NATIONAL STEREOTYPES, IN- GROUP IDENTIFICATION, INTERGROUP
BIAS, SOCIAL CATEGORIZATION AND IN- / OUT- GROUP ATTITUDES:
THE CASE OF CYPRUS

ŞENEL HŰSNŰ

MAY 2006

NATIONAL STEREOTYPES, IN- GROUP IDENTIFICATION, INTERGROUP
BIAS, SOCIAL CATEGORIZATION AND IN- / OUT- GROUP ATTITUDES:
THE CASE OF CYPRUS

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
THE MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

ŞENEL HŰSNŰ

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

MAY 2006

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

_____

Prof. Dr. Sencer Ayata
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

_____

Prof. Dr. Nebi Sümer
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

_____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Timo Lajunen
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Nebi Sumer   (METU, PSY)————————————

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Timo Lajunen   (METU, PSY)————————————

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hamit Coskun   (Abant Izzet Baysal, PSY)————————————

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name: Şenel Hűsnű

Signature　　　　　:

ABSTRACT

NATIONAL STEREOTYPES, IN- GROUP IDENTIFICATION, INTERGROUP
BIAS, SOCIAL CATEGORIZATION AND IN- / OUT- GROUP ATTITUDES:
THE CASE OF CYPRUS

Hüsnü, Şenel

M.S., Department of Psychology
Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Timo Lajunen

May 2006, 148 pages

The aim of the present research was to investigate the various determinants of
intergroup relations, particularly national stereotypes, in- group identification,
contact, and social categorization. In chapter one a total of 150 Turkish Cypriots
filled a national stereotypes questionnaire, social identity scale, and a scale
assessing intergroup contact. Factor analysis of the stereotypes of the Turkish
Cypriots (autostereotypes) demonstrated the existence of four latent variables
adopted as Positivity, Competency- Based, Negativity and Religiosity/
Conservatism. The same factor structure was obtained for the stereotypes used to
evaluate the Greek Cypriots (heterostereotypes). It was observed that Turkish
Cypriots consistently demonstrated in- group favoritisim. In support of the Contact
hypothesis it was found that increased exposure was predictive of greater
endorsement of positive national stereotypes of the Greek Cypriots. In- group
identification seemed to affect in- group attitudes alone; however, moderation
analyses showed that in- group identification influenced negative out- group
attitudes moderated through positive in- group attitudes. This led to the
development of a model of negative out- group attitudes. In the second chapter the

direction, content, and uniformity of the national stereotypes Turkish Cypriots endorse regarding the Turkish, Greek and British, three nations that have played a significant role in the history of Turkish Cypriots were assessed. Stereotypes were analyzed according to the following five dimensions: Empathic, dominant, efficient, negative, and religiosity/ conservative. Results led to the conclusion that Turkish Cypriots demonstrated in- group favoritism and had quite uniform autostereotypes yet inconsistent heterostereotypes. Stereotypic content was also mainly determined by the political, historical, and social relationship present between the national groups in question. In the third chapter participants were 150 Turkish Cypriots asked to assess their own town as well as the inhabitants of Nicosia. It was predicted that the act of stereotyping the neighbor would change depending on the type of category evoked from the questionnaire manipulation, such that Turkish Cypriots would judge Greek Cypriots as more similar when a common in- group identity "Cypriot" was suggested. The research findings however, did not support the assertions and Turkish Cypriots did not perceive themselves as more similar to Greek Cypriots under any condition, reflected also in their consistent selection of the same adjectives for Greek Cypriots over conditions. The limitations of the researches and future implications were discussed in an attempt to shed light on the intergroup processes present in Cyprus.

Keywords: Intergroup relations, Cyprus, national stereotypes, in- group identification, intergroup bias, contact, in- and out- group attitudes, social categorization.

ÖZ

ULUSAL STEREOTİPLER, İÇ- GRUP ÖZDEŞLEŞME, GRUPLAR ARASI TARAFLILIK, SOSYAL KATEGORİZASYON VE İÇ-/ DIŞ- GRUP TUTUMLARI: KIBRIS DURUMU

Hüsnü, Şenel

Yüksek Lisans, Psikoloji Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Timo Lajunen

Haziran 2006, 148 sayfa

Bu çalışmanın amacı, gruplar arası ilişkileri belirleyen çeşitli etkenlerden; ulusal stereotipler, iç- grup özdeşleşme, gruplar arası etkileşim ve sosyal sınıflandırmayı incelemektir. Birinci bölümde toplam 150 Kıbrıslı Türk, ulusal stereotip, sosyal kimlik ve gruplar arası gruplar arası etkileşim ölçeklerini doldurmuştur. Kıbrıslı Türklerin kendi stereotipleri üzerine yapılan faktör analizi dört değişkenin varlığına işaret etmiştir, bunlar; Olumluluk, Beceri- temelli, Olumsuzluk ve Dindarlık/ Muhafazakarlık olarak bulunmuştur. Aynı faktör yapısı Kıbrıslı Rumları tanımlayan stereotiplerde de bulunmuştur. Kıbrıslı Türklerin tutarlı bir şekilde grup- içi taraflılık sergiledikleri görülmüştür. Gruplar arası etkileşimin Kıbrıslı Rumlara karşı daha olumlu ulusal stereotip kullanımına yol açtığı bulunarak, Etkileşim Hipotezi desteklemiştir. İç- grup ile özdeşleşmenin olumsuz dış- grup tutumlarını, olumlu iç- grup tutumları

