005; Debra L. Oswald, 2005; Blake M.Reik et al., 2006; Nicole Tauch et al., 2007; Karina Velasco Gonzalez et al., 2008; Hawabibi Laher, 2008; Gunnar B.Scheibner & Todd G.Morrison, 2009; Marie Valentova & Aigul Alieva, 2009; Matthew R.Pearson, 2010; Miles Hewstone & Ravneeta Roy, 2010; Ruci Jaspal & Marco Cinnirella, 2010; Kate A.Murray & David M. Marx, 2012; Stephan M.Croucher, 2013; Chris Myers et al., 2013; Stephan M. Croucher 2014), and towards patients with cancer and AIDS (Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman, 1999; Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald, & Tur-Kaspa, 1998). Apart from perception of threat, intergroup threat theory also takes into account one of the end products of threat, which is, aggression which is deciphered in as emotional and behavioral reactions to threat. Both of these emotional and behavioral reactions to threat are evidently negative- fear, anxiety, anger, rage, hatred, panic, dread; behavioral being withdrawal, aggression, retaliation, sabotage. As it is comprehensible that aggression forms a requisite part of the theory thus it cannot be brushed aside. Unfortunately there is no empirical evidence on Intergroup threat theory which has focused on

studying the consequences of threat i.e. aggression that ingroup members (Indian youth) show towards outgroup members (Afghans). Understanding the aggression and perception of Threat towards Afghans is cardinal for practical reasons. Practically, such an understanding is crucial for preventing the negative consequences of prejudice and stereotypes that in group members have towards Afghans (essentially men).

The present study adds to the literature by providing an extensive test of Intergroup threat theory account of prejudice. An intergroup threat theory of prejudice differs from other perspectives in three important ways. First, several theories claim that intergroup conflict/ hostility leading to prejudice and stereotype is precisely over the scarce resources or competition between groups either over real material or symbolic resources (Campbell, 1965). In contrast, intergroup threat theory points out threat is produced not only over scarce material resources, but also features that there is also a threat of being harmed physically and feeling insecure for one's own life from the outgroup members (realistic threat) and threat to one's values, norms, beliefs, morals and attitude (symbolic threat); as a result sometimes leading to aggressive behavior towards outgroups. For example, the conflict between the Israelis and Arabs is not only limited to land, economics and power, but threat to one's well being in form of terrorism and difference in their culture, language and religion pose a threat to each other. A second difference between intergroup threat theory account of prejudice and other accounts is that a large body of research indicates that merely categorizing people into groups elicits intergroup biases (Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 2002), but intergroup threat theory anticipate that adding threat to the categorization process would magnify these biases (Branscombe et al., 1999). In other words, social categorization process talks merely about categorizing individuals into two groups randomly which ultimately leads to

intergroup biases. But intergroup threat theory takes into account the role of threat and aggression that plays in magnifying these intergroup biases, for example, protecting the ingroup from negative outcomes (Hewstone et al., 2002). Research suggest that intergroup biases appears to be mild (Brewer, 1979) or nonexistent (Park and Judd, 2005) in the absence of perceived threat and aggression. A third difference between an intergroup threat theory account of prejudice and other accounts on the similar dimension of fear and terror is the Terror Management theory (Greenberg, Solomon and Pyszczynski, 1986) which proposes that thoughts of one's inevitable death create a potential for terror so to avoid becoming paralyzed by this terror, people immerse themselves in cultural systems and worldviews that offer them literal immortality (e.g. the promise of an afterlife) or symbolic immortality (e.g. being remembered by others after one's death); the theory does not take into account the perspective of aggression and its importance in shaping ingroup's attitude and behavior towards outgroup members. In contrast intergroup threat theory proposes that when a threat is perceived from an outgroup members; ingroup members began to show number of cognitive, emotional and behavioral responses to threat towards out group members. Cognitive responses include changes in the perception of the outgroup such as changes in stereotypes (Quist & Resendez, 2003), ethnocentrism, hatred and dehumanization of the outgroup (Shamir & Sagiv-Schifter, 2006; Skitka, Bauman & Mullen, 2004); perceived outgroup homogeneity (Rothgerber, 1997); changes in attribution for the outgroup's behavior (Costarelli, 2005). Emotional reactions to threat are likely to be negative. They include fear, anxiety, anger (David & Stephan, 2006; Renfro et al., 2006); and in all likelihood other emotions such as rage, dread, hatred and panic. And lastly the behavioral reactions, ranging from aggression (directed or displaced), harassment, retaliation, cheating, discrimination, and other forms of open intergroup conflict. Based on above analysis and comparisons, thus

intergroup threat theory is an appropriate and fitter model to study the current context and explore the findings.

Because the empirical research on intergroup threat theory till date have neglected and overlooked the importance of aggression and its impact towards outgroup members, to fulfil this gap, I propose to use vicarious retribution model of aggression to explore this aspect of intergroup threat theory. With regard to aggression literature, there are several models that describe general mechanisms and processes underlying aggressive acts. However, the majority of the literature focuses on interpersonal aggression. There are few models of aggression like the General Aggression Model (Anderson and Bushman, 2002) and Huesmann's (1998) social information processing model which seek to understand aggressive behavior as occurring in the context of a social encounter, albeit in cases of intergroup conflict, group identification becomes a critical factor which has not been studied by these aggression models. However, Vicarious retribution (Brian Lickel et al., 2006), is an aggression model which takes into account the aggressive conflict between groups. Vicarious retribution occurs when a member of a group commits an act of aggression towards the member of an outgroup for an act of provocation or assault that had no personal consequences for him or her, but did harm a fellow in group member. In these situations the aggression is often directed at out group members who themselves were not the direct causal agents in the original attack against the person's ingroup. Thus, retribution is vicarious in the sense that neither the agent nor the target of retribution was directly involved in the original event. For example, White violence towards Blacks often occurred as a result of provocation (often itself imagined than real) from one Black person towards a White individual. In many instances, Whites within a community sought revenge not only against the Black person who was perceived as the initial instigator, but

often attacked other Blacks who may have had only a tenuous link to the Black person whose real or imagined actions sparked aggression (Boskin, 1976; Myrdal, 1944). This model draws from the previous literature on displaced aggression, because the situation involves directing one's aggressive impulse to a person other than the individual who was the original source of provocation. Research on displaced aggression is largely concerned with instances of interpersonal aggression (Dollard & Miller, 1939), nonetheless this model moves the analysis of displaced aggression from the interpersonal level to the intergroup level. The model also draws few key aspects of group based emotions (Smith & Mackie, 2000) of how and why people may become motivationally invested in their group memberships and come to feel anger or fear in response to threatening outgroups. Additionally, this model takes into account the basic elements that mediate/moderate vicarious retribution, these are- ingroup identification, perceived out group entitativity, event categorization.

Vicarious retribution model of aggression in all the above respects is a good model to explore and examine the aggression that ingroup members have towards outgroups, perceived or real. Hence it is hypothesized that ingroup members (Indian) will perceive outgroup (Afghans) as threatening, therefore prejudice, realistic threat, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes will prove to be good predictors of attitude and behavior towards outgroup (Afghans). It was also predicted that because threat has both emotional and behavioral consequences, in other words, emotional reactions ranging from anger, disgust, resentment, hatred, rage and behavioral reactions ranging from harassment, hostility, aggression (directed or displaced), but because present study focuses on studying the behavioral reactions to threat, thus ingroup members (Indians) will tend to show aggression towards outgroups (Afghans) and Since vicarious

retribution is a form of displaced aggression, thus ingroup members (Indians) will tend to show displaced aggression towards outgroup members (Afghan).

Prejudice, Discrimination and threat towards male Gender (Afghan men)

Myriad examples and instances have been found, seen and encountered where prejudice, discrimination and threat are focused chiefly towards specific gender, that is men. When we speak of or criticize about terrorism, violence or when we assume Afghans involvement in any terrorist activities (9/11 terror attack, 26/11 bombing and shooting), we without any contemplations or second thoughts, begin to believe that obviously men were/are involved, not even considering women could be part of the villainous act. Recently, two Muslim women were arrested in alleged terrorist bomb plot targeting New York (FoxNews.com, 2nd April, 2015). Another news, reporting that hundreds of young Muslim women have joined ISIS and Al Qaeda (CBS News, 12th Jan, 2015). Taliban in Afghanistan has employed women suicide bombers at least eight times in past two years. These suicide attacks included bombings in Kunar province of Afghanistan that killed two US soldiers in June 2010 and 12 American and Afghan troops in June 2011. Unfortunately with the Islamic restrictions against searching women, often allow Muslim women to hide explosives-laden suicide vests underneath their burqas and pass undetected through security checkpoints (Al-Qaeda Female suicide Bomber Death Cult, FrontPage Mag, 6th Nov, 2012). Women are becoming more lethal, in jihadist organizations- including Al Qaeda-women are increasingly taking part in terrorist actions. Since 1985, terrorism's so called invisible women have accounted for a quarter of fatal attacks in Iraq, Egypt, Lebanon, Chechnya, Sri Lanka, Morocco and Palestine. Researches have demonstrated that by mid 2008, women have acted as suicide bombers 21 times in Iraq's market and other civilian venues. Since 2002 women have carried out

fully 50% of suicide attacks in Sri Lanka, Turkey and Chechnya. The increasing participation of women in terrorism represents, in part, a generational shift in their attitude towards violence. As women have volunteered to become suicide bombers, they proved to be highly successful in hiding their bombs-and their intent to use them-under religious clothing. Cultural norms in conservative societies, for example Afghanistan, and the stereotype that women are less prone to use violence provide terrorist organizations with comparative advantage when deploying women. Female suicide bombers have demonstrated they can get closer to their target undetected, which often makes them more effective than their male counterparts. They raise fewer suspicions and male jihadists /male Taliban appreciate that women can take advantage of the lack of female security personnel and gender-biased enforcement to get closer to their targets (Karla Cunningham, 2012). While research on women's role in the Taliban years as well as in the current insurgency is extremely limited, recent development in jihadi terrorism in other contexts show that women play an increasingly important role in terrorist activities. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), the Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK) and Chechan rebels are notorious for their use of female cannon fodder. However, women can be more than bombs on heels. The LTTE had and the PKK still has large female militant sections where women take up their part of fighting. Moreover, the increasing role of women as recruiters to influence other women and men has become hallmark of Al-Qaeda where women use chat rooms to convince men to join the global jihad. The American convert Colleen LaRose, better known as "Jihad Jane", confessed to being involved in the planning of the attack on Swedish cartoonist Lars Vilks. The arrest of Saudi terrorist fund-raiser and weapon suppliers often referred to as "the first lady of Al-Qaeda" in 2010 further suggests the involvement of women in the higher ranks of terrorist organizations (Leede, 2014). Precisely why it is extremely imperative to understand, unearth and

investigate the role of gender in prejudice and threat perception in current context.

There are many such headlines, articles and bulletin, demonstrating women as terrorist or being part of terrorist activities. True, the number and amount of news reporting women as terrorist are lesser than men as terrorist, nevertheless one cannot completely overlook the fact that women play and are a part of life threatening and acute form of operation or action. So an imperative question arises is that, is it fair to see Afghan men with prejudice and threatening and not Afghan women? Why do we think of violent jihadist/talibani as largely male? Is it decorous and correct to hold prejudice, aggression, and threat against men exclusively (especially Afghan men coming/ migrating to study/work in abroad countries) on the basis of few news reports/bulletin and articles? Why don't we ever give benefit of doubt to men?

