

Pakistani Muslims' Attitudes about Jews and Israel: Cognitive, Affective and Behavioural Components

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The present study explored Pakistani Muslims' attitudes about Jews and Israel in terms of their cognitive, affective and behavioural components. It was hypothesized that Jews would be stereotyped significantly more on negative than positive traits. A heterogeneous sample of 100 participants was attained. Percentage Estimation Task, Range Task and descriptive statistics revealed higher level of stereo-typicality on negative traits and higher level of perceived group variability on positive traits, thus supporting the hypothesis. Ratings on feeling thermometer indicated that participants have detached feelings towards the subgroup of Jews termed by them as 'Bad Jews' and 'Extremist Jews'. Social distance technique indicated higher level of hatred in participants regarding Israel as compared to other nationalities. Channels of out-group familiarity revealed the role of newspapers and news channels as the major one in forming their attitudes about Israel and Jews. The results carry important implications regarding current social and political scenario.

Keywords: Pakistani Muslims, attitude, Jews, perception

There are widespread speculations about Pakistani Muslims' perceptions about Jews and Israel. Most of them are quite negative, but little systematic effort has been done to know about the nature, extent and patterns of these perceptions. Also, much has been investigated about anti-Muslim attitudes and perceptions in the West but research on vice versa is still needed.

The present study has tried to explore Pakistani Muslims' attitudes both about Jews and their homeland Israel as the two entities are quite intertwined with each other. The modern state of Israel has its historical and religious roots in the Biblical Land of Israel (*Eretz Yisrael*), a concept central to Judaism since ancient times, and the heartland of the ancient kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Following the birth of political Zionism in 1897 and the Balfour Declaration, the League of Nations granted the United Kingdom the British Mandate of Palestine after World War I, with responsibility for establishing a "Jewish national home." Thus, attitudes about Israel have much to do with Muslims' attitudes about Jews as a nation, as Jewish national and religious identity are almost the same; Israel is the only country having Jewish majority and defines herself as a Jewish state. Also, the establishment of a Jewish state in the Arab Muslim world is a factor that has led to the current hatred, enmity and prejudice against Jews among the Muslims despite numerous historical examples of their mutual peaceful coexistence.

Social cognition is the most recent psycho-social explanation of inter-group prejudice, and regards it as a result of people's normal cognitive information processing systems whereby perceiving people as social groups with shared characteristics serve as shortcut way of thinking and saving cognitive energy while understanding people we do not know as individuals; yet an important step of categorization is that of perceiving groups of people as being different to one's own identification of a particular group. The process of identification is laden with some significance of emotio-

nal values (good/bad) (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Tajfel and Turner (1986) define Social Identity Theory in three dimensions:

Firstly, the cognitive-identification of belonging to the group; secondly, the evaluative-detection of the value attached to the group, and thirdly, the emotional-attitudes group members hold toward insiders and outsiders. Due to its emotion-laden nature, social categorization may escalate to the level of stigmatization of a group. Pakistani peoples' close affiliation with Arab countries in general and Palestinian Muslims in particular has remained their unique characteristic and is perceived by them as an integral part of their true Muslim identity. This cognitive identification together with the values of being a devout Muslim and the emotional nature of this conflict has resulted in an ever intensifying hatred against the Jews and their homeland. Our attitudes about Jews are often colored by certain characteristics as "deceitful," "cunning," "conspiring" etc. Rafay (2008) has stated that "...It seems not a day goes by in Pakistan without the Israeli-Palestinian conflict making headlines. Entire generations have grown up seeing the region on our television screens as synonymous with perpetual conflict. From Yeshiva students gunned down in Jerusalem to the beleaguered residents of Gaza punished through economic blockades, the immense human suffering never ceases to shock. For those of us who reject apocalyptic theories of a clash of civilizations but are alarmed by growing polarization in the world, the creation of a viable Palestinian state has become more critical than ever. I am convinced that if there is to be reconciliation between Israel and Pakistan, there must be an end to the occupation. An independent Palestinian state is Israel's best bet for peace, security and acceptance in the wider Muslim world...."

