Perception of Pakistani Muslim Students Regarding Jews

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The study examined perception and stereotypes of Jews among Pakistani Muslims. Sample consisted of 99 postgraduates from Govt. College University, Lahore and Govt. Postgraduate College, Jhang. A self constructed stereotype rating scale comprising 38 adjectives was employed on which participants were asked to rate 5 religious groups (Jews, Muslims, Hindus, Christians and Sikhs) on each of these adjectives. Both qualitative and quantitative approaches were used for interpretation and analysis of the data. The qualitative results were interpreted on the basis of grounded theory themes, categories and schemas. Two categories of religious others emerged from the results were further divided into the 'Other' category and 'Enemy' category. The stereotypical picture of students regarding Jews indicated a negative image. Among the four out-groups Hindus were perceived similar to Jews. These negative perceptions of the Jews are seen as an obstacle to the peace.

Keywords: perception, Jews, Pakistani Muslims, stereotype

In the early Muslim-Jewish history, Jews were respected by the Muslims for being the followers of a monotheistic religion. They were described as "People of the Book" by the Holy Quran and with whom Muslims shared the 'Qiblah' in the beginning of Islam. The 'Dhimmi System' provided the Jews a status in the Islamic society, where Jews enjoyed social harmony and protection which was totally absent in the Christian society. Muslims were 'merciful brothers' who did not allow religious differences to affect their attitudes towards or treatment of other religions.

In 1948, partition of Palestine and establishment of a Jewish state by the Zionists caused feelings of resentment and humiliation among Muslims. Right from the day of creation of Israel, Pakistan not only refused to accept Israel but adopted a hostile attitude towards the state of Israel.

More recently, tensions between Jews and Muslims were exacerbated due to the terrorist incident of September 11, 2001 and also uncovered deep mistrust between them. Many Muslims alleged that Zionist and Israel Secret Service could be behind the attack on World Trade Center. They made wide use of the Protocol of the Elders of Zion and accused the "Zionist controlled media" for launching massive propaganda attack against Muslims and scapegoating Muslims and Islam. It was also said that "The Elders" changed the scheduled visit of P.M. of Israel to US a day before 9/11 attacks. They directed 4000 Jews not to report on September 11, so no single Jew employee was reported killed or missing, according to these conspiracy theorists.

Historical Background

In the 70 B.C.E., Pompey the Great, a powerful Roman Military leader, conquered Jerusalem, the capital of Palestine. Pompey defiled the Jewish temple, killed the priests and ordered the Jews to begin worshipping Roman gods. Most Jews resisted but the pressure to worship the Roman gods increased and as a result a conflict dev-

eloped within the Jewish community. Many Jews called for open rebellion against Rome while the others argued that Jews must be willing to adapt (Perez de Cruet, 1997).

A hundred years later, the Romans still occupied Jerusalem and the situation was not much improved when Jesus (Prophet Isa AS), a Jew from Nazareth, began his ministry and travelled in Palestine. The debate between the rival Jewish factions increasingly fostered hatred, and the climax of the conflict was triggered by the death of Jesus. Immediately afterwards, the followers of Jesus renounced Judaism, and Christianity was born as distinctively separate religion (Perez de Cruet, 1997).

It is a painful but inescapable truth that anti-Semitism which is prejudice and hostility towards Jews as a religious, racial, or ethnic group (Global Anti-Semitism, 2005), was spawned and nourished by Christianity, which goes against the teaching of a Jewish prophet who preached love and compassion. The New Testament and the writings of the Church Father often refer to Jews and the Judaism contemptuously. Jews were depicted as wicked people and "the Children of Devil" collectively condemned by God to suffer for rejecting and killing Christ. This mind-set embedded in Christian outlook, helps to explain why so many people were receptive to anti-Jewish propaganda, were willing to participate in genocide, and were indifferent to Jewish sufferings (Perry & Schweitzer, 2002).

Christianity's understandings of its origin centers on the New Testament, particularly the poetic rendering in the gospels of the arrest, trial and crucifixion of Jesus, which is normally known as the passion in the gospel rendition and as interpreted for centuries, the Jews are perceived as "the Christ Killers" (Perry & Schweitzer, 2002).

