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A Study in Social Identity as a Function of Cross-Category Membership in Certain Ethnic Groups in Bangladesh

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A STUDY IN SOCIAL IDENTITY AS A FUNCTION OF CROSS-CATEGORY MEMBERSHIP IN CERTAIN ETHNIC GROUPS IN BANGLADESH

A Thesis Submitted to the Department of Psychology, University of Rajshahi for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN PSYCHOLOGY

by

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DECLARATION

It is my great pleasure to declare that the present investigation entitled **"A Study in Social Identity as a Function of Cross-Category Membership in Certain Ethnic Groups in Bangladesh"** is the result of my own work. This dissertation has been submitted to the University of Rajshahi for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology. It is completely a new and original work of mine. No parts of it, in any form, have been submitted to any other University or Institute for any degree or diploma.

Mst. Mahfuza Nasrin Liza
28.11.05
(Mst. Mahfuza Nasrin Liza)

CERTIFICATE

I am highly delighted to state that Mst. Mahfuza Nasrin Liza has completed her Ph.D Thesis entitled **"A Study in Social Identity as a Function of Cross-Category Membership in Certain Ethnic Groups in Bangladesh"**. She has conducted her investigation under my direct supervision. So far as I know, this dissertation constitutes her own work. I have gone through the draft and final version of the thesis thoroughly. It seems to me that the investigation is an original piece of work. I found the thesis satisfactory for submission to the University of Rajshahi for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology

28.11.05

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MST. Mahfuza Nasrin Liza

(Mst. Mahfuza Nasrin Liza)

ABSTRACT

The present study is an investigation relating to social identity, cross-category membership and intergroup relations. It is an attempt to interrelate the social identity with several variables such as group comparisons, gender identification, age variation and residential differentiation. These four independent variables were tested with the help of the measures of adjective check list resulting in differential amount of social identity. Group composition represented Santals and Hindus. Gender represented boys and girls. Age represented 13 years age group and 16 years age group. Residence represented urban and rural.

The objective of the study was to investigate social identity of Santals as racial ethnic group and Bengali Hindus as religious ethnic group in the cross-category membership of inter-group relations as related to gender, age and residence. Three hypotheses formulated in the present study were: (1) Bengali Hindus as religious ethnic group would evaluate self and own-group more positively and out-group more negatively as compared to Santals as racial ethnic groups. (2) Boys would evaluate self and own-group more positively and out-group more negatively as compared to girls. (3) Respondents with 16 years age would evaluate self and own-group significantly more positively and the reciprocal out-group more negatively as compared to respondents with 13 years age.

The sample of the present study was composed of 240 respondents. They were equally divided into Santals as racial ethnic group and Bengali Hindus as religious ethnic group. Each ethnic group was equally divided into

boys and girls. They were again equally divided into 13 years age group and 16 years age group. Finally, each age group was equally subdivided into urban and rural according to their residential background. The measure of Adjective Check List was used for data collection.

The data were analysed using the statistical technique of Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). The results were computed in three parts. In the first part, ANOVA was computed separately for Santals. This was done in three sections. In the first section, ANOVA was computed with the scores of self-evaluation representing two level of gender (Boy/Girl), two level of age (13 years/16 years) and two level of residence (Urban/Rural). In the second section, ANOVA was computed with the scores of own group evaluation representing two level of gender (Boy/Girls), two level of age (13 years/16 years) and two level of residence (Urban/Rural). In the third section, ANOVA was computed on the scores of out-group evaluation representing two level of gender (Boy/Girl), two level of age (13 years/16 years) and two level of residence (Urban/Rural). Similar procedure was followed in the second part for the respondents of Bengali Hindus. However, the third part of the results contained ANOVA involving group composition (Santal/Bengali Hindu), gender (Boys/Girls) and age (13 years/16 years) regardless of residential background separately on self-evaluation, own-group evaluation and out-group evaluation.

The results of the study provided empirical supports to all the hypotheses. It was found that Bengali Hindus as religious ethnic group evaluated self and own-group significantly more positively and out-group more negatively as compared to Santals as racial ethnic group. These findings emerged from the theory of social identity in relation to cross-

category membership. Furthermore, the results showed that irrespective of age and residential background. The boys evaluated self and own-group significantly more positively and out-group more negatively as compared to girls. However, this finding was not consistent through out the results. Hence, it may be said that the second hypothesis was partially supported by the investigation of the study. The third hypothesis that respondents with 16 years age would evaluate self and own-group more positively and reciprocal out-group more negatively has been partially supported by the findings. It was found that Santal and Hindu respondents of 16 years age evaluated out-group significantly more negatively than the respondents of 13 years age. But in case of self-evaluation, the Santal and Hindu respondents of 13 and 16 years age failed to obtain significant difference. Lastly, the findings of the present study provided strong support to the fourth hypothesis. It was found that respondents with urban residential background have evaluated self and own-group significantly more positively and out-group significantly more negatively as compared to the respondents with rural residential background.

In conclusion, it might be said that social identity may provide different sources of meaning due to cross-category membership. It is likely that these differences in identities may overlap. Sometimes, they may reinforce each other. Again they may constrain the self and own-group from negative evaluation of the out-group. These conditions have appeared in the present study and they provide important cues for future investigation in the area of social identity of inter-group relation.

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

Cross-categorization is an important dimension in the concept of social identity. Social identity is used in understanding inter-group relations. Tajfel (1982) introduced the concept of social identity for explaining inter-group behaviour. In this act of inter-group behavior, cross-category membership directs the individual to play a vital role in inter-group relations. In this sense, group identification, ethnocentrism, inter-group conflict and competition are associated with the concept of cross-categorization within the preview of social identity. In this perspective, Tajfel (1978) attempted to make a synthesis between multi-group membership and individualization of the out-group in the form of cross-categorization of inter-group behaviour. This has been explained by Taylor (1966) as the process of social identity where an individual may belong to different category of membership. For example, a person may belong to several categories of identity. He may belong to a religious group, a linguistic group, a cultural group or a social group in the same social identity. Thus people of Bangladesh have a common identity as Bangladeshi citizen. This identity has a multi-dimensional aspect. A large number of cross-category memberships may be identified as Bangladeshi citizen and may be categorized as Bengalis, Santals, Chakmas etc. on the basis of racial origin, Again they may be divided into various groups on the basis of religion, language, culture etc.

Thus it appears that the phenomenon of cross-categorization is evident in the social identity process of the Bangladeshi citizen. It may be said that social identity may take different forms due to cross-category memberships. The present study would explore social identity as a function of cross-category membership in the ethnic groups of sandals and Bengali Hindus in Bangladesh.

Several studies conducted in the context of Bangladesh (Huq, 1985; Moeed, 1990) have shown that Bangladesh is not an ethno-linguistically homogeneous, country. As P.J. Bertocci (1984) observed "although Bangladesh is for the most part ethno-linguistically homogeneous, its population contains a variety of non-Bangali, non-Muslim groups whose geographical location in relation to important national resources far outweighs their demographic significance in the country as a whole". It is, therefore, clear that Bangladesh cannot be treated as a monolingual country. Again, it can not be treated as a country of one race. But Bangladesh is a country of cultural, linguistic and religious diversity. This position of Bangladesh gives rise to the study of social identity in the context of cross-category membership. In this context cross-category membership, racial origin cultural differentiation and religious distinctiveness have been treated with Santal and Bengali Hindu population.

Specifically the present study has selected the Santals living in the district of Rajshahi region and Bengali Hindus living in Bangladesh as two ethnic groups who share many national, linguistic and cultural elements. In this sense, they may be regarded as two distinct ethnic groups with cross-category membership. The present study would explore social identity with

reference of to cross-category membership as a function of sex, age and residence.

The concept of social identity is based on several theoretical orientations. These are discussed below:

1. Theory of Inter-group Relations

The concept of social identity has been developed in the study of inter-group behaviour. It is related to group identification, inter-group conflict and competition and multi-group membership. These dimensions have direct reference with the out-group and in-group relationships. The investigators (Levine and Campbell: 1972, Ehrlich: 1973, Kidder and Stewart: 1975, Billing 1976, Austin and Worchel: 1979, Turner and Giles: 1981) have conducted several empirical studies and attempted to make synthesis in the theoretical paradigm of social identity. For example, Tajfel (1969) proposed that inter-group behavior involves the consciousness that the group exists. This consciousness is related with some external and internal criteria for comparisons. Social identity is the outcome of these comparisons.

The anchoring concept of social identity has been provided by Sherif (1966). He states that "whenever individuals belonging to one group interact, collectively or individually, with another group or its members in terms of their group identification we have an instance of inter-group behavior" (P-12). Thus Sherif has focused upon cognition and interpersonal behaviour. This is the first step in social identity of inter-group relations.

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The social identity of inter-group relations involves dominant and subordinate group membership. The subordinate members suffer from lower self-esteem, self- derogation, devaluation of the in-group in comparison to out-group, misidentification with reference to dominant or majority group. These problems appear to reflect the in-group consensual inferiority (Gregor and McPherson, 1966; Milner, 1975).

In-group consensual inferiority is the beginning of advancement towards positive social identity. The low status groups realize their inferior position in the society and try to construct a positive social identity for themselves (Hraba and Grant, 1970; Friedman, 1969; Bourhis *et al.* 1973; Giles and Powesland, 1975; Vaughan, 1972).

It is assumed that identity problems originate in own group's low position. It gives rise to the development of ethnocentrism in subordinate group. This is an important force of removing inferiority. This introduces social change through military behavior and radical political attitude.

Levine and Campbell (1972) explained the problems of inter-group conflicts on the basis of realistic conflict theory. This theory accepts the prestige as a valuable resource like wealth or power. This motivates competition between groups. This indicates that status differences accentuate conflict (Coser, 1956; Oberschall 1973). Festinger (1954) has given an opposite view-point. According to him, status systems are institution. This increases social distance and decreases perceived similarity between groups. Thus the status differences should moderate mutual antagonism (Kidder and Stewart, 1975).

Van den Berghe (1967), however, have provided evidences suporting both the positions. He distinguished between racism in "Paternalistic" and "Competitive" societies. It is found that both the types of society are stratified in terms of status. But the status differences in Paternalistic society helps to maintain social order by reducing structural conflict between subordinate and dominant groups. Status divisions in competitive society, on the other hand, are focal points for discrimination and hostility.

The realistic conflict and non-comparability theories of inter-group relations are one-sided. Realistic conflict theory cannot explain the emergence of class stratification and caste system in the society. They cannot explain how unequal division of prestige, power and wealth between social groups can achieve relative stability. Again they cannot explain how the under-privileged group show preference rather than hostility toward the over-privileged groups. The non-comparability approach seems to be devoid of social dynamism.

Tajfel (1978) has made an attempt to reconcile these opposing positions. Tajfel's hypothesis is that status differences intensify or reduce mutual ethnocentrism according to whether the different status groups perceive cognitive alternatives to the existing social order.

This theory of inter-group relation developed by Tajfel (1978) is known as social identity theory. This theory has following assumptions:

1. Individuals define and evaluate themselves with reference to their social group. Social groups provide a social identity for their members.

2. Subjective status of the groups contributes to the development of individual social identity in terms of positive and negative evaluations.

3. The out-groups constitute the frame of reference for evaluating own group prestige. The prestige of own group depends on the outcome of comparisons between in-group and relevant out-group. These comparisons take place in terms of value characteristics and behaviors such as wealth, skin colour, power abilities etc.

When the difference between in-group and out-group is perceived to favour the in-group, it is positive comparison and it provides satisfactory social identity. But if the difference between in-group and out-group is perceived to favour the out-group, it is called negative comparison and it results in unsatisfactory social identity. In a word, consensual inferiority leads to the development of negative group identity.

Tajfel assumes that people define themselves positively. It is necessary for maintaining self-esteem of their members. Hence social groups must preserve a positively valued distinctiveness from relevant comparison groups. According to Tajfel, unsatisfactory identity motives behavior in three ways. These are (1) Individual mobility (2) Social creativity and (3) Social competition.

1. Individual mobility: The individual may leave the group for upward social mobility. He may move from a low to high status group. Jahoda (1961) and Klineberg and Zavalloni (1969) have reported the exclusion of self from an inferior social category to superior social category. This is done through dissociation from earlier inferior group. These reactions are called dis-identification with the in-group. These are individualistic in nature and do not fall within the strategy of positively valued distinctiveness of social groups.

2. Social creativity: The group members may alter the elements of comparisons for achieving positively valued distinctiveness. This may be achieved (i) by comparing the in-group and the out-group on some new dimensions (Lemaine, 1966) (ii) by changing ones values so that previously negative comparisons are perceived as positive. (e.g. "Black is Beautiful") and (iii) by changing the out-group with which the in-group is compared and thus to stop to use the dominant as a relevant comparison group. This mechanism of comparison suggests that the in-group is compared to those out-groups which are relatively similar and preferably inferior in status.

3. Social Competition: The group members may achieve positively valued distinctiveness through direct competition with the out-group. They may attempt to reverse the relative positions of the in-group and the out-group in terms of social comparison. It is possible that this strategy would promote conflict between subordinate and dominant groups to the degree that it touches upon their "realistic interests" (Sherif, 1966; Levine and Campbell, 1972). This strategy involves inter-group competition motivated by mutual comparison (Ferguson and Kelley, 1964; Rabbie and Wilkens, 1971).

According to Tajfel, social identity is based on status differences in terms of secure and insecure comparison. An identity is secured when a change in the psychological distinctiveness is not conceivable. It means that a secured social identity involves complete psychological objectification of a social status quo. It conceives no cognitive alternatives to challenge the existing social reality. An insecure social identity, on the other hand, indicates that a change in inter-group relation is possible and cognitive alternatives are available and perhaps attainable.

It is thus clear that social identity theory involves subordinate group and dominant group. Subordinate group will seek positive distinctiveness from relevant dominant group. The subordinate group will try to establish that their inferiority is not perceived as inherent, immutable and fully legitimate.

There are two conditions under which high status group can have insecure social identity. Firstly they may be threatened by the activity of the low status group. Secondly, they may perceive a conflict between their own system of value and the bases of their dominance is related to social and political morality. The threat for the high status group is generated from a system of values based on conflicting and paradoxical application of values.

It is, therefore, clear that high status group would try to achieve self-steem. But at the same time it would try to preserve and maintain it.

In conclusion, it may be said that inadequate social identity leads the subordinate group to search for positive group distinctiveness from dominant out-groups. If the different status groups regard themselves as non-comparable, the consensual inferiority would decrease. Non-comparability depends on its relationship to secure and insecure comparisons. An insecure comparison is one in which cognitive alternatives are perceived. In fact, insecure social identity is the major and sufficient condition for enhancing the search for group distinctiveness. Where individual mobility is unavailable, awareness of cognitive alternative will increase mutual ethnocentrism between different status groups.

A Five-Stage Model of Inter-group Relations

Taylor and Mckirnan (1984) has proposed a five-stage model of inter-group relations. This model of inter-group relations has provided a theoretical analysis as to how disadvantaged groups respond to social inequality. This model has described various individualistic and collective responses of disadvantaged group members to inequality. The disadvantaged groups may accept their disadvantaged position. Again they may attempt at individual upward mobility and collective action. The five stage model of inter-group relation has developed the theoretical perspectives as follows: ·

Stage 1: Clearly Stratified Inter-group Relations

This is the first stage of the model of inter-group relations. This stage represents traditional dominant-subordinate group relationship. This relationship is characterized by rigid feudal or caste structures. It precedes industrialization. This stage is called paternalistic inter-group relations (Van Den Berghe, 1967). In these inter-group relationships the stratification is based on inherent or ascribed characteristics such as race, language or subordinate group members. The relationship is so deeply entrenched into the group members that intimate contact between subordinate and dominant group members is not viewed as threatening.

Stage 2: Emerging individualistic social ideology

This stage begins with the emergence of industrialization. It gives emphasis on individual skills. As a result, ascribed group membership is viewed as illegitimate. The ascribed characteristic is replaced by value

Stage 5: Competitive Inter-group Relations

This stage advocates for common ideology. Collective comparisons with the advantaged group are encouraged. The advantaged group will attempt to prove that categorization of society into ascribed groups are not valid. Three logical possibilities may arise due to group comparison and collective action. Firstly, the relative power between the advantaged and disadvantaged groups may remain unchanged. Secondly, the previously disadvantaged group may emerge as dominant group. Thirdly, the groups may become equal in resources and power. Then the inter-group social comparisons will reveal no clear-cut winner. Thus group comparisons initiate competition in inter-group relations and it ensures that social structure is a continuous dynamic process and it never remains static.

The five stage model of inter-group relations provides a useful theoretical paradigm of inter-group conflict and change. A true understanding of inter-group conflict requires explanation of basic social psychological processes and they are themselves controlled by the larger social and economic contexts.

Belief Congruence Theory

Rokeach (1968) has proposed the Belief Congruence Theory of inter-group relations. The theory states that belief system is an important determining factor for attitudinal preference towards each other. It is observed that similarities and differences in belief system are more important for mutual acceptance or rejection than their social group memberships.

The theory assumes that similarity in belief system leads to interpersonal attraction. When the belief system is predominant, group membership becomes irrelevant, silent or passive to the individuals. Thus belief congruence is seen as a property of inter personal relations.

There are four conditions under which belief congruence may be effective. Firstly, interpersonal attraction due to belief congruence should interact psychologically as group representatives. Secondly, interpersonal similarity due to belief congruence is capable to keep group membership silent. Thirdly, belief congruence would empower group membership in individual interactions. Belief similarity tends to be congruence when inter-group relations are positive. Fourthly, the effect of belief similarity would be identical depending on the characteristics of inter-group relation.

Thus if the situation is competitive, then group with similar values would show more baseness than the groups with different values (Turner, 1978). Again, if the situation is cooperative, then the attitudinal similarity would decrease differentiation and increase friendliness and cooperation among the group members (Brown, 1978).

The belief congruence theory has several limitations. Firstly, if the respective group memberships become important to the members, then interpersonal belief similarity becomes irrelevant. Secondly, inter-group similarity may not have the same effects as interpersonal similarity. In such cases the relative strength of belief congruence and group relationships would be determined by nature of interaction. Thirdly, the shared perception of similarities and differences are themselves products of group formation and do not reflect interpersonal relationships.

Contact Theory

Amir (1969) has proposed the contact theory of inter-group relations. This theory states that the contact between the members of different social groups would help to understanding each other. It diminishes prejudice. Thus the social contact helps to lower down the social distance among the different group members. If the contact is between equal statuses, it is likely to provide most favorable climate to inter-group harmony (Allport, 1954). According to Cook (1962), intimate contact between the members of social groups would help to generalize positive effect to the out-group as a whole. Pettigrew (1971) has explained the interpersonal basis of contact hypothesis. He makes it clear that contact hypothesis is an application of the theory of interpersonal attraction. When shared values and beliefs are mutually perceived by the different group members, a contact is established. It increases the probability that members of the two groups would be attracted to one another. Thus similarity attraction paradigm underlies the contact theory of inter-group relations.

Amir (1969) has stated that contact may be conceived in individual terms as well as group terms. Contact is individual oriented when the social interaction takes place between individuals. In such situation, interpersonal relationships may change but inter-group relationship will remain unaltered. When the contact is between individuals and the out-group member, the inter-group relationships will be altered. In such cases, genuine changes at the inter-group level may take place.

The contact theory has several consequences. These are as follows:
1. Contact persons will not necessarily improve inter-group attitude.

2. If the contact involves low positive interdependence between the groups, it may increase conflicting inter-group relationships.

3. If the contact provides no new common locus of identification for group members, it will help to increase inter-group prejudice.

4. If the contact is transitory and casual, it will not be effective in reducing prejudice.

5. If the contact fails to provide positive interdependence between the groups, it will lead to non-cooperation between the groups.

In order to make the contact successful and effective, the following suggestions may be accepted:

1. Contact should be relatively inducing and intimate. In fact, increased intimacy is an indicator of good and effective inter-group relations.

2. Cooperative activity is accessory for making the contact successful.

3. Contact must take place between equal status. It means that the group should have similar socio-economic status and consensual prestige.

It is important to note that contact theory has received the theoretical and empirical justification in the study of inter-group attitudes. The theory permits and encourager's interpersonal friendship between members of different groups. The intimate contact is likely to change the nature and structure of inter-group relationships. It will make an atmosphere of friendship and cooperation. Contact between rival group members is aspected in a pluralistic society. It is believed that the frequent contact between rival group members would cause alteration of inter-group relation for wider social change.

Ethno Linguistic Vitality Theory

Ethno linguistic vitality Theory is directly related with cross-category membership in inter-group relation. The theory states that a large number of socio-structural forces is operating in inter-ethnic context. It represents the cross-category membership in inter-group relations. It accounts for individual's cognition of different categories in inter-group situation.

Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) have provided a list of ethno linguistic vitality variables to identify the cross-category membership in inter-ethnic and inter-group situations. It is argued that an ethnic group may have multiple relationships with other groups in social environment. But the more vitality a particular group is said to have, the more likely it will survive as an active collective entity in enter-ethnic competitions. Hence ethno linguistic minorities having little or no group vitality, would eventually cease to exist as distinctive collectivities (Bourhis *et al.*, 1979).

Status, demography and institutional support are considered important factors associated with socio-structure variables of ethno-linguistic vitality. Status factors include economic, political, social, socio-historical and language status variables. Demographic factors include distribution of groups such as national territory, concentration and population. It also includes those factors relating to member of population such as absolute number, birth rate, mixed marriages and immigration. Institutional support factors include representation of the ethnic group in mass-media, education, Government, industry, religion and culture.

The theory suggests that the more a group has economic and political control over its own destiny , high social status, a strong tradition, a glorious

history and an ethnic speech style of high distinction with international status, the more potential the group is likely to have for survival as a distinct ethno-linguistic entity.

Similarly, the greater the concentration of the ethnic group in its own territory, the higher the ethnic birth rate and the absolute number of group, and the lower the cases of mixed marriages and immigration of out-group members, the more potential the ethnic group is said to have for survival as a distinct ethno-linguistic entity.

Finally, the more institutional support the ethnic group has through representation in mass-media, education, government and in international bodies, the more potential the group has for survival as a distinct ethno-linguistic entity.

In real interethnic social context, it is found that the dominant ethnic group has a variety of strategies for manipulating subordinate ethnic group. By virtue of its power of controlling resources, it makes an effort for maintaining its superior position in the social structure. In such situations, as Giles and Johnson (1981) have pointed out that the socio-structural factors relating to ethno-linguistic vitality work as psychological representation for the survival on erosion of subordinate minority group.

Hence, it is proposed that high perceived in-group vitality acts to increase the situational salience of ethnic identification. The status, demography and institutional support may be used by the relevant ethnic group to increase their group identity. These factors help the ethnic groups in cross-category membership to out-group members. Thus group identity is

attained, maintained and preserved in cross-category levels of inter-group relations.

The preceding overview of theoretical orientation of social identity involving cross-category membership has expressed an integrated relationship among various theories of inter-group relation. All these theoretical approaches have shown that interethnic relationship is dependent on situational factors. These are conditioned by in-group and out-group evaluation, consciousness raising process, belief congruence, interethnic contact and ethno-linguistic vitality of the relevant ethnic groups. The present study has utilized all these theoretical paradigms in the development of the study as well as for the framing of hypotheses.

Review of Relevant Literature

Several studies have been conducted on group categorization by Tajfel. For example, Tajfel (1970) proposed experimental design isolate social categorization from other variables. The findings of the study reported that categorization between groups gives rise to inter-group discrimination. Mere perception by the subjects that they belonged to two separate groups seemed sufficient to cause inter-group discrimination.

In another study, Tajfel (1974) reported that certain societies contribute to create a generic out-group attitude and certain modes of socialization and education. They foster a norm of differential behavior towards in-groups and out-groups. The inter-group categorization creates a generic norm of in-group bias.

Billig and Tajfel (1973) divided their subjects into two groups and found the subjects to favour in-group members in their monetary choices. But they discriminated against out-group members.

Billig (1973) have shown that the in-group favouritism and out-group discrimination are the effects of group categorization. The study has suggested that the subjects do not favour similar others unless the others have been explicitly categorized as members of the same group.

Chase (1971) has reported that categorization between in-group and out-group can promote discriminatory social behaviour between members of the categories.

Doise and Sinclair (1973) have reported that perceptual judgments tend to accentuate the differences between two separate classes. This categorization accentuation of differences is a general law of cognitive functioning in the study of social identity of cross-category membership. The findings of the study also indicate that the perception of an inter-group categorization is intrinsically related to social discrimination.

Turner (1975) argued that social categorization is the pivotal point for in-group favouratism and out-group discrimination. When two groups are compared, they attempt to differentiate themselves from each other towards the same positively valued pole. These reciprocal attempts at inter-group differentiation are inherently competitive. Thus the minimal in-group favoritism may be conceived as an example of social competition between groups.

Cross-category membership studies (Deschamps and Doise, 1978) reported some findings relating to in-group favoritism and out-group

discrimination. These findings support the view that social categorizations constitute necessary and sufficient conditions for inter-group discrimination and may occur at the cognitive, evaluative and behavioral levels of functioning.

Deschamps and Doise (1978) conducted experiment on cross-categorization involving status legitimacy, stability and comprehensibility. The study examined the conditions under which (i) a higher status group is likely to discriminate more than a lower status group (ii) a lower status group is prepared to accept its inferiority and (iii)the conditions in which the lower status group will attempt to change the situation psychologically, objectively or both .