However, Pakistan and Israel as nation states have much in common. Both are nascent states that came into being to safeguard the rights of religious minorities. Both nations are still struggling with building their national identities. The majority inhabitants of both are strict monotheists and share many common religious beliefs. Both countries are highlighted in international issues and controversies but yet Pakistan and Israel have never had official relations; Pakistani leadership has always refused to recognize Israel. Although there have been some joint covert intelligence operations, the heads of the two states officially met for the first time only in 2003, when President Pervez Musharraf raised the

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question of diplomatic relations with Israel; the talk concluded that Pakistan will recognize Israel only after the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. During 2005 Kashmir earthquake Israel offered aid to Pakistan; Pakistan was grateful to accept the help with the condition that the aid should be channeled through the United Nations (BBC News, 2005).

Whereas this lack of diplomatic and cultural contact between the two nations is the major basis of prejudice existing between them, another shaping influence on these inter-group attitudes is media. Whether it is the Israel Palestinian conflict, or other related political matters, or Israel's image in general, all information comes filtered through media. The media representation of losses on Israel and Palestinian sides is especially relevant here (Foxman, 2000).

Print Media also plays a major role in strengthening prejudice. Jews are stereotyped in various newspapers and other published material as being international conspirators, American agents, anti-Muslims, racialists etc, in the whole Muslim world. The same perception is being depicted by Pakistani print media. This perception mainly emerged from anti-Semitism and flourished during anti-Zionist movement. There are many newspapers in Pakistan in which Jews are presented as greedy, mean, and hypocrites and this makes the reader believe that there is something fundamentally wrong with Jews. To the extent that their perceptions are presented as being representative of peoples' feelings towards Jews, it multiplies prejudice. Sechrist and Stangor's (2001) work is relevant here; they share that learning that others share one's intergroup beliefs influences intergroup attitudes and behaviour as well as stereotype representation and that learning about whether others share one's stereotypes influences the accessibility of those stereotypes and related stereotypes.

Among other cognitive mechanisms involved in prejudice, one important aspect to be considered here is that of "subtyping". For the sake of viewing the perception of Pakistani people about Jews, the process of subtyping should also be given an enough space. This involves the development of subcategories to accommodate inconsistent instances so that the social perceiver is able to retain the general stereotype and still deal with the inconsistent information. However, when the inconsistent information is concentrated in a few individuals, these individuals are seen as non-representative of the group and no overall changes are made in the expectations for the other group members (Taylor, 1981). The present study has also analysed subtypes of Jews perceived by Pakistani Muslims so as to know both their content and number.

The unfolding nature and content of attitudes is important in many ways. As Dovidio and Gaertner (1999) hold that understanding the nature and basis of prejudice can thus guide, theoretically and pragmatically, interventions that can effectively reduce both traditional and contemporary forms of prejudice. Particularly in Pakistani context, it can be an effort to gain insight into our perceptions that make us project our weaknesses onto other nations thus holding them responsible for our condition.

The present study explores how Pakistani Muslims view Jews and Israel in terms of perceived group variability and stereotypicality of traits seen in the latter. Perceived group variability indicates the extent to which target group members are seen as different on a given trait. The more the group is perceived as homogenous and carrying less individual differences, the higher is the stereotypical perception.

Rationale

There has been much work on general theories of prejudice but

mostly it has been around tentatively set groups. There is a need to test theories of prejudice in real life context to draw practical implications. Also, real life context research on prejudice is more oriented towards perceptions about Muslims rather than Muslims' perceptions. The study therefore attempts to investigate prejudice against Israel in local, indigenous and real life context.

Objectives

The current study was an exploratory one which attempted to explore the nature and content of Pakistani Muslims' attitudes about Jews and Israel in terms of cognitive, affective and behavioural tendency. Specifically, the present study intended:

1. To explore the patterns of Pakistani Muslims perception about Israel in terms of their variability and stereo-typicality.
2. To measure the affective or emotional component of Pakistani Muslims' perception towards various subgroups of Jews they can identify.
3. To measure the behavioural tendency of Pakistani Muslims' towards Jews in terms of social distance they wish to maintain with them.

Hypothesis

Mean stereotypical perceptions on negative traits seen in Jews would be significantly higher than mean stereotypical perceptions on positive traits.

Method

Pilot Study

A pilot study involving 60 participants from different walks of life was conducted to know various positive and negative traits perceived in Jews along with various types in which they are categorized. Participants were asked to describe Jews as a whole in terms of positive and negative characteristics they possess, and to identify how many types of Jews they can think of along with the particular characteristics of each. Three focus group sessions were also conducted with at least 8 participants in each group to generate the traits and subgroups of Jews. Positive and negative traits seen in Jews by 80% of the participants were listed along with the types of Jews indicated by them.