moderasyonu ile yordadığı saptanmıştır. Bu ise iki farklı yol ile olumsuz dış-grup tutumlarını yordayan bir modelin geliştirilmesine neden olmuştur. İkinci bölümde Kıbrıslı Türklerin geçmişinde önemli roller oynayan Türk, Yunanlı, ve İngilizlere karşı olan ulusal stereotiplerin yönü, içeriği ve tutarlılığı incelenmiştir. Stereotipler ise şu beş boyutta incelenmiştir: Empati, Verimlilik, Olumsuzluk, Dindarlık/ Muhafazakarlık. Kıbrıslı Türklerin yine iç- grup taraflılık gösterdikleri, kendileri için kullandıkları stereotiplerin tutarlı fakat farklı uluslar için kullandıkları stereotiplerin tutarsız olduğu gözlenmiştir. Ayrıca stereotip içeriğinin politik, tarihsel ve sosyal ilişkilerden kaynaklandığı bulunmuştur. Üçüncü bölümde, 150 Kıbrıslı Türk'ün kendi yaşadıkları şehri ayrıca Kıbrıslı Rumları tanımlamaları istenilmiştir. Ölçek manipulasyonları ile komşu şehirdeki kişilerin farklı stereotiplendirilmesine yol açacağı düşünülmüştür, böylece Kıbrıslı Türklerin, "Kıbrıslı" üst düzey kimlik manipulasyonu ile Rumlarla kendilerini daha benzer bulacakları tahmin edilmekteydi, fakat Kıbrıslı Türkler, kendilerini hiç bir koşulda Kıbrıslı Rumlara benzer görmediği bulunmuştur. Sonuçlar, bir bütün olarak ele alınmış ayrıca, araştırmanın sınırlılıkları da tartışılarak Kıbrıs'ta var olan gruplar arası süreçlere ışık tutabilecek doğurgular belirtilmiştir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Gruplar arası ilişkiler, Kıbrıs, ulusal stereotipler, iç grup özdeşleşmesi, grup- içi taraflılık, gruplar arası etkileşim, iç- ve dış- grup tutumları, sosyal sınıflandırma.

The source of such anguish yet equal adoration:

To my island

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to offer my greatest appreciation and thanks to my dear supervisor Associate Professor Timo Lajunen who has not only been an inspiration academically but also personally. It has been a delight to work with you, not only did you receive all of my academic and personal worries, anxieties or "neurosis's" with a welcoming smile, but you embraced them and looked for solutions to guide me and enable my progress to be one of success. Although not as satisfying as traffic psychology, I sincerely hope that my work has been worthy of you. I am greatly indebted to you.

To Professor Dr. Nebi Sumer, it has been an honor to have you on the defense; your feedback has been of great importance. I would like to take this opportunity to sincerely thank you for all the support you have provided me over the past two years, for if it were not for you I would not be completing a master's degree let alone a thesis, in this field I have grown to love, therefore I owe you special thanks.

To Associate Professor Hamit Coskun, I would like to thank you for your detailed analysis and most valuable feedback, which has made such a significant difference in my thesis; it was a pleasure to work with you. Your positive attitude was very much appreciated.

To the very special people, my dearest parents, I am so blessed to have such parents like you. Your unconditional, support, guidance and reassurance enabled me to go places and do things I never thought I could succeed. A little love goes so far, how proud I am to say I'm your daughter, I owe this to you.

Belma and Deniz, my angelic housemates who deserve medals for enduring my mood swings, emotional outbursts and all those ups and downs and I'm not just talking about those throughout the duration of the thesis! You girls gave me hope, courage and kept me going when I could have packed and moved back to Cyprus! You made my days so much brighter, we have made a home for ourselves far away from our real homes, based truly on love; I would do it all over again with you two, thank you ladies.

To the one love of my life, my sister. This is for you abs. You are my sanity, the light at the end of the tunnel and my soul. Your strength, wisdom and love has carried me and turned me into the woman I am today, I am truly blessed to have you by my side. No matter the distance between us, I am incomplete without you and we will always remain one, our love knows no boundaries.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

xiii

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1. National Stereotypes

For more than 60 years, researchers have been interested in stereotypes of national groups. Initially, attention was paid mainly to descriptions of the content of nationality stereotypes, reflected in the now classic work of Katz and Braly (1933). This was followed by attempts at explaining the content by features of (changing) intergroup relations (e.g. Berrien, 1969; Sherif, 1966). Psychological research later moved on to the processes of stereotyping, particularly to the cognitive biases involved in the faulty and biased nature of certain stereotypes, such as category accentuation (Tajfel, 1969) and illusory correlation (Hamilton & Guilford, 1976). More recently, however, inspired by social identity theory (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and social categorization theory (Oakes & Turner, 1990; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) interest in the relationship between stereotypes and features of intergroup relations, i.e. social reality, has increased among researchers (Oakes, Haslam, & Turner, 1994; Spears, Oakes, Ellemers, & Haslam, 1997). Hence the study of stereotypes has continued to strike interest in researchers, particularly because they shed light on intergroup processes, and function as an antecedent as well as a consequence of intergroup relations (Bar- Tal, 1997).