Deschamps and Doise (1978) conducted two experiments. The first experiment used 80 girls aged between thirteen and fifteen years. The subjects were collected from a private school in Geneva. A list of thirty two adjectives were used. The results showed that the perceived differences between groups were smaller when cross-category membership was used as criterion of categorization but the perceived differences between groups were higher when dichotomous principle was used as criterion of categorization. This led to a weakening of the subjectively construed categorical differentiation.

The second experiment was conducted in a primary school in Geneva. The study used sixty boys and sixty girls aged between nine and ten and half years as subjects. There were two experimental conditions. The result showed that the perceived differences between groups were smaller when cross-category membership was used as criterion. The individuals evaluated

own group more positively in case of simple categorization but they evaluated own group less positively in case of cross-categorization.

Thus Deschamps and Doise in these two studies have made explicit a limitation to the functioning of categorical differentiation in the case of cross-categories. These studies showed in an important way that the introduction of common memberships reduces inter-group discrimination. It is consistent with the general model of categorical differentiation. Thus the investigators have subjected an important aspect of social reality to experimental study. It showed that in some conditions discrimination between groups may decrease or make to disappear. Thus the findings of these two experiments explained a contradictory or inconsistent aspect of inter-group behaviour by using the paradigm of inter-group behaviour by using the paradigm of cross-category membership.

Tajfel *et al.* (1964) conducted an experiment on intra-category similarities in the process of categorization. In this experiment, the categorization process involved prescription of person belonging to two different nationalities. The study used Canadian and Indian subjects. The subjects were asked to describe by means of semantic differential or by using a list of objective. The results showed that members of an ethnic group perceived culturally adopted characteristics in higher intensity. Thus the stereotypes of the group were highlighted. In other words, accentuation occurred in respect of traits correlated with category membership and was not found for traits which were unrelated to that membership. Thus the experimenters accounted for accentuation of intra-category similarities in the process of categorization.

Doise, Deschamps and Meyer (1978) conducted two experiments on the process of category differentiation. The first experiment was conducted in a primary school in Geneva. The experiment used one hounded and forty-four children aged between 10 and 12 years. They were equally divided into boys and girls. Three photographs of girls aged 12 and three photographs of boys aged 12 were used as materials in the experiment. The subjects were given twenty four adjectives for describing to six children in the photograph. There were two experimental conditions. One was no anticipation and the other was with anticipation. In no anticipation condition, is subjects were not told that they would have to describe the members of another group later on. With anticipation group, it was told that they would have to describe the members of another group later on. The results showed that intra-category similarities and intra-category differences were more prominent in condition with anticipation group than no anticipation group. Thus the number of times a subject attributed the same trait to the tree photographs in the same category was significantly increased when the subjects knew that they would have to give descriptions of members of a different category. It suggests that the accentuation of intra-category similarities does definitely accompany the differentiation of categories.

The second experiment was conducted on inter-category similarities. The experiment was conducted in Switzerland. Three linguistic groups such as German, French and Italian were used. The sample was composed of one hundred and seventy four subjects about fourteen years of age. According to the experimental conditions, these groups were German, Swiss, French Swiss and Italian Swiss. The results showed that the perceived difference

between two different national categories were greater than the perceived difference between two groups of the same national category.

These results showed that the similarity between the Swiss groups were accentuated compared with the conditions in which there were no foreign groups. It is indicative to the fact that two groups belonging to two different national categories are judged in accordance with the process of category separation in order to differ more between themselves than two groups belonging to the same national category.

These two experiments have demonstrated that the increase of similarity within the same category is part of the process of category differentiation. In addition, these two studies on intra-category similarities show that the same process is able to account for the accentuation of differences between social categories as well as for their subjective decrease within a social category.

A large number of studies have been conducted on cross-category membership with reference to status and value differences. Tajfel *et al.* (1971) have provided evidence for cross-category membership in creating in-group favouratism and out-group discrimination in the context of perceptual value differentiation between one's own group and comparison group. The findings of the study have also shown that cross-category membership may be conditioned by positively valued in-group distinctiveness. Furthermore, status differences may also be crucial strategy in categorization paradigm.

Van Knippenberg (1978) reported a study in which he demonstrated the effects of status differential between two natural groups of engineering

students in two Dutch institutions of unequal academic and social prestige. The findings of the study have showed that high and low status group adopted different strategy to cope with the complexities of natural social situations. In the context of these findings, Van Knippenberg concluded that a group's stand on some of its distinctive superiorities may be directly counter-productive in reference to the variation in value patterns of group.

Turner and Brown (1978) manipulated three relevant variables such as high versus low status, legitimate versus illegitimate and stable versus unstable relations in a $2 \times 2 \times 2$ factorial design. The subjects were forty-eight male undergraduates from the University of Bristol. A $2 \times 2 \times 2$ factorial design was used. Three independent variables were, high $\times$ low status and unstable $\times$ stable status and similarity $\times$ dissimilarity with the out-group. The results showed that the more important is the relevant attribute of the social identity of the in-group members. The greater is the similarity to the in-group, the more is the in-group farouratism and out-group discrimination.

Turner, Brown and Tajfel (1979) explored the phenomena of discrimination and fearness in categorization. The used 62 subjects between 14 to 15 were girls and 26 were boys. They were randomly assigned to high and low reward conditions. The results showed that the subjects sacrificed group and personal gain to achieve inter-group cohesiveness. They were less fair and more discriminatory towards the members of relevant out-group than the members of irrelevant out-group.

Majeed and Ghosh (1982), conducted a study on social identity in cross-category membership. They used three ethnic groups in India. The three ethnic groups were high caste Hindus, Muslims and scheduled castes.

A twenty four items adjective check list was used for measuring in-group and out-group evaluations under three sets of instructions such as self evaluation, own group evaluation and out-group evaluation. The results showed that both the Muslims and Scheduled castes minority groups did not evaluate positively the dominant High caste Hindus. Both the minority groups evaluated the high caste Hindus negatively and showed significantly lower evaluation for the minority groups.

Ghosh and Huq (1985) conducted a study on cross-category membership with Bengali Hindus and Bengali Muslims in India and Bangladesh. The Bengali Hindu Muslim relations in India and Bangladesh represent a case of shifting status relations with a shared comparability of linguistic, cultural and ethnic dimensions but a distinctiveness in terms of religious categorization and socio-political dominance. An adjective check list containing twenty two adjectives were used and the Ss were required to indicate the applicability of each adjective by indicating their agreement or disagreement on a five point rating scale for each target under evaluation. The results indicated that both Bengali Muslims and Bengali Hindus reported a high positive social identity. Again, the reciprocal out-group evaluation tends to remain positive for both the groups. This was due to cross-category membership between Muslims and Hindus.

Huq and Ghosh (1985) conducted another study on cross-category membership between Bangali Muslims and Bengali Hindus. The results showed that Bengali Muslim evaluated self significantly less negative as compared to in-group evaluation. The findings indicated less differentiation and greater cohesiveness between self and in-group for Bengali Hindus.

Dion and Yee (1987) found cross-category membership an important ingredient part of social identity. The investigators used 35 students as sample in Canadian context. They were collected from the University of Toronto. Respondents were Chinese, Japanese and Indo-Pakistani students. The study also included students from Anglo and European cultural tradition. Thus the respondents were classified as Asian, European Anglo categories as regards their ethnicity. The result showed that personality differences were associated with ethnicity and gender. The investigators explained these findings in terms of differential socialization and cross-category membership.

Wiley (1991) showed that the students of multiple roles expressed in-group favoritism and out-group discrimination and they were asked to calculate in the context of cross-category membership. It was found that the gap between in-group favoritism and out-group discrimination were much more smaller due to cross-category membership of the students. Mackinnon (1994) reported that Ss discriminated between self, own-group and out-group when they were asked to evaluate traits of personality in three frames of reference.

Burke and Gray (1999) explained internal mechanism of social identity. They found that cognitive aspect of individual is related with his judgment of the environment. This self meaning of the individual helped into conceptualize self, own-group and out-group. Tsushima and Burke (1999) also conducted several studies and showed that identity standard may be culturally described when the perceived situational meanings and the

identity standards are different it gives rise to the development of self, own-group and out-group identity.

Burke and Stets (1999) introduced the self-verification process in the study of social identity. They distinguished between self-verification theory and self-discrepancy (Huggins *et al.*, 1986). They conducted investigation for empirical verification of these theoretical construct. It was found that people act to keep perceptions of themselves in the situation consistent with their identity standard. In this study, situational influences were found to verify the internal dynamics of identity process. It included motivational aliments of self consistency and self regulation.

In an extended study, Stets and Burke (1996) showed that individuals may categorize in particular ways not only to fulfill the need to feel valuable and worthy but also to feel competent and effective. It was also found that a group-based identity may accompany increased self-worth and may emerge from the act of identifying with the group and also from the group's acceptance of the individual as a member. This point explained the mixed support for self-esteem effects in social identity.

Stets and Burke (1996) conducted empirical study and showed that individuals define themselves in terms of their group memberships when they are within organizations. In such cases group members were found to express in-group favouratism at the cost of individual economic gain. This process of categorization provides a disting meaning and creates a positively values social identity. This categorization may become an interval aspect of an individual's sense of identity in order to enhance self-esteem.

Haslam (2001) showed that a person has a number of selves above all his personal self. Hence, a person corresponds to widening circles of group membership. Different social contexts may trigger an individual to think, feel and act on the basis of his personal, family or nation level of self. This leads to the cross-category membership. Thus apart from the level of self an individual may have multiple social identity from this perspective, cross-category membership may be regarded as an interval part for any internalized group membership.

Smidts *et al.* (2001) conducted a study to examine the scope and application of social identity theory. They tested a wide range of fields and settings and concluded that social identity has wide application in the study of prejudice, stereotyping, negotiation and language usage. In this study the school boys were assign to groups which were intended as meaningless as possible. They were assigned randomly the task of evaluation both their own-group and out-group. Conclusions were that even the most minimal conditions were sufficient to encourage in-group favouring responses. Participants picked a reward pair that awarded more points to people who were identified as in-group members. In other words, they displayed in-group favouritism.

Posten (2002) conducted a study on social identity as a function of sports affiliation and self-esteem. It was found that fans of sports buy the jersey, pay the money for ticket collect, buy and trade sports cards. The investigators showed that social identity theory is applicable to sports fan. On the basis of their observations, the investigator concluded that people are motivated to show behaviours in ways that maintain and boost their self-

esteem. Having high self-esteem is typically a perception of oneself as attractive, competent, likeable and morally good person. This attribute make the person more attractive to the outside social work. Thus social identity may provide this attributes to the person. It can increase self-esteem by association and affiliation. As a result, social identity has grade value and significant to the members. It helps to strengthen the self-esteem of the members. This research has clearly demonstrated the effect of self-esteem and its connection to group identification. The findings of the study also showed that different strategy were used by the members of the group in order to maintain or boost self-esteem.

Hugenberg and Bodenhausen (2004) conducted a study on category membership and its effects on social identity. They found that every person belongs to a diverse variety of social categories such as gender, ethnicity, occupation, socio-economic status and residential background. This poses the complexity of identity and challenges the process of social perception and impression formation. On the basis of their observations, the investigators conclude that category membership may moderate the inhibition of social identities.

Bodenhausen and Macral (1998) found that category membership involves a large number of social perceivers. This navigates among multiple categories and makes decisions about others. This category membership constantly determines which categories are situationally important.

Sherman, Macrae and Bodenhausen (2000) showed that all detectable social categories provide the most complete picture of a social target. Fiske and Taylor (1991), on the other hand, found category membership as the

sheer complexity of social life. When paired with lack of motivation, it can lead to focus on one of the many available categorizations.

The preceding review of literature on cross-category membership have shown that social comparison have three important aspects of inter-group behavior. Social categorization divides the social environment into discrete social categories. Social identity relates to persons belongings to a social category in a pluralistic society. Different social categories are interrelated for the purpose of mutual benefit. The present study would use all these concepts for the investigation of social identity as a function of relationships of Bengali Hindus and Santals in their relationships with dominant out-group Bengali Muslims.

Rationale of the Study

Bangladesh is a pluralistic country. Some people call Bangladesh a monolingual country. But this is not true. In fact, the majority of Bangladeshi people speak Bengali but there are many tribal people who speak in their own dialects. They have distinct cultural heritage. According to Clarence Maloney (1984), there are six categories of tribal population living in Bangladesh. They have their own language, own culture and distinct social identity. Viewed from this perspective, Bangladesh may be rightly identified as a multilingual and multicultural country. The present study has focused on the social identity as a function of cross- category membership in racial ethic group as the Santals and the religious ethnic group as the Bengali Hindus.

Santals as Recial Ethnic Group

The Santals are the most neglected tribal group in Bangladesh. They have separate and distinct racial origin. They belong to archaic Caucasoid sub-stock family. They live mostly in the North-Western part of Bangladesh. They follow animistic religion. The Santals have their own language. They use their own scripts in writing. They possess cultural heritage of their own. They are exposed to modernization in sense of the fact that they make an effort to preserve racial, linguistic and cultural distinctiveness. In consideration of these special characteristic feature of the Santals, it is thought appropriate to select them as distinct racial ethnic group for the purpose of comparison in respect of their social identity as a fanction of cross category membership for self, own group and out-group evaluations as related to gender, age and residential background.

The Santals live in Rajshahi division. They are mostly concentrated in Godagari, Nachal, Rahanpur, Tanore and Paba upazilas of Rajshahi district and in Ghoraghat, Kotaoli, Nawabganj, Biral, Kahoral, Pirganj and Khansama upazilas of Dinajpur district. Originally, the Santals are tribes of choto Nagpur and Santal Pargana of India and they have drifted away eastwards from their original home in search of livelihood.

According to Bessaignet (1960) Santals are grouped under the category of pre-dravidian or proto-Australoid group of people and they were the largest tribe in the past who lived in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Originally they were hunters. But they have migrated to the Northern Part of Bangladesh during British period and adopted agricultural occupation. After accepting the agricultural profession, they dispersed from their original

home in search of land and reached as far as North Western part of East Bengal which is now within the area of Bangladesh (Hossain and Sadeque, 1984).

Hossain and Sadeque (1984) conducted a sociological study on the Santals of Rajshahi. They found social and cultural change in Santal community. For example, Santals believed in 11 patirilinan exoganous Sibs. Sib is again divided into a number of sub sibs. Marriage and gender selections are prohibited within the same Sibs. But these status differentiations among Sibs no longer exist.

The Santal population are largely illiterate. Most of them are share croppers and landless labours. Santal women equally participate with their men counterparts in agriculture. The women are mostly engaged in planting, sowing weeding and threshing of rice as part of their professional involvement. Hunting is very popular with Santal men. Now a days, hunting is rare. It is due to non availability of game reserve and forest area. Once in a year, they set out for hunting. Then they are in festive mood. Hares, rats, turtle, pig and various birds are their favorite food items.

The Santals are backward socially, economically and politically .They are uneducated. They live in darkness of traditional society. They are a defeated group for thousand of years. However, they have their distinct cultural identity. They use a special set of clothes called Panchi, Panchatal and Matha. The women use shari. They use ornaments on their hands, legs, ears, noses and necks. The Santal women put flowers in there hair. They have their own festival times. During festival, both males, females, boys and girls drink domestically made wine and they take part in dances and songs.

In Bangladesh the Santals are facing tremendous pressure for assimilation and acculturation as they come closer to the dominant society. It is true that marginal cultures are assimilated with dominant surrounding society. This cultural contact of the Santals with the outside society have created a new social reality. In fact surrounding culture and political system have tended to create pressures for greater assimilated on the part of the Santals. Hence the crucial determinants of group cohesiveness for the Santals lie in the conscious efforts to create cultural creativity and to resist there forces for assimilation. Viewed from this perspective, it is argued that the Santals as a tribe are definitely distinct as a social group but they are gradually coming into greater cultural contact with the dominant culture of Bangladesh.

Bengali Hindus as Religious Ethnic Group

The pre-historic archeological research regarding the racial origin of Bengalis is not available. But Maloney (1977) has pointed out that the confluence of linguistic and ethnic elements in Bengali language and culture has its history in the process of neolithic revolution and peasantization of Ganga-Bangla plains. Risley and Gait (1903) has conducted extensive works about the origin of Bengali race. The findings of this research works have showed that three racial categories of advanced hunters such of megrito, preto-Australoid and the quasi-Negriod have submerged in the racial component of Bengali populations. Further more, Maloney (1977) has found a fusion of proto-Australoid and mongolid traits in the people of East Bengal. According to D.N. Majumdar (1961), Namasudra Hindus have been

converted into Muslims. This finding supports that most Muslim in East Bengal are more related in origin to the Namasudras and that geneological tracing of Arab descent are most fanciful. Thus the ethnic elements in Bengali populations may be identified in terms of religious ethnicity.

The Bengali ethnic identity may be structured on the re-vitalization of Bengali language literature. Kopf (1976) made a distinction between Bengali Hindu intelligentsia and Bengali Muslim intelligentsia. Both the groups were the product of interaction between Bengali elites and British orientalists. This helped to maintain a good rapport and good will between the representatives of the two civilizations. They contributed to the foundation of new-Indian middle class and assisted in the professionalization of Bengal intelligentsia. Thus they transmitted a new sense of identity to Bengalis. But Bengali Muslims did not participate in this process of social change and modernization. It is because they were unable to incorporate within their fold the values and ideas which were quite opposite to their religious ideology. Bengali Hindus introduced new form of Bengali Language which was highly Sanskritised. But Bengali Muslims showed reluctance to accept this Sanskritised form of Bengali language. It was irrelevant among the cluster of Islamic sacred languages such as Arabic, Parsian and Urdu. It was the general consensus among Bengali Muslims that sanskritised Bengali language was not proper medium for communication (Kopf, 1976).

It was thus evident that identity problem was crucial in Bengali Muslims and Bengali Hindus in the early ages of Bengali renaissance. This was the root of religious ethnic identity between two communities of Bengali Muslims and Bengali Hindus.

With the partition of Bengal into East and West and the former joining Pakistan and the latter joining India, a good number of Hindus have migrated to West Bengal. As a result, the Hindus in East Bengal became numerically few and they occupy only the lower range of socio-economic ladder with respect to education, income, occupation and political power. Thus they became neutralized, barren and powerless both economically, politically and socially in the context of changed political environment. Thus the Bengali Hindus in Bangladesh have achieved the status of minority. The present study has used Bengali Hindus as a group that constitutes religious ethnicity. It is thus clear that both Santals and Hindus in Bangladesh represent minority groups. While the Santals are racial minority, the Bengali Hindus are treated as religious minority group.

In fact both Santals as racial minority group and Bengali Hindus as religious minority group share many things in common. This community represents the cross-category membership. Thus the study is an attempt to investigate social identity of Santals and Bengali Hindus as a function of cross-category membership with reference to self evaluation, in-group evaluation and out-group evaluation as related to gender, residence and age differentiations.

Objective of the Study

The broad objective of the study is to investigate social identity of Santals as racial ethnic group and Bengali Hindus as religious ethnic group in the cross-category membership in social context of Bangladesh. This may be specifically stated as follows:

(1) To differentiate self versus own-group, self versus out-group and own-group versus out-group evaluations of Santals and Bengali Hindus in their preferences for Psycho-social characteristics.

(2) To differentiate between Santals as racial ethnic group and Bengali Hindus as religious ethnic group in their preference for mutual evaluations.

(3) To measure the impact of cross-category membership on social identity with reference to Santals and Bengali Hindus as members of subordinate group.

(4) To measure the impact of residential background age and gender on social identity patterns of Santals as racial ethnic group and Bengali Hindus as religious ethnic group.

Hypotheses

The study emerges from the interplay of certain wider socio contextual variables with social psychological processes of social identity. Thus cross-category membership of ethnic groups, residential background, age and gender were the independent variables in this study. The differential amount of social identity was the dependent variable in this study. In the perspective of these variables, following hypotheses were framed in this study.

1. Bengali Hindus as religious ethnic group would evaluate self and own-group more positively and out-group more negatively as compared to Santals as racial ethnic groups.

2. Boys would evaluate self and own-group more positively and out-group more negatively as compared to girls.

3. Respondents with 16 years age would evaluate self and own-group significantly more positively and the reciprocal out-group more negatively as compared to respondents with 13 years age.

4. Respondents with urban residential background would evaluate self and own-group significantly more positively and out-group significantly more negatively as compared to the respondents with rural residential background.

Formulation and Justification of Hypotheses

The present study deals with social identity and cross-category membership in Santals as racial ethnic group and Hindus as religious ethnic group in the socio-economic and political context of Bangladesh. Conceived from this perspective, it may be said that the study is an explorative one. In spite of this characteristic of the investigation, several hypotheses have been formulated. The formulation and justification of these hypotheses have been stated below:

H_1: Bengali Hindus as religious ethnic group would evaluate self and own- group more positively and out-group more negatively as compared to Santals as racial ethnic group.

This hypothesis is based on the theoretical construct of social identity. For example, Tajfel used social categories for describing a racial group. Brown (1984) also identified social category as important source of self identity as well as social identity. Similarly, Brown (1978) used the principle of cross-category membership which guides social interaction. These interpretations of inter-group relations show that a person's identity is a

complex integration of personality attributions, unique experiences, personal choices and individual sense of self. These are produced of various group memberships. This constitutes social identities. Thus social identity is a product of personal attitude, values and past history. In fact, social identity influences reciprocal perception of the groups about themselves and others. Conceived in this sense, social identity of Santals as racial ethnic group and social identity of Hindus as religious ethnic group may be influenced by their attitude, values, cultures and past history as well as by their perceptions and evaluations about self, own-group and reciprocal out-group. In particular Santals are found to be involved in-group mobility and group consciousness for asserting positive social identity. Hindus, on the other hand, enjoyed the status of dominant group before the division of India but recently they are supposed to experience minority status in Bangladesh. In this act of achieving social identity, Hindus are in a more advantageous position due to sharing cross-category membership with Bengali Muslims. On the basis of this social psychological consideration of minority status and ethnicity, it has been hypothesized that Bengali Hindus as religious ethnic group would evaluate self and own-group more positively and out-group more negatively as compared to Santals as racial ethnic group.

H_2: Boys would evaluate self and own-group more positively and out-group more negatively as compared to girls.

This hypothesis has been framed under the theoretical construct of contact hypothesis (Amir, 1969) and the notion of group similarity theory of inter-group relations (Tajfel, 1982). Both contact hypothesis and similarity theory of inter-group relations have emphasized on the network of social

relationships and its sharing by members of the group (Berger, et. al, 1980; Wiley, 19910). These shared group identity lead to inter-group harmony depending upon its precise form. In case of boys and girls of minority groups, it is arguable that male members of these groups have more social contact with the members of out-group and as such they develop more social awareness and self consciousness about the individual self-esteem and group cohesiveness for attaining positive social identity. Girls, on the other hand, are supposed to have less social contact with the members of out-group and as such they have less opportunity for the development of social awareness. Thus the girls develop higher prejudicial attitude towards out-group members. But boys earn higher insight leading to the development of higher competitive attitudes in relation to out-group members. On the basis of these social reality in the socio-economic and political context of Bangladesh, it has been hypothesized that boys would evaluate self and own-group more positively and out-group more negatively as compared to girls.

H_3: Respondents with 16 years age would evaluate self and own-group significantly more positively and the reciprocal out-group more negatively as compared to respondents with 13 years age.

This hypothesis has been framed in the perspective of empirical studies reported earlier in the review of literature. Moreover, a large number of studies (Baldwin, 1994; Sherman, 1982; Rosenberg, 1979) have shown that misidentification is a common phenomenon in the children of ethnic groups. In such cases, developmental stages in terms of age may provide cognitive scheme. Thus the children in early adolescence stage may not develop cognitive scheme properly. In fact, children in late adolescence

stage may enhance cognition of stimuli more accurately and more rapidly. The children at early adolescence stage, due to identity crisis, may fail to recognize appropriate stimuli and as such their perceptions about self, own-group and out-group are confused. Hence, identity crisis and inaccuracy in cognition may increase the likelihood of misidentification. On the basis of these arguments, it has been hypothesized that boys would evaluate self and own-group more positively and out-group more negatively as compared to girls.

H_4: Respondents with urban residential background would evaluate self and own-group significantly more positively and out-group significantly more negatively as compared to the respondents with rural residential background.

This hypothesis is based on the status characteristics theory (Wagner and Berger, 1993). This theory states that status differences in terms of residence may control the formation of social identity of individuals. Thoits (1987) has provided certain negotiating role on spouse, parent and workers emerging from residential background. The investigators found residential background responsible for multiple and diverse rules in the group. Empirical studies have reported that children from rural residential background expressed more group cohesiveness due to their frequent interaction between group members. Furthermore, research findings provided by Stryker (1968, 1987, 2000) showed that identity salience, rate of performance and identity competition may emerge from residential background of the children. In fact, group cohesiveness and residence of individuals are highly interlinked. A group with high cohesiveness within its

members would evaluate self and own-group more positively and out-group more negatively. But group differentiation is likely to lead the group in less cohesiveness. They express misidentification. On the basis of these theoretical and empirical findings about social identity and cross-category membership, it has been hypothesized that respondents with urban residential background would evaluate self and own-group significantly more positively and out-group more negatively as compared to the respondents with rural residential background.

CHAPTER-2

METHOD AND PROCEDURE

CHAPTER TWO
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Sample

The present study was comprised of 240 subjects. They were equally divided into Santals as racial ethnic group members and Bengali Hindus as religious ethnic group members. Each ethnic group was equally divided into boys and girls on the basis of sex identity. They were again equally divided into 13 years age group and 16 years age group. Finally, each age group was equally subdivided into urban and rural in respect of residential background. Thus stratified random sampling procedure was followed for sample selection. The break up of the sample is given in Table 1.