When we talk about gender equality then why do we forget about males? Does the term gender only include women? Does gender studies is all about studying issues about women justice and equality only, and not about men justice and equality? There is a strong tendency in many discussions to assume that "gender" issues are issues about women. Any report on 'gender and development' is likely to be really about women and development (Connell, 2010). Much of the work done in the field of gender equality have nearly all focused on women, and prejudice and discrimination faced by them. From sociological to psychological theories, the preponderance work is on women equality, judgments of women, traditional beliefs, violence towards women. There is however, some of the earliest work on men and masculinity in the modern era which can be found in psychology, located in Sigmund Freud's "Oedipus Complex" and Alfred Adler's "masculine protest, where the word

“men” have been mentioned in the gender social structure (Mutua, 2013). However, both the theorists have mentioned gender (masculinity and men) in a general sense, in a more clinical perspective, where by one resists one’s weak position (female) in society and hence adopt the role of superior gender (men); and the former talks about a gender (male) whose feelings surfaces for his opposite parent (mother) as a result of fear or rivalry from the same sex parent (father). But both of these theories, in a very minimal way, tweak of gender and sexism from a standpoint of psychological disarray and malady. In social psychological research, sexism study has come a long way in the second half of 20th century in Allport’s (1954) classic text *The Nature of Prejudice*. Sexism in a more broader sense has been defined by Swim and Hyers (2009), as ‘individual’s attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors, and organizational, institutional, and cultural practices that either reflect negative evaluations of individuals based on their gender or support unequal status of women and men’. Sexism, like other forms of prejudice, is a type of bias about a group of people. Sexism is founded in conceptualization of one gender as being superior or having better status than another gender in a particular domain, leading to discrimination. Research has indicated that stereotypes about socially appropriate gender roles for women and men are driving factor in the endorsement of sexism (Glick, Peter; Fiske, Susan T.1997). Quintessentially, sexism is believed and understood as hostility towards women, executed by men. Since historically, for a long period of time sexism have disadvantaged and limited women, nonetheless there are negative consequences for both women and men (Dhont, Kristof, 2012). Social psychologists Peter Glick and Susan Fiske (1996), came up with Ambivalent sexism theory, which centers on traditional view of sexism by focusing on both benevolent and hostile attitude towards women. Here again the focal point and the limelight is and have been on women solely, despite the evidence and research contenting that sexism is harmful and deleterious for men too. There are other theories on gender which deals with issues on gender inequality, but

again it substantially deals with women plight and complications. One such theory is Eagly's (1987) role theory, which talks about society based on the power of custom and social conformity. People learn their roles, in the course of growing up, and then perform them under social pressure. Geert Hofstede's (1980) 'Sex role theory' explains gender patterns by appealing to the social customs that define proper behavior for men and for women. Applied to men, 'sex role' theory emphasizes the way expectations about proper masculine behavior are conveyed to boys as they grow up, by parents, schools, peers groups and mass media. This theory emphasizes the 'role models' provided by sportsmen, military heroes. According to him, Femininity stands for modesty, tender and being concerned with quality of life; and masculinity stands for assertiveness, tough, and focused on material success. But 'sex role' theory has serious weaknesses. It gives no grasp on issues of violence; inequality towards men, their experiences and more importantly prejudice and aggression clenched against them due to concoction of varied race, nationality and ethnicity to which they belong and adhere to. Categorical theory (Connell), which is a sociological theory, addresses the issues of violence and power but it again fails in grasping the gendered violence within two main categories, men and women. This approach leaves little space for the interplay of gender with class and race (Raewyn Connell, 2010). Anyhow all of these theories have mentioned about men and masculinities in half hearted way but have completely overlooked and neglected men's issues such as inequality, prejudice, and identifying them as threat as a result of interplay of race, nationality, and ethnicity. Additional work on men and masculinities has been done in sociobiology, anthropology, and among other fields.

Psychology and social psychology have sadly abandoned and unnoticed the critical, requisite and certainly the most imperative aspect of men's issue- the

rise and soaring of prejudice, discrimination, aggression and feeling of threat towards them because of interaction and interplay of ethnicity, race and nationality to which they are associated and member of. With intense scrutinization and probing, McGinley and Cooper (1995) came up with *Multidimensionality and Masculinity theory*, as a tool for analyzing the experiences, practices and the lives of men who undergo and withstand the prejudices and discrimination and aggression faced by them. However, masculinities theory and studies really took off in social sciences in response to the late 1960s and 1970s feminist movement (intersectionality by Kimberle' Crenshaw, 1989) and in addition to critical race theory (a critical examination of society and culture, to the intersection of race, law and power. The theory is often associated with many of the controversial issues involved in the pursuit of equality issues related to race and ethnicity, many Asian and Latino scholars studied immigration theory and discrimination based on national origin (Richard Delgado, 2006), which together spawned multidimensional theory (McGinley and Cooper, 203). Intersectionality approach analyzed lives of women, and the way in which their lives were understood and examined; however this theory/approach limited its intuitive power in analyzing men as gendered beings (Athena D. Mutua, 2013). For example, according to Mutua, although most people analyzed racial profiling from a racial perspective, there existed a gender component. That is, both black men and women were black and subject to racial profiling, but black men suffered a higher incidence of profiling and prejudice and seemed especially targeted for it not only because they were black but also because they were men. Racial profiling on ethnic groups are not just with blacks, but also Hispanics, Latinos, Arabs and Muslims-south Asians-Terrorism (including Afghanistan) (Siggins & Peter, Racial Profiling in the Age of Terrorism, 2012). Post 9/11, the FBI and the national government of America shifted their focus of attention from street crime of 'Blacks' to terrorism by 'Arabs and other Muslims' (Kim & Phillip, Attitudes of Religious individuals towards Racial

Profiling, 2004). In the year 2012 in Greece, about 500 young men from Afghanistan and Pakistan were abused, arrested and searched on the streets under the Operation Xenios Zeus (Greek police detaining people on basis of physical appearance during a crackdown on illegal immigration) (John Kolesidis, 2013). Every single of these articles and researches done, have shown that men were targeted, detained, seen as threat in comparison to women, due to interlocking and amalgamation of race, ethnicity, nationality to which they belong to.

According to Athena D. Mutua, "I believe the multidimensional better situates masculine identities and practices within the matrix of socially constructed hierarchies, better explains the synergistic interplay between categories such as gender, race, and better explains the role context plays in that interaction. As such, it is a useful tool in explaining and clarifying the gendered racial dynamics present in such phenomena as racial profiling...". Since the 1960s, black nationalists, in particular, have argued that black men were more of a threat to white supremacy than were black women, and as such, were targeted for harsher treatment; on the other hand, interpretations of intersectionality though seemed to capture the wage differentials, for example, but it failed or have been unsuccessful in encapsulating the harsher treatment black men seemed to face, not only in the context of anonymous public space that often characterized as racial profiling but also in terms of higher rates of hyper incarceration, death by homicide, suicide rates as compared to black women (Mutua,2013). These conditions almost negate the idea that black men had any male privilege at all as asserted and assumed by the feminist theorizing. What black men experienced and ordeal was not sexism, but gendered racism according to Mutua. In many ways, gendered racism recognized that black men also stood at the intersection of race and gender. Research studies by Athena D. Mutua and Darren

Hutchinson (2013) indicated that the assumed privileged gender position of men, in the context of color, race, ethnicity and nationality, was not always accurate and meticulous because being gendered men could sometimes be a source of oppression. The metaphor of intersectionality suggests two cars traveling down roads that collide at an intersection. The metaphor of multidimensionality more readily suggests a world that exists at many levels, with many trains' underground, planes above, and other automobiles on the road. At the level of metaphor, while intersectionality theory might be understood as two-dimensional, multidimensionality clearly encompasses three dimensions. One is more likely to think of multiple identities and context when thinking about the multidimensionality of identities (Cooper, 2013). Multidimensionality sees blackmen as one word- as one multidimensional whole. Thus, multidimensionality theory might better capture the way black men were being seen on streets and elsewhere, as opposed to the way they were being analyzed- as simply as racial subject (Mutua, 2013). According to McGinley and Cooper (2013), there are two basic tenets/ principles of multidimensionality theory. First, identities are co-constituted, which means each individual bears not only race, but also gender, class, nationality, ethnicity, and other sex orientations. In a broader sense it implies that, race does not have one meaning, but its very meaning is influenced by the other identities that are in play. So if we apply this phenomena in the current context, being an Afghan- belonging to the Afghan nationality, ethnicity, physical appearance, race, etc may trigger suspicion and prejudice, but adding on the gender attribute (male), may amplify and multiply the fate of prejudice, discrimination, stereotype and feeling and nature of threat. Secondly, identities are intertwined and context dependent, which means, individual reveals different facets of him/ herself when an individual moves in a different contexts and are experienced and interpreted differently in different context. The same individual may find different aspects of his identity to be more or less salient over time, in different settings, and depending on what other

identities are in mix, an individual with the same combination of identities might be treated very differently depending on the cultural context (Rudy Cooper, 2010). So for example, Afghan men may not be seen as same and in coequal manner, or may not face any stereotype or prejudice and discrimination (say in countries like Japan, China, and Russia) as compared to as they are perceived in US, UK (dangerous, terrorist, and extremist) or elsewhere. Hence, among men too- racial profiling, stereotyping, prejudice, and threat often include the multidimensional interplay of gender, race, ethnicity, and nationality (John Calmore, 2006).

Intergroup threat theory argued certain constellations of cultural values that can influence the perception of threat. Among the cultural dimensions are individualism-collectivism (Triandis, 1995), power distance (Hofstede, 1980), and uncertainty avoidance (Hofstede, 1980, 1991). But an important question raises is that what about masculinity and gender gap that could be a potential prospect leading to threat? Does gender play an important role in perception of threat from the outgroups? Intergroup threat theory have sadly and unfortunately left unnoticed the gender issue which can also create perceive conflicts and threat from one gender outgroup as compared to the other, towards the ingroups. A study by Valentova & Alieva (2009) showed that both gender and immigration history mediated the threat perception in Luxembourg. Gender differences were the main focus of this paper, and it looked into two related issues. First, it sought to give a detailed explanation on men and women difference in perception towards immigrants that fostered negative perception. Secondly, it included the perception of not only of the native population but also of the non-native population and looked at the differences among three groups, with gender being the primary focus both between and within groups, looking into the general economic condition of the host country. Albeit, the study did not explore the

gender differences towards outgroup members as perceived by the ingroup members. The study also did not look into the feature and neither saw it from the perspective owing to the fact that intersection of nationality, gender and ethnicity; plausibly make a gender group (male) to be perceived as more threatening as compared to the other gender (female), and can be viewed with additional prejudice, preconception and negative stereotyping. As in the present study, I seek to explore the effect of intersection on the outgroup gender male and the increase level of prejudice, perceived threat and aggression as grasped and viewed by ingroup members towards them. Hence it is predicted that, as a result of interplay of ethnicity, nationality and gender; prejudice, realistic threat and aggression will be perceived more towards one particular gender outgroup (Afghan male) as compared to other (Afghan female) from the ingroup members (Indians).

Entitativity and Out group Homogeneity Effect

Middle Eastern country of Afghanistan has been known to have stereotyped threaten, racism and microaggression (coined in 1970 by Chester. M. Pierce, defined as brief, everyday exchanges that send denigrating messages to people of color, nationality or ethnicity because they belong to particular racial minority. Microaggressions are often unconsciously delivered in the form of subtle snubs or dismissive looks, gestures and tones), more than any culture. Afghans have been especially criticized since the September 11th attack on America. Lots of Americans and members of other nations hold grudges against Afghan people, thinking they are all the same. The microaggression based on stereotypes is distressing, frustrating and discriminating. Many Afghan people feel offended,

upset, and misunderstood because they have to prove the world that their race is not all terrorists (Bukhari, 2005). For example, *Criminality-assumption of criminal status*, a person of race, ethnicity or nationality is presumed to be dangerous, criminal or deviant- *An American or Indian not going near or sitting next to a group of Afghan men in a coffee shop*. The message that conveys is that “*You are dangerous*”, or “*could be terrorist or threatening*” (Capodilupo, Torino, Bucceri, Nadal and Esquilin, 2007).