Sample

A heterogeneous sample of 108 men and women aged between 16-60, with education level from matriculation to PhD and belonging to different occupations, residential areas and socio-economic status was taken (see Table 1). The sample was selected using maximum variation sampling technique in which sample is diverse in demographics. Since the study deals with Pakistani Muslims' perception, a homogeneous sample would have been too unrestricted and unrepresentative of the general public. The sample hence was kept diverse in terms of age, education, socioeconomic status, occupations and residential areas. However, gender and age were not equally distributed in all occupations due to lack of availability of either men or women in certain occupations.

Tools

1. *Range Task and Percentage Estimation Task (Judd, Park, Ryan,*

Table 1
Demographic Characteristics of Sample (N=108)

Demographic Characteristics	f (%)
Age Group	
16-30	36(33.3%)
31-35	12(11.1%)
36-40	12(11.1%)
41-45	12(11.1%)
45-60	36(33.3%)
Gender	
Men	54(50%)
Women	54(50%)
Education Level	
Matric	11(10.2%)
F.A.	11(10.2%)
B.A.	40(37.0%)
M.A.	43(39.8%)
MPhil	3(2.8%)
Socioeconomic Status	
Upper	6(5.6%)
Upper Middle	71(65.7%)
Lower Middle	28(25.9%)
Lower	3(2.8%)
Occupations	
Teachers	8(7.4%)
Doctors	6(5.6%)
Nurses	3(2.8%)
Police Officers	4(3.7%)
Engineers	6(5.6%)
Shopkeepers	4(3.7%)
Businessmen	2(1.9%)
Accountants	3(2.8%)
Tailors	6(5.6%)
Security Guards	10(9.3%)
Postmen	2(1.9%)
Pharmacists	4(3.7%)
Clerks	10(9.3%)
Librarians	4(3.7%)
Students	20(18.5%)
Company Operators	2(1.9%)
Housewives	11(10.2%)
Paramedical Staff	4(3.7%)
Residential Area	
Canal View	6 (5.6%)
Gari Shahu	1 (0.9%)
Baghbanpura	1 (0.9%)
Samanabad	6 (5.6%)
Wapda Town, Johar Town & Township,	31 (28.7%)
Model Town, Punjab Society.	5(4.6%)
Defence,Cantt	10 (9.3%)
GOR3, Mozang	6 (5.6%)
Mughalpura,Tajbagh	6 (5.6%)
Gulshan Iqbal	9 (8.3%)
Thokar Niaz Baig	6 (5.6%)
Gulberg	1 (0.9%)
Near Yadgaar	8 (7.4%)
Batapur	2 (1.9%)
Muslim Town	5 (4.6%)
Chungi Amar Sadhu	5 (4.6%)

Brauer & Kraus, 1999). Range Task and Percentage Estimation Task were used to measure cognitive components of attitudes regarding Jews. In range task, participants were asked to place on a scale of 1-20, 'highest', 'average' and 'lowest' Jews on each trait gained through pilot study. The difference between highest and lowest indicated the perceived group variability on each trait. Wider range would indicate greater diversity seen in out-group whereas narrow range would indicate that out-group is perceived as homogenous on a given trait thus indicating higher stereo-typicality.

In Percentage Estimation Task, participants were asked to rate Jews on a scale of 1%-100%, indicating what percentage of them possessed a certain trait. Higher percentage of out-group members seen as possessing a trait would indicate greater stereo-typicality. Both the above measures have been widely used for deducing inter-group perceptions.

2. *Feeling Thermometer* (Park & Judd, 1990). This was used to measure affective component of attitude. Participants were asked to locate their feelings on scale from 0 (meaning feeling cold and detached from) to 100 (meaning warm and friendly towards) for the subgroups of Jews generated in pilot study namely 'good Jews', 'bad Jews', 'liberal Jews', 'moderate Jews', 'extremist Jews', 'conservative Jews' and 'modern Jews'.

3. *An adaptation of Social Distance Technique* (Strabac & Listhaug, 2008). It was used to measure the behavioural tendency towards out-group in terms of social distance. The participants were asked "On this list are different countries, could you please sort out country among the following which you will not like to have as neighbours?" The list consisted of 12 countries which were Israel, UK, France, Belgium, Denmark, Australia, Italy, Netherlands, Finland, Norway, Greece and America.