1.1 Definitions: Walter Lipmann first coined the term "stereotype" in his 1922 book "Public Opinion." Briefly, Lipmann suggested that the environment surrounded by an individual is actually too complex to comprehend; hence the individual constructs "a picture in his head" of the world, which is out of his reach. This so-called "picture" he stated, was somewhat culturally determined and largely faulty due to short- cut reasoning processes used. He further stated that the connection

between stereotypes and reality were often separate features, hence "strange." He also discussed how stereotypes were rigid and resistant to change.

Today, stereotypes are defined as beliefs about the characteristics, attributes and behaviors of members of certain groups. Not only do they include beliefs about groups, but they include theories regarding how stereotypes are and why certain attributes go together, these theories in turn influence when stereotypes are applied as well as when they might be revised or changed (Hilton & Von Hippel, 1996).

Since the theoretical analysis of Lippmann (1922) and the empirical work of Katz and Braly (1933), several assumptions have been made regarding stereotypes. According to the consensus assumption, stereotypes are shared among members of a social group (e.g. Devine, 1989; Tajfel, 1981). According to the assumption of contrast, the attribution of a particular trait to a particular group derives its stereotypic nature in part from attributions of other traits to the same group or from attributions of the same trait to other groups (e.g. Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981). Finally, according to the assumption of consistency, stereotypes are biased in that they portray groups in simplistic and internally consistent ways (e.g. Judd, Ryan, & Park, 1991). Measurements of stereotypes have been established in ways that make each of these assumptions possible to research, such as checklist paradigms, percentage formats, etc. (Krueger, 1996).

Why do people engage in stereotypic thinking? Stereotyping typically involves a multiple array of purposes, reflecting both cognitive and motivational processes (For reviews, see Smith, 1993; Snyder & Miene, 1994). It is well- known that stereotypes emerge as a way of simplifying the demands of the perceiver, making information processing easier by allowing the perceiver to rely on previously stored knowledge in the face of new incoming information (Bodenhausen, Kramer, &

Susser, 1994). Stereotypes are also likely to emerge in response to environmental factors such as different social roles (Eagly, 1995), group conflicts (Robinson, Keltner, Ward, & Ross, 1995), differences in power (Fiske, 1993), justifications of the status quo (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Sidanus, 1993) and a need for social identity (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). Hence as evident, stereotyping may occur in various contexts in order to serve particular functions born from those contexts (Hilton & von Hippel, 1996).

Now that the "why?" of stereotypes has been dealt with, the next question is "when?" It has been suggested that a number of motivational as well as affective factors influence when and how stereotypes surface, however it is generally the cognitive processes that serve as the mechanism for certain motivational effects which determine their influence on perception, judgment and behavior. For instance, Ditto and Lopez (1993) found that people typically required more evidence to convince them that a disliked person was intelligent rather than unintelligent. Such a finding may suggest that motivation can lead to rapid confirmation yet slow the acceptance of disconfirming information, such that there may be a reduction in use of negative stereotypes of a liked group. Affect, on the other hand, can influence which type of information processing strategy is utilized, for instance, by increasing the likelihood that a non- conforming group member will be assimilated to the group stereotype (Wilder, 1993).

1.2. Content of Stereotypes: The content of stereotypes and the strength with which they are held may vary according to many factors; however, stereotypic content has generally been suggested to stem from two sources. The first are mental representations of actual differences between groups, otherwise stated, they are actual representations of reality, reflecting a kernel of truth (Judd & Park, 1993; Jussim 1991) or an aspect of reality to which the perceiver is exposed to (Rothbart, Dawes, & Park, 1984), such as cultural stereotypes about food preferences or love

of football. Although such stereotyping may cause perceivers to generalize to other members and overlook individual differences (von Hippel, Jonides, Hilton, & Narayan, 1993), they generally do not cause perceivers to deviate from accurate perceptions (Hilton & von Hippel, 1996). This taps the fact that not all stereotypes are necessarily negative, for instance Germans are said to be more efficient and Italians more musical than others (McCauley, Stitt, & Segal, 1980). However, these stereotypes are quite selective in that they are built around features that are most distinctive of the group (Nelson & Miller, 1995), creating the largest between group differentiation accompanied by little within group variability (Ford & Strangor, 1992). The second source of stereotypes, those formed without basis on actual group differences, are generally those regarding enduring characteristics such as race or religion. These, however, are considered to be most prone to erroneous judgment (Hilton & von Hippel, 1996).