Table 1: Showing break-up of sample distribution.

	Santal				Bengali Hindu				Total
	Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural		
	13 years	16 years	13 years	16 years	13 years	16 years	13 years	16 years	
Boys	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	120
Girls	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	120
Total	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	240

Selection of Instrument

The selection of instrument depends on various considerations such as objective of the study, sample used, the amount of time at the investigator's

disposal, personal competence of the investigator, ethical consideration for using the test, attainment of accuracy for scoring and interpretation of the test results. In view of these considerations, selection of the appropriate measure was done after carefully reviewing the various tests regarding social identity.

Among the factors taken into account in the selection of the tests were: (1) The efficiency of the measuring device, (2) case in administration and scoring, (3) Educational level for which the measure was suited, (4) The suitability of the measure to the objectives of the research.

On the basis of the above criteria, the investigator selected Adjective Check List (ACL) as the measure of social identity. This Adjective Check List was developed by Huq (1985) for measuring social identity of Bengali Muslims and Bengali Hindus in Bangladesh and India.

Twelve bipolar adjectives were included in the Adjective Check List. These are: 1. Clear - Dirty, 2. Religious - Atheist, 3. Benevolent - Self centered, 4. Sweet Tongued - Rough, 5. Simple - Proudly, 6. Economical - Extravagant, 7. Friendly - Enemical, 8. Patriotic - Traitorous, 9. Industrious - Idle, 10. Heroic - Coward, 11. Peace loving - Aggressive, 12. Cooperative - Competitive.

Each subject was required to evaluate each adjective on five point scale such as completely applicable (5) applicable (4) neutral (3) not applicable (2) and completely inapplicable (1). This counting was for positive adjectives. The counting was reversed for negative adjectives. Split-half reliability was computed with odd and even numbers and the

Spearman's was found .49. When Spearman- Brown prophecy formula was applied, the correction was found to increase from .49 to .66 indicating high reliability of the test. The adjectives used in this test were descriptive and evaluative in nature and as such the Adjective Check List is said to have content validity.

On the basis of these arguments, the investigators selected the measure of adjective check list (ACL) in order to elicit the social identity of two ethnic groups of Santals as racial ethnic group and Bengali Hindus as religious ethnic group. Thus the Adjective Check List was a measure of psychosocial characteristics.

The measure of Adjective Check List has multiple application in the study of inter-group relations Milner (1975), Zavalloni (1975) and Pettigrew (1964) used Adjective Check List determined the nature of social identity in the context of majority minority inter-group relations. Its purpose was to indicate self and own-group devaluation, self-depreciation, misidentified perception and negative identity of the children and adult of subordinate group. A large number of research strategies (Milner, 1981; Long and Henderson, 1968; Clark, 1963) have used Adjective Check List and have measured social identity in terms of positive and negative evaluations of self, own group and out-group.

Hence it is argued that evaluation strategies of the individual depend on how he defines himself within the specific socio-cultural context. Again, evaluation strategies also depend on how the individual of a particular group perceive the various socio-cultural groups categorized in terms of self, own

group and out-group evaluations. In this perspective, it is considered that an Adjective Check List of psycho-social characteristics would be appropriate for eliciting social identity of Santals and Bengali Hindus in the socio-cultural context of Bangladesh. In the case of positive identification, it is thought that the individual would evaluate self and own group characteristics in the positive direction and out-group in the negative direction. However, in case of negative identification, it is expected that an individual would evaluate self and own group in negative direction and the out-group in the positive direction. Considered from this perspective of evaluation, it is thought that the application of Adjective Check List for the measurement of social identity is more appropriate, consistent and logically sound.

Methodological Perspective of the Measure of Social Identity

The measure of social identity has been attempted from various theoretical orientations. Traditionally, it has been studied as an ingredient of an individual's self-concept. Kuhn and Mcpartland (1954) used Twenty Statements Test (TST) as a measure of assessing the significance of various self-concepts. It included personality traits, accomplishment, attitudes and social groupings such as an American or a woman. Subsequent attempts were made by Gordon (1968) and Kuhn (1960) to derive taxonomy of social identity. Here social identity was considered as a major category of inter-group relations. Jackson (1981) investigated commitment to role identities for the measurement of social identities. These involve interest and attitude toward seven pre-selected role identities in the cross-category membership of inter-group relation.

The social identity concept has received considerable attention from experimental social psychologist. Tajfel et al. (1971) used in-group bias for the study of social identity in minimal group composition. In this paradigm, Ss were asked to assess bias in resource allocation. They made differential treatment on the basis of group membership. The contention is that social identity provides a psychological link between self and in-group with reference to out-group. It is assumed that minimal group classifications are internalized as social identities in the same way as real life social identities. This indicates that social identities of any origin will foster in-group bias.

These approaches for the measurement of social identities suggest that the basic structure and function of social identities are the same whether they arise naturally or within a laboratory. Based partly on these methodological issues, Tajfel (1982) proposed a multi-dimensional approach to study social identity. Similar method was used by McGuire, Child and Fujioka (1978). In these methodological procedures, the investigators examined inter-relationships among multiple social identities deriving from psychological dimension as well as ethnic and gender differences in terms of self, own-group and out-group evaluations. Thus the evaluations are supposed to be effected by actual or perceived memberships in distinct groups. Conceived in this way, the social identity construct provides a bridge between inter-group processes and social behavior with reference to self, own-group and out-group evaluations.

The studies on inter-group relations have used various techniques to measure social identity in real life social settings. Bourhis, Giles and Rosenthal (1981) constructed Subjective Vitality Questionnaire (SVQ) to

measure social identity of ethno-linguistic groups. Huq (1984) used a Language Attitude Test (LAT) to measure Bengali Muslim and Hindu identity problems in Bangladesh on language dimensions. Jamias, Pablo and Taylor (1971) developed a multi dimensional scale to measure social identity. This scale includes cultural background, language and geographic region as variable in the process of majority-minority inter-group relationships.

These measuring instruments attempted to explore structural and functional validity of social identity affected by linguistic distinctiveness within a national and geographical boundary. There is, however, a great necessity to use multidimensional approach to study social identity problems of various groups. Following these principles of social identities of test constructions, the investigator of the present study has selected Adjective Check List as the measure for social identity of two ethnic groups such as Santals as racial ethnic group and Hindus as religious ethnic group. These two ethnic groups include such dimensions as cultural background, linguistic differentiation, geographic region and traditionalism. Thus the Adjective Check List was selected to explore the pattern of social identity of Santals as racial ethnic group and Hindus as religious ethnic group with reference to self, own-group and out-group evaluations in the socio-political context of Bangladesh.

Thus the selection of Adjective Check List as measure for social identities was done after carefully reviewing the various tests regarding cultural background and linguistic determinants of social identity.

Description of Adjective Check List (ACL)

Clark and Clark (1947) used Adjective Check List as evaluative measure. These measures were used to locate racial identification of Negroes in America. Since then a large number of investigators (Inkeles and Smith, 1975; Jahoda, 1961; Jensen, 1973; Poortinga, 1971) used Adjective Check List as instrument for cross-cultural comparisons. Lonner and Brislin (1974) have provided a rigorous methodological treatment of Adjective Check List as measure instrument. They used these instruments for comparison process in cross-cultural perspective. Thus Adjective Check List was treated as a universal process in a multi-method and multi-trait context. Thus Adjective Check List attained construct validity across culture. It attained psychometric value and maintained an essential role in evaluative assessment. Thus the use of Adjective Check List has a wide application in cross-cultural Psychology. Eventually a considerable body of research has been done (Milner, 1975; Zavalloni, 1975; Pettigrew, 1964) in the context of majority-minority and dominant-subordinate group relations. The purpose of these studies was to indicate self-owngroup devaluation, self-depreciation, misidentified perception and negative identification of minority group members against their majority group counterparts.

Following these principles, Majeed and Ghosh (1982) developed a twenty four items Adjective Check List for measuring in-group and out-group evaluations in Indian context. Huq (1985) also used Adjective Check List for measuring social identity of Bengali Muslims and Bengali Hindus in Bangladesh and India. Moeed (1990) used Adjective Check List for

measuring social identity of Santals and Chakma as tribal group in the context of Bangladesh.

Construction of Adjective Check List

The investigators in the present study developed similar type of Adjective Check List using bipolar adjectives for measuring social identity of Santals as racial ethnic group and Hindus as religious ethnic group in socio-economic and political context of Bangladesh.

Adjective Check List contained adjectives on evaluative and descriptive dimensions. First, some open-end questions were asked to 20 Bengali Hindu and 20 Santal students at intermediate level to write down as many as adjectives that are generally used to evaluate his own-group and the relevant out-group. The respondents were individually interviewed and each respondent gave a list of adjective. Then a comparative statement was prepared of all the adjectives. Then 20 positive and 20 negative adjectives were chosen on the basis of common agreement of all the subjects. The adjectives were bipolar in nature. These 40 adjectives constituted a measuring instrument of psycho-social characteristics.

Then a pilot study was conducted. For this purpose, 30 Bengali Hindus and 30 Santals were randomly selected from students. The students were collected from schools and colleges. In this pilot study, Adjective Check List containing 20 positive and 20 negative adjectives was administered on 60 students. The adjectives were randomly ordered and were administered under three frames of reference such as attribution to self,

own-group and out-group on a five point scale ranging from strongly true to strongly false. The self, own-group and out-group evaluations were made separately with a gap of one week in order to avoid response set. Scores on each adjective were summated separately for Bengali Hindu and Santal subjects. Maximum possible score for each positive adjective was $20\times5=100$ and the maximum possible score for negative adjective was $20\times5=100$ and the minimum possible score was $30\times1=30$. Two separate principles were worked out for the selection of items. First, positive item having a score value of 35 ($100-30=70/2=35$) or above (common in self and own-group for both the categories) were included in the final form of the test. Secondly, negative item having a score value of 35 ($100-30=70/2=35$) or above (common in out-group evaluation for both the categories) were included in the final form of the test.

On the basis of this criterion of item selection, 24 adjectives, equally divided into positive and negative, were included in Adjective Check List. The adjectives were bipolar in nature. These are given here:

1. Clear - Dirty, 2. Religious - Atheist, 3. Benevolent - Self-Centered, 4. Sweet Tongued - Rough, 5. Simple - Proudly, 6. Economical - Extravagant, 7. Friendly - Enemical, 8. Patriotic - Traitorous, 9. Industrious - Idle, 10. Heroic - Coward, 11. Peace loving - Aggressive, 12. Cooperative - Competitive.

Thus 16 adjectives of which 8 were positive and remaining 8 were negative were discarded since their score values did not fulfill the selection criteria or they failed to attain equivalence on both the groups. Thus the test

was selected on the basis of face validity. As the adjectives were selected through open-end questions from Bengali Hindu and Santal students, it may be said that the measure of Adjective Check List have achieved the criterion of content validity.

For determining the reliability of the measure, split-half reliability was computed. For this purpose split half-reliability was computed (N=240) with odd and even numbers of the scores of 24 items used in the final study and the Spearman 'r' was found 79. When Spearman-Brown prophecy formula was applied the correlation was found to increase from .79 to indicating high reliability of the measure of adjective check list Procedure of Data Collection.

The investigators utilized the measure of Adjective Check List for the collection of data in the present study. This Adjective Check List was administered on 120 Bengali Hindus and 120 Santals. All the respondents were students of secondary level of education. In the first place, data were collected from rural population situated in Godagari and Tanore Upazilla in Rajshahi district. Santals respondents were contacted through Santal agents and Hindu respondents were contacted through Hindu agents. Each respondent was contacted individually in colleges as well as in their homes. The respondents were friendly and they cooperated in data collection. Each respondent was given an Adjective Check List and he was asked to fill up the Adjective Check List of self, own group and out-group evaluations at an interval of a week in order to check the response set effect. The respondents took hardly half an hour to fill up each questionnaire.

However, it was not a very simple and easy job. The respondents raised doubt about the purpose of the research. They were very much suspicious about the motive of the investigators. All the doubts were removed from the minds of the respondents through personal contact with the help of agent. Thus proper rapport was established. The respondents were assured that the information given by them would be kept secret and would be used for research purpose only. Following the same procedure, data were collected from Hindus and Santals from different educational institution situated in Rajshahi city.

Administration of Adjective Check List

The Adjective Check List was administered on sample of Santals (N=120) and Hindus (N=120). Each group was equally divided into Boys and Girls. Each category each again subdivided into Urban and Rural. Adjective check list was distributed to the respondents with proper instruction. The respondents were asked to evaluate self, own group and relevant out-group on a five point scale ranging from totally true to totally false. So the respondents were required to fill up the adjective check list on three evaluative categories, Viz. first, for self evaluation, second, for own group evaluation and third, for out-group evaluation. These three evaluations were done separately. The instruction for the adjective check list was given in Bengali. However, English rendering of the instruction is given below:

"Following you will see a list of adjectives that is usually used for evaluating a person or a group. Please read these adjectives carefully and say how far each adjective is true or false for self/ own group/ out-group by

giving a tick mark ($\sqrt{}$) on the blank space given against each adjective ranging from totally true to totally false. Remember, there is no right or wrong answer".

Design

The study involved 2×2×2×2 completely randomized design with social identity as dependent variable and two levels of ethnicity (Santals/ Bengali Hindus), two levels of sex (boys/girls), two levels of age (13/16 years) and two levels of residential back ground (urban/rural) as independent variables. Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was used for the analysis of data.

CHAPTER-3

RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION

CHAPTER THREE
RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION

The present study has collected data from two ethnic groups such as Santals and Bengali Hindus in the social context of Bangladesh. These two ethnic groups were found to share minority status with reference to Bengali Muslims in Bangladesh. Moreover, the Santals were found to show more affinity towards Hindus in their customs and religious beliefs. Thus it appears that both the Santals and the Hindus as minority groups in Bangladesh share cross-category membership in inter-group relations. In this respect, data were collected using Adjective Check List for the measurement of social identity. The Adjective Check List contains equal number of positive and negative adjectives. The respondents were asked to evaluate each adjective for self, own-group and out-group preferences on a five-point scale ranging from totally applicable to totally not applicable. A discrepancy score was calculated by subtracting a positive score from a negative score on each item. A high score with minus sign indicated more negative evaluation. A high score with plus sign indicated more positive evaluation. No minus sign was obtained for evaluation of self, own-group and out-group in case of Santals. Hence, no constant was added to convert minus scores to positive number.

In case of Bengali Hindus, similar process was maintained. It was found that minus sign was evident in several cases in out-group evaluation. In order to eliminate minus sign, a constant of 30 was added.

The results were calculated using the statistical technique of Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). The results were reported in three parts. In the first part, ANOVA was computed separately for Santals. This was done in three sections. In the first section, ANOVA was computed with the scores of self-evaluation of Santal respondents. The discrepancy scores ('D' score) were subjected to a 2×2×2 factorial ANOVA representing two levels of gender (Boy/Girl), two levels of age (13 years/16 years) and two levels of residence (Urban/Rural).

In the second section, 'D' scores on own-group evaluation of Santal respondents were subjected to a 2×2×2 factorial ANOVA representing two levels of gender (Boy/Girl), two levels of age (13 years/16 years) and two levels of residence (Urban/Rural).

In the third section, 'D' scores on out-group evaluation of Santal respondents were subjected to a 2×2×2 factorial ANOVA representing two levels of gender (Boy/Girl), two levels of age (13 years/16 years) and two levels of residence (Urban/Rural).

In the second part, ANOVA was computed separately for Bengali Hindus. This was done in three sections. In the first section, ANOVA was computed with the scores of self-evaluation of Bengali Hindu respondents. The discrepancy scores ('D' scores) were subjected to a 2×2×2 factorial ANOVA representing two levels of gender (Boy/Girl) two levels of age (13 years/16 years) and two levels of residence (urban/Rural).

In the second section, 'D' scores on own-group evaluation of Bengali Hindu respondents were subjected to a 2×2×2 factorial ANOVA

representing two levels of gender (Boy/Girl), two levels of age (13 years/16 years) and two levels of residence (Urban/Rural).

In the third section, 'D' scores on out-group evaluation of Bengali Hindu respondents were subjected to a 2×2×2 factorial ANOVA representing two levels of gender (Boy/Girl), two levels of age (13 years/16 years) and two levels of residence (Urban/Rural).

In the third part, ANOVA was computed involving group composition (Santal/ Bengali Hindus), gender (Boy/ Girl) and age (13 years/16 years) regardless of residential background separately on self-evaluation, own-group evaluation and out-group evaluation.

1.1: Self-evaluation of Santals

Table 2: Showing summary of ANOVA representing gender, age and residence for self evaluation of Santal respondents on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=120).

Sources of Variance	SS	df	MS	F	Level of significance
Gender (A)	58.80	1	58.80	13.64	0.001
Age (B)	4.03	1	4.03	0.93	n.s
Residence (C)	288.30	1	288.30	66.89	0.001
AB	64.54	1	64.54	14.97	0.001
AC	00	1	00	00	n.s
BC	32.04	1	32.04	7.43	0.001
ABC	5.06	1	5.06	1.17	n.s
Within cell (experimental error)	482.72	112	4.31		
Total	935.49	119			

The result (Table 2) showed that main effects for gender and residence were statistically significant. Furthermore, interaction effect

involving gender and age as well as age and residence were also statistically significant.

MAIN EFFECT

Gender

The result reported in Table 2 showed that the main effect for gender was statistically significant (F=13.64, df=1/112, P <0.001).

Table 3:   Showing mean scores and significant mean difference between boy and girl for self-evaluation of Santals on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=60 for each group).

Gender	Mean Scores
Boy	32.61a
Girl	34.01b

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores and significant mean difference (Table 3) showed that regardless of age and residence, Santal girls (M=34.01) evaluated self significant by more positively as compared to Santal boys (M=32.61) indicating more positive social identity. In other words, results showed that Santal girls expressed significantly higher self identity as compared to Santal boys. This finding seems to indicate that cross-category membership is more evident in boys than girls. Due to the effect of cross-category membership, the boys has probably lowered down their self-evaluation indicating higher differentiation. Girls, on the other hand, showed higher solidarity in self evaluation due to their lower frequency of interaction with the members of out-group. This finding may

be explained with reference to contact theory of inter-group relation develop by Amir (1969). According to contact theory of inter-group relation, it is said that contact between two ethnic groups and hostile group may help to eliminate the prejudicial beliefs among the members of the group. It is probably important to note that female members of a group have less opportunity to contact with the members of the out-groups. But the male members enjoy higher opportunity to make contract with the out-group members in higher frequency. This involves the phenomenon of cross-category membership. It is this cross-category membership of Santal boys that helped them to express less solidarity for self evaluation. Accordingly, the Santal girls are deprived to maintain cross-category membership leading to the development of higher self-evaluation indicating self solidarity within the boundary of own-ethnic group.

Residence

The results reported in Table 2 showed that the main effect of residence was statistically significant ($F=66.89$, $df=1/112$, $P<0.001$).

Table 4: Showing mean scores and significant mean difference between the respondents with urban and rural residential background for self-evaluation of Santals on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=60 for each group).

Residence	Mean scores
Urban	34.86_b
Rural	31.76_a

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores and significant mean difference showed that regardless of gender and age, respondents with urban residential background (M=34.86) evaluated self significantly more positively as compared to respondents with rural residential background (M=31.76). It indicates that urban respondent expressed significantly more positive social identity as compared to rural respondent. In other words, results on self evaluation showed that urban respondents expressed higher self-oriented evaluation than the rural respondents. It seems to indicate that cross-category membership is more effective in the people with rural residential background. This finding may be explained with reference to the inter-group relations involving collectiveness and individualism. It is plausible to argue that collectivism involves cross-category membership. It is obvious to note that rural population is more concerned with the collective live style but urban population is characterized by individualistic way of life. Due to these differences in living style, certain variation has been introduced in social identity pattern between urban and rural population.

Another important aspect of the findings relating to self-evaluation is concerned with privileges enjoyed by urban and rural population. It is true that urban people are expressed to moral facilities leading to higher quality of life. But rural population is exposed to facilities inferior to those of urban facilities. It means that relative deprivation wherever egoistic or fraternal, is severe and acute in rural areas. It is, perhaps, this attitudinal exposition of relative deprivation which is more apparent in the Santal respondent living in rural areas. In the respect of this observation, it can be said that

self-evaluation is conditioned by several inherent dimensions relating to the basic factor of cross-category membership of social identity.

However, the findings relating to residential background may be explained with reference to theory of racism in 'paternalistic' and 'competitive' societies (Van Den Berghe, 1967). The basic difference between these two patterns of society is that in the former case the status differences help to maintain the social order and reduce structural conflict between subordinate and dominant group. But in the latter case, the status divisions are focal point for discrimination and hostility. In the present situation, the Santals of urban areas represent the competitive society while the Santals of rural areas represent the paternalistic society. As a result, self-evaluation of the Santals in urban areas is characterized by discrimination and hostility leading to self-solidarity in terms of positive social identity. But the Santals in rural areas maintain social order and it reduces structural conflict leading to less solidarity in self-evaluation in terms of lower positive social identity.

INTERACTION EFFECT

Gender × Age

The results of ANOVA (Table 2) reported significant interaction effect between gender and age. It was found that a two-way interaction involving gender and age was statistically significant ($F=14.97$, $df=1/112$, $P<0.001$).

Table 5: Showing cell means and significant mean differences involving two-way interaction between gender and age of Santals for self-evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=30 for each cell).

Gender	13 years	16 years
Boy	32.06_a	33.16_b
Girl	34.93_c	33.10_b

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An examination of mean scores and their significant mean differences (Table 5) showed that boys in 16 years age group (M=33.16) expressed significantly higher self-evaluation as compared to the boys in 13 years age group (M=32.06). But the girls of Santal community in 13 years age group (M=34.93) expressed significantly higher self-evaluation than the girls of Santal community in 16 years age group (M=33.10).This has effected interaction. The interaction effect has been graphically presented in figure 1.

Between-group comparison showed that girls in 13 years age group (M=34.93) evaluated self significantly in higher intensity as compared to the boys in 13 years age group, But no statistically significant mean difference was obtained between boys and girls of Santal community in 13 years age group. The results (Table 5) showed that self-evaluation is highly conditioned by gender and age. It is apparent that girls in 13 years of age group expressed significantly higher self-evaluation followed by the boys at 13 years age group and 16 years age group and girls at 16 years age group. This indicates that girls at 16 years of age group exhibited higher self solidarity. This indicates that girls at 13 years of age have expressed less differentiation in self evaluation. But boys at 13 years and 16 years age

group showed higher differentiation in self-evaluation. These findings may be explained with reference to the five-stage model of inter-group relations (Taylor and McKirrnan, 1984). This model has provided a theoretical analysis as to how disadvantaged groups respond to social inequality. Obviously, Santals are treated as disadvantaged group in the context of Bangladesh. Hence, gender differentiation and age variation should be important dimension in the self evaluation of the comparison groups. As a result, girls at 13 years are found to exhibit significantly higher self evaluation leading to the solidarity of self-cohesiveness than other comparison groups. This indicates that the boys at 13 years and 16 years of age have exhibited comparatively less self-evaluation due to their higher mobility than the girls. These findings represent the clearly stratified inter-group relations.
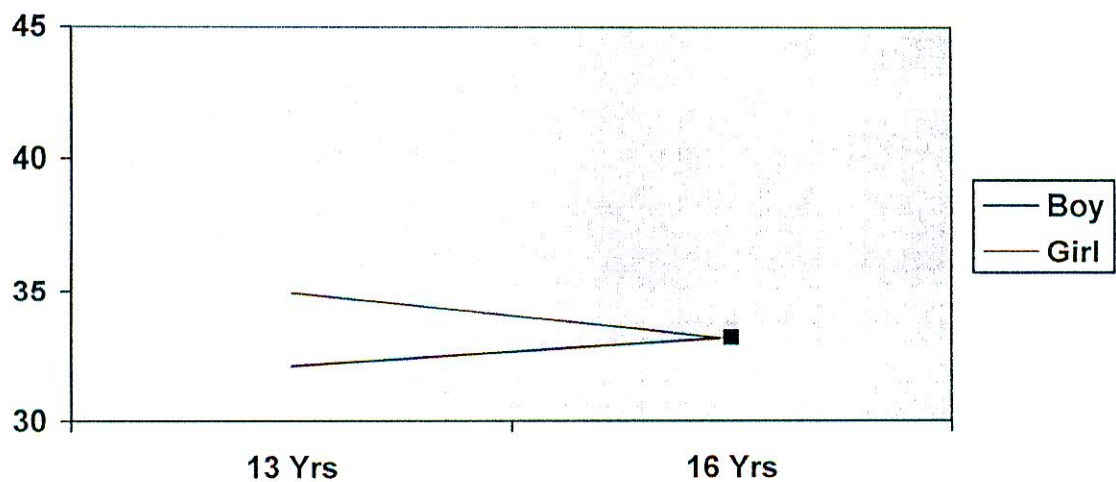
Figure 1: Showing two-way interaction effect between gender and age of Santals for self-evaluation.

Age × residence

This result of ANOVA (Table 2) has reported significant interaction effect between age and residence of Santals for self-evaluation. It was found that two-way interaction involving age and residence was statistically significant (F=7.43, df=1/112, P<0.001).

Table 6: Showing cell means and significant mean differences involving two-way interaction between age and residence of Santals for self-evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=30 for each group).