In defiance of factuality that Afghans from the past 10 years have not entangle themselves in any terror attacks such as 7/7 bombing in London (7th July 2005), 9/11 attack (11th Sept 2001), bombing in Bali, Indonesia (12th Oct, 2002), the Madrid train bombing (11th March, 2003), the murder of Theo Van Gogh (2nd Nov, 2004) and the Mumbai bombing and shootings (26th-28th Nov, 2008) (*Myth of Afghan Terrorism, www.spikedonline, 7th Sept 2009*); perceivers nonetheless hold fallacy and misconceptions about Afghans and their involvement in these attacks. The rationale behind these misjudgments and misbelieves could be that Afghans are seen as an entitative group. Entitativity is particularly important in understanding the aggression, perception of threat and prejudice towards Afghans (predominantly men), because media coverage often reveals the lay perceptions of Afghans to the world as isolated, interdependent, and sharing common goals and norms. The impression of Afghans as an entitative group inadvertently ushers to out group homogeneity effect. Because we have certain belief systems about a group (in this case Afghans), these set of beliefs is applied to all members, generalized across individuals, despite person may show considerable variation. This generalization thus leads to the perception of homogeneity among group members. Individuals often perceive the out group more homogeneous because of less familiarity with members of the out group and great familiarity with the in group. When confronted with an entitative

group, perceivers overestimate the influence of group characteristics on a group member's behavior. Studies by *Judd, Park, Yzerbyt, Gordjin and Muller (2005)* have shown that outgroup homogeneity was evident only when judging different nationalities, and not when rating ethnic or gender outgroups. Another important study by *Wilder (1984)* showed that the perception that the members of a group are homogeneous can lead to overgeneralizations about the outgroup members, and as a consequence, prejudice and stereotyping. The more similar an individual is to the rest of the group, the more likely perceivers will make generalizations from that individual to the group as a whole. The perception that a group is meaningful, entitative unit is often based on the belief that the members share some form of similarity, whether it is the appearances shared by the members of a racial or ethnic group, the thoughts and beliefs held by the members of the group (*David L. Hamilton, Steven J. Sherman, Sara A. Crump, Julie Spencer-Rodgers, 2008*). Afghans have similar appearance, share language, dressing style, culture, are interdependent on each other, there is unity and collective decision making; and negative perception that Afghans are less civilized, barbaric in nature, less ethical, are religious fanatics and villainous in actions, thoughts and beliefs; all of these factors fusing together make them an entitative group. *Stenstrom et al. (2008)* showed that perceptions of an outgroup as high in entitativity predicts levels of vicarious retribution. In other words, even if people know that only one or few Muslim terrorists were responsible for a specific attack, they are more likely to seek retribution against Muslims in general. Thus out group homogeneity and entitativity foster stereotyping, especially negative stereotyping and prejudice and vicarious retribution towards outgroup members. Thus it is predicted that Entitativity and out group homogeneity perception towards out group members (Afghans) will be observed, and consequently ingroup members (Indians) will show "they are all the same" effect towards outgroup (Afghans).

3.2 Method

3.2.1 Participants

Undergraduate students from Delhi University and Central University (Jamia Milia Islamia University and Jawaharlal Nehru University) were contacted via friends and relatives, and friends of friends. 82 participants took part. The age group of the participants ranged from 20 to 26. Out of these participants, females were 57, males were 38. Participants are further divided into Hindu and Muslim, Hindu male participants were 15 and female were 37; and Muslim male participants were 23 and female were 15. Christians participants were 4 females.

3.2.2 Dependent Measures

Participants responded to the questionnaire items using seven-point Likert type scale, which ranged from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*extremely*).

- (i) **Communication scale-** to evaluate the quality of communication associated with Afghan immigrants, the participants indicated how they felt when interacting with Afghan immigrants or how would they expect the nature of communication with Afghan immigrants (for both Afghan male and Afghan female separately); various emotions (from Stephan & Stephan, 1985) were mentioned. For example, the participants were requested to indicate on the scale from 1 to 7 the quality of communication when they have or how they expect the interaction would be with Afghan immigrants. Bipolar traits were used, e.g., courteous-rude, pleasant-unpleasant etc. this scale measured the quality of contact. The six positive emotions were, courteous, pleasant, meaningful, spontaneous, comfortable and constructive, and the negative emotions were rude, unpleasant,

meaningless, forced, uncomfortable and destructive. High score would indicate Nature of Communication as positive and low score would indicate Nature of Communication as being more negative.

- (ii) **Prejudice Scale-** Spencer-Rodgers and McGovern's (2002) prejudice scale was utilized. The scale requested participants to rate their feelings towards Afghan immigrants (for both Afghan male and Afghan female) on 6 items using a 7 point scale anchored by 1- *strongly agree*, 7-*strongly disagree*. Within the scale feelings can either be rated positive or negative in nature e.g. hostility or friendly. The items- negative and suspicious were reverse scored. There were total of six items for both Afghan male and female separately. High scores would indicate high prejudice. Low scores would indicate less prejudice.
- (iii) **Intergroup Anxiety Scale-** Stephan & Stephan's (1985, 1989) anxiety scale was used. Emotional states were asked in relation to how the participants will feel when interacting with Afghan immigrants or how they have felt when they had interacted with Afghan immigrants (both Afghan male and female separately). The response format was on a scale of 1 to 7 where 1 indicated *Strongly agree* and 7 indicated, *Strongly disagree*. High scores indicated that individuals felt more anxious. Low scores indicated less anxiety. The items were for e.g. *not at all anxious- extremely anxious, not at all comfortable- extremely comfortable, not at all stressed- extremely stressed* etc. The items- *not at all confident, not at all comfortable* and *not at all happy* were reverse scored for both Afghan male and female.
- (iv) **Negative Stereotypes-** the stereotype valence scale was used to evaluate about respondent's beliefs towards Afghan immigrants (Stephan & Stephan 1993, 1996). Participants were requested to indicate the percentage of Afghan immigrants (for both Afghan male

and female separately) who possess each of the 9 traits mentioned. Examples of the traits used in the scale were *Hardworking, Arrogant, aggressive, ambitious, untrustworthy, insincere, terrorist look alike, dangerous and friendly*, (these traits have been selected and modified from Stephan et al., 1996). Response format was made up of a 10 point scale (0% to 100%) therefore making it at 10% intervals. A high score indicated greater negative stereotyping. The items such as *Hardworking, ambitious* and *friendly* were reverse scored for both afghan male and female.

- (v) **Entitativity Scale-** Entitativity scale was used to assess the respondents' belief about Afghan immigrants as a group (Lickel et al., 2000). Statements were rated on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*extremely*). The scale had 8 items. The questions were, *how much unity you think Afghans have as a group?, how cohesive do you think Afghan immigrants as group is?, to what extent do you think Afghan immigrants are interdependent on each other?, how much do you think Afghan immigrants interact with one another?*, etc. Low scores indicated less perception of entitativity amongst Afghan immigrants, high scores indicated high perception of entitativity amongst Afghan immigrants.
- (vi) **Outgroup Homogeneity Scale-** Outgroup homogeneity scale (Park, Rothbart & Myron, 1982) was used understand the participants' belief of how similar they think Afghan immigrants are to each other. The respondents were supposed to indicate how much they feel or think Afghan immigrants are similar to one another. The scale had 4 items, with rating 1 (*not at all*) to 7(*extremely*). The items had questions for e.g. *how similar do you think are Afghan immigrants to each other? How similar do you think Afghan immigrants are in terms of physical appearance? How similar do you think Afghan immigrants*

are in terms of behavior? How similar do you think Afghan immigrants are in terms of personality characteristics?. Low score on this scale indicated that low perception of similarity among Afghan immigrants, and high score indicated high perception of similarity among Afghan immigrants.

- (vii) **Displaced Aggression scale-** Displaced Aggression scale was adopted to measure the displaced form of aggression that participants may have towards Afghan immigrants (Denson, Pedersen & Miller, 2006). The participants were requested to indicate how they would feel or how they would have felt if they see/or meet an Afghan immigrant, indicating either verbal/physical or both as a form of displaced aggression (indicating both Afghan male/female or both; and also indicating the form of displaced aggression as either in verbal or physical form) . The scale had 7 items. The response format was on a scale of 1 (*extremely uncharacteristic of me*) to 7 (*extremely characteristic of me*). The statements were for e.g. *whenever I feel unsafe traveling or visiting places with my family, I am likely to take out my anger on Afghan immigrants, when a terrorist attack occurs or has occurred, I am likely to get upset or angry with Afghans even though I know that person has nothing to with the attack, if something makes me angry (ex-reading an article or watching news on terrorism), I am likely to vent out my anger towards Afghan immigrants, etc.* High score indicated high displaced aggression towards Afghan immigrants and low scores indicated low displaced aggression towards Afghan immigrants.

Participants responded to the questionnaire using five-point Likert type scale, which ranged from 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree).

- (i) **Realistic Threat Scale-** Perception of realistic threat has been assessed by 15 items taken from Stephan & Stephan (1996). These items have been rated on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 indicates strongly agree and 5 strongly disagree. The statements were for e.g. *I feel threatened when an Afghan resides in my neighborhood, I feel Afghan men are more dangerous than Afghan females, After 9/11 incident, most of the Afghans especially men as seen with suspicion and mistrust, I feel my physical safety is at jeopardy when I see so many Afghans around me (shopping malls, hospitals, streets, educational institutions), terrorist attacks (London bombing, Mumbai shooting, 9/11 incident) which has taken place in past, Afghans must have been involved in these attacks some way or the other*, etc. High score were indicative of feeling less threatened. Low scores indicated that Indian students felt increasingly threatened by Afghan immigrants. Statement number 5, 6, 7, 11, 14 and 15 were reverse scored (see Appendix).

3.3 Procedure

Having agreed to fill the questionnaire, the participants were contacted via friends, cousins and friends of friends. First an informal call was made to the allies, one by one, explaining and elucidating on the topic of the research, and the gravity in inspecting the prejudice and aggression that Indian youth may or may not show towards Afghan immigrants coming to New Delhi for pursuing higher education, seeking medical treatment, or looking for asylum or shelter. On a call, meeting was fixed with each of them, where to meet, the time, location so that I can give them the questionnaires, explaining them how to fill it and tackle with any kind of queries that they had in mind. The meeting was fixed

separately for each of them since congregation was not possible as none were free at the same time, and location was a problem too. So I decided to meet all them one by one, on their desirable location, nearby their work place, residence or college. Few of the meetings went just fine, explaining them in detail about my research, illustrating more about Afghans, their portrayal by the media and how generally people talk and think about them. The other meeting that was fixed with the bachelor students was canceled, because they had prior family commitments. So another meeting was fixed on a call, deciding the date, time and location. This time, it was possible to meet them together, as these students were from the same college (Lady Shri Ram College for Women) and were in the campus itself. I reached the campus half an hour early and waited for their class to get over. Once they were free, I took them to the cafeteria so that they could eat something and unwind from the long hours of classes and practicals. After some time, when they all looked refreshed and relaxed, I began to talk about my research work, about Afghans in general, and showed each of them the questionnaires, requested them to fill it and asked them to approach me if they had any queries regarding the statements and the questions. After filling the questionnaires, I thanked them sincerely for their time and support and left after collecting the questionnaires. Thanks to my cousin, I got contacts of students studying in Jamilia Milia Islamia University, and in few hours after talking and convincing, next meeting was fixed with group of students doing Bachelors in various courses from Jamia Milia Islamia University. I was accompanied by my cousin to the University, as he knew the students and had many friends from varied departments. The meeting, time and location were decided three days before on phone. So as per schedule time and location, I, my cousin, and the students were all together in the capacious back lawns of the campus. After settling down, I introduced myself, the course I am enrolled in, the university I belong to and finally the topic of my research and each of them to kindly introduce themselves and the course they are enrolled in so that they feel a little

comfortable and relaxed. After the introduction process, I distributed each of them the questionnaires and told them briefly what the questionnaire is all about and requested all of to fill it, it was also told that if any query or a question arises while filling the form, they can ask without any hesitation. After few minutes or so, they all filled the questionnaires and handed over it to me I thanked each of them personally for being supportive and taking out time, special thanks was conveyed to my cousin for the help and support, and I took all of them to the cafeteria for snacks and refreshments. Soon after we all dispersed and I and my cousin left with filled questionnaires. After couple days I was diagnosed with viral and required complete bed rest, unfortunately I couldn't go out myself distributing questionnaires, so I decided to call my next cousin who was doing bachelors from Gargi College. I requested her to see me at my place, and told her about my research work and that I needed students pursuing bachelors in any course to fill the questionnaire since that was my sample. Thankfully she agreed and I handed over the questionnaires to her, telling her in detail about the questionnaire and what it deals with, how to fill it, and the areas where more clarity might be needed so in that case I explained it her further so that she had no doubts in her mind about the questionnaire and how to fill it. I also requested her to communicate or narrate exactly in the same manner to her class or batch mates regarding the questionnaires, and if they get stuck in any question or statements, help them in explaining as I just did to her. After two hour long discussion, finally things were clear and we took a break and I offered her with snacks. Finally, I thanked her for immense help and she left with the questionnaires. Because of the viral, the after effects were adverse. It made me weak and didn't have energy and was out of vigor and strength to go out and meet students for questionnaire. So to distribute the final set of questionnaires, I contacted my friend who was pursuing bachelors from Jawaharlal Nehru University. I gave a call, and explained the research I am working on and because of viral I won't be able to go out and collect data, so I will be needing help in

distributing the finals set of questionnaires to bachelor students studying in JNU. After hearing me, my friend finally agreed and was convinced to help me, so on the same day I fixed up a meeting with him at the campus itself since he was hostler and it was feasible for him to get in touch with other students residing in hostel and nearby places. The time and date was fixed too, and finally we met at decided location. First I thanked him for meeting up in such a short notice, and ordered two cups of coffee to unwind and distress from the classes he has been attending since morning. After drinking coffee and having a short conversation about usual on goings, I decided to talk about my research work. I began to describe and outline the idea behind my research work and questionnaire. I showed him one questionnaire as a sample, and began to decipher items, statements and questions one by one, so that he is left with no uncertainty in his mind regarding the questionnaire. He looked interested in my work and went on asking more about Afghans in general which lead to two to three long hour meeting. When all was said and discussed, I gave him the final set of questionnaires and thereafter twenty minutes or so we both left, thanking him again for his time and assistance.