La Piere (1936)'s classical study is often used as reference for this second source of stereotypes. In the 1920's it was the case that Armenian laborers in southern California were stereotyped as dishonest, deceitful, liars and troublemakers, however La Piere researched and found that Armenian were less often in legal cases, applied less often for charity, had as good credit ratings as those received by other ethic groups. Hence it was evident that the stereotype remained active, despite the lack of support.

On the same note, Brown (1965) discussed certain characteristics of stereotypes, which are assumed to be particularly undesirable. Stereotypes, he asserted, may not be based on direct experience and hence may be insensitive to contrary evidence, serving to rationalize selfish behavior and further ascribing it to racial inheritance and cultural acquisition. According to Brown (1965), what seems to be the trouble with stereotypes is that they contain not only description but also evaluation, evaluation which is based on local norms. Norms are generally taken to be

universally valid, hence differences in norms will inevitably cause unfair stigmatization.

Campbell (1967) went on to list four characteristics that he thought were faulty with stereotypes. The first was stated to be the "phenomenological absolutism" of the in-group member, which is the view that the out- group is perceived as the in- group chooses to perceive it without questioning it. The second point is the exaggerated out- group homogeneity effect, in which within differences are minimized and similarities between groups are not recognized. The third deficiency regards erroneous causal analyses such that the individual (stereotyper) is likely to attribute group differences to racial (inborn) instead of environmental causes. The fourth issue concerns hostility directed toward the out- group. The individual (stereotyper) may attribute her/ his hostility toward the out- group as a consequence of the negative characteristics of that out- group instead of recognizing that it is her/ his pre- existing hostility that has created a label of a characteristic, suggesting it is inherent to that out- group.

Most studies concerning stereotypic content are of descriptive nature or content is often considered a by- product of the process being investigate (Eagly & Kite,1987; Haslam, Tuner, Oakes, & McGarthy, 1992; Jonas & Hewstone, 1986; Peabody, 1985). Different explanations regarding the mechanisms that determine the content of stereotypes have been offered by different groups stated below.

Although stereotypes are generally held and changed by individuals, the meaning and implication of stereotypes tend to emerge in contexts of group membership. Tajfel (1981) described how individuals tend to belong to a variety of groups in order to satisfy their needs and achieve positive social identity. This results in individuals viewing their group membership as an important personal character, which is commonly salient; this in turn influences how they perceive others.

5

Individuals will come to classify others into social categories and evaluate them on these bases. Social categorization theory, therefore, posits that stereotypic content will reflect the comparison of the in- group to the out- group, for optimal differentiation to occur. It has therefore been suggested that categorization per se is the underlying process of stereotyping and also prejudice (Stephan, 1989; Wilder, 1986)

LeVine and Campbell (1972) have asserted that differences in roles and customs between groups are reflected in stereotypic content. They stated three types of cultural and role differences: (1) rural- urban lifestyles; (2) differences between occupational groups (particularly manual vs. non- manual labor) and (3) differences in industrialization. Suggested, for instance, is that a perceived rural- urban contrast will be associated with the attribution of sophistication which a manual- non-manual contrast will be attributed with intellectual and emotional development and differences in industrialization with attributions of efficiency, work ethos and self-control. It seems the case that the role- relevant behaviors of groups are salient and taken as attributed traits and further generalized to all group members.

Similar to this position is Eagly and Kite (1987)'s Social Role Hypothesis. Behind this hypothesis is the assumption that national stereotypes are derived from public figures, which stand to represent the target country and because such figures represent the country only partially, the content of national stereotypes are somewhat distorted. Similarly, for instance, aggressive and immoral behavior is said to be attributed to populations of enemy states, whilst dominance to populations of countries to which the country of the perceiver is dependent. In addition to this, it has been found that the content of stereotypes for hostile nations contain more "agentic (dominant, aggressive) attributions, whereas stereotypes for allied nations contain more "communual" (friendly, supportive) attributions (Eagly, & Kite, 1987).

Peabody (1985) offered a different understanding to the content of national stereotypes. He asserts that the content is based on perceptions of cultural differences between nation states, which are taken as traits representing the character of the national population. Similarly, Hagendoorn and Hraba (1989) claimed that deviancy from one's in- group values is reflected in the stereotypic content defining the out- group.

Brown (1986) proposed that the content of national stereotypes might reflect the historical, societal or political relation between countries and may partly be determined by the nature of interaction between the groups involved (Stephan & Rosenfield, 1982). This has been studied in "mirror image" researches. Bronfenbrenner (1961) proposed that two groups in conflict are likely to have "mirror images" of one another, otherwise stated, two groups will perceive themselves in the same positive way and perceive the "enemy" in similarly negative ways. This was evidenced in a study with the former Soviet Union and the USA, members of each country regarded itself as peaceful and free yet saw the other as aggressive, deluded, and exploited.