Perez de Cruet (1997) contends that although Jesus' death had been ordered and carried out by non-Jews, most Christians believed that Jews and their priests were responsible. With the passage of time as the Christianity spread, the conflicts between Jews and Christians became more and more pronounced. By the fourth century, Jews were generally despised by Christians everywhere. Laws were passed throughout the world to protect the "Faithful" from Jewish "contamination" by forbidding them to eat with, do business with Jews, and by the sixth century, Jews were not allowed to hold public office, employ Christian servants or even show themselves in the streets during the Holy Week.

During the Middle Ages, allegations of ritual murder and the accompanying torture, trials, burning, massacre, expulsion and polling of property occurred frequently. In the popular mind, it was

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held that Jews were made blood thirsty by spilling Christ's blood and abetted by the demonic powers; they kidnapped, tortured and murdered Christians, particularly children to obtain blood for their religious rituals (Perry & Schweitzer, 2002).

The Nazis frequently used euphemistic language to disguise the true nature of their crimes. They used the term "Final Solution" to refer to their plan to annihilate the Jewish people. In 1933, Adolf Hitler became chancellor of Germany and set-out a concentrated program to intensify his nation's hatred against Jews. Perez de Cruet (1997) writes that Hitler once said that if the Jews had not existed he would have had to invent them. The Holocaust was the systematic, bureaucratic, state-sponsored persecution and murder of approximately 6 million Jews by the Nazi regime and its collaborators.

Judaism and Islam

Two sons of Abraham (A.S.) --------Two Religions. Abraham had two sons, Ishmael and Isaac (Genesis 21). Ishmael became the grandfather of the Arab nation and Isaac became the grandfather of the Jewish nation. We notice from the Gospel of John that the Jews were waiting for three distinct prophecies: Christ, Elijah, and Prophet. In Deuteronomy 18, Moses stated that God told him "I will rise up for them a prophet like you from among their brothers; I will put my words in his mouth, and he will tell them everything I command him. If anybody does not listen to my words that the prophet tells in my name, I will call him to account." (Deuteronomy 18: 18-19)

Jews in the light of Quran. Islam acknowledged Judaism and Christianity as monotheistic faiths. The Arabic term "Yahud" denoting Jews and its variants (Hud and Yhudi) occur 11 times in the Quran. The verbal form 'hada' occurs 10 times, and 43 times specific term is used for "Bani Israel" in the Holy Quran (Islam and Anti-Semitism, n.d.).

Quran speak favorably about Jews. The Quran teaches that Jews are Allah's chosen people.
Translation: Children of Israel! Call to mind the (special) favor which I bestowed upon you, and that I preferred you to all other (for My Message) (2:47 repeated in 2:122).
Translation: "O my people! Enter the holy land which Allah hath assigned unto you, and turn not back ignominiously, for then will ye be overthrown, to your own ruin" (5:21).
Translation: We did deliver aforetime the Children of Israel from humiliating Punishment, Inflicted by Pharaoh, for he was arrogant (even) among inordinate transgressors (44: 30-31).
Translation. We did aforetime grant to the Children of Israel the Book the Power of Command, and Prophet-hood; We gave them, for Sustenance, things good and pure; and We favored them above the nations (45:16).
Translation. This day are (all) things good and pure made lawful unto you. The food of the People of the Book is lawful unto you and yours is lawful unto them. (Lawful unto you in marriage) are (not only) chaste women who are believers, but chaste women among the People of the Book, revealed before your time, - when ye give them their due dowers, and desire chastity, not lewdness, nor secret intrigues if any one rejects faith, fruitless is his work, and in the Hereafter he will be in the ranks of those who have lost (all spiritual good) (5:5).
Translation. (They are) those who have been expelled from their homes in defiance of right, - (for no cause) except that they say,

"Our Lord is Allah". Did not Allah check one set of people by means of another, there would surely have been pulled down monasteries, churches, synagogues, and mosques, in which the name of Allah is commemorated in abundant measure. Allah will certainly aid those who aid His (cause); - for verily Allah is full of Strength, Exalted in Might (able to enforce His Will) (22:40).
Translation: Say: "O People of the Book! come to common terms as between us and you: That we worship none but Allah; that we associate no partners with him; that we erect not, from among ourselves, Lords and patrons other than Allah." If then they turn back, say ye: "Bear witness that we (at least) are Muslims (bowing to Allah's Will)(3:64).