Age	Urban	Rural
13 years	35.56 $_a$	31.43 $_b$
16 years	34.16 $_a$	32.10 $_b$

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An examination of mean scores and their significant mean differences (Table 6) showed that Santal respondents from urban residential background at 13 years age groups (M=35.56) evaluated self significantly in higher intensity than the Santal respondents from the rural residential background at 13 years age groups (M=31.43). Similarly, Santal respondents of urban residential background at 16 years age group (M=34.16) evaluated self in higher intensity as compared to Santal respondents from rural residential background of 16 years age groups (M=32.10). In other words, in the perspective of 13 years and 16 years age groups, it was evident that urban residential background was more important than rural residential background for self-evaluation. It was important to note that differentiation in self-evaluation between respondents with urban and rural residential

background effected interaction. An interaction effect has been graphically plotted in figure 2.
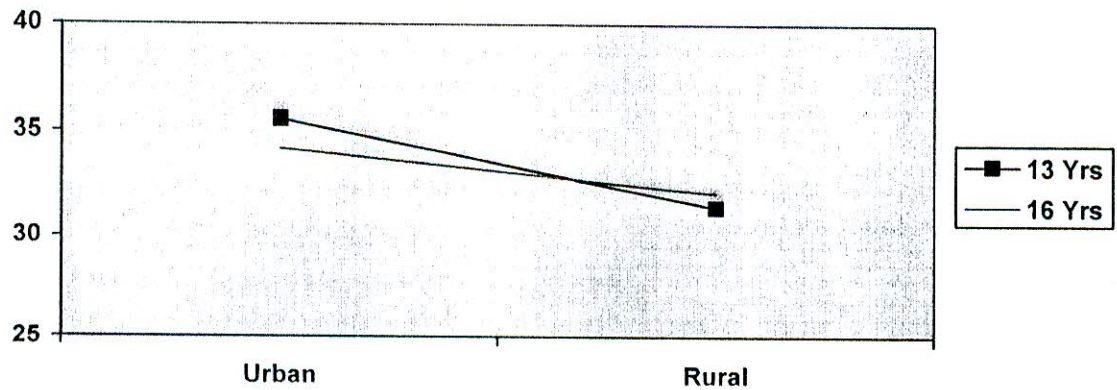
Figure 2: Showing two-way interaction effect between age and residence.

It is important to note that the findings relating to age and residence are closely associated with emergence of individualistic social ideology. According to this theory, the rigid stratification of social groups breaks down-with the emergence of industrialization. This stage is characterized by greater emphasis of individual characteristics such as technical skills. As a result, ascribed group membership is viewed as illegitimate. The findings of the present study may be explained with reference to this theoretical construct. Urban respondents are supposed to achieve modernization. But rural respondents are supposed to be submerged in darkness of traditionalism. As a result, urban respondents of Santal tribe have expressed higher self evaluation. Rural respondents of Santal tribe, on the other hands, have expressed lower self-evaluation. These findings indicate that social mobility is an important dimension for self solidarity leading to higher

positive social identity. The more a group will move towards modernization, the more the group leaves paternalistic relationships and would show higher self-evaluation and solidarity due to the effect of cross-category membership. In other words, individual mobility, social mobility and cognitive alternative play important role in the development of self-cohesiveness leading to the development of positive social identity in the interplay of inter-group relation.

1.2: Own-group evaluation of Santals

In this section, scores for own-group evaluation of Santals ware subjected to 2×2×2 factorial ANOVA representing two levels of gender (Boy/Girl), two levels of age (13 years/16 years) and two levels of residence (Urban/Rural). The computation of ANOVA has been reported in Tables 6.

Table 7: Showing summary of ANOVA involving gender, age and residence of Santals for own-group evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=120).

Sources of variance	SS	df	MS	F	Level of significance
Gender (A)	282.13	1	282.13	14.84	0.001
Age (B)	224.13	1	224.13	11.79	0.005
Residence (C)	149.63	1	149.63	7.87	0.01
AB	4.04	1	4.04	0.21	n.s
AC	2.14	1	2.14	0.11	n.s
BC	112.14	1	112.14	5.89	0.01
ABC	14.69	1	14.69	0.77	n.s
Within cell (Experimental Error)	2129.07	112	19.01		
Total	2917.79	119			

The results (Table 7) showed that main effects for gender, age and residence were statistically significant. Again interaction effect between age and residence was statistically significant.

MAIN EFFECT

Gender

The results reported in Table 7 showed that the main effect for gender was statistically significant (F=14.84, df=1/112, P<0.001).

Table 8: Showing mean scores and significant mean difference between boy and girl of Santals for own-group evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=60 for each group).

Gender	Mean Scores
Boy	30.28_a
Girl	33.35_b

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores and significant mean difference (Table 8) showed that regardless of age and residence, girls of Santal community (M=33.35) evaluated own-group significantly more positively as compared to boys of Santal community (M=30.28). This indicates that girls have expressed more positive social identity in their inter-group relations than the boys. This is, perhaps, for the reason that social mobility as well as individual mobility of boys in Santal community is more prominent than the girls. This involves cross-category membership in higher frequency for boys than girls in a paternalistic community of Santal tribal population. As a result, the boys have expressed higher own-group differentiation and the

girls have expressed lower own-group differentiation leading to the formation of higher positive social identity for girls than the boys.

These findings are exactly in the same line of theoretical construct developed by Festinger, (1954) and Tajfel (1974). Festinger's theory of social comparison and Tajfel's theory of social identity are inherently important for providing empirical support to the findings of the present study regarding own-group evaluation of boys and girls in Santal community. The data have maximized the differences for own-group evaluation and have introduced several significant developments in inter-group relations. It is said that when there is no explosive or institutionalized conflict or competition between groups, there is a tendency towards own-group favoring behavior. The girls in Santal community have less competition or conflict than the boys resulting in higher group cohesiveness and solidarity. The boys in Santal community, on the other hand, are obviously in competition or conflict with environmental factors and social agents leading to higher differentiation in own-group evaluation (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel and Turner, 1979; Turner, 1975).

It is important to point it out that Festinger (1954) was exclusively concerned with social comparison made between individuals in terms of self, own-group and out-group evaluations. It involves inter-individual comparison. The findings of the present study on own-group evaluation by boys and girls of Santal community have provided empirical supports to the theoretical explanations of group comparison provided by Festinger. In fact, the findings on own-group evaluation have highlighted an important aspect of individual's self definition to the fact that he is a member of numerous

social groups and this cross-category membership is an important contributing factor for the development of positive or negative social identity (Tajfel, 1978).

MAIN EFFECT

Age

The results reported in Table 7 showed that the main effect for age was statistically significant ($F=11.79$, $df=1/112$, $P<0.005$).

Table 9: Showing mean scores and significant mean difference between 13 years and 16 years Santal respondents for own-group evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=60 for each group).

Age	Mean scores
13 years	33.18_b
16 years	30.45_a

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores and significant mean difference (Table 9) showed that regardless of gender and residence, Santal respondents of 13 years age group (M=33.18) expressed significantly higher own-group evaluation as compared to Santal respondents of 16 years age group (M=30.45). In other words, the results indicated that age is an important independent variable for exerting differentiation in in-group evaluation. It was found that as the age increases, the own-group evaluation decreases for the comparison groups. An important and possible explanation might be that group-cohesiveness remains in higher intensity at the initial stage of group identity. Thus 13 years of age may be regarded as an effective and formative

stage for the development of group identity. But the members of the Santal community are exposed to multi-faced relationship with the increase of age. This involves cross-category membership lower in down-the prejudicial attitudes towards out-group members. It is, perhaps, this cross-category membership that may account for the development of lower own-group evaluation in case of Santal respondents with 16 years of age group as compared to 13 years of age group.

The anchoring point underlying the findings of present study regarding age of Santal community is that when one group interacts collectively or individually with another group or its member in terms of their group identification, it involves the phenomenon of super ordinate goals (Milner, 1975). Levine and Campbell (1972) have provided some explanations of inter-group conflict on the basis of realistic-conflict theory of inter-group relations. As the age increases, group members of Santal community develop realistic attitudes in order to avoid inter-group conflicts. As a result, social distances decrease and consequently own-group evaluation becomes less important. On the basis of this theoretical finding and empirical analysis, it is argued that the present findings of age effect for own-group evaluation have achieved sufficient support and clarification (Klineberg and Zavalloni, 1969).

Residence

The results reported in Table 7 showed that the main effect for residence was statistically significant (F=7.87, df=1/112, P<0.01).

Table 10: Showing means scores and significant mean difference between urban and rural Santal respondents for own-group evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=60 for each group).

Residence	Mean scores
Urban	32.93_b
Rural	30.7_a

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores and significant mean difference showed that regardless of gender and age, respondents from urban residential background (M=32.93) evaluated own-group significantly more positively as compared to respondents from rural residential background (M=30.7) of Santal community. These findings are exactly in the same line of earlier theoretical and empirical findings. The theory of Social identity and cross-category membership states that inter-group similarity and discrimination (Brown, 1984) are concerned with the proximity of groups on some dimensions of value and prestige. These theory states that when group members interact with out-group members co-operatively, the discriminative attitudes decrease, In case of Santal community in Bangladesh in rural areas, it is found that they interact cooperatively with out-group members resulting in lower own-group evaluation. But the perceived characteristics of the out-group are found to very considerably of Santal community in urban residential area resulting in higher evaluation for own-group. Taylor and his associates (1984) have emphasized of the aspect of inter-group behavior and have concluded that self- evaluation, own-group evaluation and out-group evaluation may be differentiated due to differential amount of status inequality between urban and rural population.

INTERACTION EFFECT

Age × Residence

The results of ANOVA reported in Table 7 showed that interaction effect between age and residence was statistically significant. It was found that a two-way interaction involving age and residence was statistically significant (F=5.89, df=1/112, P<0.01).

Table 11: Showing cell means and significant mean differences involving two-way interaction between age and residence of Santals for own-group evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=30 for each group).

Age	Urban	Rural
13 years	33.33$_a$	33.03$_a$
16 years	32.53$_a$	28.36$_b$

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An examination of mean scores and their significant mean differences (Table 11) showed that Santal respondents of 16 years of age from urban residential background (M=32.53) expressed significantly higher own-group evaluation as compared to Santal respondents of 16 years age group from rural residential background (M=28.36). But no significant mean difference was found between Santal respondents of urban and rural residential background in 13 years age group.

Between-group comparisons showed that in case of rural residential background, Santal respondents of 13 years age group (M=33.03) evaluated own-group significantly more positively as compared to Santal respondents of 16 years age group (M=28.36). Similarly, Santal respondents of 13 years

age group from urban residential background (M=33.33) evaluated own-group significantly more positively as compared to Santal respondents of 16 years age group from rural residential background (M=28.36). However, no statistically significant mean difference was obtained between the Santal respondents of 13 years and 16 years age group from urban residential background. These linear relationships have effected interaction. The interaction effect has been graphically plotted in figure 3.
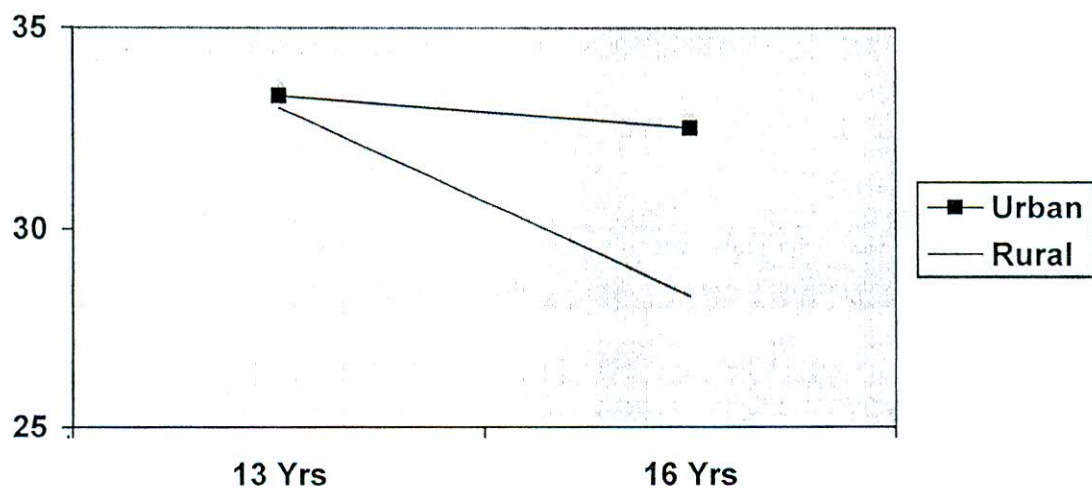
Figure 3: Showing two-way interaction effect between age and residence.

The findings involving interaction effects between age and residence may be supported from previous results reported by Tajfel (1978). According to Tajfel, the levels of competition and cooperation are determined by age and residence of the ethnic groups. The empirical data emerging from the present study showed that differentiation in own-group evaluation is due to social comparison processes effected by age and residential background. It was observed that despite apparent common interests, the Santal respondents in rural residential background initiated

differentiation in own-group evaluation with the increase of age. Similarly, Santal respondents in 16 years age group initiated differentiation in own-group evaluation because of their residential background. These findings showed that the Santal community in the category of ethnic identity failed to cooperate and revealed some evidence of inter-group discriminations due to their age effects and residential background.

Using the same paradigm of Tajfel's theory of social identity, Skevington (1980) showed that the low status group may be threatened by the high status group. This may account for higher own-group evaluation. Similarly, when a minority group is exposed to a dominant group, they are threatened by the superiority of the out-group resulting in lower own-group evaluation. In such cases the low status group favourably evaluate the own-group. They perceived the own-group more illegimate and demand co-operation and group-cohesiveness on their own-members. On the basis of these empirical findings, it is argued that the results on interaction effect between age and residential background has empirical support from previous findings.

1.3: Out-group evaluation of Santals

In this section, scores for out-group evaluation of Santals were subjected to 2×2×2 factorial ANOVA representing two level of gender (Boy/Girl), two level of age (13 years/16 years) and two level of residence (Urban/Rural). The computation of ANOVA has been reported in Table 12.

Table 12: Showing summary of ANOVA involving gender, age and residence of Santal for Out-group evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=120).

Sources of variance	SS	df	MS	F	Level of significance
Gender (A)	261.08	1	261.08	24.91	0.001
Age (B)	717.21	1	717.21	68.43	0.001
Residence (C)	221.41	1	221.41	21.12	0.001
AB	00	1	00	00	n.s
AC	41.08	1	41.08	3.92	0.05
BC	1.01	1	1.01	0.09	n.s
ABC	69.01	1	69.01	6.58	0.01
Within Cell (Experimental Error)	1174.14	112	10.48		
Total	2484.93	119			

The results (Table 12) showed statistically significant main effects for gender, age and residence. Moreover, results also indicated significant interaction effects between gender and residence as well as gender, age and residence.

MAIN EFFECT

Gender

The results reported in Table 12 showed that the main effect for gender was statistically significant (F=24.91, df 1/112, P< 0.001.

Table 13: Showing mean scores and significant mean difference between boy and girl of Santals for out-group evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List (M=60 for each group).

Gender	Mean scores
Boy	19.55a
Girl	22.50b

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An examination of mean scores and significant mean difference (Table 13) indicated that irrespective of age and residence, girls of Santal community (M=22.50) evaluated out-group Bengali Hindus significantly more positively as compared to boys of the Santal community (M=19.55). These showed that group cohesiveness is more consolidated in case of girls but it is more differentiated in case of boys. A possible reason for this variation in social identity might be that the boys incounter realistic problems involving competition leading to the development of lower social identity. Girls, on the other hand, are seldom exposed to competitive behavior with the out-group members leading to the development of higher group cohesiveness in the form of higher positive social identity (Giles and Johnson, 1981). It follows from this perspective that the girls of Santal community value their group identity very highly than their counterpart Santal boys.

Age

The results reported in Table 12 indicated that the main effect for age was statistically significant (F=68.43, df 1/112, P<0.001).

Table 14: Showing mean scores and significant mean difference between the respondents of 13 years and 16 years age group of Santal community for their out-group evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=60 for each group).

Age	Mean Scores
13 years	18.56a
16 years	23.48b

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An examination of mean scores and significant mean difference (Table 14) showed that irrespective of gender and residence, respondents of 16 years of age group of Santal community (M=23.48) evaluated out-group Bengali Hindus significantly more positively as compared to the respondents of 13 years age group of Santal community (M=18.56).

These indicate that age is an important variable for social identity. A the age increases, social identity is consolidated in the positive direction. In the present situation, respondents of 13 years age group misidentified (Milner, 1973) themselves and showed higher preference for out-group members of Bengali Hindus. But they showed higher preference for own-group in comparison to out-group with the increase in age. Consequently, respondents of 16 years age group evaluated out-group Bengali Hindus more negatively leading to the development of higher positive social identity.

Residence

The results reported in Table 12 showed that main effect for residence was statistically significant (F=21.12, df 1/112, P<0.001).

Table 43: Showing summary of ANOVA representing group, gender and age for own-group evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=240).

Sources of Variance	SS	df	MS	F	Level of significance
Group (A)	4788.27	1	4788.27	158.70	0.001
Gender (B)	58.02	1	58.02	1.92	n.s
Age (C)	136.82	1	136.82	5.19	0.01
AB	260.41	1	260.41	8.63	0.01
AC	74.81	1	74.81	2.47	n.s
BC	26.66	1	26.66	0.88	n.s
ABC	5.41	1	5.41	0.17	n.s
Within cell experimental error	7000.34	232	30.17		
Total	12370.74	239			

The results Table 43 showed that main effects for group composition and age were statistically significant. Furthermore, a two-way interaction involving group composition and gender was also statistically significant.

MAIN EFFECT

GROUP

The results reported in (Table 43) showed that the main effect for group composition was statistically significant (F=158.70, df=1/232, P<0.001).

Table 44: Showing mean scores and significant mean differences between Santals and Hindus on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=120 for each group).

Santals	31.81 $_a$
Bengali Hindus	40.75 $_b$

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An observation of mean scores and significant mean difference showed that regardless of gender and age, it was found that Bengali Hindus (M=40.75) evaluated own-group significantly more positively than Santals (M=31.81). It indicated that Bengali Hindus expressed higher group solidarity indicating more positive social identity. But Santals expressed higher group differentiation indicating comparatively low positive social identity. Thus Bengali Hindus as religious ethnic group are found to possess more positive social identity, but Santals as racial ethnic group are found to reveal low positive social identity. It means that nature of minority status may account for the formation of social identity in inter-group relations.

Age

The results (Table 43) showed that main effects for age was statistically significant (F=5.19, df=1/232, P<0.01).

Table 45: Showing mean scores and significant mean difference between 13 Years and 16 Years age groups on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=120 for each group).

Age	Mean Scores
13 Years	19.79_a
16 Years	20.07_b

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An observation of mean scores and significant mean difference revealed that regardless of group composition and gender, the respondents of 16 years age group (M=20.07) evaluated own-group significantly more positively as compared to respondents with 13 years age group (M=19.79).

This indicates that respondents of 16 years age group showed higher positive social identity. But the respondents of 13 years age group showed higher group differentiation indicating comparatively low positive social identity.

INTERACTION EFFECT

Group × Gender

The results reported in Table 43 showed that the interaction effect between gender and age was statistically significant (F=8.63, df=1/232 P<0.01).

Table 46: Showing mean scores and significant mean differences involving two-way interaction between group and gender for own-group evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=120 for each group).

Gender	Santal	Bengali Hindu
Boy	30.28_a	41.3_b
Girls	33.35_c	40.2_d

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores and significant mean differences showed that in case of Santals girls (M=33.35) evaluated own-group significantly more positively as compared to boys (M=30.28). But in case of Bengali Hindus, it was found that boys (M=41.30) evaluated own-group significantly more positively as compared to girls (M=40.20).

It was found that boys from Bengali Hindu minority group (M=41.30) evaluated own-group significantly more positively as compared to boys of Santal minority group (M=30.28). Similarly, girls from Bengali Hindu

minority group (M=40.20) evaluated own-group significantly more positively as compared to girls of Santal minority group (M=33.35).

The results reported in Table 46 revealed that Santal girls expressed higher own-group evaluation than Santal boys. But Bengali Hindu boys expressed higher own-group evaluation than Bengali Hindu girls. Moreover, Bengali Hindu boys expressed higher own-group evaluation than Santal boys. Similarly, Bengali Hindu girls expressed higher own-group evaluation than Santal girls. This differential amount of own-group evaluation produced interaction effect between comparison groups. Interaction effect has been graphically plotted in figure 17.
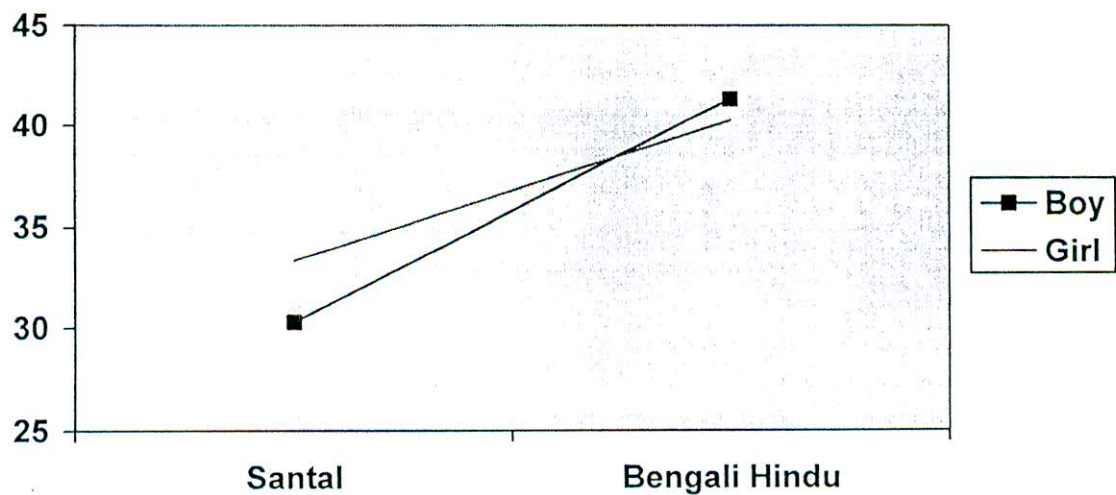
Figure 17: Showing two-way interaction effect between group composition and gender.

3.3 Out-group Evaluation Involving Group, Gender and Age

In this part, Analysis of Variance was computed involving group, gender and age for out-group evaluation.

Table 47: Showing summery of ANOVA representing group, gender and age for out-group evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=240).

Sources of Variance	SS	df	MS	F	Level of significance
Group (A)	360.91	1	360.91	3.95	0.05
Gender (B)	710.70	1	710.70	7.77	0.01
Age (C)	4.54	1	4.54	0.04	n.s
AB	14.51	1	14.51	0.15	n.s
AC	1222.71	1	1222.71	13.38	0.001
BC	53.21	1	53.21	0.58	n.s
ABC	55.09	1	55.09	0.60	n.s
Within cell (Experimental error)	21197.84	232	91.37		
Total	23616.8	239			

The results (Table 47) showed that main effects for group composition and gender were statistically significant. Furthermore, a two-way interaction involving group composition and age was also statistically significant.

MAIN EFFECT

GROUP

The results reported in Table 47 showed that the main effect for group composition was statistically significant (F=3.95, df=1/232, P<0.05).

Table 48: Showing mean scores and significant mean differences between Santals and Hindus on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=120 for each group).

Santals	21.02_a (-8.98)
Bengali Hindus	18.83_b (-11.17)

Note: Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula. Figure in the parenthesis indicate scores after subtraction constant 30. Common subscripts do not differ significantly.

An inspection of mean scores and significant mean difference showed that regardless of gender and age, Bengali Hindus (M=-11.17) evaluated out-group significantly more negatively than Santals (M=-8.98). This indicates that Bengali Hindus showed higher negative preference for out-group indicating higher positive social identity. But Santals showed less negative preference for out-group evaluation indicating less negative evaluation. In other words, Santals showed misidentification for own-group and positive preference for out-group indicating the development of negative social identity.

Gender

The results (Table 47) showed that the main effect for gender was statistically significant (F=7.77, df=1/232, P<0.01).

Table 49: Showing mean scores and significant mean difference between boys and girls on the scores Adjective Check List (N=120 for each group).

Boy	18.20_a (-11.80)
Girl	21.65_b (-8.35)

Note: Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula. Figure in the parenthesis indicate scores after subtraction constant 30. Common subscripts do not differ significantly.

An inspection of mean scores and significant mean difference showed that regardless of group and age, it was found that boys (M=-11.80) evaluated out-group significantly more negatively as compared to girls (M=-8.35). In consideration to these findings, it can be said that regardless of Santals as minority group with racial ethnicity and Bengali Hindus as

minority group with religious ethnicity, it is found that boys evaluated out-group more negatively indicating higher positive identity. But girls evaluated out-group comparatively less negatively indicating lower social identity in terms of numerical assessment. One possible reason of these differentiations in out-group evaluation between boys and girls of minority group might be that negotiating style and social commitment are increasingly evident in boys than girls.

INTERACTION EFFECT

Group × Age

The results reported in Table 47 showed that the interaction effect between group composition and gender was statistically significant (F=13.38, df=1/112 P<0.001).

Table 50: Showing mean scores and significant mean differences involving two-way interaction between group composition and gender for out-group evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=120 for each group).

Age	Santal	Bengali Hindu
13 Years	18.56 (-11.44)$_a$	21.01 (-8.99)$_b$
16 Years	23.48 (-6.52)$_c$	16.65 (-13.35)$_d$

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores and significant mean differences showed that in case of Santals, it was found that respondents of 13 years age group (M=-11.44) evaluated out-group significantly more negatively as compared to respondents of 16 years age group (M=-6.52). But in case of Bengali Hindus, it was found that respondents of 16 years age group

(M=-13.35) evaluated out-group significantly more negatively than the respondents of 13 years age group (M=-8.99).