Von Ehrenfel (1957, 1961) suggested that geographical factors determine stereotypic content. Based on anthropological studies, he claimed that northern inhabitants would be perceived as "hardworking" and "cool" yet southern inhabitants as "easygoing" and "emotional."

Linssen and Hagendoorn (1994) offered a three-class categorization for the nature of explanatory determinants formulated from the hypothesis addressed above. The first type refers to the structural nature of determinants. Here, the content of out-group stereotypes are determined by the position of the out- group, it's features, its members' selective visibility plus the relation between in and out- group. The

second type is claimed to refer to determinants of a cultural nature. Here cultural values of the in- group are used as yardsticks to which the cultural features of the out-group are evaluated. The third type concerns the non- social determinants such as climatic and geographical factors, which are associated with specific traits, those suggested by Von Ehrenfels. With this categorization in mind Linssen and Hagendoorn (1994) found that national stereotypes contain four dimensions of content namely, efficiency, emotionality, empathy, and dominance.

Linssen and Hagendoorn (1994) found that the attribution of efficiency was mainly determined by perceived economic development, degree of industrialization, and government services; however, geographical location particularly appears to be a determinant of the attribution of efficiency. Emotionality was found to be almost completely determined by geographical location (particularly location of latitude). Empathy was related to geographical size and political power attributions to the nation. Attributions of dominance, on the other hand, were determined by geographical size and perceived political power and nationalism of the nation. It has therefore been suggested that the content of national stereotypes will reflect such economic, political, cultural, and/ or geographical features of the nation state in question (Poppe & Linssen, 1999).

1.3 Features of Stereotypes: As aforementioned, although stereotypes are not necessarily negative in nature, stereotypes regarding the out- group are more likely to include negative connotations than those stereotypes held about the in- group, even if such attributes seem objectively positive (Esses, Haddock, & Zanna, 1993). Negative stereotypes have been found to be predictive of intergroup attitudes even when positive stereotypes are not (Strangor & Duan, 1991). Consistent with this viewpoint, Allport (1954) observed, "[T]he personality qualities of Abraham Lincoln are deplored in the Jews" (p.189).

Many studies have compared differing features of autostereotypes (stereotypes of the in- group) and heterostereotypes (those of others) (e.g. Tiandis, Lisansky, Setiadi, Chang, Marin, & Betancourt, 1982; Salvatore; 1986; Nichols and McAndrews, 1984). Generally, it has been found that autostereotypes are more positive than heterostereotypes (Triandis et al., 1982). This has been challenged by the Social Identity Theory and the in- group favoritism phenomena, which suggests that if a group is viewed negatively by society, it is likely that members may view themselves negatively also (Tajfel, 1981). This will be discussed in detail in the next part.

In addition to positivity, autostereotypes have been suggested to be more uniform (Marin & Salazar, 1985) than heterostereotypes, that is individuals are in more agreement as to the traits they choose to evaluate their own or another national group. It is assumed that a stereotype, which is consistent or uniform, is more likely to have social significance and predict other socially important responses when participants are in agreement amongst themselves regarding the traits of a group (Triandis et al., 1982). The issue of uniformity has been called into question. Salvatore (1986) examined the hetero- and autostereotypes of college students in Ireland, Italy, and the United States and found that the consistency of autostereotypes varied widely from culture to culture. The Italians showed a high degree of agreement in describing themselves, yet the Irish showed little agreement (cited in McAndrew, Akande, Bridstock, Mealey, Gordon, Scheib, Akande-Adetoun, Odewale, Morakinyo, Nyahete, & Mubvakure, 2000).

Nichols and McAndrew (1984) found that the autostereotypes of American students studying abroad were much more positive and quite different from the autostereotypes of American students studying at home. Hence it is unclear as to whether we know our own group better than others or vice versa, therefore the question remains as to whether auto- or heterostereotypes are more consistent.

As a last note, the process of stereotyping can create many interesting social psychological phenomena and intergoup bias, its cognitive consequence is one of them.

2. Intergroup Bias

Intergroup bias generally refers to an individual's systematic tendency to evaluate one's own group membership (the in- group) or members of that group as more favorable than a non-membership group (the out- group) or its members. This can take the form of favoring the in- group (in- group favoritism) and/ or out- group derogation. Bias can include behavior in the form of discrimination; attitudes in terms of prejudice; and cognition through stereotyping. A "bias" is therefore said to involve interpretative judgment that a response is unfair, illegitimate, or unjustifiable in the occurring situation (Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002).

Intergroup bias can be observed in many forms, ranging from prejudice and stereotyping through the usage of discrimination, injustice, and perpetuation of inequality all the way to ethnic cleansing or genocide. Social- psychological studies, however, have inspected much weaker forms of intergroup bias using participants of milder prejudice tendencies. Yet the findings have been quite persistent, group members are systematically prone to think that their own group is superior to other groups and are also rather ready to discriminate between them, and this is commonly known as in- group favoritism (Hewstone & Cairns, 2002).