4. *Out-group familiarity*. It was measured by asking participants about "How do you know Jews through?" while giving them options of 8 different sources which were: "Personal contacts, News channel, newspaper, Hollywood movies, relatives or friends, Quraan-o-Ahadees, books, and history or all mentioned sources".

Procedure

The above mentioned measures were distributed among participants and collected back after 2 days. Although tools were self explanatory, instructions were made clear by the researcher when asked for. Snowballing was also used whenever participants indicated information rich/interested participants in their vicinity.

Statistical analysis

Mode or the highest occurring frequency for ratings on range and percentage estimation task was noted to see the perceptions of majority of participants. Mean stereo-typicality and variability on positive and negative traits were calculated to see the differences of perceptions on both categories of traits through *t*-test.

The mean responses of participants showing dislike for Israelites and any other countries as neighbour were also calculated.

The percentage of responses attained through out-group familiarity was calculated to see the most important source through which the participants came to know about Israel.

Results

The present study was conducted to see the patterns of Pakistani Muslims attitude towards the relevant out-group that is Israel, in

terms of their cognitive, behavioural and affective components.

The cognitive components comprised of perceptions and evaluations of the target group of Israelites in terms of traits ascribed to them by the respondents in the pilot study. The patterns of these perceptions and evaluations were measured in terms of perceived group variability and stereo-typicality measured through range task and percentage estimation task respectively. The perceived group variability on each of positive traits seen in Jews is indicated in Table 2 below which shows that out of 11 positive traits seen in Jews, 8 show a very wide range indicating a low degree of out-group homogeneity and stereotypical perception on these characteristics. On positive traits such as, "Jews are well educated and well off", "Jews are genius and highly qualified people" and "Modern Jews are well educated and well disciplined" participants showed moderate level of perceived group variability.

On traits such as, "Jews have formed Israel on religion basis", "Jews are a good and peaceful nation", "Jews are making their way in legitimate manner", "Israel is a very determined nation", "Jews doctrine is bad but not their identity", "Jews have always been a blessed and respected nation", and "Good Jews think about Muslims broadmindedly and extend resources for other nations", participants showed high perceived group variability indicating that

they think that not the entire nation of Jews is alike on these traits.

As Table 3 indicates that on negative traits such as, "Jews are enemy of Islam", "Jews have spread anarchy in Middle East", "Today's Pakistan is a result of Jewish conspiracy" and "Conservative Jews are uneducated" participants showed greater variability of perception but least level of out-group homogeneity towards the target group indicating that our respondents think that not all Jews are enemies of Islam and spreading anarchy in Middle East and it is not completely true that today's Pakistan is simply a result of Jewish conspiracy alone. On traits such as, "Bad Jews are fundamentalists" and "Bad Jews favour Americans" participants showed moderate level perceived group variability towards Jews indicating that not all but only an average amount of Jews are fundamentalist and that they favour Americans.

On traits such as, "Jews are united against Muslims", "Jews are selfish people", "Jews are responsible for all disasters", "Jews are a cruel and sadist Nation", "Jews are blessed by many great Prophets but they disobeyed all of them" and "Extremist Jews are united against Muslims" participants showed least level of perceived group variability but high level of out-group homogeneity towards the target group of Israelites indicating a perception that all these traits are a characteristic of all Jews.

Table 2
Perceived Group Variability on Positive Traits on Range Task (N=108)

Positive traits seen in Jews		Mode	Perceived variability
Jews are well educated and well off	Lowest	10	10
	Average	15	
	Highest	20	
Jews are a good and peaceful nation	Lowest	1	19
	Average	1	
	Highest	20	
Jews are making their way in legitimate manners	Lowest	1	19
	Average	5	
	Highest	20	
Israel is a very determined nation	Lowest	1	19
	Average	15	
	Highest	20	
Jews are genius and highly qualified people	Lowest	10	10
	Average	15	
	Highest	20	
Jews have always been blessed and respected nation	Lowest	1	19
	Average	2	
	Highest	20	
Good Jews think about Muslims broadmindedly	Lowest	1	19
	Average	11	
	Highest	20	
Liberal Jews are philosophers like Freud, Marx and Jung	Lowest	12	8
	Average	11	
	Highest	20	
Good Jews extend resources for other nations	Lowest	1	17
	Average	10	
	Highest	18	
Modern Jews are well educated and well disciplined	Lowest	10	10
	Average	11	
	Highest	20	
Jews doctrine is bad but not their identity	Lowest	1	19
	Average	1	
	Highest	20	