However, in case of 13 years age group, it was found that Santals (M=-11.44) evaluated out-group significantly more negatively as compared to Bengali Hindus (M=-8.99). But in case of 16 years age group, Bengali Hindus (M=-13.35) evaluated out-group significantly more negatively as compared to Santals (M=-6.52).

This finding of two-way interaction between group composition and age revealed interactive effects between different comparison groups. It was also found that Santals versus Bengali Hindus as well as 13 year versus 16 years age group revealed converse relationship. This has produced interaction effect. The interaction effect has been graphically plotted in Figure 18.
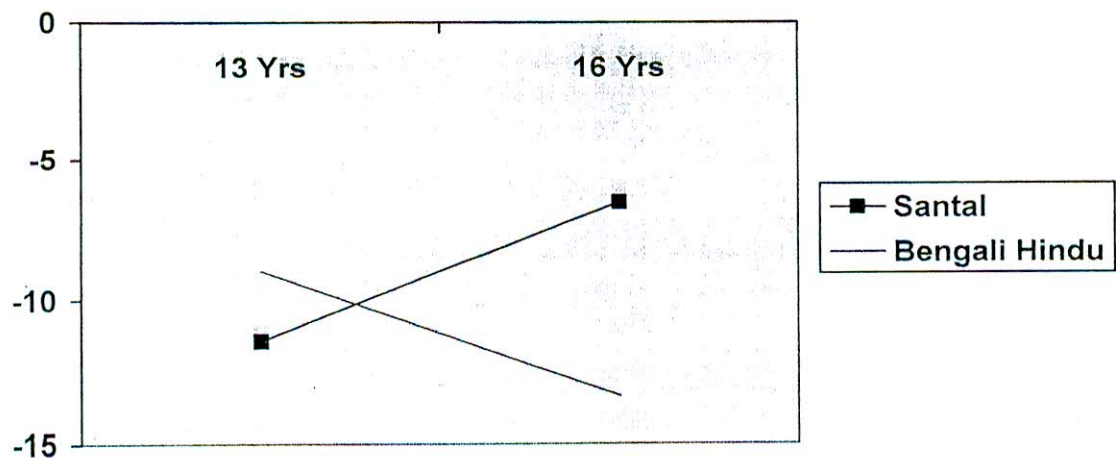
Figure 18: Showing two-way interaction effect between group composition and age for out-group evaluation.

Summary of the Main Findings

1. Regardless of age and residence, it was found that girls evaluated self significantly more positively than boys of Santal minority group with racial ethnicity.

2. Regardless of gender and age, it was found that urban respondents evaluated self significantly more positively than the rural respondents of Santal minority group with racial ethnicity.

3. In case of Santals of 13 years age group, it was found that girls evaluated self significantly more positively than boys.

4. In case of boys, it was found that Santal respondents of 16 years age group evaluated self significantly more positively than the Santal respondents of 13 years age group.

5. In case of girls, it was found that Santal respondents of 13 years age group evaluated self significantly more positively than the Santal respondents of 16 years age group.

6. In case of 13 years age group of Santals, it was found that urban respondents evaluated self significantly more positively than rural respondents.

7. In case of 16 years age group of Santals, it was found that urban respondents evaluated self significantly more positively than rural respondents.

8. Regardless of age and residence, it was found that girls evaluated own-group significantly more positively than the boys of Santal minority group with racial ethnicity.

9. Regardless of gender and residence, it was found that respondents of 13 years age group evaluated own-group significantly more positively than the respondents of 16 years age group of Santal minority group with racial ethnicity.

10. Regardless of gender and age, urban respondents evaluated own-group significantly more positively than rural respondents of Santal minority group with racial ethnicity.

11. In case of 16 years age group, it was found that urban respondents evaluated own-group more positively than rural respondents of Santal community with racial ethnicity.

12. In case of rural respondents, it was found that respondents of 13 years age group evaluated own-group significantly more positively than the respondents of 16 years age group of Santal minority community with racial ethnicity.

13. Regardless of age and residence, it was found that girls evaluated out-group significantly more positively than the boys of Santal minority group with racial ethnicity.

14. Regardless of gender and residence, it was found that respondents of 16 years evaluated out-group significantly more positively than the respondents of 13 years of Santal minority group with racial ethnicity.

15. Regardless of gender and age, urban respondents evaluated out-group more positively than rural respondents of Santal minority group with racial ethnicity.

16. In case of boys, it was found that urban respondents evaluated out-group more positively than rural respondents of Santal minority group with racial ethnicity.

17. In case of girls, urban respondents evaluated out-group more positively than rural respondents of Santal minority group with racial ethnicity.

18. In case of urban residence, it was found that girls evaluated out-group more positively than boys.

19. In case of rural residence, it was found that girls evaluated out-group significantly more positively than boys of Santal minority group with racial ethnicity.

20. In case of 13 years age group, urban boys and urban girls evaluated out-group significantly more positively than rural boys and rural girls of Santal minority group with racial ethnicity.

21. In case of 16 years age group, it was found that urban boys evaluated out-group significantly more positively than rural boys of Santal minority group with racial ethnicity.

22. In case of boys, it was found that urban respondents of 16 years age evaluated out-group significantly more positively than urban respondents of 13 years age of Santal minority group with racial ethnicity.

23. In case of girls, it was found that urban respondents of 16 years age evaluated out-group significantly more positively than urban respondents of 13 years age of Santal community. Similarly, rural respondents of 16 years age evaluated out-group significantly more positively than the rural respondents of 13 years age of Santal community.

24. In case of Hindus, it was found that regardless of age and residence, girls evaluated self significantly more positively than boys.

25. Regardless of gender and age, urban Santals evaluated self significantly more positively than rural Santals.

26. Boys of Hindu community with 16 years age evaluated self significantly more positively than the boys of Hindu community with 13 years age.

27. In case of 13 years age of Hindu community, it was found that girls evaluated self significantly more positively than boys.

28. In case of 16 years age of Hindu community, it was found that girls evaluated self significantly more positively than boys.

29. In case of urban Hindus, it was found that girls evaluated self significantly more positively than boys.

30. In case of girls of Hindu community, it was found that urban respondents evaluated self significantly more positively than rural respondents.

31. In case of 13 years age of Hindu community, it was found that rural boys evaluated self significantly more positively than urban boys. Again, urban girls evaluated self significantly more positively than rural girls.

32. In case of Hindus, it was found that regardless of residence and age, girls evaluated own-group significantly more positively than boys.

33. Regardless of gender and age, urban Hindus evaluated own-group significantly more positively than rural Hindus.

34. In case of Hindu girls, it was found that respondents with 13 years age evaluated own-group more positively than the respondents with 16 years age.

35. In case of urban Hindus, it was found that boys evaluated own-group significantly more positively than the girls.

36. In case of rural Hindus, it was found that girls evaluated own-group significantly more positively than boys.

37. In case of boys, it was found that urban respondents evaluated own-group significantly more positively than rural respondents.

38. In case of urban Hindus, it was found that respondents with 16 years age evaluated own-group significantly more positively than the respondents with 13 years age group.

39. In case of rural Hindus, it was found that respondents of 13 years evaluated own-group significantly more positively than the respondents with 16 years age group.

40. In case of 13 years, it was found that rural Hindu respondents evaluated own-group significantly more positively than urban Hindu respondents.

41. In case of 16 years age group, urban Hindus evaluated own-group significantly more positively than rural Hindus.

42. In case of Hindu boys of 13 years age, it was found that urban respondents evaluated own-group significantly more positively than rural respondents.

43. In case of Hindu girls of 13 years age group, it was found that rural respondents evaluated own-group significantly more positively than urban respondents.

44. In case of Hindu boys of 16 years, it was found that urban respondents evaluated own-group significantly more positively than rural respondents.

45. In case of Hindu girls of 16 years age group, it was found that urban respondents evaluated own-group significantly more positively than rural respondents.

46. Regardless of residence and age, it was found that boys of Hindu community evaluated out-group significantly more negatively than the girls of Hindu community.

47. Regardless of gender and residence, it was found that Hindus of 16 years age evaluated out-group significantly more negatively than the Hindus of 13 years age group.

48. Regardless of gender and age, it was found that urban Hindus evaluated out-group significantly more negatively as compared to rural Hindus.

49. In case of 13 years age of Hindu community, it was found that boys evaluated out-group significantly more negatively than girls.

50. In case of 16 years age of Hindu community, it was found that boys evaluated out-group significantly more negatively than girls.

51. In case of boys of Hindu community, it was found that respondents of 16 years age evaluated out-group significantly more negatively as compared to the respondents of 13 years age.

52. In case of girls of Hindu community, it was found that respondents of 16 years age evaluated out-group significantly more negatively as compared to the respondents of 13 years age.

53. In case of urban Hindus, it was found that boys evaluated out-group significantly more negatively than girls.

54. In case of rural Hindus, it was found that girls evaluated out-group significantly more negatively than boys.

55. In case of boys of Hindu community, it was found that urban respondents evaluated out-group significantly more negatively than rural respondents.

56. In case of girls of Hindu community, it was found that rural respondents evaluated out-group significantly more negatively as compared to urban respondents.

57. In case of urban Hindus, it was found that respondents with 16 years age evaluated out-group significantly more negatively than the respondents with 13 years age.

58. In case of rural Hindus, it was found that respondents with 13 years age evaluated out-group significantly more negatively than the respondents of 16 years age.

59. In case of Hindus of 13 years age, it was found that urban respondents evaluated out-group significantly more negatively than rural respondents.

60. In case of Hindus of 13 years age, it was found that urban boys evaluated out-group significantly more negatively than rural boys.

61. Regardless of gender and age, it was found that Hindus evaluated self significantly more positively than Santal.

62. Regardless of group composition and age, it was found that girls evaluated self significantly more positively than boys.

63. In case of 13 years age, it was found that girls with minority status evaluated self significantly more positively than boys with minority status.

64. In case of 16 years age, it was found that girls with minority status evaluated self significantly more positively than boys.

65. In case of boys, it was found that respondents of 16 years age with minority status evaluated self significantly more positively than the respondents of 13 years age with minority status.

66. In case of girls, it was found that respondents of 13 years age with minority status evaluated self significantly more positively than the respondents of 16 years age with minority status.

67. Regardless of gender and age, it was found that Hindus evaluated own-group significantly more positively than Santals.

68. Regardless of group composition and gender, it was found that respondents of 16 years age with minority status evaluated own-group significantly more positively than the respondents of 13 years age with minority status.

69. In case of Santals, it was found that girls evaluated own-group significantly more positively than boys.

70. In case of Hindus, it was found that boys evaluated own-group significantly more positively than girls.

71. Regardless of gender and age, it was found that Hindus evaluated out-group significantly more negatively than Santals.

72. Regardless of group composition and age, it was found that boys with minority status evaluated out-group significantly more negatively than the girls with minority status.

73. In case of Santals, it was found that respondents with 13 years age evaluated out-group significantly more negatively as compared to the respondents of 16 years age.

74. In case of Hindus, it was found that respondents of 16 years age evaluated out-group significantly more negatively than the respondents of 13 years age.

75. In case of 13 years age, it was found that Santals evaluated out-group significantly more negatively than Hindus.

76. In case of 16 years age, it was found that Hindus evaluated out-group significantly more negatively than Santals.

CHAPTER-4

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

CHAPTER-4
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The results of the present research have reported certain important findings on social identity pattern of cross-category membership of Santals as minority group with racial ethnicity and Bengali Hindus as minority group with religious ethnicity in the socio-political and economic context of Bangladesh. In the present chapter, an integration of distinctive findings have been attempted to highlight the social identity of racially and culturally divergent groups with minority status such as Santals and Bengali Hindus in their inter-group relations with majority and dominant Bengali Muslim out-group. Thus the focus of this chapter would be to relate different factors of social identity and their consequent effects due to cross-category membership.

We shall now attempt to examine some of the main findings with their implication and applied values. However, a large number of inter-related findings have emerged from the analysis and interpretation of results. But it is neither practicable nor feasible to evaluate each of the significant findings exhaustively within the confine of the present discussion. It is, therefore, proposed to examine the main findings which have higher theoretical relevancy and display critical effects about social identity and cross-category membership in the context of Bangladesh. Thus the discussion of the present study will reflect some light on the findings related to predictions. Also, discussion of the present study would be limited within some distinctive

findings that might reveal some unique features. Then some suggestion for future research and some limitations of the present research would be included at the end of the chapter. It is important to note that the study is basically exploratory in nature. In spite of these, four specific hypotheses have been formulated for this study.

Firstly, it was hypothesized that Bengali Hindus as religious ethnic group would evaluate self and own-group more positively and out-group more negatively as compared to Santals as racial ethnic group.

This prediction was supported by the findings of the present study. This finding is in line with the theory of social identity specifically in relation to cross-category membership. According to Turner et al. (1987), the self is refluxing. It can take itself as an object. Then it can categorize itself in particular ways in relation to other social categories. This process is called self categorization and identity is formed through the process of self categorization (Hogg and Abrams, 1988). Thus a social category is determined. This indicates a set of individuals who hold a common social identification. They view themselves as members of the same social category. This involves a social comparison process. Thus persons who are similar to the self are categorized with the self and are labelled the in-group. Persons who are different from the self are categorized as the out-group. The findings relating to the first hypothesis may be explained in the perspective to the first hypothesis may be explained in the perspective of the theoretical construct stated above. The Bengali Hindus belong to a social category identified by religious beliefs. The Santals belong to a social category identified by racial characteristics. This division is based on the principles of

social identity in terms of cross category membership. Both Bengali Hindus and Santals share a lot of social phenomenon but they aredifferent in social identity as Bengali Hindus and Santals. Thus Both Hindus and Santals as social groups include the emotional, evaluative and other psychological correlates of in-group (Turner et al., 1987).

In other words, both Santals and Bengali Hindus are separated on the basis of self categorization components. These are self-esteem and commitment. Self-esteem is evaluative and commitment is psychological in nature (Ellemers and Van Knippenberg, 1997). On the dimension of self-esteem, it is found that Hindus possess higher self-esteem than Santals. Similarly, Hindus have higher commitment for the group than the Santals. This is due to cross category membership in inter-group behaviour. The present findings have provided the components of self-esteem and commitment at differential amount. This is proved in the results that Bengali Hindus have evaluated self and own-group more positively and out-group more negatively than the Santals. This empirically investigated findings have distinctly showed relationships among racial ethnic group and religious ethnic group in their relationship of inter-group behaviour. In other words, self-categorization and social comparison may produce different consequences of self categorization in inter-group relations.

The second hypothesis was that boys would evaluate self and own-group more positively and out-group more negatively as compared to girls.

This prediction was partially supported by the results. Several research findings have showed that under cross-category membership

Table 15: Showing mean scores and significant mean difference between urban and rural Santal respondents for out-group evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=60 for each group).

Residence	Mean scores
urban	22.38b
Rural	19.66a

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An examination of mean scores and significant mean difference showed that irrespective of gender and age, respondents from urban residential background of Santal community (M=22.38) evaluated out-group Bengali Hindus significantly more positively than the respondents from rural residential background of Santal community (M=19.66). These indicate that Santal respondents of urban residence have expressed higher positive evaluation for out-group Bengali Hindus. In other words, Santal respondents of urban residence have misidentified own-group identity than the Santal respondents from rural residential background. Thus social identity of Santals from rural residential background is comparatively more positive. It means that Santal respondents of urban residence have developed negative social identity due to their higher preference for the out-group Bengali Hindus.

INTERACTION EFFECT

Gender× Residence

The results of ANOVA (Table 12) reported significant interaction effect between gender and residence. It was found that a two-way interaction between gender and residence was statistically significant (F=3.92 df=1/112, P<0.05).

Table 16: Showing cell means and significant mean differences involving two-way interaction between gender and residence of Santals for out-group evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=30 for each cell).

Gender	Urban	Rural
Boy	21.43_a	17.66_b
Girl	23.33_c	21.66_a

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An examination of mean scores and significant mean differences (Table 16) showed that boys from urban residential background (M=21.43) of Santal Community evaluated out-group significantly more positively as compared to boys from rural residential back ground (M=17.66) indicating negative social identity. Similarly girls from urban residential background (M=23.33) of Santal community evaluated out-group significantly more positively as compared to girls from rural residential background (M=21.66) of Santal community indicating negative social identity.

Between-group comparisons showed that in case of urban residential background, girls of Santal community (M=23.33) evaluated out-group significantly more positively as compared to boys of Santal community (M=21.43) indicating negative social identity. In case of rural residential background, it was found that girls of Santal community (M=21.66) evaluated out-group more positively as compared to boys of Santal community (M=17.66) indicating negative social identity.

It was thus evident that boys with urban residential background exhibited more negative social identity than the boys from rural residential background. Similarly, girls from urban residential background showed

higher negative social identity as compared to the girl's from rural residential background. Moreover, girls from urban residential background showed higher negative social identity than the boys from urban residential background. Similarly, girls from rural residential background exhibited higher negative social identity than the boys from rural residential background. Thus and interaction effect is produced. The interaction effect has been graphically plotted in figure 4.
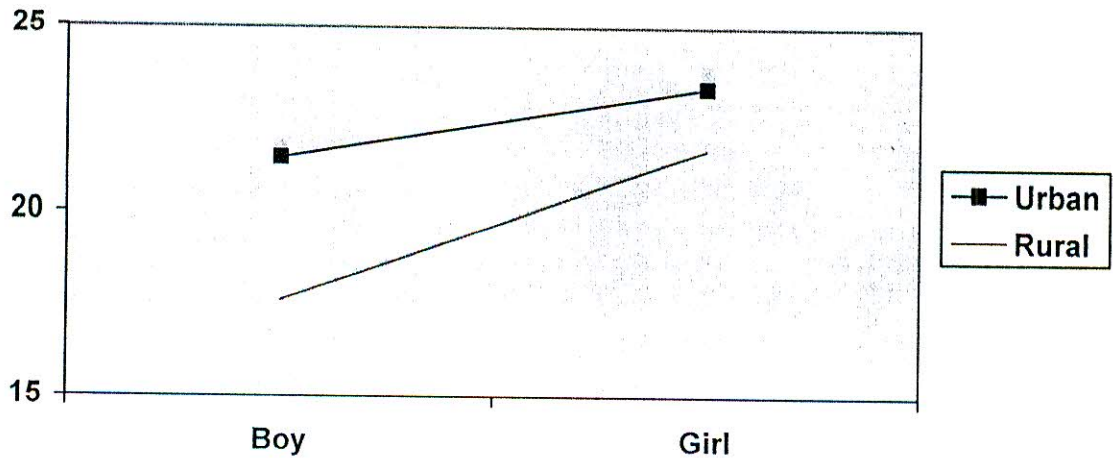
Figure 4:   Showing two-way interaction effect between gender and residence of Santals for out-group evaluation.

Gender ×age ×Residence

The results reported in Table 12 showed that a three-way interaction was statistically significant (F=6.58, df=1/112, P<0.01).

Table 17: Showing mean scores and significant mean difference involving three-way interaction between gender, age and residence of Santals for out-group evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=15 for each cell).

Gender	Residence	13 years	16 years
Boy	Urban	18.13_a	$24..73_c$
	Rural	16.06_a	19.26_a
Girl	Urban	21.53_b	23.13_c
	Rural	18.53_a	24.8_c

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An examination of mean scores and significant mean differences (Tale 17) showed that in case of boys of Santal community, it was found that urban respondents of 16 years age group (M=24.73) evaluated out-group Bengali Hindus significantly more positively indicating negative social identity as compared to urban respondents of 13 years age group (M=18.13). Similarly, in case of girls of Santal community, it was found that urban respondents of 16 years age group (M=25.13) evaluated out-group Bengali Hindus significantly more positively indicating negative social identity as compared to urban respondents of 13 years age group (M=21.53). Also, it was found that rural respondents of 16 years age group in the category of Santal girls (M=24.80) evaluated out-group Bengali Hindus significantly more positively indicating negative social identity as compared to rural respondents of 13 years age group (M=18.53). Thus an interaction effect is produced. The interaction effect has been graphically plotted in figure 5.
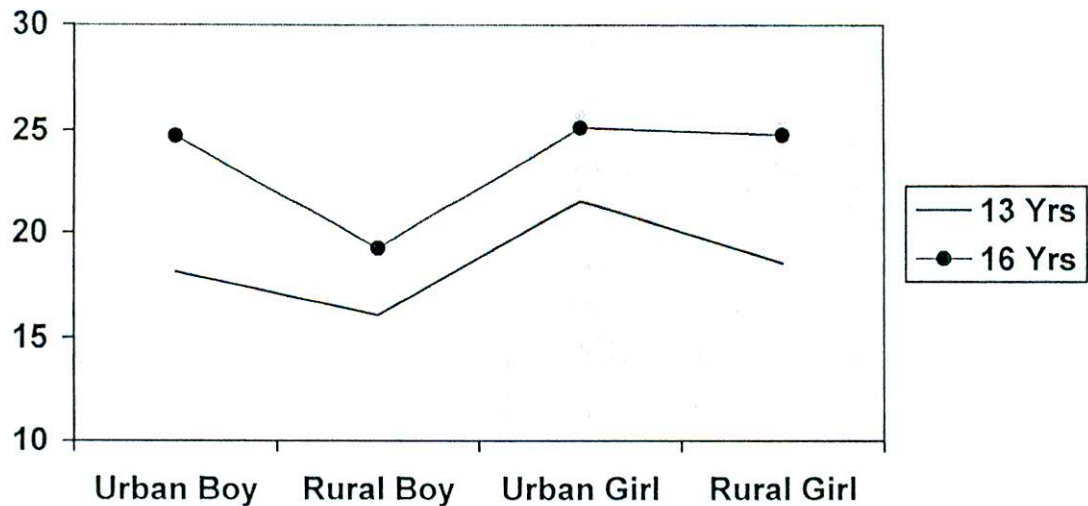
Figure 5: Showing three-way interaction effect among gender, age and residence of Santals for out-group evaluation.

In case of 13 years age group, it was found that girl respondents of Santal community from urban residential background (M=21.53) evaluated out-group Bengali Hindus significantly more positively indicating negative social identity than the girl respondents with rural residential background (M=18.53), boys from urban residential background (M=18.13) and boys from rural residential background (M=16.06). However, no significant mean difference was obtained between boys from urban and rural residential background as well as girls from rural residential background.

In case of 16 years age group, a reverse relationship was obtained. It was found that boy respondents of Santal community with urban residential background (M=24.73) evaluated out-group Bengali Hindus significantly more positively indicating negative social identity as compared to boy respondents of Santal community with rural residential background (M=19.26). Similarly, girl from Santal community with urban (M=25.13)

and rural (M=24.80) residential background evaluated out-group Bengali Hindus significantly more positively indicating negative social identity as compared to boy respondents of Santal community with rural residential background (M=19.26). However, no significant mean differences were obtained between Santal boys of urban residence, Santal girls of urban residence as well as Santal girls of urban and rural residence.

2.1 Self evaluation of Hindus

In this part, Analysis of Variance involving gender, age, and residential background of Bengali Hindus for their self-evaluation was computed using the score obtained with the help of Adjective Check List. The purpose of this analysis of the result was to computation self-evaluation of Bengali Hindus in relation to Santals. The competition of results and statistical analysis has been reported in Table 18.

Table 18: Showing summary of ANOVA involving gender, age and residence of Hindus for self-evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=120).

Sources of variance	SS	df	MS	F	Level of significance
Gender (A)	97.2	1	97.2	12.71	0.001
Age (B)	2.7	1	2.7	0.35	n.s
Residence (C)	28.03	1	28.03	3.66	0.05
AB	38.53	1	38.53	5.03	0.05
AC	38.53	1	38.53	5.03	0.05
BC	4.03	1	4.03	0.53	n.s
ABC	213.34	1	213.34	27.89	0.001
Within cell (Experimental error)	856.80	112	7.65		
Total	1270.63	119			

The results reported in Table 18 showed significant main effects for gender and residential background. Furthermore two-way interaction effects representing gender and age as well as gender and residence were also statistically significant. Moreover, a three-way interaction involving gender, age and residential background was also statistically significant.

MAIN EFFECT

Gender

The results reported in summary Table of ANOVA (Table 18) showed that the main effect for gender was statistically significant (F=12.71, df=1/112, P < 0.001)

Table 19: Showing mean scores and significant mean difference between boys and girls from Hindu community of self-evaluation on scores Adjective Check List (N=60 for each group).

Gender	Mean Scores
Boy	35.75_a
Girl	37.55_b

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An analysis of mean scores (Table 19) showed that regardless of age and residential background, girls of Hindu community (M=37.55) evaluated self with reference to out-group Hindus significantly in higher degree as compared to boys (M=35.75) of Hindu community. This indicates that girls expressed higher social identity in positive direction than the boys. Moreover, these findings seem to exhibit that self-identity is more prominent in girls than boys in case of Hindu community. Additionally, social identity

seems to play an important role in maintaining inter-group relations in Hindu girls for self-evaluation with reference to relevant comparison group.

Residence

The summary of results of ANOVA reported in Table 18 showed that the main effect of residence was statistically significant (F=3.66, df=1/112, P < 0.05).

Table 20: Showing mean scores and significant mean difference between urban and rural residential background on the scores of self-evaluation collected through Adjective Check List (N=60 for each group).