The prevalence of in- group favouritism, has been explained in detail by the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). SIT researchers have found that even in the most "minimal" conditions, that is trivial and random circumstances in-group favoritism emerges; in randomly constructed groups, with no self- interest, realistic

conflict of interests, individual prejudices, interpersonal or personality factors, in-group biases still appear.

Aiming to determine the minimal intragroup and intergroup conditions necessary for ethnocentrism, in- group favoritism, and out- group discrimination, Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, and Flament (1971) created their minimal group paradigm (MPG), which has now become the standard paradigm for research on intergroup behavior, particularly social discrimination. In the study, they randomly placed individuals into discrete groups based on trivial criteria such as the toss of a coin or the preference of one of two abstract painters. Participants were then asked to allocate rewards between pairs of other participants (not themselves) using specifically designed booklets that assess the strength of various response strategies. The idea was to establish a baseline intergroup situation in which further variables could be added step by step to identify certain critical conditions or factors leading to social discrimination.

The result was surprisingly strong; the baseline, minimal categorization per se, was sufficient to lead to discrimination, that is, participants persistently gave higher rewards to another unknown in- group member than to another unknown out- group member. Participants preferred to ensure that their fellow in- group members received a higher reward than the out- group member rather than maximizing rewards gained for the in- group as a whole or maximize joint gain for both groups.

Tajfel (1972) suggested that the reason for social categorization is to guide ones actions, functioning to place the individual in the society, such that individuals use social categorizations to define themselves in a social context and to structure their environment. It was further argued that individuals are motivated to evaluate themselves positively, and that insofar as a category membership becomes

11

significant to their self- definition, they will be motivated to evaluate that group as more positive.

Turner (1985) went on to assert that in- group bias was a form of "social competition" occurring as a result of a need for positive social identity. According to SIT, being part of a group provides individuals with a sense of belongingness, contributing toward a positive sense of self. This is maintained by group members choosing to differentiate themselves from other groups in order to preserve and achieve positive group distinctiveness, which will in turn, creates a positive social identity for their group. Hence positive identity derives largely from favorable comparisons made between the in- group and relevant out- groups.

Further studies have established that in- group bias does not occur as a function of social categorization alone, certain factors have been stated that are also of necessity: (a) the degree of identification with in- group (b) the salience of social categorization within setting (c) the importance and relevance of comparative dimension on in- group identity (d) degree of comparability of out- group on that dimension (e) relative status of in- group. (Turner, 1999, p.20).

Theorists have suggested the role of many variables in determining intergroup bias such as group size, status, power, and threat (see Hewstone, Rubin & Willis, 2002 for review); however, the aim of this research was to investigate the role of group identification as it continues to be the most controversial as well as least clear antecedent of intergroup bias.

2.1. In- group Identification

Whereas the personal self is defined as unitary and continuous awareness of who one is (Baumeister, 1998), conceptualizations of the social self are less clear.

National or ethnic identity has been defined in many ways, while some authors have emphasized feelings of belongingness and commitment as main components (Singh, 1977; Ting- Toomey, 1981; Tzuriel & Klein, 1977), others have proposed that a sense of shared attitudes and values are most important (White & Burke, 1987), furthermore others have stated that cultural aspects such as language, values, and knowledge of ethnic history are the core components of national/ ethnic identity (e.g., Rogler, Cooney, & Ortiz, 1980).

However it has generally been defined as a component of social identity. Tajfel (1981) suggested it "that part of an individual's self- concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (p. 255). As this definition illustrates, Tajfel (1981) postulated a tridimensional conceptualization of group identity consisting of a cognitive (knowledge of group membership), evaluative (value of group membership), and affective component (emotional significance of group membership).

Despite other multidimensional conceptualizations regarding the nature of group identity (e.g. Brewer & Silver, 2000; Deaux, 1996; Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999), with differences of emphasis either in the form of semantic preferences or factor labelling, there seems to be consensus that the construct of group identity includes Tajfel's three dimensions as well as perceived common fate (or psychological bond) (Jackson, 1999).

In terms of the cognitive dimension this involves both the process of categorization ('I am a member of group X') and an analysis of the beliefs associated with such a categorization ("What are the implications of being a member of group X?") (Deaux, 1996). Depersonalization (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherall, 1987) as well as optimal distinctiveness (Brewer, 1991; Brewer & Silver, 2000) are

processes which involve the transformation of the sense of self from individual "I" to the more collective "we." Moreover, the principle of metacontrast (Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McCarthy, 1994) suggests that the awareness of a contrasting out- group is central aspect of identity such that in- group members are perceived as being more alike than out- group members and out- group members as having more in common with each other than to in- group members.

The affective dimension involves emotions (e.g. love, hate, like, and dislike) directed at both one's own group and other groups (Tajfel, 1981). Equally involved are concepts such as group cohesion and collective self- esteem (Deaux, 1996). Furthermore aspects of shared experiences or a sense of belongingness and commitment are part of the affective component of group identity (Jackson, 1999, Hinkle, Taylor, Fox- Cardamone, & Cook, 1989; Ellemer et al., 1999).