Table 3
Perceived Group Variability on Negative Traits on Range Task (N=108)

Negative traits seen in Jews		Mode	Perceived variability
Jews are enemy of Islam	Lowest	1	19
	Average	11	
	Highest	20	
Jews have spread anarchy in Middle East	Lowest	1	19
	Average	19	
	Highest	20	
Jews are united against Muslims	Lowest	18	2
	Average	19	
	Highest	20	
Jews are selfish people	Lowest	18	2
	Average	19	
	Highest	20	
Jews are responsible for all disasters	Lowest	18	2
	Average	19	
	Highest	20	
Jews are cruel and sadist nation	Lowest	18	2
	Average	19	
	Highest	20	
Today's Pakistan is the result of Jewish conspiracy	Lowest	1	19
	Average	11	
	Highest	20	
Jews are blessed by many Prophets but they disobey all of them	Lowest	18	2
	Average	19	
	Highest	20	
Bad Jews are fundamentalists	Lowest	10	10
	Average	8	
	Highest	20	
Extreme Jews are united against Muslims	Lowest	18	2
	Average	19	
	Highest	20	
Bad Jews favour Americans	Lowest	10	10
	Average	15	
	Highest	20	

Table 4
Mean, Standard Deviation and t-value of Perceived Group Variability

Perceived group variability	M	SD	t
Negative traits	8.09	7.66	2.68*
Positive traits	15.63	4.72	

df = 20. *p < .01.

t-test as shown in Table 4 indicated significant differences between perceived group variability on positive and negative traits.

Percentage Estimation Task was added as a measure of stereotypicality of a trait. On this task, the respondents were asked to indicate what percentage of the member of out-group possesses a certain trait. The results on this task indicated that our sample of Pakistani Muslims show a high degree of consensus that 80-90 percent of Jews are well educated, well off, determined and genius. On the other hand, ranging from 0 to a very small percentage of them is seen by our sample as blessed, respected, good, peaceful, legitimate in making their way, and broadminded for Muslims. A subgroup of Jews considered as good Jews seen as extending

resources towards other nations did not get a percentage of more than 50 (Table 5).

Results of Percentage Estimation Task on negative traits indicated a highly stereotypical perception on Jews. They were perceived as enemies of Islam, cause of anarchy in Middle East,

Table 5
Results of Percentage Estimation Task on Positive Traits Perceived in Jews (N=108)

Positive traits seen in Jews	Mode
Jews are well educated and well off	80
Jews are a good and peaceful nation	0
Jews are making their way in a legitimate manner	10
Israel is a very determined nation	90
Jews are genius & highly qualified people	90
Jews have always been a blessed and respected nation	0
Good Jews think about Muslims broadmindedly	10
Liberal Jews are Philosophers as Freud, Marx and Jung	4
Good Jews extend resources for other nations	50
Modern Jews are well educated & well disciplined	70
Jews doctrine is bad but not their identity	50

selfish, united against Muslims, cruel, sadist, responsible for disasters, conspiring, fundamentalists and in favour of Americans (Table 6).

The results of Percentage Estimation Task correspond with the results of Range Task. Traits emerging as stereotypical in Percentage Estimation Task also show the least range of perceived group variability in Range Task. However, some traits perceived as stereotypical by our respondents show greater range. For example, "Jews are enemy of Islam", "Jews have spread anarchy in Middle East", "Today's Pakistan is a result of Jewish Conspiracy", "Bad Jews are fundamentalists", and "Extremist Jews conspire against Muslims".

Mean and percentages on positive and negative traits compared by *t*-test indicated a significant difference between the two. More negative than positive traits showed high stereo-typicality, as indicated by Table 7.

The affective component of attitude towards the target group and subgroups measured by "Feeling Thermometer" is indicated in Table 8 and Figure 1.

In Figure 1 the highest value of mean (33.70) indicates that respondents have more friendly and warm feelings towards the subgroup of "Good Jews" who are broadminded and who extend resources for other nations as well. The lowest value of mean (10.74) indicates our respondents have more detached and cold feelings towards the subgroup of "Extremist Jews" who conspire against Muslims. The rest of subgroups as moderate, liberal, modern Jews range in between.