Residence	Mean Scores
Urban	37.13_a
Rural	36.16_b

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An analysis of mean scores and significant mean difference showed that urban respondents from Hindu community (M=37.13) evaluated self significantly more positively indicating higher positive social identity as compared to rural respondents from Hindu community (M=36.16). This indicates that respondents from urban residential background expressed higher self-evaluation with reference to the respondents from Santal community. It seems to indicate that urban respondents of Hindu community have higher preference for self. It means that self-evaluation is more prominent in the people of Hindu community with urban residential background. It is, therefore, evident that urban people of Hindu community are more self-centered than the rural people of Hindu community.

INTERACTION EFFECT

Gender × Age

The summary of ANOVA reported in Table 18 showed a two-way interaction involving gender and age (F=5.03, df=1/112, P< 0.05).

Table 21: Showing mean scores and significant mean differences involving two-way interaction between gender and age on the scores of Adjective Check List (M=30 for each group).

Gender	13 years	16 years
Boy	35.10_a	36.40_b
Girl	37.90_c	37.20_c

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores and significant mean differences showed that in case of boys , the respondents with 16 years age group (M=36.40) evaluated self significantly more positively as compared to respondents with 13 years age group (M=35.10) . In case of girls, it was found that respondents with 13 years group and 16 years age group failed to report statistically significant mean difference for self-evaluation with reference to Santal community. In case of 13 years age group, it was found that girls from Hindu community (M=37.90) showed significantly higher preference for self evaluation as compared to boys from Hindu community (M=35.10). Similarly, in case of 16 years age group, it was found that girls from Hindu community (M=37.20) evaluated self significantly in higher degree than the boys from Hindu community (M=36.40).

This finding showed that social identity is positively related with self evaluation .Thus the higher is the self evaluation, the higher is the social

identity. It seems plausible to argue that gender and age play an important role for the formation of social identity in positive direction. It is important to note that self-evaluation involves preference for own-positive characteristics leading to the development of positive social identity in inter-group relations. In other words, emotion and personality traits can differentiate inter-individual relationships. It also evolves self-preference, self-identity and self-esteem in contrast to self depreciation, self-criticism and misidentification (Tajfel, 1978).

Gender × residence

The summery of ANOVA reported in Table 18 showed a two way interaction between gender and residence (F=5.03, df=1/112, p<0.05).

Table 22: Showing mean scores and significant mean differences representing two way interaction between gender and residence on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=30 for each groups).

	Residence	
Gender	Urban	Rural
Boys	35.66_a	35.83_a
Girls	38.60_b	36.50_a

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores (Table 22) showed that in case of boys, no significant difference was found between the respondents with urban and rural residential background. This indicates that the boys of Hindu community from urban and rural residential background express self-identity in equal amount. In other words, self-preference was highly

appreciated by the boys of Hindu community irrespective their residential background. This higher preference for self-identity is a landmark for the development of positive social identity.

In case of girls, It was found that respondents with rural residential background (M=36.50) expressed significantly higher preference for self as compared to the respondents with urban residential background. This indicates that girls from urban residential background in Hindu community evaluated self more positively than their counterparts. It means that self-evaluation is differentiated in girls in Hindu community in respect of urban and rural residential background.

In case of urban residential background, it was found that girls of Hindu community (M=38.60) evaluated self more positively than the boys (M=35.66). This indicates that self appreciation is more prominent and distinct in girls than boys in respect of urban residential background of Hindu community. It is important to note that girls are regarded as carrier of culture and value system. Many research findings (Poortinga, 1971; Maloney, 1977) showed that nurturing of culture is more prominent in girls than boys. It is, perhaps, this psychological functioning in Hindu girls that they have shown-higher performance for self than the boys with urban residential background. However, no significant mean difference was found in case of rural residential background between boys and girls from Hindu community. An overall estimate of these findings seems to indicate that self-evaluation in boys and girls of Hindu community due to their residential background is less differentiated and highly integrated. This is indicative of positive social identity.

An overview of these findings shows that girls with urban residential background evaluated self more positively followed by girls from rural residential background, boys of urban residential background as well as rural residential background. This has produced an interaction effect. This interaction effect has been graphically plotted in figure 6.
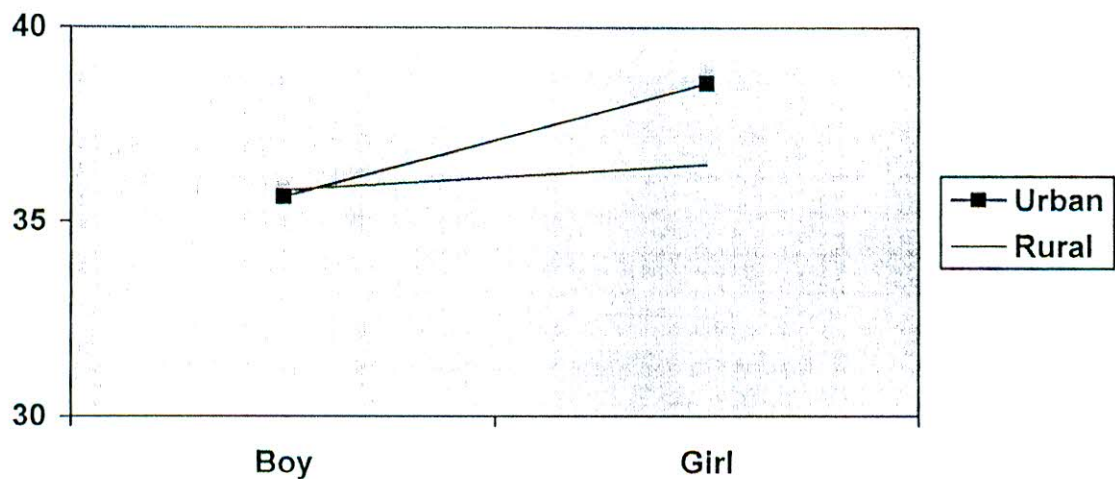
Figure 6: Showing two way interaction effects between gender and residence of Hindus for self-evaluation.

Gender × Age × Residence

The summary of ANOVA reported in Table 18 showed a three-way interaction among gender, age and residence (F=27.89, df=1/112, P<0.001).

Table 23: Showing mean score and significant mean differences representing three-way interaction among gender , age and residence on score of Adjective Check List (N=15 for each group).

Gender	residence	13 years	16 years
Boy	Urban	33.86_a	37.46_b
	Rural	36.33_b	35.33_b
Girl	Urban	40.46_c	36.73_b
	Rural	35.33_b	37.66_b

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An examination of mean scores and significant mean differences (Table 23) showed that urban boys of 16 years have evaluated self (M=37.46) significantly more positively as compared to urban boys of 13 years age (M=33.86). But no statistically significant mean difference was obtained between rural boys of 13 years age and rural boys of 16 years age in their preference for self-evaluation.

It was also found that urban girls of 13 years age (M=40.46) evaluated self significantly more positively as compared to urban girls of 16 years age (M=36.73). But no statistically significant mean difference was obtained between rural girls of 13 years and 16 years in their preference for self-evaluation.

In case of 13 years age group, it was found that rural boys (M=36.33) evaluated self significantly more positively than urban boys (M=33.86). Similarly urban girls (M=40.46) evaluated self significantly more positively than rural girls (M=35.33). Thus the highest preference for self was reported by urban girls followed by rural boys, rural girls and last by urban boys in the 13 years age group of Hindu community. This inverse relationship

between comparison groups has produced interaction. The interaction effect has been graphically plotted in figure 7.
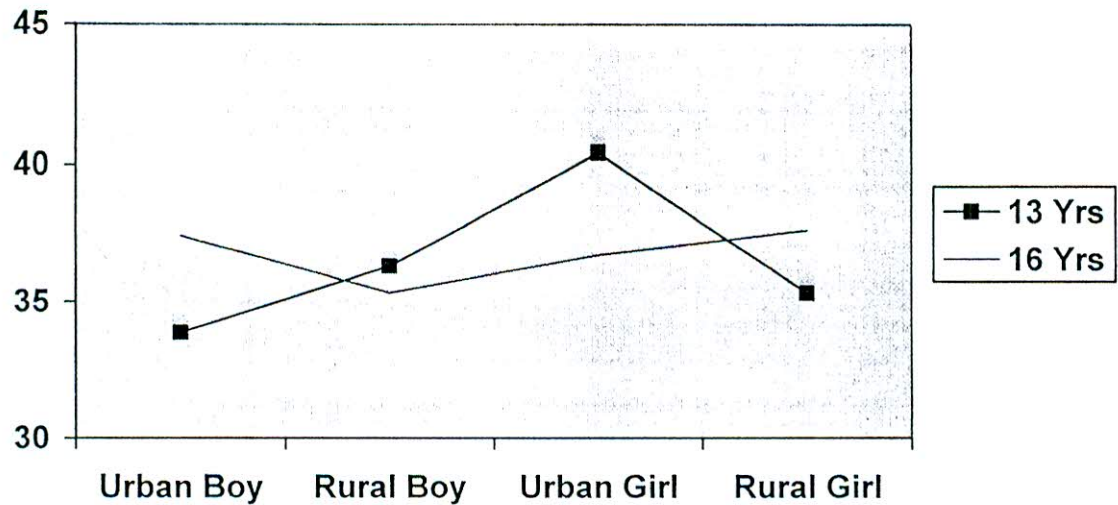
Figure 7: Showing three-way interaction effect among gender, age and residence of Hindus for self-evaluation.

In case of 16 years age group, no statistically significant difference was found between comparison groups. In other words, boys of urban and rural residential background as well as girls of urban and rural residential background reported identical amount of self-evaluation indicating higher self appreciation and integration.

2.2 Own-group Evaluation of Hindus

In this section, scores for own-group evaluation of Hindus were subjected to 2×2×2 factorial ANOVA representing two levels of gender (Boy/Girl), two levels of age (13 years/16 years) and two levels of residence (Urban/Rural). The computation of ANOVA has been reported in Table 23.

Table 24: Showing summary of ANOVA involving gender, age and residence of Hindus for own-group evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=120).

Sources of variance	SS	df	MS	F	Level of significance
Gender (A)	36.3	1	36.3	3.90	0.05
Age (B)	7.5	1	7.5	0.80	n.s
Residence (C)	83.33	1	83.33	8.96	0.005
AB	28.03	1	28.03	3.01	0.10
AC	112.13	1	112.13	12.05	0.001
BC	120	1	120	12.90	0.001
ABC	235.21	1	235.21	25.29	0.001
Within cell (Experimental Error)	1042	112	9.30		
Total	1664.5	119			

MAIN EFFECT

Gender

The results reported in Table 24 showed that the main effect for gender was statistically significant (F=3.90, df=1/112, P<0.05).

Table 25: Showing mean scores and significant mean difference between boy and girl of Hindu community for own-group evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=60 for each group).

Gender	Mean Scores
Boy	M=41.3a
Girl	M=40.2b

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An examination of mean scores and significant mean difference (Table 25) showed that regardless of age and residence, boys of Hindu community (M=41.30) has expressed significantly higher preference for own-group as compared to girls of Hindu community (M=40.20). This

finding is an indication for positive social identity. In other words, boys of Hindu community are found to express higher group solidarity than the girls of Hindu community. This reveals the inner predisposition of boys and girls regarding their own-group performance. Thus group solidarity is more prominent in boys; but group differentiation is highly distinct in girls. In terms of inter-group relations, this finding indicates that boys of Hindu community possess higher positive social identity than girls. It is, therefore, plausible to indicate that social identity in inter-group relations may be conditioned by environmental factors of socialization of boys and girls in Hindu community as a function of their ethnic identity.

Residence

The results reported in Table 24 showed that the main effect for residence was statistically significant (F=8.96, df=1/112, P<0.005).

Table 26: Showing mean scores and significant mean difference between urban and rural Hindu respondents for own-group evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=60 for each group).

Residence	Mean Scores
Urban	M=41.58a
Rural	M=39.91b

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores and significant mean difference showed that regardless of gender and age, respondents from urban residential background (M=41.58) expressed significantly higher preference for own-group as compared to the respondents from rural residential background

(M=39.91) of Hindu community. This indicates that urban respondents of Hindu community, have expressed higher own-group appreciation and solidarity. Rural respondents of Hindu community on the other hand, have expressed higher own-group differentiation. In other words, urban respondents of Hindu community are found to reveal higher integrity for own-group preference and rural respondents of Hindu community are found to reveal higher differentiation for own-group preference.

INTERACTION EFFECT

Gender × Age

The results of ANOVA reported in Table 24 showed that interaction effect between gender and age was statistically significant. It was found that a two-way interaction involving gender and residence was statistically significant (F=3.01, df=1/112, P< 0.10).

Table 27: Showing mean scores and significant mean differences involving two-way interaction between gender and age of Hindus for own-group evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=30 for each group).

Gender	13 years	16 years
Boy	41.06_a	41.53_a
Girl	40.93_a	39.46_b

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores and significant, mean difference showed that in case of boys in Hindu community, it was found that respondents of 13 and 16 years age group failed to obtain statistically significant mean difference in their own-group evaluation. But in case of girls of Hindu

community, it was found that respondents of 13 years age group (M=40.93) evaluated own-group significantly more positively as compared to respondents of 16 years age group (M=39.46). This has produced interaction effect. The interaction effect has been graphically plotted in figure 8.

In case of 13 years age group, no significant mean difference was found between boys and girls for own-group evaluation. But in case of 16 years age group, it was found that boys from Hindu community (M=41.53) evaluated own-group significantly more positively as compared to girls (M=39.46).

The results of two-way interaction involving gender and age indicate that both gender and age can exert substantial influence for own-group evaluation. In other words, social identity in inter-group relations may be conditioned by gender identification and age differentiation. It is also apparent that racial ethnicity and religious ethnicity may provide a common platform in terms of cross-category membership. This finding of the present study relating to own-group evaluation indicates that cross-category membership is highly effective in own-group evaluation in boys and girls due to their age differentiation.

Figure 8: Showing two-way interaction effect between gender and age of Hindus for own-group evaluation.

Gender × Residence

The results of ANOVA reported in Table 24 showed that interaction effect between gender and residence was statistically significant. It was found that a two-way interaction involving gender and residence was statistically significant ($F=12.05$, $df=1/112$, $P<0.001$).

Table 28: Showing cell means and significant mean differences involving two-way interaction between gender and residence of Hindus for own-group evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List ($N=30$ for each group).

Gender	Urban	Rural
Boys	43.1_a	39.5_b
Girls	40.06_b	40.33_b

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores and significant mean differences showed that in case of boys, respondents with urban residential background (M=43.10) evaluated own-group significantly more positively as compared to respondents with rural residential background (M=39.50). In case of girls, however, no significant mean difference for own-group evaluation was found between respondents with urban and rural residential background.

In case of rural residential background, no significant mean difference was obtained between boys and girls in their preferences for own-group evaluation.

It is evident from the results that urban boys expressed higher preference for own-group evaluation as compared to urban girls as well as rural boys and rural girls. This has produced interaction effect. The interaction effect has been graphically plotted in figure 9.

An overview of these findings indicate that urban boys evaluated own-group more positively than rural boys, urban girls and rural girls. However, no significant mean difference was found between rural boys, urban girls and rural girls. These findings show that the boys with urban residential background showed higher integration in own-group evaluation leading to the development of higher positive social identity. But girls with urban and rural residential background evaluated own-group less positively. This indicates group differentiation leading to the development of less positive social identity in comparison to boys. Similarly, urban residential background was found to contribute positively for the development of positive social identity. But rural residential background showed less differentiations between own-group and out-group. Thus higher integration

for own-group evaluation and less differentiation for own-group evaluation were the marker of more positive social identity for boys and less positive social identity for girls.
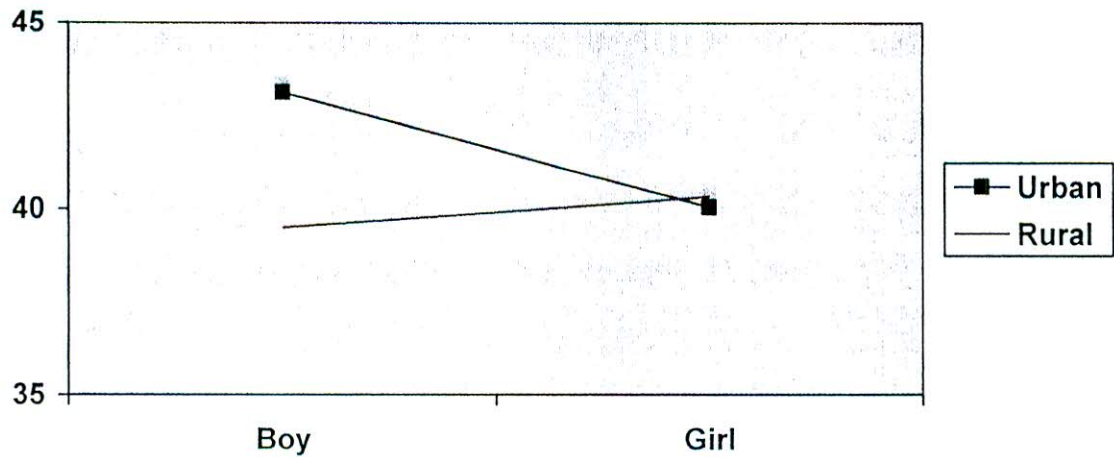
Figure 9: Showing two-way interaction effect between gender and residence of Hindus for own-group evaluation.

Age× Residence

The results of ANOVA reported in Table 24 showed that interaction effect between age and residence was statistically significant. It was found that a two-way interaction involving age and residence was statistically significant (F=12.90, df=1/112, P<0.001)

Table 29: Showing cell means and significant mean differences involving two-way interaction between age and residence of Hindus for own-group evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=30 for each group).

Age	Urban	Rural
13 Years	40.83a	41.16b
16 Years	42.33c	38.66d

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores and significant mean differences showed that in case of respondents of 13 Years age group of Hindu community, it was found that rural respondents (M=41.16) evaluated own-group more positively than the urban respondents (M=40.83). In case of 16 Years age group, it was found that urban respondents (M=42.33) evaluated own-group more positively than the rural respondents (38.66). This has produced interaction. The interaction effect has been graphically plotted in figure 10.

In case of urban residential background, it was found that respondents with 16 Years age group (M=42.33) evaluated own-group more positively than the respondents of 13 Years age group (M=40.83). In case of rural residential background, it was found that respondents with 13 Years age group (M=41.16) evaluated own-group more positively than the respondents of 16 Years age group (M=38.66). This inverse relationship has produced interaction. The interaction effect has been graphically plotted in figure 10.
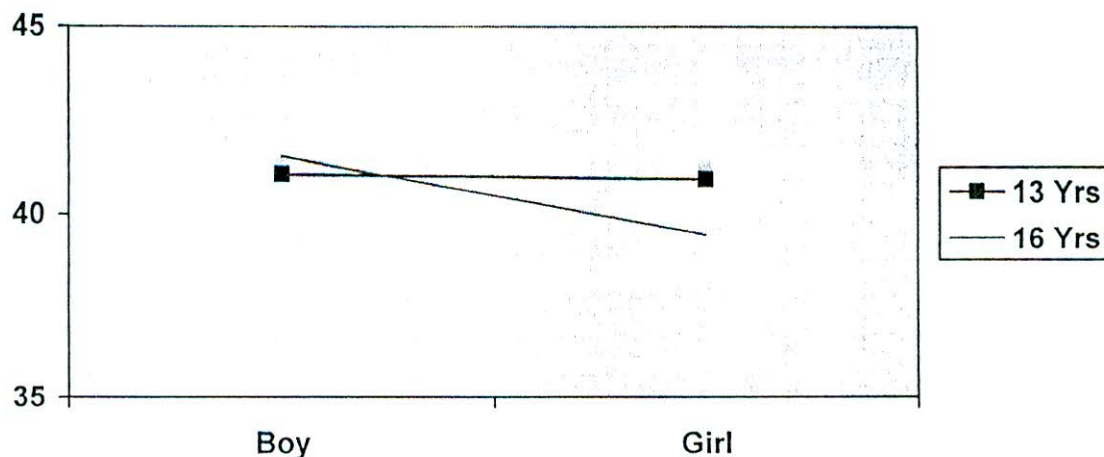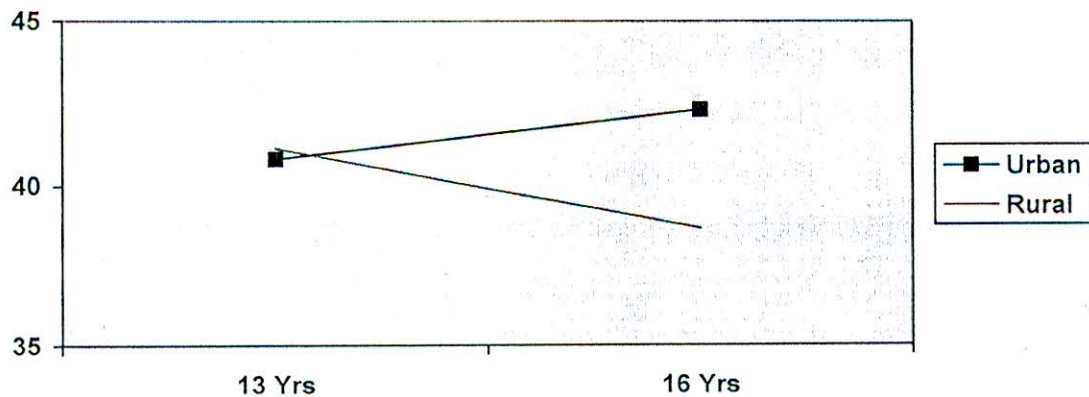

Figure 10: Showing two-way interaction effect between age and residence of Hindus for own-group evaluation.

Gender × Age × Residence

The reports of ANOVA reported in Table 24 showed that interaction effect among gender, age and residence was statistically significant. It was found that a three-way interaction involving gender, age and residence was statistically significant ($F=25.29$, $df=1/112$, $P<0.001$).

Table 30: Showing cell means and significant mean differences involving three-way interaction among gender, age and residence of Hindus for own-group evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=15 for each group).

Gender	residence	13 years	16 years
Boy	Urban	43.26_a	42.93_b
	Rural	38.86_b	40.13_b
Girls	Urban	38.40_c	41.73_b
	Rural	43.46_b	37.2_b

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores and significant mean differences indicate that in case of boys, it was found that urban respondents of 13 Years and 16 Years age group failed to obtain statistically significant mean difference in their own-group evaluation of Hindu community. But rural respondents of 16 Years age group (M=40.13) evaluated own-group significantly more positively as compared to rural respondents of 13 Years age group (38.86).

In case of girls, it was found that urban respondents of 16 years age group (M=41.73) evaluated own-group significantly more positively as compared to urban respondents of 13 Years age group (38.40). But rural respondents of 13 Years age group (M=43.46) evaluated own-group

significantly more positively as compared to rural respondents of 16 Years age group (37.20). This inverse relationship is responsible of producing interaction effect. The interaction effect has been graphically plotted in figure 11.

In case of 13 Years age group, it was found that urban boys (M=43.26) evaluated own-group significantly more positively than rural boys (M=38.86) of Hindu community. It was also found that rural girls (M=43.46) evaluated own-group significantly more positively than urban girls (M=38.40) of Hindu community.

In case of 16 Years age group, it was found that urban boys (M=42.93) evaluated own-group significantly more positively than rural boys (M=40.13) of Hindu community. Again it was found that urban girls (M=41.73) evaluated own-group more positively than rural girls (M=37.20) of Hindu community.

The findings involving three-way interaction indicated inverse relationship among different comparison groups. Thus the interaction effect was produced. The interaction effect has been graphically plotted in figure 11.
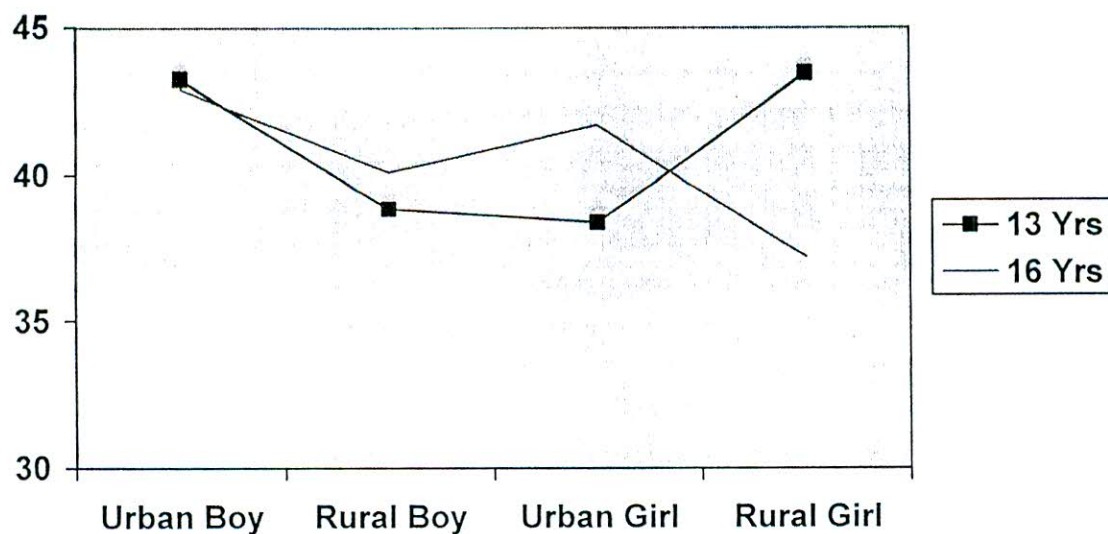
Figure 11: Showing three-way interaction effect among gender, age and residence of Hindus for own-group evaluation.