The evaluative component, on the other hand, is the value connotation added to one's membership usually as positive or negative (Tajfel, 1981). Phinney (1990) suggested feelings of pride, satisfaction, joy, arrogance and failure to be part of the positive and negative attitudes felt toward the in- group.

The last component of group identity is perceived common fate; that is, a sense of attachment, bonding or sentiments of concern for the in- group (Phinney, 1990). It has often been used interchangeably with the term "interdependence" (e.g. Jackson, 1999; Jackson & Smith, 1999) referring to a psychological connectedness shaped by feelings of common fate, reciprocal support and belongingness.

Self- categorization theorists have suggested that the self is a situation- dependent, highly fluid, non-static entity (Turner, et al., 1994). An individual may consider oneself as a unique individual with certain qualities (e.g. warm), a member of a social category (e.g. Muslim), or in terms of a higher ordinate category (e.g. Turk).

Hence the social context can play a significant role in determining which perception of the self and the other emerges according to which identity is most salient (Crisp & Hewstone, 2000; Haslam & Turner, 1995).

Therefore the extent to which group characteristics and processes influence the social self may differ amongst groups, depending on the extent to which they see themselves as members of that group (Ellemers et al., 1999). Consistent with such views, Spears, Doosje, and Ellemers (1999) demonstrated that group identity interacted with a range of contextual variables such as social identity threat, social category salience, cognitive load as well as the influence of social perceptions of group membership like self- stereotyping or perceived group variability.

2.1.1 Identification, in- group bias and in- group attitudes

The role of in- group identification on in- group attitudes has particularly been studied in line with Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). It is assumed that high identification with ones group will lead to positive self- esteem derived from ones membership and that groups of higher status will show more bias than those of lower status (Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002). For instance it may be expected that Americans have higher self- esteem as a result of being part of an arguably powerful nation. It is also assumed that the diametrically opposite of this is also valid and that groups of lower status, viewed negatively by others may have lower self- esteem, and demonstrate a preference for the out- group (out- group favoritism).

This understanding is in accordance with early studies of ethnic identity, which assumed that members of disadvantaged groups would result in lower self- esteem, often cited is the well- known study by Clark and Clark (1947), which showed that black children preferred playing with white dolls. This was taken as evidence for lower self- esteem in stigmatized groups. This finding has been refuted by studies

on African American and Hispanic Americans (e.g. Jones & Diener, 1976). It seems that identification with group may mediate this relationship, such that contributions to self- esteem will likely occur insofar as in- group identity is an important part of the individuals self- concept, i.e. high in- group identification.

2.1.2. Identification, in- group bias and out- group attitudes

As stated earlier, SIT lays the assumption that positive social identity is mainly based on favorable intergroup comparisons, as a result it is assumed that a positive correlation should exist between strength of group identification and the amount of positive differentiation or in- group bias. SIT proposes that individuals strongly identifying with their groups will be more likely to show a bias by favoring their own group members, at the expense of out- group members. The theoretical assumption is that identification creates out- group attitudes, rather than vice- versa.

Early research has suggested a strong negative relationship between patriotism and attitudes toward foreigners (Levinson, 1950). Further support for this approach has been found in studies using mixed race college students. Tzeng and Jackson (1994) found that students with high in- group identification were more likely to discriminate against other ethnic groups in terms of their attitudes, behaviors, and cognitive judgments on different social issues. Masson and Verkuyten (1993) also found that Dutch adolescents tended to discriminate more toward foreigners when their in- group evaluations were high. This correlation was also observed by Lee (1991) in both Chinese and African Americans.

Review studies investigating this relationship however remain to be quite modest. Hinkle and Brown (1990) stated that across 14 studies examined, the overall correlation between identification and bias was close to zero ($r = 0.08$), and despite

the majority of associations (64%) being positive; the mean correlation among the subset was quite low (r = 0.024). They reported that the relationship between in-group and out- group attitudes may be positive or negative, or even unrelated depending on the conditions. Furthermore, they suggested that these results are based on homogeneous laboratory settings, which may not apply outside this context. This assertion has actually been supported, such that correlational data has been quite inconsistent, yet experimental data claim increased bias with identification manipulations (Branscombe & Wann, 1994; Perreault & Bourhis, 1999).

The SIT understanding has particularly been opposed by developmental and multiculturalism approaches (Cross, 1991; Helms, 1990; Phinney, 1989). This view asserts that developmentally individuals grow into a more secure sense of self. Termed as achieved ethnic identity, this higher level of in- group identification is associated with positive attitudes toward one's group which is in turn related to greater acceptance of others, often resulting in positive multicultural interactions, cross- cultural relationships and personal alterations. As individuals become more confident of their own group membership, it is assumed that they will become more open to other groups. Research suggests that in- group awareness issues may be a function of age and maturity, such that with increasing age, individuals will be more comfortable and acceptable of racial differences, emphasizing others' group membership less (Phinney, 1989).