At the close of the month or so, as planned, I aimed at collecting the questionnaires from my cousin and friend, so I decided to contact my cousin first as she was given the questionnaires before I gave it to my friend from JNU. That particular day I was invited to her place for family get together, so that's when I thought of asking her if the questionnaires are done. So I met her at her residence, later then as the evening progressed, I asked her about the questionnaires, and she smiled and went into her room and handed over me the bulk of filled questionnaires. I hugged her and took the questionnaires from her, and the evening went off well. Next morning I intended to call my friend to enquire about the questionnaires. I gave a call and asked him about his whereabouts, studies and other usual life events, and took the opportunity and asked him about the questionnaires. Though the questionnaires were complete

but unfortunately he was not in town for two weeks, so I had no other option but to wait till he returned. Finally after two long weeks, I again gave a call, and thankfully he was in town and we decided the time, place and location to meet up. As hoped and intended, we met at the campus and over a cup of coffee and conversation, he handed over me the filled questionnaires. I thanked him sincerely for the help and support once again, and left the campus with my final set of questionnaires.

Chapter 4: Data Analysis

This chapter concentrates on statistics and addresses them more elaborately and in detail. The chapter will include all the statistical tools used and tables to help understand the figures. Data analysis for the responses obtained was conducted by using linear regression and t test. Descriptive statistics was also calculated.

Intergroup threat theory variables (realistic threat, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes) as good predictors of prejudice.

In order to assess realistic threat, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotype as good predictors of prejudice towards out group members (Afghans), a linear regression was conducted. High scores would indicate high prejudice whereas low scores would indicate low prejudice, high scores for intergroup anxiety indicates high anxiousness, whereas low scores would indicate low anxiousness. High scores for realistic threat indicate low threat, whereas low scores indicated high realistic threat. High scores on stereotype indicated high stereotype, whereas low scores indicated low stereotype. The mean score on prejudice scale (M=18.73, SD=9.70), on intergroup anxiety scale (M=37.29, SD=8.03), on realistic threat scale (M=13.77, SD=9.70) and negative stereotypes (M=38.95, SD=13.20), which significantly differed from the midpoint (4), suggesting that participants were displaying low level of prejudice, intergroup anxiety, realistic threat and negative stereotypes towards afghans (table 1).

Table 1

Mean and Standard deviation for prejudice, intergroup anxiety, realistic threat and stereotype

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Prejudice	18.7378	9.70286	164
Intergroup anxiety	37.2988	8.03075	164
Realistic threat	13.7764	9.70519	246
Negative stereotypes	38.9573	13.20548	164

Importantly however, ($F=37.14$, significant at .000 level), which means that model is significant, and realistic threat, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotype proved to be good predictors of prejudice. The adjusted R square is at .402, which means 40.2% of the variance in the dependent variable (prejudice) is explained by the independent variables (intergroup anxiety, realistic threat and negative stereotypes). Hence a significant regression equation was found ($F(3,158) = 37.146$, $p < .000$), with an R square of .414.

Table 2

Model summary for stereotypes, intergroup anxiety and realistic threat

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.643 ^a	.414	.402	7.50038

a. Predictors: negative stereotypes, intergroup anxiety, realistic threat

b. Dependent Variable: prejudice

Table 3

ANOVA for realistic threat, stereotype and intergroup anxiety.

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	6269.036	3	2089.679	37.146	.000 ^b
	Residual	8888.398	158	56.256		
	Total	15157.434	161			

a. Dependent Variable: prejudice

b. Predictors: (Constant), negative stereotypes, intergroup anxiety, realistic threat.

Intergroup anxiety (.000), realistic threat (.000) and negative stereotypes (.060); have been found significant at (.05 level) (table 2 and 3). The standardized coefficient beta for intergroup anxiety shows a positive signs (.392), which means that as prejudice increases, so does the intergroup anxiety, hence if prejudice increases by 1 unit, intergroup anxiety increases by .392 units. Realistic threat shows a negative sign (-.305) which shows an inverse relationship, suggesting that as prejudice increase from low to high, realistic threat increases from high to low, (-.305) meaning that that if prejudice increases by 1 unit, realistic threat increases by .305 units. Stereotypes shows a positive sign (.134) which means that as prejudice increases from low to high, stereotypes also increases from low to high, suggesting that as prejudice increases by 1 unit, stereotypes increases by .134 units. The t value is found at (t=6.01) for

intergroup anxiety, ($t=4.21$) for realistic threat, and ($t=1.89$) for negative stereotypes, which suggest that t value is significant for intergroup anxiety, realistic threat but not for negative stereotypes (table 4).

Table 4

Coefficients for intergroup anxiety, realistic threat and stereotypes

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.	
	B	Std. Error	Beta			
1	(Constant)	1.434	3.988		.359	.720
	Intergroup anxiety	.474	.079	.392	6.017	.000
	Realistic threat	-.305	.072	-.305	-4.213	.000
	Negative stereotypes	.098	.052	.134	1.897	.060

a. Dependent Variable: prejudice

Interestingly when we analyze the afghan males and afghan females' scores separately on the same hypothesis, results came out very much as expected but the mean scores and standard deviation again showed imbalance. When taken afghan male as sample, (table 5), the mean score for prejudice was ($M=23.09$, $SD=10.80$), realistic threat ($M=30.91$, $SD=6.79$), intergroup anxiety ($M=39.46$, $SD=8.60$), and stereotypes ($M=47.23$, $SD=10.99$), suggesting that the ingroups (Indians), again varying from the midpoint (4), proposing that ingroup members felt no realistic threat, were not anxious, had no stereotypes and are not prejudiced against outgroups (Afghans).

Table 5

Mean and Standard deviation for afghan males on prejudice, realistic threat, intergroup anxiety and stereotypes

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Prejudice	23.0976	10.80307	82
Intergroup anxiety	39.4634	8.60404	82
Realistic threat	30.9146	6.79179	82
Negative stereotypes	47.2375	10.99395	80

a. Selecting only cases for which gender afghan = afghan male

Interestingly howbeit, the Adjusted R square was (.465), suggesting that 46.5% of variance in dependent variable, that is, prejudice, is explained by the independent variables, which are, intergroup anxiety, realistic threat and negative stereotypes. There was however a significant interaction ($F(3,76) = 23.86, p < .000$). The F value was ($F = 23.86$), which is found to be significant at .000 level, suggesting that model is significant which means that in terms of Afghan males, intergroup anxiety, realistic threat and negative stereotypes prove to be good predictors of prejudice (table 6 and 7).

Table 6

Model summary for afghan males

Model	R		R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
	GENDERAFG HAN = afghan male (Selected)	GENDERAFG HAN ~= afghan male (Unselected)			
1	.696 ^a	.097	.485	.465	7.90387

a. Predictors: negative stereotypes, realistic threat, intergroup anxiety

b. statistics are based only on cases for which gender afghan = afghan male.

c. Dependent Variable: prejudice

Table 7

ANOVA for afghan males

Model	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1 Regression	4471.999	3	1490.666	23.862	.000 ^c
1 Residual	4747.808	76	62.471		
Total	9219.807	79			

a. Dependent Variable: prejudice

b. Selecting only cases for which gender afghan = afghan male

c. Predictors: negative Stereotypes, realistic threat, intergroup anxiety.

The standard coefficient beta for intergroup anxiety is (Beta=.570), which has a positive sign, meaning that if prejudice increases, intergroup anxiety also increases, hence prejudice increases by 1 unit, then intergroup anxiety increases

by .570 units. The t value of intergroup anxiety is (t=6.26), which is found to significant at .05 level. The standardized coefficient beta for realistic threat is (Beta=-.195), showing a negative but inverse relationship between prejudice and realistic threat, which mean that as prejudice increases, realistic threat also increases. Hence, if prejudice increases by 1 unit, realistic threat increases by .195 units. The standard coefficient beta for stereotypes is at (Beta=.104), suggesting that prejudice and stereotype has a positive relationship, which means that if prejudice increases by 1 unit, stereotype increases by .104 units (table 8).

Table 8

Coefficients for intergroup anxiety, realistic threat and negative stereotypes for afghan males

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	
	B	Std. Error	Beta			
1	(Constant)	-8.748	5.622		-1.556	.124
	Intergroup anxiety	.715	.114	.570	6.269	.000
	Realistic threat	-.310	.142	-.195	-2.186	.032
	Negative stereotypes	.102	.083	.104	1.240	.219

a. Dependent Variable: prejudice

b. Selecting only cases for which gender afghan = afghan male

On the other hand, for Afghan females the mean scores came out as expected, that is, as can be seen from table 9, the mean score for prejudice was (M=14.37, SD=5.85), realistic threat (M=20.60, SD=8.06), intergroup anxiety (M=35.14, SD=6.80), and for negative stereotypes (M=30.91, SD=9.91), explaining that ingroup (Indians) members feel no realistic threat, are not anxious, hold no negative stereotypes against outgroup females (Afghan females).

Table 9

Mean and Standard deviation for prejudice, intergroup anxiety, realistic threat and stereotype for afghan females.

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Prejudice	14.3780	5.85344	82
Intergroup anxiety	35.1341	6.80189	82
Realistic threat	20.6098	8.09932	82
Negative stereotypes	30.9146	9.91968	82

a. Selecting only cases for which gender afghan = afghan female

The Adjusted R square came out to be (-.020) which means that variance in dependent variable, that is, prejudice, is not at all explained by the independent variables, which are, intergroup anxiety, realistic threat and stereotypes. There was no significant interaction ($F(3,78) = .462, p > .710$).

Table 10

Model summary for afghan females

Model	R		R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
	GENDERAFG HAN = afghan female (Selected)	GENDERAFG HAN ~= afghan female (Unselected)			
1	.132 ^a	.588	.017	-.020	5.91264

a. Predictors: negative Stereotypes, realistic threat, intergroup anxiety

Table 11

ANOVA for afghan females

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	48.452	3	16.151	.462	.710 ^c
	Residual	2726.828	78	34.959		
	Total	2775.280	81			

a. Dependent Variable: prejudice

b. Selecting only cases for which gender afghan = afghan female

c. Predictors: negative stereotypes, Realistic threat, Intergroup anxiety

The F value was found to be at (.462), at (.710) level, suggesting that in terms of afghan females, the model is not significant and intergroup anxiety, realistic threat, and negative stereotypes do not prove to be good predictors of prejudice (table 10 and 11). The standardized coefficient beta for intergroup anxiety was found at (.050), which shows a positive relationship between prejudice and intergroup anxiety, with t value at (.449), and is not significant at (.654) level. The standardized coefficient beta for realistic threat was found to be (-.119), again showing an inverse relationship between prejudice and realistic threat as explained above, with the t value at (t=-1.05), and is found insignificant at (.293) level. The standardized coefficient beta for stereotypes was found to be (-.020), which suggests negative relationship between prejudice and stereotypes which means that if prejudice increases 1 unit, negative stereotypes decreases by .020 units. The t value at (t=-.181), and was found insignificant at (.857) level, (table 12).