The father of Jews mentioned in Quran. The Prophets cited in the Quran among all of them Quran talked more about Prophet Moses. Primary figures of the Quran are Abraham (A.S.), Joseph (A.S.), Moses (A.S.) and King David. Jews are often surprised to learn that one entire Surah of the Quran is about the Jews as titled "the Children of Israel".

The Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) invited the elders of various religious groups and tribes after arrival in Medina. He established the first constitution with all Muslims, Christians and Jews. The pact transformed Medina into a small but the first ever Muslim State in world history. It was the first written law of Islamic State. According this law, every person was free in practicing his/her religion (Baloch, n.d.).

As the Islamic empire of early seventh century expanded throughout Middle East and North Africa, Muslims conquered a vast land inhabited by people of different religions. Jews and People of the Book accepted their new rulers with a mixture of awe, respect, suspicion, and sometimes with active hostility. Yet, Jewish life developed and coexisted with early Islamic regime, with each faith sometimes influencing the other (Broughton, 2000). However, Islam gave citizenship rights to Jews and Christians within the Islamic state and on the basis of these rights, their blood, honor, wealth, faith and shrines were sanctified. This recognition enabled the Jews to realize their potential and to participate on equal footing with Muslims in Arab-Muslim civilization. It was the Islamic State which provided a safe haven to the Jews whereas they routinely suffered maltreatment and expulsion in the hands of European Christians (Tammi, 2001).

Eighth century A.D. was the darkest era for the Europeans, in which they ran in high illiteracy, superstitions, barbarism and filth. On the other hand, in 756 A.C. Spain was conquered by Islamic rulers. By the end of the first Millennium, Cordoba had become the intellectual well from where all Europeans came to drink. Students from France and England came there to sit at the feet of the Muslim, Christian and Jewish Scholars. Spain became a literary society. Cleugh (1953) said "their society has become financially sophisticated". Christians and Muslims, with Jews as their intermediaries and interpreters, lived side by side and fought, not with each other, but against communities.

This era is considered the "Golden Age" by the Jews because their intellectual and spiritual life flourished. Many of them served in Spanish courts and their economic growth was unparalleled; they translated Arabic texts in Roman languages as well as Greek and Roman in Arabic text. They also contributed to Botany, Geography, Medicine, Mathematics, Poetry and Philosophy (Islam and anti-Semitism, n.d.). Islam significantly influenced Jewish culture, for instance, Arabic was used for prayers and washing of hands and feet before entering the synagogue as Muslims do before entering the mosque (Menocal, 2002). This is a chapter of Muslim, Jewish and

Christian history which nourished a complex culture of tolerance regardless of intellectual differences and enduring hostilities.

Jews and Muslims in Post-Israel Period

Until the beginning of 19th century, the Islamic Empire, whose terrain extended over three continents, provided an atmosphere of tolerance which prevented the ideological and religious differences from turning into physical conflict in contrast to the history of Europe and the Western world (Tammi, 2001).

Jews' position as citizens became altered after Zionist movement which planned to make a national home for 'Jewish People' in Palestine. After the Second World War, and persecution of Jews in Nazi Germany the scene was set for the accomplishment of the Zionist plan that turned Jews into enemy of both Arabs and Muslims. By the 1940s, Jews' position in Muslims countries became worsened. The situation came to a head after the 1948 Arab-Israeli war. Historically, the first military struggle between Jews and Muslims since the time of the Holy Prophet (PBUH). Within a few decades, most Jews fled Muslims' land; some went to newly established Jewish state and others went to France, US, Great Britain and other commonwealth nations. In 1945, there were between 758,000 and 866,000 Jews living in communities throughout the Arab World but today there are fewer than 8,000. In some Arab states, such as Libya, no Jewish community exists (Jewish exodus from Arab and Muslim countries, n.d.).

Nevertheless, in the article entitled "Jews and Muslims in the Post-Israel Middle East", Tammi (2001), an Islamic scholar living in the US' dealt candidly with Muslims' hatred towards Jews, tracing its historical origin and assessing its future development. He agreed that Muslim and Arab thinkers "thought a rereading of history aided by a re-interpretation of sacred text (the Quran).… sought to prove that Jews, by virtue of some inherited characteristics have always been corrupt and ill-intentioned". They also adopted Christian anti-Jewish writings and the Global Jewish conspiracy from the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, and some even interpreted the Quran narratives vis-à-vis the Israelites and Jews in light of the Protocols. Tammi (2001) explained this perception about Jews was an aberration of the traditional Islamic approach and results of an endeavor, which managed to embroil Judaism in its "intrigues in order to bestow religious legitimacy on itself and gain the support of the world Jewry".