The respondents indicated Israel as most disliked country in terms of social distance they wished to maintain with, America as second disliked and Denmark as third disliked country (Figure 2).

The behavioural tendency towards the target group was also measured by asking "Yes or No" options from participants, and were asked to explain when necessary. Eighty five % of respondents said "Yes" on the item "Israel's existence is illegal" and 80% of respondents also agreed with the view that "political upheavals and terrorism occurring in Pakistan are not just because of Jews but because of Muslims own disobedience to their God and religion" indicating that it is not right to blame Jews for the entire problems occurring in Pakistan. Moreover, almost 80% of respondents said "No" for the item such as: "Jews are People of the Book and hence should not be hated" and "Muslims should respect

Table 6
Results of Percentage Estimation Task on Negative Traits Perceived in Jews (N=108)

Negative traits seen in Jews	Mode
Jews are Enemy of Islam	100
Jews have spread Anarchy in in Middle East	100
Jews are united against Muslims	100
Jews are selfish people	100
Jews are Responsible for all disasters	100
Jews are a Cruel & Sadist Nation	100
Today's Pakistan is result of Jewish conspiracy	100
Jews disobeyed Prophets.	100
Bad Jews are fundamentalists	100
Extremist Jews conspire against Muslims	100
Bad Jews favour Americans	100

Table 7
Mean, Standard Deviation and t test of Stereo-typicality of Traits Perceived in Jews

	Positive traits (n = 11)		Negative traits (n = 11)		<i>t</i>
	<i>M</i>	(<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i>	(<i>SD</i>)	
Perceived Stereo-typicality	56.73	(15.06)	77.68	(8.72)	4.20*

df = 23. **p* < .01.

Table 8
Mean of Responses Attained through Feeling Thermometer (N=108)

Feelings Towards different subgroups of Jews	<i>M</i>
Good Jews	33.70
Bad Jews	11.67
Liberal Jews	26.39
Moderate Jews	23.98
Extremist Jews	10.74
Conservative Jews	12.31
Modern Jews	23.43

them because they have an important place in second part of Darud-e-Ibrahimi". This indicates that majority of respondents' view that although it is considered that Jews have an important place in second part of Darud-e-Ibrahimi and they are People of the Book. Yet they explained that these two characteristics pertained to some very ancient Jews and that Jews deserve a treatment for what they are, not what they used to be. Interestingly, 50% of respondents said "yes" on the item "Muslims do not know exactly about Jews because they don't have much exposure of Israelites as they have of Americans". Thus all these traits indicate that prejudice of Muslims towards the target group of Israel is also reflected in items about general characteristics of Israel.

Out-Group Familiarity was measured by asking participants about "How do you know Israelites through?" They were also provided with 8 options to indicate their source of knowing Israel such as "personal contact, news channels, newspapers, hollywood movies, relatives and friends, books and history, Quran-o-Hadees, and all mentioned sources". The results indicated that among all the mentioned sources the maximum frequency was of "News channels and Newspapers". This indicates the strong role of electronic and print media in developing people's attitudes and perceptions towards their target group of Jews (Figure 3).

Discussion

The present study was conducted to see the content and patterns of Pakistani Muslims' attitudes towards Jews and Israel, in terms of their cognitive, behavioural and affective components.

The content of out-group perceptions was analyzed in terms of positive and negative traits. The study revealed that Jews are regarded as intelligent, highly educated, qualified, determined and disciplined by our sample of Pakistani Muslims. On the other hand, they are perceived as selfish, cruel, conspiring and sadist people who have not only spread anarchy in the Middle East but also are responsible for major man caused disasters of the world. Our sample of Pakistani Muslims regarded Jews as united against