Table 12

Coefficients for afghan females on intergroup anxiety, realistic threat and stereotypes

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta		

	(Constant)	14.992	4.384		3.420	.001
1	Intergroup anxiety	.043	.097	.050	.449	.654
	Realistic threat	-.086	.081	-.119	-1.058	.293
	Negative stereotypes	-.012	.066	-.020	-.181	.857

a. Dependent Variable: prejudice

b. Selecting only cases for which gender afghan = afghan female

If we look into the mean scores for both afghan males and afghan females, we can see that mathematically and statistically prejudice, intergroup anxiety, realistic threat and stereotypes is not significant; but if we compare the mean scores of both males and females we can see that prejudice, realistic threat, intergroup anxiety is more for afghan males as compared to afghan females, which means that ingroup members (Indians) perceive realistic threat, experience anxiety, are more stereotyped and, are prejudiced more towards outgroup afghan males as compared to outgroup afghan females. As hypothesized, ingroup members (Indians) will perceive outgroups (Afghans) as threatening, and thus intergroup anxiety, realistic threat and stereotypes proved to be good predictors of prejudice.

The disturbance in the mean scores is evident, which nonetheless can be explained by various reasons. First reason could be the central tendency bias, which means that the respondents maybe were trying to avoid extreme response categories (Bertram, 2011). Second possibility could be acquiescence bias, which means that respondents were agreeing with statements as presented in order to please the experimenter. It is a tendency to agree with declarative statements. To some extent irrespective of the content of the questions- it has long been known to be a serious problem with the likert format (Johns, 2010).

The problem with this is that it makes it difficult to distinguish between acquiescence from the attitude that is supposed to be measured. For example, suppose a respondent agree with all six items of the British Social Attitudes authoritarian items. We do not know whether that respondent is an authoritarian or simply prone to agree (Mortel, 2013). The third problem is that of social desirability bias, where the respondents were trying to portray themselves in a more socially favorable light rather than being honest in their responses. It is also found that socially desirable responses are likely to occur in responses to socially sensitive questions (Bertram, 2011; King, Bruner, 2000). Respondents tend to give a more positive reply to questions in order to be helpful or please the interviewer (Worcester & Burns, 1975). Now an important question arises whether mid-point should be used in likert scales? Does that compel respondents to select neutral responses in order to avoid being seen as unfavorable by the society? A study done by Jane Ogden and Jessica Lo (2011) showed that when compared the responses of likert scale and self report responses, it showed inconsistency in the scores. Such inconsistencies between different forms of data may reflect measurement errors and the psychometric limitations of likert scales. Also the results highlighted that different population (gender, age, family background, educational qualification) interpret the focus of the same questions in a different way. Presence or absence of mid points on an important scale produce distortions in the results obtained (Garland, 1991). A very important issue arises with likert format is that, “slightly agree” or “slightly disagree” are introduced either sides of the neutral point. This shade of agreement becomes hard not only for survey designers to express but also for the respondents to understand the meaning of it (Mortel, 2013). Also the numerical distance between 1 and 2 and, between 2 and 3 are equal. Can anyone really say the same about the distance between “Agree strongly”, “Agree”, and between “Agree” and “Neither agree nor disagree”? These objections amount to arguing that the level of measurement of the likert

response scale is “ordinal’ rather than “interval’’: that is we can make assumptions about the order but not the spacing of the response options (Mortel, 2013). This is exactly why in the current data, the mean scores of prejudice, intergroup anxiety, realistic threat and negative stereotypes were low which was not as expected, which suggests that the respondents selected the middle scores.

Displaced Aggression towards Afghan immigrants

In order to assess the displaced aggression towards outgroup members (Afghans) from the ingroup members (Indians), descriptive statistics was performed. High scores on displaced aggression indicated high level of displaced aggression, whereas low scores indicated low level of displaced aggression. As can be seen in table 13, the results, (M=27.73, SD=13.71) displaying that the scores differed from the midpoint (4), suggesting that respondents more or less selected the middle scores, indicating that ingroup members (Indians) showed no displaced aggression towards outgroup members (Afghans).

Table 13

Mean and Standard Deviation for displaced aggression towards outgroup members (Afghans).

	N	Range	Minimum	Maximum	Mean		Std. Deviation
	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Std. Error	Statistic

Displaced aggression Respondents	82	39.00	7.00	46.00	27.7317	1.51446	13.71405
Valid N (listwise)	82	1.00	1.00	2.00	1.5366	.05541	.50173
	80						

Because the mean scores were just at the brink of mid-point, we can conclude that respondents were plausibly showing central tendency bias (Betram, 2011), which means that the respondents maybe were trying to avoid extreme response categories. Another explained reason could be that of social desirability bias, where the respondents were trying to portray themselves in a more socially favorable light rather than being honest in their responses (Betram, 2011; King, Bruner, 2000).

Gender Difference between afghan males and females on prejudice, realistic threat, negative stereotypes, intergroup anxiety and displaced aggression

In order to assess prejudice, realistic threat, negative stereotype, intergroup anxiety and displaced aggression towards one particular gender outgroup (Afghan male) as compared to other gender outgroup (Afghan female) from the ingroup members, an independent sample t test was conducted. The mean and standard deviation for prejudice came out to be- for afghan males was (M=23.09, SD=10.80); for afghan females it was (M=14.37, SD=5.85); for realistic threat- for afghan males it was (M=20.60, SD=8.09), and for afghan females it was (M=3.91, SD=6.79); for displaced aggression- for afghan males is was (M=28.21, SD=13.53); for afghan females (M=8.50, SD=2.12); for negative

stereotypes- for afghan males (M=47.23, SD=10.99), for afghan females it was (M=30.91, SD=9.91) and lastly for intergroup anxiety for afghan males it was (M=39.46 SD=8.60), and for afghan females it came out to be (M=35.13, SD=6.80).

Table 14

Mean and Standard Deviation for both afghan male and afghan female on prejudice, realistic threat, displaced aggression, intergroup anxiety and stereotypes.

	GENDERAFGHA N	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Prejudice	afghan male	82	23.0976	10.80307	1.19300
	afghan female	82	14.3780	5.85344	.64640
Intergroup anxiety	afghan male	82	39.4634	8.60404	.95016
	afghan female	82	35.1341	6.80189	.75114
Realistic threat	afghan male	82	3.9146	6.79179	.75003
	afghan female	82	20.6098	8.09932	.89442
Displaced aggression	afghan male	80	28.2125	13.53448	1.51320
	afghan female	2	8.5000	2.12132	1.50000
Negative stereotypes	afghan male	80	47.2375	10.99395	1.22916
	afghan female	82	30.9146	9.91968	1.09545

The results suggested that afghan males were seen with more prejudice, realistic threat was perceived against them, intergroup anxiety was felt by the ingroups

(Indians) towards afghan males, displaced aggression was shown by ingroup members (Indians), and finally negative stereotypes was held against them in comparison to other gender outgroup members, that is, afghan females (Table 14). As can be seen in table 15, the t value for prejudice was found to be at (t=6.42), which is significant at 2 tailed (.000) level; the t value for realistic threat was found to be at (t=14.30), which is significant at 2 tailed (.000) level. The t value for displaced aggression was found to be at (2.04), which is significant at 2 tailed (.044) level, the t value of stereotypes was found to be at (t=9.92), which is significant at 2 tailed (.000) level and finally, t value for intergroup anxiety was found to be (t=3.57), found significant at 2 tailed (.000) level. The results suggests that as hypothesized, prejudice, realistic threat, intergroup anxiety, displaced aggression and stereotypes is seen more towards one particular gender outgroup (Afghan male) in comparison to other gender outgroup (Afghan females) from the ingroup members (Indians).

Table 15

Independent sample t-test on prejudice, intergroup anxiety, realistic threat, displaced aggression and stereotypes for both Afghan males and females

	Levene's Test for Equality of Varaince		t-test for Equality of means		
	F	Sig	T	df	Sig (2 tailed)
Prejudice scale	50.634	.000	6.426	162	.000
Equal variances assumed					
Equal variances not assumed					

			6.426	124.78 6	.000	
Intergroup anxiety	Equal variances assumed	3.192	.076	3.574	162	.000
	Equal variances not assumed			3.574	153.80 7	.000
Realistic threat	Equal variances assumed	9.501	.002	-14.303	162	.000
	Equal variances not assumed			-14.303	157.22 5	.000
Displaced aggression	Equal variances assumed	6.599	.012	2.047	80	.044
	Equal variances not assumed			9.252	4.018	.000
Stereotypes	Equal variances assumed	.455	.501	9.927	160	.000
	Equal variances not assumed			9.914	157.45 3	.000

Entitativity and Outgroup homogeneity effects towards Afghans

In order to assess entitativity and outgroup homogeneity perception towards outgroup members, descriptive statistics was conducted. High scores indicated high level of entitativity, whereas low scores indicated low level of entitativity. High scores on outgroup homogeneity indicated high level of out group homogeneity effect; whereas low scores indicated low level of outgroup homogeneity effect. As can be seen in table 16, the mean score for entitativity came out to be (M=46.40, SD=7.54), and the mean score for outgroup homogeneity came out to be (M=22.31, SD=5.37), suggesting that as hypothesized, entitativity and outgroup homogeneity perception towards out

group members is seen, and consequently, ingroup members (Indians) do show “they are all the same effect” towards outgroup members (Afghans).

Table 16

Mean and Standard Deviation on Entitativity and out group homogeneity towards outgroup members (Afghans).

	N	Range	Minimum	Maximum	Mean		Std. Deviation
	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Std. Error	Statistic
Entitativity	82	27.00	29.00	56.00	46.4024	.83308	7.54388
Out group homogeneity	82	24.00	4.00	28.00	22.3171	.59352	5.37456
Valid N (listwise)	82						

Chapter 5: Discussion

The chapter addresses the substantial results regarding the statistics. The chapter will then proceed to discuss and elaborate upon the results in chapter 4. The aim of the present study was to investigate prejudice towards Afghan immigrants residing in Delhi, and the vicarious retribution effect displayed towards those Afghans by the students studying in Delhi University and Central University. The results of the study provide not only the beginnings of theoretical understanding of prejudice towards Afghan immigrants, but also a specific insight into the reaction and behavior displayed towards these international out group.

Scholarly articles, media information and research on immigration in countries (for example, U.S, Canada, Netherlands) have pointed out to the negative responses towards Afghan immigrants (Khanlou, Koh, Mill, 2008; Johnson, 2013; Shabir, Ali, Iqbal, 2011). From the perceived threat to one's physical safety as a result of Afghan immigrants entering Delhi in prodigious amount, in addition to negative media representation of Afghan immigrants have resulted in overwhelmingly undermining, and negative appraisal of Afghans in Indian society.

This study attempted to employ the Integrated threat theory (ITT) to understand the antagonism towards Afghan immigrants. The ITT is a well documented and utilized theory that has been used to explain prejudice in the international scene as well as tested in number of studies where the results showed that perceived intergroup threats as good predictors of gender attitudes, attitudes towards

immigrants, towards racial out groups, and towards patients with cancer and AIDS (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999; Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald, & Tu-Kapsa, 1998). The current study wished to amplify on this type of understanding. The continuous negative media portrayal of Afghans, the infamous Sept 11 incident, and the huge influx of Afghans in Delhi for medical treatment, education, or as asylum seekers has thus prompted the need for understanding into the negative responses towards Afghan immigrants.

It was hypothesized that realistic threat, negative stereotypes, intergroup anxiety will prove to be good predictors of prejudice. Because threat has both emotional and behavioral consequences, in other words, emotional reactions to threat ranges from harassment, hostility, aggression (directed or displaced). Since the present study focuses on exploring only the behavioral reactions of aggression, hence it was hypothesized that in group members (Indians) will tend to show aggression towards out groups (Afghans), and because vicarious retribution model has been used to examine and investigate displaced form of aggression, therefore in group members (Indians) will tend to show displaced form of aggression towards out group members (Afghan). It was hypothesized that, prejudice, realistic threat (physical), negative stereotype and aggression will be seen more towards one particular gender out group (Afghan male) as compared to other gender out group (Afghan female) from the in group members (Indians). It was also hypothesized that Entitativity and out group homogeneity perception towards out group members (Afghans) will be observed, and consequently in group members (Indians) will show “they are all the same” effect towards out group (Afghans).