Anti- Semitism in Pakistan

At the beginning of 20th century, in the largest city of Pakistan, Karachi, about 2500 Jews engaged as tradesman, artisans and civil servants. By 1968, the number of Jews in Pakistan had decreased to 250; almost all of them were concentrated in Karachi, where there was only one synagogue, a welfare organization and a recreational center. Most of them prefer to pass themselves off as "Parisees" due to intolerance for Jews in Pakistan (Shields, 2008). Historically, Pakistan has maintained a hostile attitude towards Israel. Pakistani leaders have long placed themselves at the forefront of the "anti-Zionist" struggle and see it as their commitment to their Islamic credentials.

The theoretical background discussed earlier suggests the role of stereotypes in perception and attitudes which serves as cognitive processes and provides us rich and distinctive information about individuals that we do not personally know (Baron & Byrne, 2004).

Rationale of the Study

The idea of the present study was conceived to identify a cognitive schema of stereotypes associated with Jews in Pakistan. By recognizing the stereotypes we hold about others and others hold about us we can begin to understand each other better and communicate our position more clearly. The rationale of the study was to develop an indigenous schematic picture of the stereotype of the Jews.

Aims of the Study

The present study aimed to examine the following issues:
1. It sought to determine current Pakistani students' attitudes toward Jews, as reflected by various measures such as stereotypes.
2. It sought to compare the findings with the perception of several other religious groups in Pakistan.

Method

Sample

A purposive sample of 99 postgraduate students (Men = 49, Women = 50) with average age 22.35 years (SD = 2.77) was drawn from two different institutions. Govt. College University, Lahore (n = 50) and Govt. Postgraduate College, Jhang (n = 49). All the students were Muslims and Pakistani nationals.

Instrument

In order to construct the relevant questionnaire, several Urdu and English newspaper clippings were collected and adjectives used in these clippings for Jews were selected. Some informal interviews were conducted with people belonging to different fields of life. Adjectives extracted from these interviews were added to the list of adjectives. Stereotype Rating Questionnaire comprising 38 adjectives (17 negative, 21 positive) were used to assess the stereotypes of Jews among students. All the adjectives were presented in English and Urdu Versions. Muslims were requested to rate the following groups: Muslims (self image), Jews, Hindus, Christians, and Sikhs on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1= strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = undecided, 4 = agree and 5 = strongly agree.

Procedure

Consent from the students was taken and the data was collected with the help of teachers from the two institutions. Students were encouraged to ask any question that came into mind regarding the questionnaire. Stereotype Rating Questionnaire was discussed with the students who agreed to participate in the study. There was no time limit for the rating; however, most of the students completed it within 30 to 40 minutes. Many students were hesitant to rate

different religions' specially the Jews. According to them, they had no personal encounter or experience with Jews so they did not feel comfortable to rate them. In spite of this fact most students were keenly interested in the questionnaire. Initially, questionnaires were distributed among 120 students (Govt. College University, Lahore = 60 and Govt. Postgraduate College, Jhang = 60). Incomplete questionnaires were excluded from the data. Students were debriefed in small groups right after they completed the questionnaire.

Analysis of the data

Data was analyzed using both qualitative and quantitative methods. Grounded theory was used for qualitative analysis. In the first stage, the adjectives that were rated over +3 (agree and strongly agree), were added in a particular group stereotype. The categories of "strongly agree" and "agree" were merged into a single category of "agree" and the categories of "strongly disagree" and "disagree' were merged into "disagree". Frequency table of every group was prepared. Adjectives endorsed by at least 60 participants were included in the average cognitive map of a particular group.

Results

Figure 1 shows the perception about five religions: Muslims, Jews, Christians, Hindus and Sikhs. The dark blocks indicate the negative attributes whereas the lighter blocks indicate the positive attributes. It indicates that Muslims possess all positive attributes. More negative adjectives are attributed to Jews whereas blend of positive and negative attributes are attributed to Christians. Hindus display a similar picture as Jews. No positive adjectives are attributed to Sikhs.