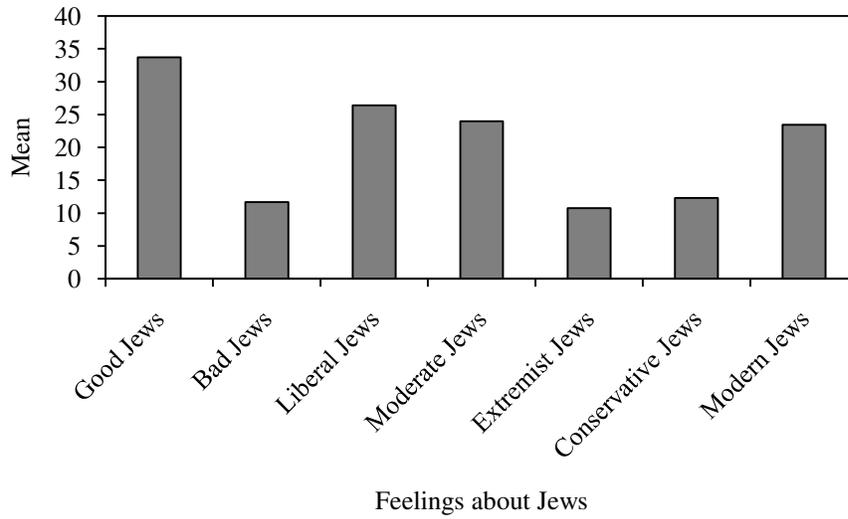


Figure 1. Bar Graph Showing Mean Difference of Feeling towards Subgroups of Israel