Prejudice towards Afghan immigrants

The results indicated that respondents showed high level of prejudicial attitude towards Afghan immigrants that include items like negative, suspicious, warm, friendly, respect and admiration (last four items reverse scored). These results indicated that there is high level of prejudicial attitudes towards Afghan immigrants, which is consistent with previous studies (Stephan et al, 1999; Hunt, Armenta, Seifert, Snowden, 2009; Gonzalez, Verkuyten, Wessie & Poppe, 2008; Murray and Marx, 2013). Another explanation for the respondents showing prejudice towards immigrants could be the role of mass media. Allport (1935) in his published paper, called, *The Psychology of Radio*, explored and stated that among other things of how people draw on prejudice and stereotypes was when listening to voices on the radio. A study done in Rwanda by Paluck (2009), using radio as a source of media, provided some of the first clear evidence of media's impact on intergroup prejudice and conflict in the world. Today, the joint agenda of media, prejudice and conflict belongs to practioners: those who use media to incite prejudice and conflict. Hence we can state that media too plays a significant role in stirring up and developing prejudice towards out group members.

Realistic threat, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes as good predictors of prejudice

Finding indicated that realistic threat has a direct positive effect on prejudice, this implied that if an individual felt realistically (physical safety) threatened by an out group, she/he would feel greater prejudice towards the out groups. Much of the terrorist attacks carried out by Al-Qaeda, Lashkar-e-taiba and, Osama bin laden in countries, including India, especially Delhi (Indian Parliament attack in

2001, Mumbai attack, 2008) point to a similar understanding. As the fear that Afghan immigrants may cause physical harm to one's life and lives of their loved ones, feeling unsafe and unsure about their lives have led Delhi students to believe Afghan immigrants as a threat and as a result, such threat has led to prejudice. This result is consistent with other theory that argues that threat leads to prejudice. Terror management theory (Greenberg et al., 1989; Solomon, Greenberg, & Pyszczynski, 1991; Greenberg, Landau, Kosloff & Solomon, 2009) offers perspective on the role of existential threat and realization that they are vulnerable to all sorts of potentially lethal threats from the out groups and thus leading to prejudice. The current result is also consistent with previous studies on showing the direct link between prejudice and threat using ITT (Mashuri & Zaduqisti, 2014; Murray & Marx, 2013; Meeussen, Phalet, Meeus, Acker & Montreuil, 2012; Hunt, Armenta, Seifert, Snowden, 2009; Lin, 2005; Valentova & Alieva; 2009; Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman, 1999).

Results showed that prejudice has positive relationship with intergroup anxiety. In the current context, because Afghan immigrants are seen in Delhi in colossal amount, with around 10,000 Afghans residing in Delhi, with 650 Afghans immigrants commuting to Delhi every single day (Das, 2013), in addition to the media information coming through regarding terrorist attacks around the globe, leads Delhi students anxious, watchful and uneasy. Stephan and Stephan (1985) argued that people often feel personally threatened in intergroup interactions because they are concerned about negative outcomes for self. They stated that intergroup anxiety will be particularly high if the groups have little contact with each other, know little about the group and or perceive out group to be different from the in group, and thus intergroup anxiety has been showed to be related to prejudice in several studies (Britt, Bonecki, Vescio, Biernat & Brown, 1996; Islam

& Hewstone, 1993, Murray and Marx, 2013; Acker, Phalet, Deleersnyder & Batja, 2014).

Findings indicated that negative stereotyping is positively linked with prejudice. Thus if an individual holds negative stereotypes towards an Afghan immigrants, he/she will tend to avoid out group members, justify discrimination against them and will provide negative trait attributions to explain their behavior (Stephan et al, 1999). For example, Williams, Gouws, Lurie and Crush (2010), have indicated that Indians, lack trust in Afghan immigrants as it is believed that they (Afghan immigrants) pose a physical threat to Indians and thus stereotype or label Afghan immigrants as “untrustworthy” and “dangerous”. Several other studies are consistent with the current finding (Stephan, Ybarra and Bachman, 1999; Gonsalkorale, Carlisle & Hippel, 2007; Hunt, Armenta, Seifert, Snowden; 2009). Stephan and Mealy (2009) in their studies suggested that intergroup perception are characterized by a wide variety of biases that hinder accurate perceptions of outgroups, these biases include negative stereotyping and distorted perceptions of the outgroup’s intentions and motives.

Vicarious Retribution Effect (displaced aggression) towards Afghan immigrants

Findings indicated that respondents showed no displaced aggression towards Afghan immigrants since there scores where below the midpoint (4). According to Lickel et al, vicarious retribution occurs when a member of a group commits an act of aggression towards member of an outgroup for an attack that had no personal consequences for him/her, but did harm a fellow group members (e.g. Indians killed in 9/11 attack, Indian Parliament attack 2001, Mumbai (26/11) attack). This model draws from the previous literature on displaced aggression,

because the situation involves directing one's aggressive impulse to a person other than the individual who was the original source of attack or provocation. The explanation for the current finding could be that Delhi students have more fear or threat from out groups (Afghan immigrants) than anger, in contrast to Stephan et al (2009) who affirmed that threat to the group as a whole are more likely to evoke anger than fear. However interestingly, when comparison was made between afghan males and afghan females on displaced aggression, results indicated that respondents showed more displaced aggression towards afghan males in comparison to afghan females. So far no empirical study has been conducted using ITT model to explore the behavioral consequences of threat i.e. displaced aggression therefore no empirical evidence can be used to support the above finding.

Prejudice, realistic threat, intergroup anxiety, negative stereotypes and displaced aggression towards one particular gender out group (Afghan male) as compared to other gender out group (Afghan female)

Results pointed out that prejudice, realistic threat, negative stereotypes and displaced aggression was seen more towards afghan males as compared to afghan females. ITT model unfortunately has not taken into account the importance of gender and its impact on threat perceptions towards out group members. Hence the current finding provides an interesting insight into the gender differences coming from the same out group (afghan immigrants) leading to different results. However, a study was conducted by Valentova and Alieva (2009), where gender was the primary focus in understanding the anti-immigrant sentiments in Luxembourg, but it highlighted on the specific threats that plays in explaining the perception that immigrants pose as a general threat men and women in Luxembourg. In other words, do men and women differ with respect

to the effects of specific threats (job competition, cultural intimidation, concerns about rising welfare dependency, out group's size) on the general threat, exclusively focusing on perception of native, non native population towards immigrants in Luxembourg. They found that both gender and history mediated the threat perception in Luxembourg. Notwithstanding, the current research is focused on understanding and exploring the anti immigrants threat perception towards Afghan males and females from the in group members (Indians). So far by now, no empirical study has been conducted to look into gender differences in threat perception from the in group members. Hence it is inconvenient on the part of the researcher to support the current finding with previous studies. The current finding is also inconsistent with the theories of prejudice on gender. For example according to Social psychologists Peter Glick and Susan Fiske (1996), who came up with Ambivalent sexism theory, which centers on traditional view of sexism focused on both benevolent and hostile attitude towards women. Sexism, like other forms of prejudice, is a type of bias about a group of people. Sexism is founded in conceptualization of one gender as being superior or having better status than another gender in a particular domain, leading to discrimination. Also Allport, in his book, *Nature of Prejudice* (1954) stated that the study of gender prejudice is historically centered on antipathy towards women, including resistance to their civil rights and negative female stereotypes. The current finding has shown that prejudice, threat, negative stereotype and aggression is towards afghan males and not females, leads us to rethink our understanding on gender and prejudice. Fortunately the current result is supported by work of Eagly & Mladinic (1989), who stated that people rate women as nicer and have more positive attitude towards women than men. Theoretically the presence of such differences in results and theory is significant because it compels us to broaden our definition of prejudice, and forces us to consider that prejudice may be more heterogeneous than previously thought (Glick & Fiske, 1999; 2001). In addition, media, books, news reports, articles also

contributes a lot in displaying negative perception of afghan males. Maybe because respondents had no other way to perceive afghan males other than through secondary sources, led to more prejudice, negative stereotyping, threat and aggression towards one gender out group (Afghan males) in comparison to other gender out group (Afghan females). Therefore as hypothesized, as a result of interplay of ethnicity, gender and nationality, prejudice, realistic threat, negative stereotype, displaced aggression was perceived towards out group Afghan male immigrants in comparison to outgroup Afghan femaleimmigrants.

Entitativity and Out group homogeneity perception towards Afghan immigrants

Findings indicated that respondents scored about the midpoint (4) on entitativity, with statements like, 'how much unity do you think Afghans have as a group?', 'to what extent do you think Afghan immigrants are interdependent on each other? 'How much do you think Afghan immigrants interact with one another?', and on out group homogeneity, with statements like, 'how similar do you think Afghan immigrants are to each other? 'how similar do you think Afghan immigrants are in terms of behavior?. These results indicate there is high entitativity and out group homogeneity perception towards Afghan immigrants, which is consistent with previous studies (Newheiser, Tausch, Dovidio & Hewstone, 2009; Meeussen, Phalet, Meeus, Acker & Montreuil, 2012). The current finding also supported the work of Abelson, Dasgupta, Park &, Banaji (1998), elucidating that because groups are perceived as unifies entities, strongly influence how people think about these groups, and consequently, has significant implications for a wide variety of judgment process, for example, the degree of entitativity of a target influencing the perception of threat. Thus, the present finding elucidates on the nexus and connection between entitativity and

its effect on threat perception towards outgroup members. According to Hamilton & Sherman (1996) when confronted with an entitative group, social perceivers overestimate the influence of group characteristics on a group member's behavior. The current finding is consistent with other theories, for example, according to social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978), in group members desire positive distinctiveness from out group members. One way to achieve such distinctiveness is by viewing in group members as unique and differentiated, whereas members of the out group are seen as "all the same". Another theory is that individuals perceive the out group to be more homogeneous because of less familiarity with members of the out group and greater familiarity with the in group (Linville, Fischer & Salovey, 1989; Quattrone, 1980). An important study by Judd, Park, Yzerbyt, Gordijn and Muller (2005), showed that individuals only showed evidence of out group homogeneity effect when they were judging different nationalities, not when rating ethnic or gender out groups. According to Stephan et al (2009), intergroup perceptions are characterized by wide variety of biases that hinder accurate perceptions of the out group, one of these biases include perception that out group is homogenous. Study by Meeussen et al. (2012) stated that negative attitude towards devalued groups in society, such as immigrants, ethnic or religious minorities are often informed by threatening media messages about crime, violence or social problems involving members of these groups. In the context of threat in mass media, they found that if a perpetrator is seen as typical out group member, his offensive act is defined as normative out group behavior. As a consequence, threat perceptions and negative evaluations can be expected to generalize to other out group members. From a social identity perspective, making immigrant group membership psychologically salient induces shift from interpersonal to intergroup appraisals of the situation (Tajfel, 1978). Hence we can conclude that media also plays a really imperative role in shaping entitativity and out group homogeneity perception towards out group members.

On a macro level the ITT has been successful in predicting attitudes towards many different groups of people, including the elderly, cancer patients, the poor and minority groups (Stephan et al, 1998, 2000; Stephan, Stephan & Gudykunst, 1999; Berrenberg et al, 2002). Prejudice towards immigrants has also been understood in studies worldwide (Bizman & Yinon, 2001; Stephan et al, 1999). The findings in the current research provide considerable support for ITT of prejudice in that it indicated that the three variables, realistic threat, negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety accounted for considerable support for the ITT in explaining negative attitude towards Afghan immigrants. Displaced aggression and gender also proved to be important variables in understanding prejudice and threat towards Afghan immigrants. Much of the empirical evidence suggests that the theory is adequate (Stephan et al, 1998, 1999; Hunt, Armenta, Seifert, Snowden, 2009; Gonzalez, Verkuyten, Wessie & Poppe, 2008; Murray and Marx, 2013, Acker, Phalet, Deleersnyder & Batja, 2014). Although ITT provides a viable framework for understanding these relationships, a more fully integrated model could address additional measures and provide greater understanding of issues.