2.3 Out-group Evaluation of Hindus

In this section, scores for out-group evaluation of Hindus were subjected to 2x2x2 factorial ANOVA representing two levels of gender (Boys/ Girls), two levels of age (13 Years/ 16 Years) and two levels of residence (Urban/ Rural). In order to avoid minus (-) sign of "D" scores for out-group evaluation, a constant of 30 was added to each score. The computation of ANOVA has been reported in Table 31.

Table 31: Showing summary of ANOVA involving gender, age and residence of Hindus for out-group evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=120).

Sources of variance	SS	d f	MS	F	Level of significance
Gender (A)	606.99	1	606.99	10.67	0.005
Age (B)	716.89	1	716.89	12.60	0.001
Residence (C)	340.49	1	340.49	5.98	0.05
AB	226.36	1	226.36	3.90	0.05
AC	422.83	1	422.83	7.43	0.01
BC	330.92	1	330.92	5.81	0.05
ABC	530.89	1	530.89	9.33	0.005
Within cell (Experimental Error)	6369.87	112	56.87		
Total	9541.24	119			

The results reported in Table 31 showed that the main effects for gender age and residence were statistically significant. Two-way interaction effects between gender and age, gender and residence as well as age and residence were statistically significant. A three-way interaction representing gender, age and residence was also statistically significant. Interpretation and description of these main effects and interaction effects are discussed below.

MAIN EFFECT

Gender

The results reported in Table 31 showed that the main effect for gender was statistically significant (F=10.67, df=1/112, P< 0.005)

Table 32: Showing mean scores and significant mean difference between boy and girl of Hindu community for out-group evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=60 for each group).

Gender	Mean Scores
Boy	16.86 (-13.14)$_a$
Girl	20.80 (-9.2)$_b$

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores and significant mean difference showed that regardless of age and residence, boys of Bengali Hindus evaluated out-group significantly more negatively (M=-13.14) than the girls of Bengali Hindus (M=-9.2). Thus the results on main effect for gender showed that both boys and girls of Hindu community evaluated out-group Santals negatively but boys evaluated the out-group more negatively than the girls. In other hand, girls evaluated out-group Santals less negatively. This indicates that out-group evaluation of Bengali Hindus in terms of boys and girls was more differentiated and less integrated. However, boys expressed higher differentiation and girls expressed comparatively less differentiation for out-group evaluation.

Age

The results reported in Table 31 showed that the main effect for age was statistically significant (F=12.60, df=1/112, P< 0.001)

Table 33: Showing mean scores and significant mean difference between the respondents of 13 Years and 16 Years age groups for out-group evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=60 for each group).

Age	Mean Scores
13 Years	21.01 (-8.99)a
16 Years	16.65 (-13.35)b

Note: Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula. Figure in the parenthesis indicate scores after subtraction constant 30. Common subscripts do not differ significantly.

An inspection of mean scores and significant mean difference showed that regardless of gender and residence, the respondents of 16 Years age group from Hindu community (M=-13.35) evaluated out-group Santals significantly more negatively as compared to respondents of 13 Years age group (M=-8.99). This indicates that all the respondents of 13 Years and 16 Years age group evaluated out-group Santals negatively but respondents of 16 Years age group evaluated out-group more negatively and the respondents of 13 Years age group evaluated out-group less negatively leading to the higher out-group differentiation. This is important to note that age has emerged as an important factor influencing out-group evaluation in a substantial and meaningful way. It is also evident that as the age increases, out-group evaluation on negative dimension also increases. Conversely respondents of Hindu community at their early age evaluated out-group Santals less negatively. But the direction of out-group towards negative dimension increases with the increases of age. It is plausible to argue that experiences add newness to evaluation. As the respondents are exposed to more experiences with the increasing in age, the feelings of "we" and "they"

become highly differentiated leading to higher degree of negative evaluation for the out-group Santals.

Residence

The results reported in Table 31 showed that the main effect for residence was statistically significant ($F=5.98$, $df=1/112$, $p<0.05$).

Table 34: Showing means scores and significant mean difference between urban and rural Hindu respondents for out-group evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=60 for each group).

Residence	Mean Scores
Urban	17.07a (-12.93)
Rural	20.17b (-9.89)

Note: Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula. Figure in the parenthesis indicate scores after subtraction constant 30. Common subscripts do not differ significantly.

An inspection of mean scores and significant mean difference showed that regardless of gender and age, the respondents of urban residence (M=12.93) evaluated out-group Santals significantly more negatively as compared to the respondents of rural residence (M=-9.89). This indicates that both urban and rural respondents evaluated out-group negatively but urban respondents evaluated out-group Santals more significantly more negatively and rural respondents evaluated less negatively in their inter-group relations. Thus residential background has emerged as an important positive factor for producing differential amount of out-group evaluation of Bengali Hindus. The results have revealed that out-group evaluation in case of Hindus is conditioned by urban-rural differences. In fact urban-rural

difference is evident in the social, economic, political and cultural field. This indicates that the more a group develops in social, economic, political and cultural fields, the more the group becomes prejudicial towards out-group leading to the increasing amount of negative evaluation for the out-group. In the present situation, urban people are enlightened section of society. Rural people, on the other hand, are submerged in ignorance and prejudice. Because of their elite identity and enlightened outlook, the urban section of population has developed distinct positive social identity. This is responsible for higher negative evaluation for the out-group on the part of the respondents with urban residential background.

INTERACTION EFFECT

Gender × Age

The results of ANOVA reported in Table 31 showed that interaction effect between gender and age was statistically significant. It was found that a two-way interaction involving gender and age was statistically significant ($F=3.90$, $df=1/112$, $P<0.05$).

Table 35: Showing mean scores and significant mean differences involving two-way interaction between gender and age of Hindus for out-group evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=30 for each group).

Gender	13 years	16 years
Boy	18.1 (-11.9)$_a$	15.63 (-14.37)$_b$
Girl	23.93 (-6.07)$_c$	17.66 (-12.34)$_d$

Note: Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula. Figure in the parenthesis indicate scores after subtraction constant 30. Common subscripts do not differ significantly.

An inspection of mean scores and significant mean difference showed that in case of 13 years age group, boys of Hindu community (M=-119) evaluated out-group significantly more negatively as compared to girls (M=-6.07). Similarly, in case of 16 years age group, boys of Hindu community (M=-14.37) evaluated out-group Santals significantly more negatively as compared to girls (M=-12.34).

In case of boys, it was found that respondents of 16 years age group (M=-14.37) evaluated out-group Santals significantly more negatively as compared to the respondents of 13 years age group (M=11.90). Similarly girls of 16 years age group (M=-12.34) evaluated out-group Santals significantly more negatively as compared to girls of 13 years age group (M=-6.07).

An observation of this finding showed that age and gender has interaction effect in their out-group evaluation. Boys, in general have evaluated out-group more negatively and girls have evaluated out-group comparatively less negatively indicating differentiation in their social identity. Similarly, respondents with 16 years age group, in general, have evaluated out-group Santals more negatively and respondents of 13 years age group evaluated out-group less negatively initiating differences in social identity patterns. The interaction effect of two-way interaction produced by gender and age has been graphically plotted in Figure 12.

Figure 12: Showing two-way interaction effect between gender and age of Hindus for out-group evaluation.

Gender ×Residence

The summery of ANOVA reported in the Table 31 showed that a two-way interaction between gender and residence was statically significant (F=7.43, df=1/112, P<0.01).

Table 36: Showing mean scores and significant mean differences representing two-way interaction between gender and residence on the score of Adjective Check List (N=30 for each group).

	Urban	Rural
Boy	14.63(-15.37) $_a$	19.10 (-10.90) $_b$
Girls	20.46(-9.54) $_c$	17.36 (-12.64) $_d$

Note: Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula. Figure in the parenthesis indicate scores after subtraction constant 30. Common subscripts do not differ significantly.

An inspection of mean scores and significant mean difference showed that in case of Urban residential background, boys (M=-15.37) evaluated

out-group significantly more negatively as compared to girls (M=-10.90). But in case of rural residential background, girls (M=-12.64) evaluated out-group significantly more negatively as compared to boys (M=-10.90).

In case of boys, it was found that respondents with Urban residential background (M=-15.32) evaluated out-group significantly more negatively as compared to respondents with rural residential background (M=-10.90). But in case of girls, it was found that respondents with rural residential background (M=-12.64) evaluated out-group significantly more negatively as compared to respondents with Urban residential background (M=-9.53).

Thus a two-way interaction involving gender and residence revealed differential amount of out-group evaluation leading to interaction effect. It was found that an inverse relationship was found between different comparison groups. This helped to produce interaction effect. The interaction effect has been graphically plotted in figure 13.
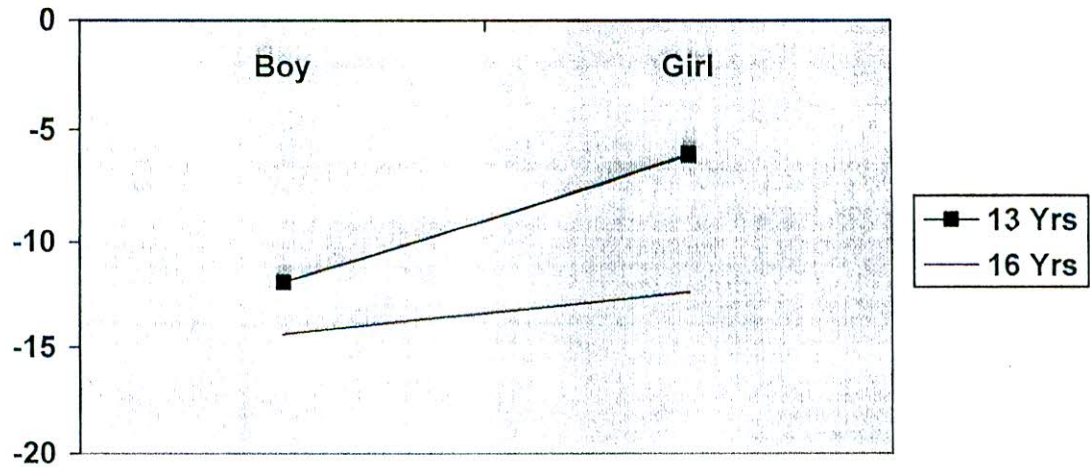

Figure 13: Showing two-way interaction effect between gender and residence of Hindus for out-group evaluation.

Age × Residence

The summery of ANOVA reported in Table 31 showed that a two-way interaction between age and residence was statistically significant (F=5.81, df=1/112, P<0.05).

Table 37: Showing mean scores and significant mean differences representing two-way interaction between gender and residence on the score of Adjective Check List (N=30 for each group).

Age	Urban	Rural
13 years	18.63 (-11.37)$_a$	23.4(-6.6)$_b$
16 years	16.46(-13.54)$_c$	16.83(-13.17)$_d$

Note: Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula. Figure in the parenthesis indicate scores after subtraction constant 30. Common subscripts do not differ significantly.

An inspection of mean scores and significant mean difference showed that in case of Urban residential background respondents of 16 years age group (M=-13.54) evaluated out-group significantly more negatively as compared to respondents of 13 years age group (M=-11.37) Similarly, in case of rural residential background, respondents of 16 years age group (M=-13.17) evaluated out-group significantly more negatively as compared to respondents with 13 years age group from rural residential background (M=-6.60).

In case of 13 years, age group, it was found that respondents with urban residential background (M=-11.37) evaluated out-group significantly more negatively as compared to the respondents with rural residential background (M=-6.60). However in case of 16 years out-group, no significant mean difference was obtained between the respondents with

urban and rural residential background for their out-group evaluation. This indicates that both the groups with urban and rural residential background in 16 years age group evaluated the out-group negatively in an identical manner.

An analysis of results involving two-way interaction between age and residence showed significant mean difference in out-group evaluation indicating interaction effect. This interaction effect has been graphically plotted in figure 14.
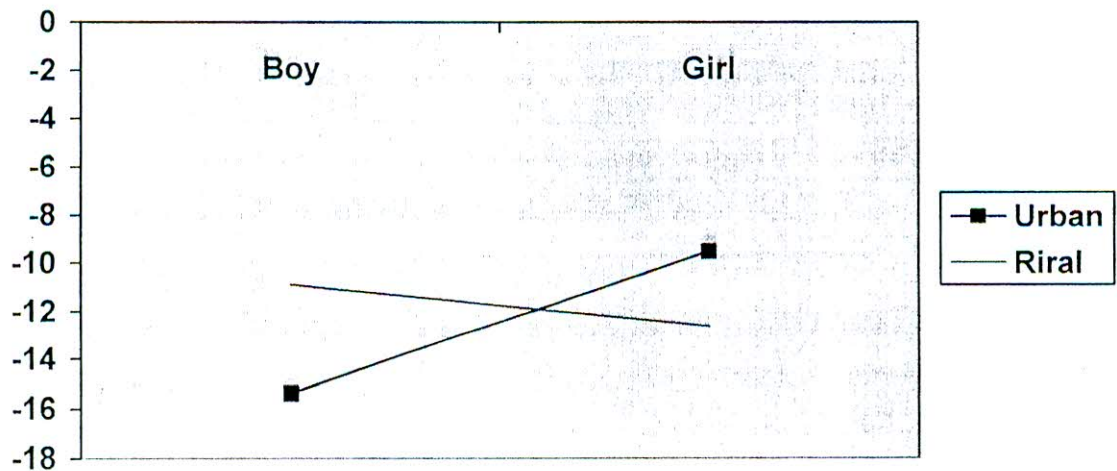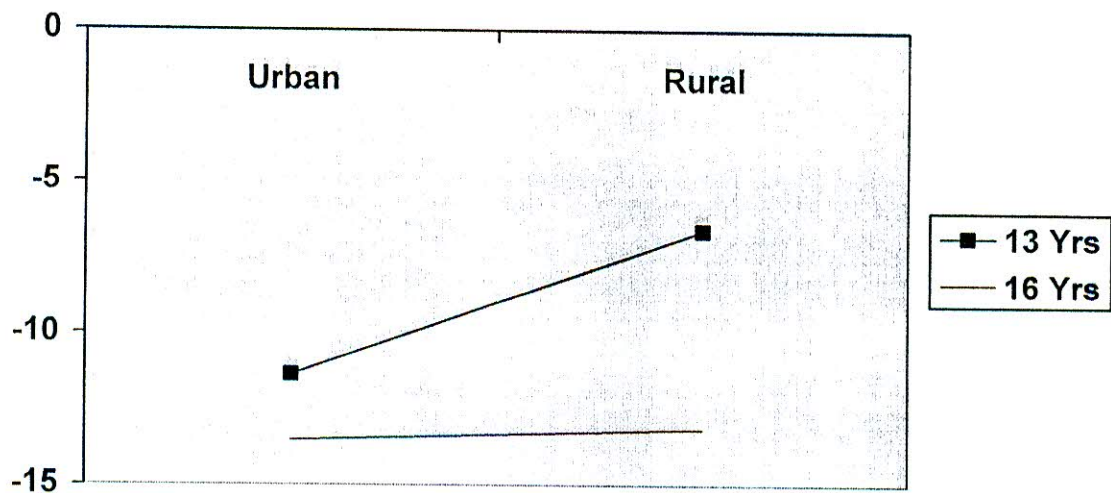

Figure 14: Showing two-way interaction effect between gender and residence of Hindus for out-group evaluation.

Gender × Age × Residence

The summery of ANOVA reported in Table 31 showed that a two-way interaction representing gender, age and residence were statistically significant (F=9.33, df=1/112, P<0.005).

Table 38: Showing mean scores and significant mean differences representing three-way interaction involving gender, age and residence on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=15 for each group).

		13 years	16 years
Boys	Urban	13.66 (-16.34)$_a$	16.16 (-14.84)$_b$
	Rural	22.53 (-7.47)$_c$	15.66 (-14.34)$_b$
Girls	Urban	23.6 (-6.4)$_c$	17.33 (-12.67)$_d$
	Rural	24.26 (-5.74)$_c$	18.00 (-12.00)$_d$

Note: Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula. Figure in the parenthesis indicate scores after subtraction constant 30. Common subscripts do not differ significantly.

An examination of mean score and significant mean difference showed that in case of 13 years age group urban boys (M-16.34) evaluated out-group significantly more negatively as compared to rural boys (M=7.47). But no significant mean difference was obtained in their out-group evaluation between Urban and Rural girls.

In case of 16 years, no significant mean difference was obtained in their out-group evaluation between Urban and Rural boys. But both the groups evaluated out-group more negatively. Similarly, no significant mean difference was obtained in their out-group evaluation between Urban and Rural girls. But both the groups evaluated the out-group negatively. However, it was found that urban boys (M=-14.84) evaluated out-group significantly more negatively as compared to urban girls (M=-12.67).Similarly rural boys (M=-14.34) evaluated out-group significantly more negatively as compared to rural girls (M=-12.00). Thus interaction effect was produced. The interaction effect has been graphically plotted in figure 15.
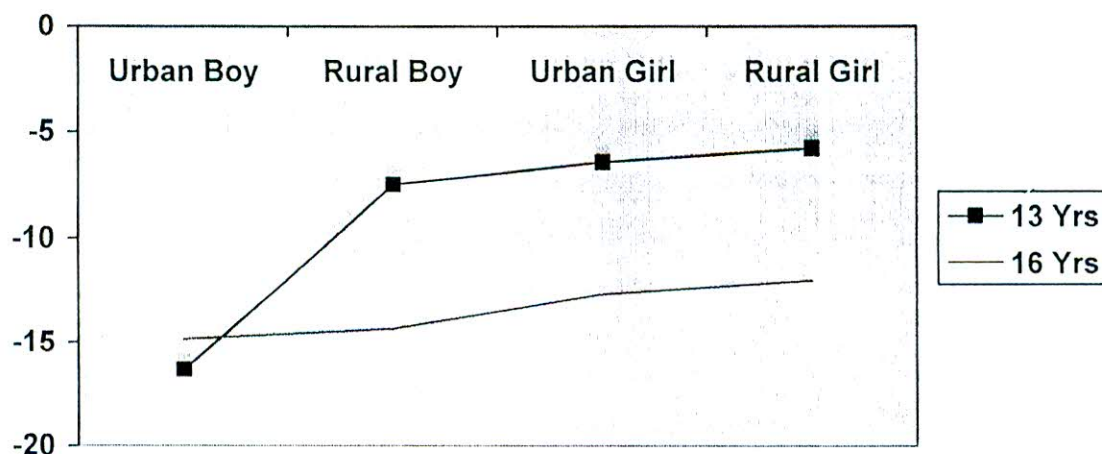
Figure 15: Showing three-way interaction effect between gender, age and residence of Hindus for out-group evaluation.

3.1 Self-evaluation Involving Group, Gender and Age

In this part, Analysis of Variance was computed involving group, gender and age for self-evaluation.

Table 39: Showing summary of ANOVA representing group, gender and age for self on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=240).

Sources of Variance	S,S	df	MS	F	Level of significance
Group (A)	666.67	1	666.67	34.18	0.001
Gender (B)	153.6	1	153.6	7.87	0.01
Age (C)	0.07	1	0.07	.005	n.s
AB	2.4	1	2.4	0.12	n.s
AC	6.66	1	6.66	0.34	n.s
BC	91.27	1	91.27	4.68	0.05
ABC	3.27	1	3.27	0.16	n.s
Within cell experimental error	4524	232	19.5		
Total	5447.94	239			

The results Table 39 showed that main effects for group composition and gender were statistically significant; Furthermore, a two-way interaction involving gender and age were also statistically significant.

MAIN EFFECT
GROUP

The results reported in Table 39 showed that the main effect for group composition was statistically significant (F=34.18, df=1/232, p<0.001).

Table 40: Showing mean scores and significant mean differences between Santals and Hindus for self-evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=120 for each group).

Santals	33.31 $_a$
Bengali Hindus	36.65$_b$

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores and significant mean difference (Table 40) showed that regardless of gender and age Bengali Hindus (M=36.65) evaluated self significantly more positively as compared to Santals (M=33.31). This indicates that Bengali Hindus showed higher preference for self indicating higher positive social identity. But Santals as a member of minority group with racial ethnicity showed comparatively lower preference for self indicating low self identity. In other words, identity crisis is more evident in Santals in their inter-group relations. But Bengali Hindus expressed self integration and solidarity.

Gender

The results (Table 39) showed that the main effect for gender was statistically significant (F=7.87, df=1/232 P<0.01).

Table 41: Showing mean scores and significant mean differences between Santals and Hindus for self-evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=120 for each group).

Gender	Mean Scores
Boy	34.18_a
Girls	35.78_b

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores and significant mean difference (Table 41) showed that regardless of group composition and age, girls (M=35.78) evaluated self significantly more positively as compared to boys (M=34.18). This indicates that self solidarity was higher for girls than boys. In other word, girls expressed higher self preference than boys indicating higher positive social identity. This seems to indicate that boys of minority groups showed higher identity crisis than girls. It is plausible to argue that girls of minority group are more concerned about self well-being but boys are more concerned about group well-being. As a result, a diversification emerges in intra-group and inter-group relations. In this respect boys give less attention on self and more attention on group. But girls give more attention on self and less attention on group. It is, perhaps, this complex inter-group relation of minority and subordinate groups that might be responsible for higher self- evaluation of girls and lower self-evaluation for

boys. Thus social identity of minority group members is affected by gender effect.

INTERACTION EFFECT

Gender ×Age

The results reported in the (Table 39) showed that the interaction effect between gender and age was statistically significant (F=4.68, df=1/232 P<0.05).

Table 42: Showing mean scores and significant mean differences involving two-way interaction between gender and age of Santals and Bengali Hindus respondents for self-evaluation on the scores of Adjective Check List (N=60 for each group).

Gender	13 years	16 years
Boy	33.58$_a$	34.78$_b$
Girls	36.41$_c$	35.15$_d$

Note: Common subscripts do not differ significantly. Mean difference was computed using Newman-Keuls formula.

An inspection of mean scores and significant mean difference (Table 42)showed that in case of 13 years age group, it was found that girls (M=36.41) evaluated self significantly more positively as compared to boys (M=33.58). Similarly, in case of 16 years age group, girls (M=35.15) evaluated self significantly more positively as compared to boys (M=34.78).

In case of boys, respondents of 16 years age group (M=34.78) evaluated self significantly more positively as compared to the respondents of 13 years age group (M=33.58). But in case of girls, it was found that respondents of 13 years age group (M=36.41) evaluated self significantly

more positively as compared to the respondents of 16 years age group (M=35.15).

The results (Table 42) showed that girls of 13 years age group expressed highest self evaluation followed by girls of 16 years age group, boys of 16 years age group and least by boys of 13 years age group. This differential amount of self-evaluation has produced interaction effect. The interaction effect has been graphically plotted in figure 16.
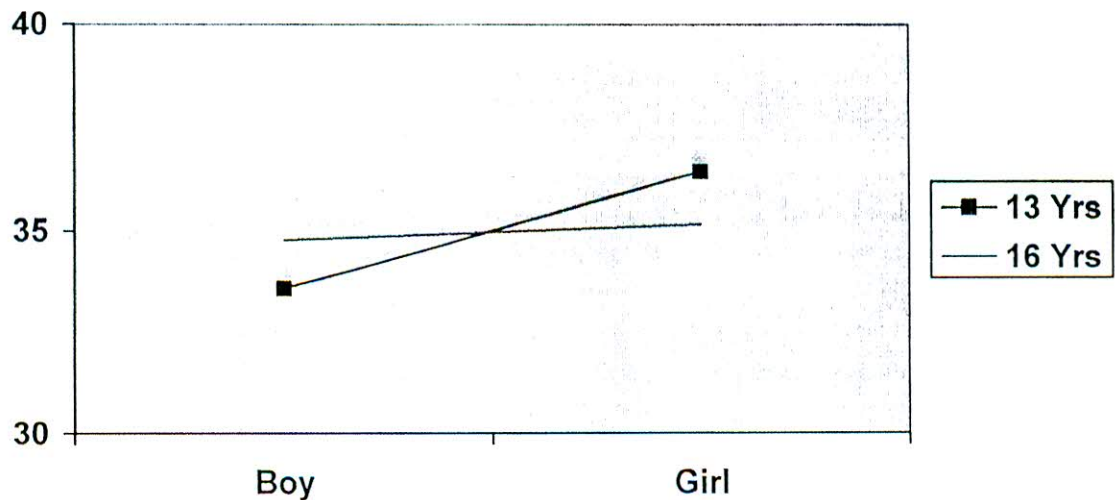
Figure 16:   Showing two-way interaction effect between gender and age for self-evaluation.

3.2 Own-group Evaluation Involving Group, Gender and Age

In this part, Analysis of Variance was computed involving group, gender and age for own-group evaluation.

(Deschamps and Doise, 1978) and multiple memberships (Tajfel, 1974), the group distinctiveness is lowered. In such cases, individuals are less likely to respond in inter-ethnic terms. In the present situation, both boys and girls of Santal and Hindu community share several group memberships and differ only in ethnicity. Thus both Santals and Hindus share minority status. This seems to lower down their reciprocal evaluations for self and own-group.

It is, perhaps, this sharing of minority status that the girls evaluated self more positive than the boys. In other words, girls have expressed higher self-esteem than boys. This may be due to realistic approach of the girls and also for higher commitment towards the self. The lower self-evaluation by the boys in comparison to girls might be responsible for higher contact of the boys in inter-group behaviour.