Figure 2 shows that the 'Other' is between the 'Enemy' and the 'Self'. The 'Other' includes mostly positive or neutral adjectives which reflect Christians. The 'Enemy' however comprises mostly negative adjectives and even positive adjectives acquire a negative view when included in the 'Enemy' which comprises Jews and Hindus. The 'Enemy' and the 'Other' are subcategories of 'The Religious other'

Figure 3 shows spreading activation of cognitive schemas in the mind from one adjective to another. It indicates that group-stereotypes have an affective charge, once a stereotype structure is activated or brought into working memory; the stereotype also becomes available through the process of "spreading-activation" and causes the rejection of certain stereotypes. Once the negative stereotypic structure containing the stereotypes of scheming, domineering, anti-Muslim, cruel, violent, occupier, corrupt, libertine, lustful, and loathsome is activated, it causes rejection of positive traits like blessed, promised nation and builders of Al-Aqsa.

Table 1 indicates that the Hindus received the highest average rating on negative characteristics and Muslims were highly rated on positive traits.

Table 2 shows the frequency of stereotypes about Jews with anti-muslim having the highest frequency (f = 80) and naive having the lowest frequency (f = 12).

Discussion

Anti-Semitism has been rampant in the Western world but in the

Table 1

Mean of Total Score on Negative and Positive Adjectives of Five Religions (N =99)

Religions	Negative adjectives	Positive adjectives
	M	M
Hindus	69.68	53.00
Muslims	53.89	80.89
Jews	64.62	60.41
Christians	56.84	66.15
Sikhs	53.43	56.00

Table 2

Stereotype about Jews from Most Popular to Least Popular Stereotype (N = 99)

S. No	Stereotype	F
1	Anti-Muslim	80
2	Libertine	76
3	Deceptive	75
4	Domineering	73
5	Occupiers	71
6	Powerful	71
7	Cruel	70
8	Money-Grabber	70
9	Educated	70
10	Scheming	70
11	American Agents	69
12	Lustful	67
13	Loathsome	67
14	United	66
15	Intelligent	65
16	Organized	64
17	Corrupt	61
18	People of the Book	61
19	Violent	61
20	Miserly	58
21	Law Abiding	58
22	Contemptible	57
23	Belligerent	57
24	Fanatic	54
25	Diligent	53
26	Blessed	43
27	Builders of Aqsa	41
28	Courageous	41
29	Liberal	30
30	Promised Nation	27
31	Humble	25
32	Straight Forward	24
33	Resilient	23
34	Conscientious	23
35	Humane	20
36	Sacrificing	18
37	Earnest	13
38	Naive	12