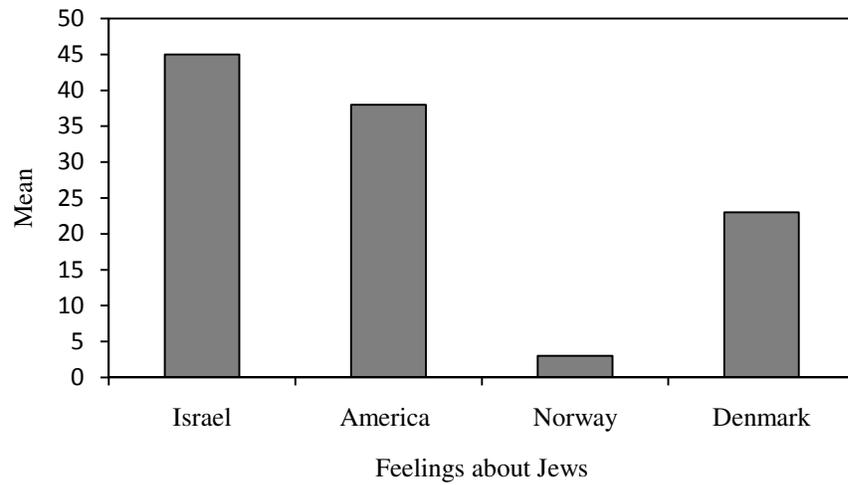


Figure 2. Bar Graph Showing the Result of Social Distance Scale

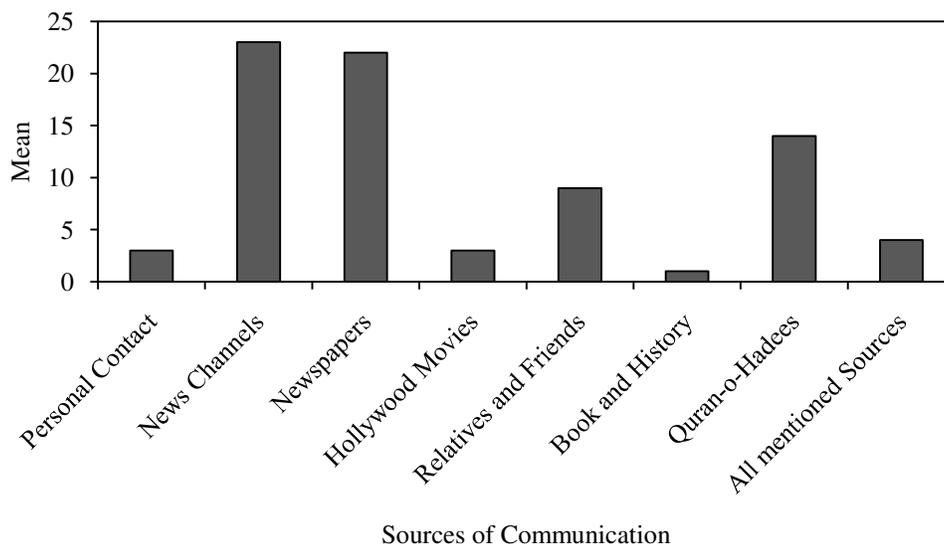


Figure 3. Bar Graph Showing Comparison of Different Sources of Communication

Muslims. They were also regarded as extremists and fundamentalists. Whereas these characteristics attributed to Jews pertained to certain subgroups seen in them as good and bad, extremist and moderate Jews, they were collectively seen as historically immoral people who have always disobeyed Prophets. God always blessed them with Prophets but they thoroughly denied the message of God. Here it is worth noticing that these positive and negative characteristics seen in Jews may be categorised from another dimension, i.e., personal and social identity respectively. Whereas Jews are praised on personal traits and qualities, they are extremely disliked on characteristics that relate them to other nations and social groups by virtue of their being a member of a particular religious and political group. This highlights an important dimension of prejudice; people are not loathed for what they are personally, but for their relationships with one's own self and group. Jews are one of the most relevant out-group for Muslims, both historically and in present global scenario. Hence, the finding that our respondents see equal number of negative and positive traits in Jews, although contrary to expectation, is illuminating. Quantitatively speaking, the members of out-group may not be seen as more bad than good in themselves; it is their social position and relationship in relation to one's own group that fosters hatred.

Apart from the above mentioned exploratory aspects of the study, it was hypothesized that there would be significantly more stereotypical perceptions regarding Jews on negative than positive traits. The hypothesis was supported by results of both the Range and Percentage Estimation Tasks used for this purpose. The results of percentage estimation task indicated negative traits to be a characteristic of all Jews and positive ones to be a trait of varying percentages of them. The Range Task as a measure of out-group variability also indicated a strong out-group homogeneity effect where Jews were seen as mostly being alike on negative traits and varying on positive traits, thus suggesting high stereotypical perceptions for negative than positive traits seen in Jews. However, there were deviations from this pattern on some characteristics, e.g., variability was seen on certain negative traits reflected awareness in

our sample that present debilitated condition of Pakistan and the rest of the Muslim world is not solely due to Jewish conspiracy.

Responses on items that dealt with Islamic philosophy highlighting the importance of Jews in the second part of Darud-e-Ibrahimi owing to their common identity with Muslims of being the descendents of Prophet Abraham (Peace Be Upon Him) revealed interesting categorizations of Jews amongst our sample. A large majority of respondents rejected the idea on grounds that good Jews that deserved this are now extinct and the Jews today deserve what they are, not what some of them used to be. This indicates that dimensions of Muslim identity shared with Jews, despite being a part of both religious history and faith, are denied by evolving a rare subtype of Jews that were blessed but are now extinct and that Islamic teachings of acceptance of People of the Book and praying for mercy and blessings for them are not deserved by present day Jews. No wonder then, Israel, being the only state of Jewish majority amongst Muslim world is rejected as being illegal by most of the respondents. Israel was also regarded as the most disliked country in terms of social distance respondents would prefer to maintain with.

The results attained through "Feeling Thermometer" indicated the feelings of our respondents toward the subgroups of Israelites. The affective and emotional component of Pakistani people's perception toward Israel indicated that respondents have somewhat friendly feelings toward the subgroup of "Good Jews" who are broadminded and who extend resources for other nations as well. On the other hand, the lowest value of mean indicated that our respondents have more detached and cold feelings toward the subgroup of "Extremist Jews" who conspire against Muslims, with the mean ratings for rest of the subgroups falling in between. However, it is worth mentioning that on a continuum of zero to hundred, the highest mean ratings fall much below the midpoint.

On Out-group Familiarity measure, our respondents gave more frequent responses for two modes of communication which are news channels and newspapers. This indicated the major roles of electronic and print media in developing peoples' attitude towards

different out-groups and that people are significantly affected by what these news channels and newspapers present.

Limitations and Suggestions

Although our results were significant but the sample was taken from Lahore only; a large scale study would have been possible if data was collected from different cities of Pakistan. Another limitation of our study is that gender and age were not equally distributed in all occupations due to lack of availability of either men or women in certain occupations.

Implications of the study

There are many myths present about Jewish nation and most of them, as propagated by media, make any cultural relations between the two nations an impossible notion. This study gives a realistic picture of Pakistani peoples' perception about Jews. They have been seen as both positively and negatively. This may have implications for a peace process that demands a realistic understanding of one another and solution of issues through negotiations rather than violent means initiated by myopic visions that obscure Islamic vision of emphasizing commonalities rather than differences with People of the Book.

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