In conclusion, negative attitude towards immigrants is a pertinent issue to understand, yet these variables- *realistic threat, negative stereotypes, intergroup anxiety, displaced aggression, entitativity and out group homogeneity effect* are not necessarily the only variables that predict prejudice towards all groups. The degree to which these variables can explain prejudice, is dependent on the population as well as possible factors that pre dispose them to have feelings of prejudice.

5.1 General Discussion and Conclusion

“Given a thimbleful facts we rush to make generalizations as large as a tub”

-Gordon W. Allport, 1954

The above statement by Allport, patently delineate the present study on Afghan immigrants using Intergroup Threat Theory. The findings of the present study indicated that university students of Delhi displayed negative stereotyping, intergroup anxiety, displaced aggression, entitativity, experienced realistic threat and exhibited threat perception towards one particular gender out group (Afghan male) in comparison to other gender out group (Afghan female), in defiance of belonging to the same nationality and ethnicity. Intergroup threat theory is one of the social psychological theories of Prejudice, whose pivot is on explicating on the perception of threat; irregardless of whether these threats are accurate or not in nature as it is more concerned with degree to which threats to the ingroup are perceived to exist. Generous amount of work has been done using Intergroup Threat Theory to predict attitude towards immigrants, minorities, and AIDS patients, and elderly. The results in the present study too evidently showed that the three parameters of Intergroup Threat Theory- realistic threat, negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety were good predictors of prejudice, and that in group members (university students of Delhi) expressed these above mentioned variables against out group (Afghan immigrants).

The second objective of the present study was to examine the effect of gender on threat perception. As discussed in Chapter 1, the gender polarity of the out group (Afghan male and female immigrants) and its impact on ingroup's (Indians) threat perception was one of the imperative queries that needed to be looked into. Hence the present study sought to examine the issue, and it was found out

that in group members (university students of Delhi) displayed prejudice, realistic threat, negative stereotypes, displaced aggression and intergroup anxiety towards one particular gender outgroup (Afghan males) in contrast to other gender out group (Afghan females), indicating that media influence (novels, news, television) could be one of the paramount rationale behind such varied results since secondary sources perhaps were mostly the means by which ingroup (university students of Delhi) perceived and judged the outgroup (Afghan immigrants). Intergroup Threat Theory regrettably did not talk about the effect of gender, and its significant ramifications on threat perception. Nonetheless, the present study strived to employ Masculinity Multidimensionality approach (Mutua, 2013) so has to render an explanation, and supporting to the reality that because of the interplay of nationality, ethnicity and gender, the ingroup perceived out group male (Afghan) threatening in comparison to out group female (Afghan). So far the empirical evidence, literature and work on Prejudice have shown that women are discriminated against, and are stereotyped; for example social psychological research on sexism (prejudice, stereotyping or discrimination, typically against women, on the basis on sex) from Allport's (antifeminism), (1954) in his classic text *The Nature of Prejudice* to the current rate of thousand pages of scholarly work published every year have disputed mostly on the women's issues. Be it Bem's (1981) Gender Schema Role Theory, Eagly's (1987) Social Role Theory, or Swim's (2009) Modern Sexism and Neosexism, the focal point of these theories is towards understanding and exploring discrimination, inequality and stereotyping of women in keeping in the context of the roles they occupy in society, the personality traits or communal traits that are associated with them; excluding the inequality, discrimination, prejudice and negative stereotyping that are held against men because of their gender, ethnicity or nationality to which they belong to despite knowing that "gender" includes men too, and "sexism" also

includes individuals' attitudes, beliefs, and behavior, and cultural practices that reflect negative evaluations towards men too.

Another such approach is Intersectionality approach by Kimberle Crenshaw (1989) who pointed out that women are discriminated not only because of their gender, but also because of their race or ethnicity (keeping in view of Black women). From this perspective, Masculinity Multidimensionality approach (Mutua, 2013) came into being. This approach took into account men as being the victim, not only because of their nationality and ethnicity but also because of their gender. For example, Mutua (2013) in her paper, *Multidimensionality is to Masculinities What Intersectionality is to Feminism* elucidate on the point that since 1960s because black men were more of a threat to white supremacy than were black women, as such, were targeted for harsher treatment. Crenshaw's Intersectionality approach (1989) did not capture the harsher treatment black men seemed to face not only in the context of anonymous public space that often characterized as racial profiling, but also in terms of higher rates of hyper incarceration, death by homicide, suicide rates and high unemployment as compared to black women. Hence according to Mutua (2013), what black men suffered was not sexism, a term that over a long history referencing to the discrimination and oppression of women but rather was gendered racism. In many ways, gendered racism recognized that black men also stood at the intersection of race and gender. Therefore, when applied this approach on the current study, it showed that what ingroup exhibited towards outgroup (Afghan immigrants) was "gendered ethnicism" and or "gendered nationalism". The current finding ergo, provides a new insight into the perception and thought process behind gender context regarding men, and also enjoin for a new trend in social psychology of prejudice, discrimination and stereotyping and Intergroup Threat theory in particular.

The current study additionally aimed at unraveling the displaced aggression exhibited towards out group (Afghan immigrants) from the ingroup (University students of Delhi). The results of the current study presented that ingroup otherwise didn't show displaced aggression towards out group, but when gender element was introduced, ingroup members revealed displaced aggression towards outgroup gender male (Afghan). The current study sought to use vicarious Retribution Model (Lickel et al., 2006) to explore and investigate displaced aggression towards out group (Afghan immigrants). Vicarious Retribution model explicated on the idea that when a member commits an act of aggression towards member of the out group for a provocation that had no personal consequences for him/her, but did harm its fellow in group member. Hence the current finding indicated that because ingroup members perceived and presumed out group (Afghan immigrants) to be involved in 9/11 attack, or 26/11 or Parliament attack (2001), thus ingroup members showed displaced aggression towards out group. Vicarious Retribution model is itself motivated by displaced aggression literature since the situation concerns directing one's aggressive impulse to a person other than the individual who was assumed to be involved. Therefore, the current finding very suitably fits the model and provides an insightful detail on immigrants and displaced aggression exhibited towards them. Intergroup Threat Theory talks about displaced aggression as one of the consequences of threat, however no empirical work has been done so far to explore this area.

The final aim of the current study was to explore on the perception of entitativity and out group homogeneity effect towards out group (Afghan immigrants) by in group members (University students of Delhi). The results showed that in group members displayed entitativity and out group homogeneity perception towards

out groups (Afghan immigrants). Intergroup Threat theory have illustrated on out group homogeneity as one of the cognitive responses of threat. Nonetheless, the theory didn't elucidate on the importance of entitativity and it's interlink with prejudice and threat perception towards out group member. Thus the present study not only attempted to explore the outgroup homogeneity effect towards out group (Afghan immigrants), but also unravel the perception of entitativity. There are many factors that have been found to affect the entitativity judgments- these are group size, the degree of spatial proximity and amount of interaction among group members, the importance or social identity value of the group to its members, and perceived common goals and outcomes among group members (Campbell, 1958; Lickel et al., 2000). For instance other things being equal, numerical minorities may be perceived as higher in entitativity than majorities (Brewer & Harasty, 1996; Brewer, Weber, & Carini, 1995). Many researchers have emphasized the close relationship between the perceived homogeneity of a group and its degree of entitativity (Brewer et al., 1995; Dasgupta, Banaji, & Abelson, 1999; Yzerbyt, Rogier, & Fiske, 1998). Other antecedent factors that may elicit beliefs about entitativity include the level of interdependence, interpersonal bonds and behavioral influence among group members (Gaertner & Schopler, 1998). Since the present study aimed on exploring on the above mentioned factors, the results did come out as expected. Thus the present study have contributed and provided an understanding into the perception of entitativity and its relationship with perception of threat as perceived towards out group members.

Intergroup Threat Theory has proved to be a proficient theory in providing insightful understanding towards outgroups (Afghan immigrants). Howbeit, the theory lacked in certain spheres and arena- that is, examining and appraising gender and entitativity perception and its imperativeness and indispensableness

on threat perception. Therefore, the present empirical work has ventured in giving Intergroup threat theory a more open and valiant scope for penetrating and probing imperative arguments regarding perception of threat as posed by the out group members to the ingroup members. The present finding was not only concerned with prejudice and perception of threat towards Afghan immigrants, but also the effect of gender on ingroup's threat perception towards out group members, as well as the effect of group entitativity on threat perception. The findings of the present empirical work has also implored the literature on prejudice to usher new road on gender framework so as to embrace and probe into discrimination, negative stereotyping, prejudice and inequality faced by men because of race, ethnicity, gender and or nationality to which they belong to. The literature and work on Prejudice should take up this issue with grave intent and should begin a novel trend when dealing with "gender inequality, discrimination, stereotyping and prejudice".

The study built on and contributed to work into inter-group relations, in specific relations towards Afghan immigrants. Studies in this area have been largely focused in the international scene. This study attempted to understand the relationship (between Indians and Afghan immigrants). As such the study provided an understanding of the antagonism Delhi students have towards Afghan immigrants as well as reasons behind hostility and negative attitudes towards Afghan immigrants. Furthermore, it provided an understanding based on the Integrated threat theory and the present empirical study also contributed to the theory.

Among the limitations for the study, was the type of sample and its associated characteristics. The sample was in no way fully representative of the Delhi population. To provide increased validity of the ITT, a larger sample is necessary.

Due to culture laden and increased diversity that Delhi offers, this study may also be conducted in rural areas. Methodological limitations also bound in the current research. It should be noted that the study relies on self-report measures, which may be self-presentational and reactive (Tausch et al., 2007). This could possibly lead individuals to answer the questionnaire with an aim to preserve their positive self-image. Thus the truth may not emerge, if the individual believes that the questionnaire is threatening to ones self.

5.2 Contribution to the theory

The integrated threat theory of prejudice, allows comparisons of the relative contribution of each component of threat to prejudice (Sephan, et al., 1998). As such, the results of this empirical study provides strong support for the notion that the perception of realistic threat, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes predict prejudicial attitude within the sample, with realistic threat and intergroup anxiety as stronger predictors within the context of Delhi students attitude towards Afghan immigrants. The finding of the current study is consistent with previous research that has placed realistic threat and negative stereotypes at the centre of intergroup hostility and negative out group attribution (Stephan, et al., 1999; Gonsalkorale, Carlisle & Hoppel, 2007; Hunt, Armenta, Seifert & Snowden, 2009).

The current study provided an interesting insight into gender differences of afghan immigrants and its impact on perception of threat towards Afghan immigrants. Masculinity multidimensional approach (Mutua 2013; McGinley & Cooper, 2013) was implemented to decipher and understand the incongruity in

perception of realistic threat, prejudice, displaced aggression, negative stereotyping and intergroup anxiety because of gender of immigrants (afghan male and female), owing to the fact that the interaction of ethnicity, nationality and gender construct negative perception for a particular gender outgroup, in this case, it was afghan males. The afghan males were differentiated or seen as target as compared to Afghan females because of intersection of categories such as ethnicity, nationality and gender. ITT has so far overlooked and turned a blind eye to the importance and imperativeness of gender and its role in shaping prejudice, realistic threat, negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety. As the results unveil that afghan males were seen with prejudice, threat was perceived against them, anxiety was also seen towards them and negative stereotypes were held against them, in comparison to afghan females, though belonging from the same nationality, both gender revealed varied results when measured on ITT model of prejudice.

Displaced aggression is one of the behavioral consequences of threat, which has so far not been studied, and no empirical research has been conducted. The current paper renders and bestows a valuable introspection and discernment by exploring this area and its relation with threat perception and prejudice. The outcome of the current study exhibited that respondents reported displaced aggression towards afghan males.

Entitativity and its influence on group perception and perception of threat are one of the major finding of the current dissertation. Because ITT has already talked about out group being perceived as homogenous, thus the present finding not only exhibited Afghan immigrants perceived as homogenous but also as an entitative group (Campbell, 1958). The results showed that university students perceived entitativity towards Afghan immigrants, thereby enkindling and prompting perception of realistic threat (physical harm), intergroup anxiety, negative stereotyping and displaced aggression among in group members.