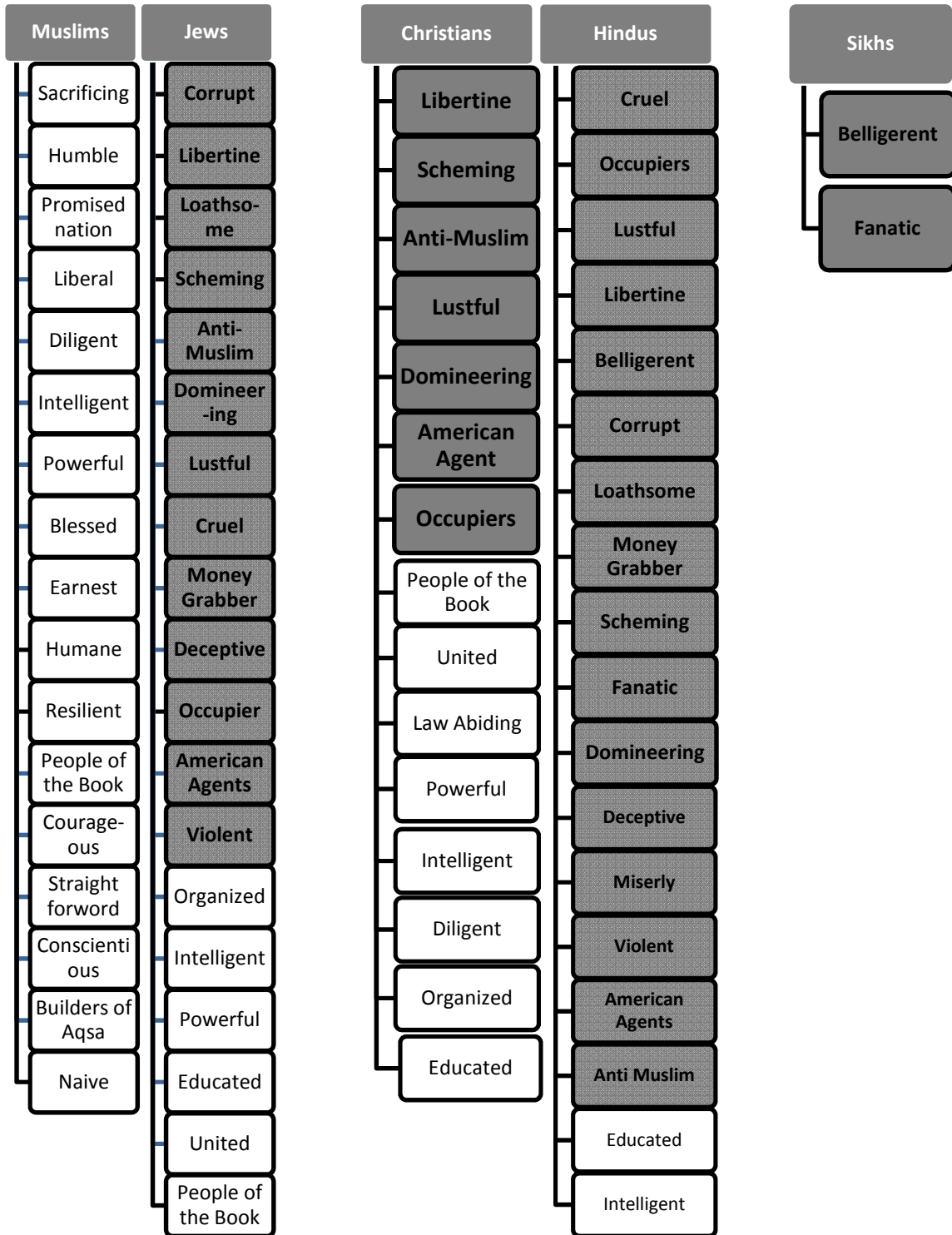| Muslims	Jews	Christians	Hindus	Sikhs
Sacrificing	**Corrupt**	**Libertine**	**Cruel**	**Belligerent**
Humble	**Libertine**	**Scheming**	**Occupiers**	**Fanatic**
Promised nation	**Loathso-me**	**Anti-Muslim**	**Lustful**	
Liberal	**Scheming**	**Lustful**	**Libertine**	
Diligent	**Anti-Muslim**	**Domineering**	**Belligerent**	
Intelligent	**Domineer-ing**	**American Agent**	**Corrupt**	
Powerful	**Lustful**	**Occupiers**	**Loathsome**	
Blessed	**Cruel**	People of the Book	**Money Grabber**	
Earnest	**Money Grabber**	United	**Scheming**	
Humane	**Deceptive**	Law Abiding	**Fanatic**	
Resilient	**Occupier**	Powerful	**Domineering**	
People of the Book	**American Agents**	Intelligent	**Deceptive**	
Courage-ous	**Violent**	Diligent	**Miserly**	
Straight forword	Organized	Organized	**Violent**	
Conscienti ous	Intelligent	Educated	**American Agents**	
Builders of Aqsa	Powerful		**Anti Muslim**	
Naive	Educated		Educated	
	United		Intelligent	
	People of the Book			