In case of own-group evaluation, both boys and girls expressed higher group identity and higher group cohesiveness resulting in homogeneous own-group evaluation. Thus in case of boys and girls, a lower group distinctiveness was found. It is of considerable interest to note that cross category membership was highly effective in case of own-group evaluation. This indicated a positive social identity for both boys and girls. It is thus suggested that the given context of cross-category membership in terms of boys and girls may account for higher group cohesiveness in inter-group relations of minority members in the cultural, political and social context of Bangladesh.

However, in case of out-group evaluation, it was found that boys evaluated out-group significantly more negatively than the girls. This

indicated higher positive social identify for boys than girls. It might be that cultural traditions have resulted in higher inter-group differentiation for boys. This indicated the saliency of religious distinctiveness and racial categorizations in minority inter-group behaviour.

The gender relations of boys and girls represent a case of shifting relation of gender and social dominance. It is obvious that a completely secure social identity may indicate a relationship in which a change in the psychological distinctiveness is not conceivable (Tajfel, 1978). In other words, some awareness is necessary for the development of alternatives to the existing social reality. In case of boys and girls with minority status, this cognitive alternative is conceivable and perhaps attainable. In this perspective of theoretical orientation, it is thought that girls have insecure comparison leading to higher ethnocentric orientation. Boys, on the other hand, have secure comparison leading to the development for the search of higher cognitive alternatives. Thus regardless of minority status, both boys and girls have displayed positive social identity.

Such a finding also lends support to Turner and Brown (1978) who stated that an insecure relationship exists where the subordinate group itself was previously dominant and continue to possess an ideological and cultural sense of its superiority. It is, therefore, suggested that boys as a social group enjoy dominant status and girls as an social group enjoy subordinate status in inter-group relations. Considered from this given social context, it is logical that girls as subordinate group would seek positive distinctiveness from the boys as dominant group to the degree that their inferiority is not conceived as inherent, immutable or fully illegitimate.

Several theoretical perspectives support the present findings about the social identity pattern of boys and girls with minority status. It is plausible to argue that their homogeneous evaluation of the reciprocal out-group support the attempt of the girls to achieve cognitive alternative for achieving equal status with the boys in the context of social, economic and cultural conditions of Bangladesh. It is, perhaps, this attitudinal disposition for group commitment that no significant difference was obtained in own-group evaluation between boys and girls with minority status. Higher negative evaluation of the boys of out-group as compared to girls indicates that the boys have a strong attraction to the own-group independent of individual achievement (Hogg and Hardie, 1992). In other words, in-group attraction for girls represents less commitment in the situational context of interaction. This has activated the girls to express comparatively less negative evaluation than the boys.

Boy-girl differentiation is also evident in Santals and Hindus. It was found that in case of Santals, the girls evaluated self and own-group more positively and out-group more negatively than the boys. In case of Bengali Hindus, it was found that girls evaluated self and own-group more positively and out-group more negatively than the boys. In case of Bengali Hindus, it was found that girls evaluated self more positively than the boys. Similarly, boys evaluated out-group more negatively than the girls. These findings provide partial support to the second hypothesis. In spite of this, it may be said that these findings provide empirical data in favour of theoretical construct of social identity emerging from the interaction of racial ethnicity, religious ethnicity and minority status. The case of Santals and Hindus with

racial and religious ethnicity respectively have showed that minority status combined with ethnocentrism may alternate social status of the subgroups such as boys and girls. The social structure of Bangladesh provides a unique opportunity to verify the minority position in a country where Santals had inferior status and Bengali Hindus had superior and dominant status before the partition of India. But the geo-surgery of India into Pakistan and Hindustran and subsequent independence of Bangladesh have created an atmosphere which has helped to raise the status of Santals and to lower down the status of Hindus with reference to the supremacy of Bengali Muslims.

The shifting status involves the process of depersonalization and self-verification (Thoits and Virshup, 1997). These two processes are found active in the social identity of boys and girls as members of minority group of Santals and Hindus. In fact, the membership in any social group includes those two important aspects. One is the person identification with a category. It emphasize more strongly in the depersonalization process. The other is the behaviours that the members associate with the category. It is underscored more strongly in the self-verification. Both identification with a social category and role behaviour reaffirm social structure of boys and girls in their rearrangement of social relationship for different social groups in the environment. This involves an act of social identity for boys and girls with minority status.

In this way, it is established that the self exists within society and is influenced by society. The socially defined shared meanings are incorporated into boys and girls belonging to Santal and Hindu community

as prototype or identity standard. In addition, it is recognized that the self influences society. Individuals act by changing social arrangements to bring the self into line with the abstract prototype or identity standard for the formation of social identity of the members of minority groups. It is, perhaps, this social agent that might be responsible for gender variation in self, own-group and out-group evaluation for boys and girls with distinctiveness in religious and racial ethnicity.

The third hypothesis was that respondents with 16 years age would evaluate self and own-group significantly more positively and the reciprocal outgorup more negatively as compared to respondents with 13 years of age.

This predication was also partially supported by the findings of the present study. It was found that in case of Santals and Hindus the respondents with 16 years age group evaluated out-group significantly more negatively than the respondents with 13 years age group. But in case of self-evaluation, the Santal and Hindu respondents of 13 years and 16 years failed to obtain significant difference. Also Hindus of 13 and 16 years age group reported identical own-group evaluation but Santals of 13 years age evaluated own-group significantly more positively as compared to Santals of 16 years age group. Above all, regardless of ethnicity gender and residential background, respondents of 16 years age evaluated own-group significantly more positively than the respondents with 13 years age group. These findings showed that the third hypothesis of the present study has been partially supported by the empirical data of present investigation.

It is, perhaps, important to note that social identity is a dynamic process and it can take various forms depending on socio-economic, political and cultural perspective with reference to majority and minority inter-group relations. Based on a series of research stimulated by Moscovici (1976) regarding minority influence, several investigations (Mugny, 1975, 1982) have attempted to achieve a synthesis about innovating minority groups. In the present study, Santals and Hindus may be regarded as innovating minority groups where individuals try to protect their uniqueness and differentiation (Codol, 1980). This is expressed in inter-group behaviour through action aiming to achieve a distinctive group identity associated with positive value connotations (Tajfel, 1981; Turner, 1981). The results of the present study showed that both Santals as racial ethnic group and Bengali Hindus as religious ethnic group have displayed higher negative evaluation for the out-group and positive evaluation for self and own-group. This appears to be a great innovation in the study of social identity in case of cross-category membership as well as multiple memberships with greater effort by minority groups to achieve group distinctiveness.

The age variation in social identity may be connected with the developmental stages of life cycle (Oakes, 1987). As the age increases, understanding of the environmental factors also becomes mature regarding a particular social categorization of the self relevant to a situation. This saliency is related with attention getting properties of social stimuli. This indicates the psychological significance of group membership.

It is related with particular developmental stage in terms of age variation. Thus age can help in understanding distinctiveness of social

categories in the present study. The effect of age variation is distinctively expressed in out-group evaluation. Maturity in age was found to play important role in self, own-group and out-group evaluations. This is functionally related to the situation or to the individual's behaviour, goals and motives. Thus both Santals and Bengali Hindus as members of minority groups have perceived the content of the category along stereotypical and normative life as held in the culture. Turner *et al.* (1987) found that a social category is said to achieve distinctiveness when the individuals perceive within-group differences to be less than between-group differences. This category identity is called meta-contrast principle.

It is assumed that age variation may account for achieving particular personal and social goals of the ethnic groups. It is tied to the social requirements of the situation. Age variation may provide cognitive perceptual feature of the minority groups with reference to dominant group in the environmental situation. Thus an interaction between individual and situational characteristics may become possible with the increase in age. The result of the present study has reflected this cognitive perceptual feature of ethnic group through differential amount of self, own-group and out-group evaluation. Moreover, the concept of commitment (Stryker and Serpe, 1994) in social identity may achieve greater saliency and embeddedness due to maturity in age.

It is, therefore, clear that social identity is determined by the saliency and commitment of the group members in the context of situational activation emerging from age differentiation. An identity becomes distinct as a function of interaction between the ages of the perceiver. Structural

arrangement of identity is linked by the age of group members. Thus self-verification underlying behavioural processes is determined by the maturation of the individuals through the increase in age (Burke and Stets, 1999).

The findings on age variation reported in this section may be attributed to the model of stereotyping developed by Tajfel (1981). It is found that stereotyping is formed in the context of age. As the individual increases in age and attain maturity, the stereotyping functions in different forms depending on situational factors. It is evident that Santals and Hindus in the context of Bangladesh represent two social groups. Hence, respondents with 16 years and 13 years expressed differential attribution as representatives of two distinct minority groups. Furthermore, stereotyping has a function in preserving the value system. It also serves to justify the actions committed or planned against the out-group. Accordingly age variations helped the ethnic groups to heighten positive differentiation from the out-group. Thus maturity in age is found helpful to the development of ethnic attitudes incapsulated in negative out-group evaluations.

The fourth hypothesis formulated for the present study was that respondents with urban residential background would evaluate self and own-group significantly more positively and outgorup significantly more negatively as compared to the respondents with rural residential background.

Analysis of results reported in preceding chapter showed that urban respondents from Santal and Bengali Hindu community have evaluated self and own-group significantly more positively and out-group significantly

more negatively as compared to rural respondents from Santal and Hindu community. These findings have categorically revealed higher social identity for urban respondents than rural respondents. Thus urban respondents have expressed strong in-group cohesiveness leading to the development of positive social identity. These findings have provided strong support to the fourth hypothesis.

It is, however, of interest to note that the respective minority groups such as Santals and Bengali Hindus displayed greater flexibility in self, own-group and out-group evaluations. However, the minority groups in Bangladesh manifested higher preference for self and own-group indicating a process of accommodation as suggested by several research studies (Giles, 1977). It should be pointed out that a higher group distinctiveness and minority group assertiveness in terms of evaluation of psychosocial characteristics have expressed a tendency towards accommodation in inter-group relations. This has strongly suggested a distinction between self and own-group evaluation. This may be regarded as an index of social identity. It is, therefore, logical to suggest that the context of cross-categorization and multiple group membership is very active in the social context of inter-group relations as reflected in the preference of racial ethnicity by Santals and religious ethnicity by Hindus. However, this does not represent own-group devaluation. Instead, this may be a case of lower inter-group ethnic differentiation.

In general, there are some distinctive features of the present study associated with minority status (Spears *et al.,* 1997; Higrew, 1997; Ellemers *et al.,* 1997 and Doosje *et al.,* 1998a), gender and residential background

(Doosje *et al.*, 1998b). Research on social identity encompasses a number of themes relating to minority status in inter-group relations and group influence processes. In fact, minority status of Santals with racial ethnicity as well as minority status of Hindus with religious ethnicity demonstrate both the basic and applied importance of social identities in various forms. The present study provides some explanations of intragroup and inter-group phenomena. For example, results have showed that discriminatory behaviour in term of out-group evaluation is affected by group norms and group distinctiveness (Jetten *et al.*, 1998). Thus Hindus due to their group distinctiveness have evaluated out-group more negatively. But Santals due to their misidentification as a racial and cultural group have evaluated out-group comparatively less negatively. These findings have shown the degree of group identification in order to moderate conformity to group norms. They are found to express reactions to identity threats in terms of lower negative evaluation of the out-group. They have also expressed self-stereotyping, perceived group homogeneity and group level behaviour (Long and Spears, 1998).

Minority status is also found to be influenced by disadvantaged position of the group (Postmes *et al.*, 1999). This is more evident in case of Santal's failure to differentiate between self and own-group evaluation. Several research study (Branscombe *et al.*, 2002) have identified relative deprivation and collective actions in such situation (Doosje *et al.*, 2002; Ellemers *et al.*, 2002). An examination of the findings of present study relating to minority status has revealed that some affective and emotional dimension are responsible for participation in collective action for the

interest of the group. In such cases, social identity and social influence processes combined together may produce collective action for a minority group with fraternal relative deprivation. This phenomenon of identity pattern is responsible for promoting and attenuating group discrimination. Thus disadvantaged minority group with the feelings of fraternal relative deprivation may develop the social identity model of individuation.

Gender issue is another important aspect of social identity for explaining cognitive and motivational basis of inter-group differentiation (Turner, 1982; Tajfel and Turner, 1986). The findings of the present study have reported several gender oriented issues in inter-group behaviour. It was found that girls of Santal's community evaluated self and own-group more positively and out-group more negatively than the boys. This indicated higher positive social identity for girls than boys in case of Santal community. But this was not consistent in case of boys and girls of Hindu community. This indicated that self and own-group differentiation was more evident in case of Hindus than the Santals. In other words, core assumptions of this variation were personal self. It was a unitary system in case of Santal (Knippenberg, 2002). But several selves were found to correspond for widening the circles of group membership in case of Hindus. Thus level of self (Haslam, 2001) was found in multiple social identities. This can be distinguished from the notion of personal identity which refers to self knowledge deriving from gender variation. This constitutes individual's uniqueness attributed due to gender identity (Scott et al., 1999; Smidts et al., 2001).

Thus gender identity asserts that group membership may create self and in-group categorization for boys and girls in the way that favour the in-group at the expense of the out-group. This represents the inherent idea of social identity that the mere act of categorization as group is sufficient to lead to in-group favouritism. In the present situation, after being categorized as boys and girls, individuals seek to achieve positive self-esteem by positively differentiating their own-group from a comparison out-group on some value dimension. It is, perhaps, this quest for positive distinctiveness that the Santal girls evaluated self and own-group more positively and reciprocal out-group more negatively.

Tajfel and Turner (1986) have identified three variables as contributory factors to emergence of in-group favouritism these are (I) internalization of group membership (II) ground for comparison between groups and (III) the perceived relevance of the comparison group. These three variables may account for the relative and absolute status of the in-group. In the present situation, the girls of Santal community have displayed favouritism to self and own-group in a meaningful way. This has high relevancy to comparison groups in the sense that they suffer from double minority. They are regarded minority with reference to Bengali Hindus as well as Bengali Muslims. This double standard have provided a sense of 'we' feeling in higher intensity in comparison to Bengali Muslims (Hogg and Vaughan, 2002).

Another important finding of the present study was that category membership moderates the inhibition of social identities (Hugenberg and Bodenhausen, 2004). Thus Santals as racial ethnicity belonging to a

multitude of different social categories such as urban and rural origin were found to occupy various social identities (Sherman *et al.*, 2000). Such a complex and potentially inherent category of membership showed excitatory as well as inhibitory processes to keep potentially conflicting self categorization from simultaneous occurring (Bodenhausen *et al.*, 2003). Thus Santals as minority groups with urban-rural residential status showed patterns of inhibition indicating two social categories as inhibitory processes with reference to Bengali Hindus.

The findings of the preset study also suggest that category dominance may be a common element for the preference of self, owngoup and out-group (Sherman *et al.*, 2000). This helps to develop stereotype inhibition (Dunn and Spellman, 2003). In the present study, Bengali Hindus appeared as dominant category and showed the existence of mental race (Newby-Clark *et al.*, 2002). This mental race provided competing bases for social categorization leading to the development of negative out-group evaluation. One possibility of this mental race between competing minority groups was potential confusion of diverse association emerging from multiple categories simultaneously activated in inter-group relations (Roccas and Brewer, 2002). It is, therefore, clear that inhibitory processes have become central to psychological functioning in many competing minority groups in a social context. In fact, multiple categorization activated inhibitory processes experiencing conflict between different social categories. These suggests that the obtained pattern of social identity of Santals and Bengali Hindus in the context of Bengali Muslims are simply due to inhibitory effects of cross-category membership. Considering the high

degree of stereotype consensus in the present situation of Bangladesh, it is likely that the ethnic attitude developed by competing social group in simply due to difference is category knowledge (Von Hippel *et al.*, 2000). This indicates that category membership in the present situation has moderated the inhibitory consequences of social category. In other words, cross-category membership arising from racial ethnicity, religious ethnicity and Bengali supremacy is likely to be determined by the interconnection of the mental representations of those identities as well as the degree of psychological separation between different self aspects across various category memberships.

It might be taken into consideration that the incoherence of potentially diverging stereotypes in different ethnic groups such as Santals and Hindus might be responsible for creating self-own-group differentiation. Thus self-categorization was found to play strong role in the identity process of social groups. This mechanism of self-categorization was potentially much higher in ethnic groups. In addition, it facilitates the processing of evaluation in non-dominant self-categorization groups. It helps to reduce the possibility of conflicting cognitions, norms and goals associated with different identities of ethnic groups. When these are simultaneously activated, self-contradicting tendencies of the competing groups are reduced to a great extent. This phenomenon of social identity is evident in Santals and Hindus in the cultural context of Bangladesh. It is true that every social identity is bound up with the creation of norms, attitude and expected behaviour. But this may become integrated in bi-culture identities by reducing subjectively experienced conflict between two identities. Thus racial ethnicity of Santals

and religious ethnicity of Hindus might be reduced through self-regulatory mechanisms of respective norms and standards for the development of social identity uniquely inter-woven and inter-mixed in the form of national integration.

Some suggestions for future study

In the light of the present study, following suggestions are given for future design of investigation on social identity in inter-group relations.

1. A complete and exhaustive study on social identity should include the different bases of identity with reference to category, group and role behaviour of minority/majority inter-group competition.

2. Both macro and micro processes of social comparison need to be established for a general theory of self, own-group and out-group evaluations.

3. In order to establish a more fully integrated view of the self, it is necessary to clarify between core component of individual identity and social identity.

4. The linkage between theories of social comparison and inter-group relations needs to be established for the clarification that their differences exist in emphasis than in kind.

5. The emerging social identities should trace its origin in cognitive and motivational processes of inter-group relations.

6. The consequences of cross-category membership should be explained in terms of accentuation of the perceived similarities as well as perceived differences between self, own-group and out-group. This should include such variables as attitudes, beliefs, values, affective reaction, behavioural norms, style of speech and other properties that are believed to be correlated with the relevant inter-group categorization.

7. Future study on social identity should include social categories as parts of structured society with personal history of the members uniquely combined with social categories and social identities highlighting the multidimensional self-concept, self-esteem and power position with reference group.

8. It is necessary that the coordinating and negotiating interactions of the ethnic groups with role partner need to be manipulated for environmental control of the resources. This will help to distinguish between group based identities and role-based identities responsible for uniformity of perception and action among group members.

9. Any investigation on inter-group relations with reference to racial and religious ethnicity should clarify social stereotyping in self, own-group and out-group evaluations. This will provide strong motivational forces to distinguish between the self from others within the group.

10. Lastly, a full understanding of society must incorporate both the organic group composition as well as mechanical role behaviour reflecting the aspects of society that should link individual identities with social identities in separate but related ways.

Limitations of the Present Study

One important limitation of the present study was that two ethnic groups such as Santals and Bengali Hindus were non-comparable in the sense that Santals were racial ethnic group and Hindus were religious ethnic group. This non-comparability status seems to overshadow the standard of identity.

Secondly, urban-rural division of the Santals have created great bifurcation and cleavage in identity pattern due to differences in education, socio-economic status and social awareness existing in urban and rural population of Santal community.

Thirdly, cross-category membership was not evenly distributed in Santal and Hindu minority groups. This might be a great hindrance to link the personal identity to social identity.

Fourthly, two ethnic groups with minority status in the context of Bangladesh have different history of social development. Santals have tribal identity and they are gradually progressing towards social awareness. But Hindus have a history of dominating group but they have turned into minority status due to division of Bengal into West Bengali and Bangladesh. So, Santals possess inferior and illegitimate identity. But Hindus have superior and legitimate identity. In such contrasting situations, the present study has made an effort to make a social comparison and normative of these two ethnic group. It may be argued that these social comparisons may be affected by the social history of respective groups.

The fifth limitation of the study is related with sampling procedure. The sample was collected from a specific area of Rajshahi district. It is true

that a stratified random sampling procedure was followed. But attainment of precision was not possible due to small area of population. It is, therefore, suspected that generalization of the present findings may not be flawless.

Lastly, the study of social identity of Santals and Hindus and their comparison was first in kind in the context of Bangladesh and as such no prior data was available. Thus the lack of guidelines in the study of social identity in inter-group context of Bangladesh was evident. This was a great disadvantage for focusing on changing social arrangements observed in Santal and Hindu community in the social, economic, political and cultural context of Bangladesh. Thus prior scientific studies were not found for the interpretation of actions and situational influences in the inter-group relations of tribal Santal and non-tribal Hindu minority groups.

Concluding Remarks

The present study of social identity is based on membership in an actual group of interacting persons. It is a study on social identity, cross-category membership, racial ethnicity and religious ethnicity of Santals and Hindus in real life social settings in the context of Bangladesh. Hence, the data of the present study are supposed to provide strongest confirmation that the members of the respective minority group have expressed cognitive, motivational and emotional feelings appropriate to behaviours of the minority groups. They have implication for fulfilling the need to feel competent as members of minority and subordinate group such as Santals and Hindus.

The assertions of the group members revealed in self, own-group and out-group evaluations provide several linking points between racial ethnic group and religious ethnic group. In spite of their differences in racial origins as well as in language, orientation and culture, the results of the present study have provided great coverage to identify many common elements in these two ethnic groups. In most cases, the differences are a matter of emphasis rather than kind. For the most part, the differences are originated in view of the group as the basis for identity. Thus the central features of identity for the two ethnic groups is the self. It is the feelings of deprivation in relation to dominating group in respect of resource distribution that have dominated the cognitive and motivational aspects of the minority groups. Thus the present study is supposed to provide a complete understanding of minority inter-group relations. In a word, the findings of the present study will yield strong bases of social identity and will provide stability of identity across groups and cultural situations.

It is important to note that the findings of the present study will be helpful to attend macro-level, meso-level and micro-level social processes. At the macro-level, the findings will provide insight to examine social movements of the participants for the identification with the group. It involves commitment and role behaviour. At the meso-level, the findings will give cues to study inter-group as well as intragroup relations in relation to power and status. It also will help to understand the elements of hostility towards out-group members. At the micro-level, the data of the present study may help to understand more clearly the agentic factors of positive self and own-group evaluation as well as negative evaluation of the out-group with

reference to motivational processes such as self-esteem, self-efficacy and authenticity in relation to dominant out-group.

In conclusion, it might be said that social identity may provide different sources of meaning due to cross-category membership. It is likely that these differences in identities may overlap. Sometimes, they may reinforce each other. Again they may constrain the self and own-group from negative evaluation of the out-group. These conditions have appeared in the present study and they provided important cues for future.

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APPENDIX

Adjective Check List (ACL)

সামাজিক পরিচিতি পরিমাপের জন্য ব্যবহৃত বিশেষণ তালিকা

নাম   ঃ   ....

শিক্ষাগত যোগ্যতা   ঃ   ....

স্থায়ী ঠিকানা   ঃ   ....

বর্তমান ঠিকানা   ঃ   ....

বয়স   ঃ   ....

লিঙ্গ   ঃ   ....

পিতার পেশা   ঃ   ....

পিতার বাসস্থান ঃ শহর/গ্রাম   ....

নির্দেশনা ঃ

নিম্নে বিশেষনের একটি তালিকা দেওয়া হলো। এ বিশেষন গুলোর মাধ্যমে কোন এক ব্যক্তিকে অথবা কোন দলকে মুল্যায়ন করা যেতে পারে। মনে করুন ব্যক্তি হিসাবে আপনি সাওঁতাল/বাঙ্গালী হিন্দু সামাজিক দলের সদস্য। এক্ষেত্রে অনুগ্রহপূর্বক নিম্নের বিশেষনগুলো মনোযোগ সহকারে পড়ুন এবং চিন্তা করুন এই বিশেষনগুলো আপনার নিজ সম্পর্কে/নিজ দল সম্পর্কে/বহিঃদল (বাঙ্গালী হিন্দু সম্পর্কে কতটুকু প্রযোজ্য। আপনার সুচিন্তিত মতামত প্রতিটি বিশেষনের পাশে প্রদত্ত পাঁচটি বিকল্পের যে কোন একটিতে টিক (✓) চিহ্ন দিয়ে প্রকাশ করুন। এখানে সত্য বা মিথ্যা বলে কোনকিছু নেই। আপনার মতামতকেই চূড়ান্ত মূল্যায়ন হিসেবে গ্রহন করা হবে। উল্লেখ্য যে, এই তথ্য কেবলমাত্র গবেষনার কাজের জন্য ব্যবহার করা হবে এবং আপনার মূল্যায়নের গোপনীয়তা রক্ষা করা হবে। এখানে সময়ের কোন সীমাবদ্ধাতা নেই। তবে যত শীঘ্র সম্ভব উত্তর দানের চেষ্টা করুন। এই গবেষনায় সহায়তা প্রদানের জন্য আপনাকে আন্তরিক ধন্যবাদ।

বিশেষন	সম্পূর্ণরুপে প্রযোজ্য	প্রযোজ্য	নিরপেক্ষ	প্রযোজ্য নয়	মোটেই প্রযোজ্য নয়
১। নোংরা					
২। ধার্মিক					
৩। পরিস্কার পরিছন্ন					
৪। নাস্তিক					
৫। কাপুরুষ					
৬। আত্মকেন্দ্রিক					
৭। কর্কশ					
৮। পরোপকারী					
৯। মিষ্টভাষী					
১০। সাদাসিদে					
১১। বেহিসাবী					
১২। বন্ধুত্বপূর্ণ					
১৩। মিতব্যয়ী					
১৪। অলস					
১৫। অহংকারী					
১৬। শক্রভাবাপন্ন					
১৭। দেশদ্রোহী					
১৮। পরিশ্রমী					
১৯। বীরপুরুষ					
২০। শান্তিপ্রিয়					
২১। দয়ালু					
২২। যুদ্ধভাবাপন্ন					
২৩। দেশপ্রেমিক					
২৪। নিষ্ঠুর					