Thus, the present study not only demonstrated the threat perception and prejudice towards afghan immigrants, but also uncovered and introduced us to productive and imperative issues like gender, entitativity and displaced aggression which can reckon to advance and deeper understanding of the theory and research towards immigrants.

5.3 Implications and Recommendations for future research

The study attempted to be of practical value. Apart from its contribution to the theory, it seeks to assist understanding of the antagonism towards Afghan immigrants. Findings of the study maybe used by the government, psychologists, social workers who take an interest in decreasing prejudice towards Afghan immigrants and immigrants in general. These findings may be used to address the particular threats that groups are perceived to pose as well as foster positive intergroup relations (Stephan et al, 1998). From the empirical data reported here, the role that realistic threat, negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety plays, has indicated that such factors influence prejudice towards Afghan immigrants. In order to reduce such prejudice, Government may implement campaigns that demonstrate the similarities that Afghan immigrants have with Indians. A portrayal and understanding of such information to the Indian (Delhi students) may decrease the level of fear, threats, anxiety and may also witness an increase of positive contact between the groups. Immigrants in turn may also play a part in educating the students/ people they interact with (Gudykunst, 1988; Holt, 1995). This may be done in the form of conversing about reasons for migrating to India as well as making other aware that they are not here to threaten or physically harm anyone.

A larger sample of representativeness would have significantly increased the generalisability of the study. To increase the response rates, a shorter questionnaire could be issued. If the study is to obtain greater diversity of people in Delhi, it is suggested that questionnaires may be translated into at least 2 or 3 languages most widely spoken in Delhi.

Some of the scales used in this study such as prejudice scale may also be seen as culturally biased, as certain individuals may be introverts, and this may be misinterpreted as unfriendly, cold etc. As a result culture could be an influential factor which is not warranted for in the scales. Qualitative studies may also add great value to the field, as most studies thus far have leaned on quantitative measures. Qualitative methods will provide deeper understanding of the internal emotions of the individuals hold. As a result, this could create deeper understanding of the material. For example, a study was conducted in Canada on Afghan and Iranian immigrant youth to explore cultural identity and experiences of prejudice and discrimination (Khanlou, Koh and Mill, 2008). The study adopted both qualitative and quantitative methods using comparative and longitudinal design through interviews, journals written by participants, questionnaire, and filed notes kept by the researchers. This mixed methodological approach enabled an in depth exploration of immigrant youths' experiences of migration, cultural identity and self esteem. Another important direction for future researchers is to also probe into the implicit social cognitive and belief aspect of prejudice, stereotyping, displaced aggression, effect of gender differences and entitativity perception among university students (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995), as well monitoring the automatic and controlled components of prejudice (Devine, 1989) which has been overlooked by the present empirical research. Work by Banaji and Devine (1995, 1989) offer an insight into the unconscious, indirect and implicit mode of operation for stereotypes and prejudice. Their studies showed that identifying feature of implicit cognition is that past experience influences judgments in a fashion not introspectively known by the actor. The

study also supported the assumption that high-low prejudice persons are equally knowledgeable of the cultural stereotype, suggesting that the stereotype is automatically activated in the presence of a member (or some symbolic equivalent) of the stereotyped group and that low prejudice require controlled inhibition of the automatically activate stereotype. Study by Gonsalkorale, Carlisle and Hippel (2007), demonstrated that intergroup threat leads to greater implicit stereotyping of the threatening group. Since the present study focused only on the explicit nature of prejudice, gender differences, displaced aggression and entitativity, it would be interesting and insightful to explore and investigate the implicit side of prejudice and threat perception towards Afghan immigrants among university students of Delhi.

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Appendix

Demographic Information

- Name:
- Age:
- Gender:
- Educational Qualification:

Amount of Contact and in what capacity?

- Do you know any Afghan immigrants personally?
None Few Many
- Do you have friends who are immigrants from Afghanistan?
None Few Many
- Are there Afghan immigrants living in your neighborhood?
None Few Many
- Do you come into contact with Afghan immigrants?
Yes No Don't Know

If your answer to the previous question was yes, in what capacity?

Please choose one of the following:

On the streets

At religious activities

At shopping malls

At work

At College/educational institutions

Nature of Communication

How would you describe the nature of communication and interaction with Afghan immigrants OR how would you expect/think the nature of communication with Afghan immigrants be like? Please indicate your choice by selecting a block closer to the right or left hand side you feel accurately describes your experience.

Afghan Male

Courteous **Rude**

Pleasant **Unpleasant**

Meaningless Meaningful

Spontaneous Forced

Uncomfortable Comfortable

Destructive Constructive

Afghan Female

Courteous Rude

Pleasant Unpleasant

Meaningless Meaningful

Spontaneous Forced

Uncomfortable Comfortable

Destructive Constructive

Prejudice Scale (Spencers-Rodgers & McGovern, 2002)

Please describe how you feel about Afghan immigrants in general. Please select a block closest to the side that best represents your feeling.

I feel the following way towards Afghan immigrants in general:

Afghan Male

- Warm Cold
- Negative Positive
- Friendly Hostile
- Suspicious Trusting
- Respect Disrespect
- Admiration Disgust

Afghan Female

- Warm Cold

- Negative Positive
- Friendly Hostile
- Suspicious Trusting
- Respect Disrespect
- Admiration Disgust

INTER GROUP ANXIETY SCALE (Stephan & Stephan, 1985, 1989)

Please rate how you would feel when interacting with Afghan immigrants or how you have felt when you have had contact with Afghan immigrants.

Afghan Male

Not at all anxious

Extremely anxious

- Not at all confident

Extremely confident

- **Not at all irritated**
Extremely irritated

- **Not at all comfortable**
Extremely comfortable

- **Not at all impatient**
Extremely impatient

- **Not at all frustrated**
Extremely frustrated

- **Not at all stressed**
Extremely stressed

- **Not at all happy**
Extremely happy

- **Not at all self-conscious**
Extremely self conscious

- **Not at all defensive**
Extremely defensive

Afghan female

- **Not at all anxious**
Extremely anxious
- **Not at all confident**
Extremely confident
- **Not at all irritated**
Extremely irritated
- **Not at all comfortable**
Extremely comfortable
- **Not at all impatient**
Extremely impatient
- **Not at all frustrated**
Extremely frustrated
- **Not at all stressed**
Extremely stressed
- **Not at all happy**
Extremely happy

- Not at all self-conscious
Extremely self conscious
- Not at all defensive
Extremely defensive

Realistic Threat Scale (Stephan & Stephan, 1996).

Please indicate whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the following statements. Please tick the correct term (male/female or both) wherever appropriate.

	1. Strongly agree	2. Agree	3. Neutral	4. Disagree	5. Strongly Disagree
1. I feel threatened when an Afghan resides in my neighborhood. (Afghan male/female or both).					

<p>2. Afghan immigrants are receiving a lot of help and support (in terms of education, health facilities, job opportunities, accommodation) when they come to Delhi than they deserve. (Afghan male/female or both)</p>					
<p>3. I feel Afghan men are more dangerous/threatening than Afghan females.</p>					
<p>4. After 9/11 incident, most of the Afghans especially men are seen with suspicion/distrust.</p>					
<p>5. 9/11 attack has completely changed the perception</p>					

<p>(negatively) about Afghans (male/female).</p>					
<p>6. I am completely comfortable with Afghans coming to Delhi (as students, seeking medical treatment).</p>					
<p>7. I feel Afghan immigrants are one of the most misconceived immigrants amongst others (Blacks, Asians, Latinos).</p>					
<p>8. In recent years increase in Afghan immigrants (male/female or both) in Delhi is really intimidating for me.</p>					

<p>9. I feel my physical safety is at jeopardy/risk when I see so many Afghans (male/female or both) around me (at shopping malls, hospitals, colleges, streets).</p>					
<p>10. Terrorist attacks (London bombing, Mumbai shooting, 9/11) which has taken place in past, Afghans must have been involved in these attacks in some way or the other.</p>					
<p>11. I think help and support should be provided to Afghan immigrants in any possible way.</p>					

<p>12. I feel most Afghans (male/female or both) have links with terrorist groups (Taliban, Laksher-e-taiba, Mujahedeen, Osama bin laden), or are involved in terrorist activity.</p>					
<p>13. All that Afghans know, especially men is to spread terrorism or terrorize people.</p>					
<p>14. I feel Afghans in general pose no physical threat to us.</p>					
<p>15. Afghans are friendly, good natured, hospitable people and we should try to erase all kind of misunderstanding that has been created about</p>					

them to our friends and family.					

DISPLACED AGGRESSION (Denson, T. F., Pedersen, W. C., & Miller, N. 2006)

Please indicate how you feel or how would you feel if you see/ or meet an Afghan immigrant. Please tick on the appropriate term (male/female or both) and (verbal/ physical) where applicable.

<p>1. Whenever I feel unsafe travelling or visiting places with my family, I am likely to take out my anger/displeasure on Afghan immigrants (male/female or both)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>not Extremely</i> <i>extremely</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;"> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> </p>
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<p>(either through verbal: abusing, mocking, teasing, character attack, insulting. Or Physical: pushing, fighting).</p>	
<p>2. When a terrorist attack occurs or has occurred, I am likely to get upset or angry with Afghans (male/female or both) even though I know that person has nothing to do with the attack.</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p>
<p>3. When I get late due to too many security checks, I tend to take out my anger/frustration on Afghans (male/female or both)</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p>
<p>4. If something makes me angry or agitated (ex-reading an article or watching news on terrorism), I am likely to vent out my anger or show aggressive behavior</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p>

<p>towards an Afghan immigrants (male/female or both).</p>	
<p>5. I tend to get aggressive/ annoyed towards Afghan immigrants (male/female or both) as compared to other immigrants when I hear/read about terror attacks or terrorism (verbal: abusing, mocking, teasing, character attacks, physical appearance attacks; Physical: pushing, fighting).</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> </p>
<p>6. I tend to take out my frustration on account of poor results at my afghan (male/female or both) classmates, because I don't expect them to retaliate.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> </p>

<p>7. When confronted with harsh realities faced by Afghan women, I tend to take out my displeasure/annoyance/anger at Afghan male immigrants.</p>	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; align-items: center;"> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> </div>
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STEREOTYPES

Please rate 0 to 100%. What percentage (%) of Afghan immigrants do you think are:

Afghan Male

- Hardworking%
- Arrogant%
- Aggressive%
- Ambitious%
- Untrustworthy%
- Insincere%

Afghan female

- Hardworking%
- Arrogant%
- Aggressive%
- Ambitious%
- Untrustworthy%
- Insincere%

- Terrorist look alike ...%
 - Dangerous %
 - Friendly%
- Terrorist look alike%
 - Dangerous%
 - Friendly%

Entitativity Scale (Lickel at al. 2000)

Please indicate how do you feel about/ or what do you think of Afghan immigrants' as a group.

1. How much unity you think Afghans have as a group?

Not at all Extremely .

2. How much do you think Afghan immigrants interact with one another?

Not at all Extremely

3. To what extent do you think Afghan immigrants are interdependent on each other?

Not at all Extremely

4. Some groups have characteristics of a 'group' more than others do, to what extent do you think Afghan immigrants qualify as a 'group'?

Not at all Extremely

5. How cohesive/unity/bonded do you think is the Afghan immigrants group is?

Not at all Extremely

6. How much do you think Afghan immigrants interact with one another on daily basis?

Not at all Extremely

7. How much do you think the importance of being an Afghan is for Afghan immigrants?

Not at all Extremely

8. To what extent do you think Afghan immigrants share common outcomes to daily events?

Not at all Extremely

Out group Homogeneity Scale

Please indicate how much do you feel/ or think Afghan Immigrants are similar to one another.

1. How similar do you think are Afghan immigrants to each other?

Not at all Extremely

2. How similar do you think Afghan immigrants are in terms of physical appearance?

Not at all Extremely

3. How similar do you think Afghan immigrants are in terms of behavior?

Not at all Extremely

4. How similar do you think Afghan immigrants are in terms of personality characteristics?

Not at all Extremely