Figure 1. Cognitive Map of Muslim Students about Different Religions showing how information about different religions is organized in our minds.
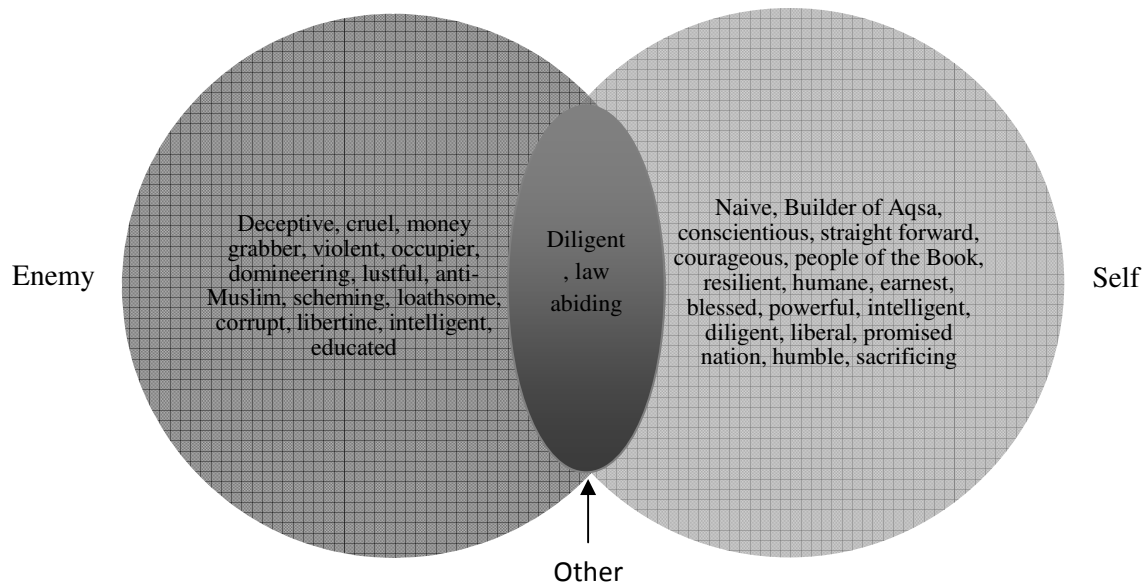*Note*. The dark blocks show negative attributes and the lighter blocks indicate positive attributes.

Figure 2. Model Showing the Structure of Categories of 'Enemy', 'Other' and 'Self'.

Note. The area in light grey color has the schemas of 'Self' and the grey area has the schemas of 'Enemy' and the overlapping area in dark grey is the schemas of the 'Other'.
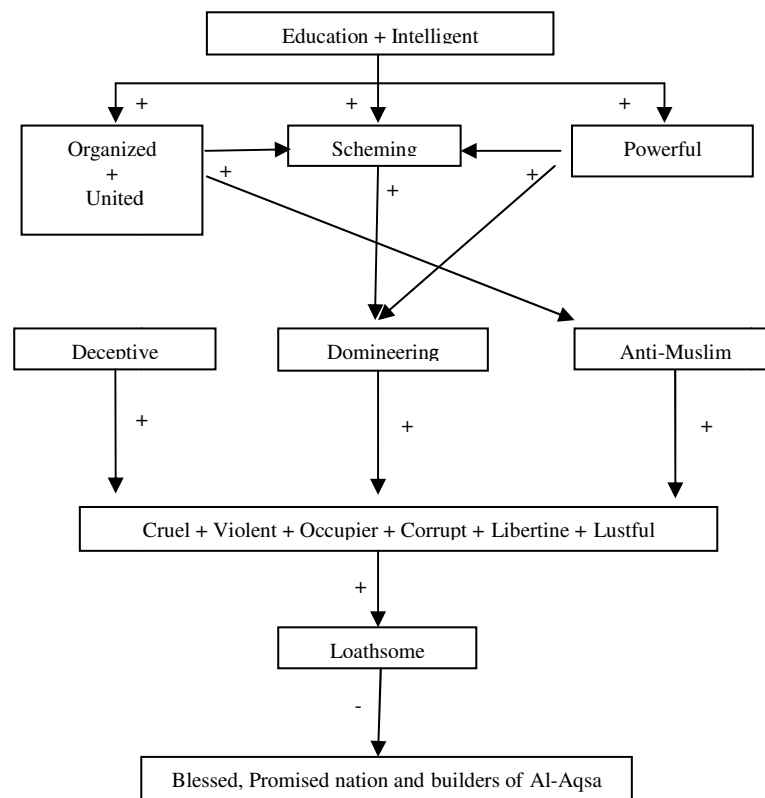

*Figure 3. S*preading Activation Model of Cognitive Schema about Jews showing how activation of negative stereotypes suppresses positive traits.

Note: Positive sign indicates activation and negative sign indicates suppression

Islamic world, there is an old history of co-existence and mutual tolerance. Since the creation of the state of Israel, however, many of the Western anti-Semitist views have gained currency in the Islamic world as well. The perceptions of the Jews among Muslims have been colored by the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The violent and intransigent behavior of the state of Israel vis-à-vis the Palestinian people and its Arab neighbors has exacerbated the situation. The hostilities have flared up to such an extent that most Pakistani Muslims rate Israel as an enemy nation at par with India. Just as the animosity with India reinforces negative stereotypes of the Hindus, the justifiable antipathy towards Israel has contributed to the negative image of the Jews as a people.

The results indicate that the Hindus and the Jews are rated as similar on most counts even though these two nations do not have much to do with each other historically. The Sikhs and the Christians are rated as much more harmless than the Jews and the Hindus. This difference stands out. The Jews and the Hindus both are seen as cunning, shrewd, intelligent and violent. The Christians and the Sikhs were not rated high enough on these characteristics to be counted for these traits.

This allowed us to generate the first category of "The Religious Other." Then this category was further subdivided into two sub-categories: The 'Other' and the 'Enemy'. The religious other as a category is self-evident. It constitutes the religious out-group, the space occupied by the religious non-self and the other than me/us. The religious 'other' encompasses, however, another subcategory: 'The Enemy'. This finding, albeit alarming, is an important one as it has serious implications for the peace process and the future prospects of any rapprochement for the nations involved.

The positive perceptions of the Jewish people as organized, intelligent, powerful, educated, united, and the people of the Book emerged from the data. But this picture also contained the following traits: violent, occupiers, American agents, deceptive, lustful, domineering, anti-Muslim, scheming, corrupt, loathsome, and cruel. These findings are consistent with data from other parts of the Muslim world. Pew Global Attitude Project (2005) found that 60% of Turks, 76% of the Indonesians, 88% of Moroccans, 99% of Lebanese Muslims and 100% of Jordanians checked "very unfavorable" or "somewhat unfavorable" when asked about their attitude towards the Jews. In another survey, the Jews were seen as religious 49%, money-seekers 43%, cunning 26%, tenacious 24%, clever 21%, and industrious 16.5% (Basabade, 1966).

It is important, however, to deconstruct the so-called positive part of the image because the labels can be deceptive. The positive traits attributed to the Jews include organized, intelligent, powerful, educated, united and people of the Book. These are positive traits only in an absolute sense. When seen relative to Muslims, the traits assume an ominous underpinning. The Muslims are seen as innocent as opposed to intelligent. According to this attitude, we are seen as helpless victims of the power, education and unity enjoyed by the Jews. And all of these positive traits are being used against us. We are innocent, naïve, trusting and therefore at the mercy of our Jewish enemies.

A similar picture emerges in the case of Hindus. All the negative traits are shared between the Hindus and the Jews. The conspiracies attributed to the Hindus are also supposedly shared by the Jews. These two nations are somehow involved in the scheme to persecute Muslims. Therefore, the traits given high ratings for these two nations are similar.

The image of the Christians tended to be somewhat in the gray area between the 'other' and the 'enemy'. Christians were seen in a more favorable light than the Jews. For instance, unlike the Jews they were not rated high on the following: deceptive, cruel, money grabbers, violent, loathsome, and corrupt. They were still rated as anti-Muslim as well as intelligent and powerful, just like the Jews.

The surprising finding was that Sikhs were not included in the enemy category. None of the traits, positive or negative, were rated very high. Given the history of violence between the Sikhs and Muslims during partition, this finding seemed counter-intuitive. This could, however, be due to the fact that our sample of students were all born long after partition and therefore may not have had any awareness of this painful history.

The Muslim self-image is a very positive one. It is indeed surprising that Pakistani Muslims see themselves as not falling in the categories of corrupt, fanatical, miserly, or deceptive. This could be because of the religious label of Muslim. Perhaps if the label was Pakistani, we would get different responses. The label of Muslim implies not only identification but also idealized character. A Muslim is an ideal Muslim or he is not a Muslim at all. This could be the reason why only positive attributes are ranked high for Muslims.

The 'other' category seems to be relatively unimportant but the 'enemy' category appears to be very potent in terms of its overall perception as relevant to our existence. Both the positive and the negative traits of the enemy seem to constitute the narrative underlying conspiracy theories about cunning plans for world domination through control of media and the banking sector. A discussion of these conspiracy theories is beyond the scope of this article. Future research should explore these conspiracy theories in some depth as they color the perceptions of other nations and perpetuate ignorance and intolerance.

This research was the first step towards developing an understanding of how Pakistani students view people from other religions, in particular, the Jews. These perceptions, as we have seen elsewhere, are not confined to students only but are rampant throughout the Muslim world. It is these perceptions that underlie negative attitudes and intolerant behaviors. These attitudes are a major obstacle to peace between the two nations. Gaining awareness into these attitudes might help alleviate these negative perceptions and might enable us to build peace between our nations.

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