Based on the same premise, Berry, Kalin, and Taylor (1977), researchers of the multiculturalism theory, found that in Canada those with a more secure sense of group identity had more positive intergroup attitudes. Similarly, Lambert, Mermigis, and Taylor (1986) found a strong correlation between cultural security and favourable attributions of other groups. High ethnic identity is therefore suggested to be a tool for greater acceptance toward other groups. An appreciation

of one's own as well an others' ethnicity is thought to be beneficial in terms of contributing to better intergroup relations (Phinney, 1996).

Phinney, Ferguson, and Tate (1997) indeed found that adolescent students rating members of their own ethnic group more positively tended to rate other groups members positively also, such that higher ethnic identity scores were predictive of in- group attitudes which in turn accounted for positive out- group attitudes.

One factor that no doubt influences out- group attitudes (in relation to group identification or not) is contact with the out- group.

3. Contact Hypothesis

One of the most influential social psychological approaches to racial and ethnic relations is the "contact hypothesis" (Allport, 1954). Although social scientists began to theorize about intergroup contact after World War II (Watson, 1947; Williams, 1947), Allport's hypothesis proved the most influential as it outlined several critical conditions for reducing intergroup conflict through contact. The hypothesis holds that contact between members of different racial and ethnic groups will promote positive attitudes, reducing intergroup prejudice. It has been suggested that interracial contact will serve as a source of firsthand information that is accurate and favorable regarding knowledge about the values, lifestyles and experiences of the other group. Direct contact will allow individuals to collect information about the out- group, serving as a basis for change or reformation of stereotypic content. It is assumed that such positive knowledge will be generalized into a positive perception of the group as a whole.

Research has suggested that the opposite may also hold such that unpleasant contact may create fear of further contact, causing intergroup anxiety (Islam & Hewstone,

1993). This has been investigated in the Realistic Conflict Theory (LeVine & Campbell, 1972; Sherif, 1967), which suggests that actual or perceived conflict of interest between groups (for instance competition of scarce resources) can lead to group tension. Thus the source of conflict is indeed "realistic."

In a number of famous studies carried out by Sherif and colleagues (1967), boys at summer camp were split into different groups and placed in situations under which the boys engaged in competitive behaviors. After long observations, it was concluded that competition for resources was the cause of intergroup conflict.

Amir (1969) summarized some of the unfavorable contact conditions under which prejudice may be strengthened. These are (a) a contact situation which produces competition between groups; (b) an unpleasant, involuntary and tension laden situations; (c) a prestige or status reduction of one group as a cause of the contact situation; (d) when members of the group are all in a state of frustration (e.g. economic depression); (e) when the groups have opposing moral/ ethnical standards (f) in the case of contact between majority and minority groups, the minority having lower status or lower characteristics than majority group.

Contact between groups tends to produce changes in the attitudes of these groups. However, the direction of this change depends on the conditions under which contact has taken place "favorable" conditions lead to reduced prejudice whereas "unfavorable" may increase both prejudice and intergroup tension. It is for this reason, that Pettigrew (1998) suggested that if conditions stated by the Contact Hypothesis are not met, contact may actually lead to increased conflict instead.

Many researchers have sought to identify ideal conditions in which positive intergroup relations will emerge with the advised contact. These include equal status, i.e. both groups expect and perceive equal status within the situation (e.g. Cohen, 1972; Hewstone & Brown, 1986; Watson, 1947); the opportunity to get to know out- group members and disconfirm negative stereotypes (e.g. Amir & Ben-

19

Ari, 1985; Desforges, Lord, Ramsey, Mason, Van Leeuwin, West, & Lepper); a setting invoking mutual goals and cooperation, such that an active, goal- oriented effort in which a non- competitive environment can enable prejudice reduction (e.g. Bettencourt, Brewer, Croak & Miller, 1992; Johnson & Johnson, 1984); and lastly the support of authorities, law or customs, such that explicit sanctions may help to establish norms of acceptance (e.g. Landis, Hope, & Day, 1984).

Empirical support for the hypothesis was initially observed in field research. In 1948, with the desegregation of the Merchant Marine, more white and black seamen mixed which was reflected in more positive racial attitudes of the voyagers (Brophy, 1946). Similarly, Kephart (1957) reported white Philadelphian police officers relative acceptance of black officers joining their districts, siding with black partners as well as taking orders from qualified black officers after having worked with black colleagues.

Deutsch and Collins (1951) demonstrated the strong influence of public housing, such that individuals living in segregated neighborhoods were more negative in their evaluations of blacks (e.g. using stereotypes such as "dangerous") whereas those in desegregated housing projects were more positive in their evaluations as well as accepting of interracial housing.

Both experimental and field studies have in general supported the more general claims of the hypothesis (Cook, 1978; Pettigrew, 1998). It has been found that even with superficial measures of contact, such as the distance to closest out- group member has been associated with less prejudice (e.g. Kirchler & Zani, 1995).

Studies have generally been focused on ethnic groups; however, positive contact effects have also been observed in the elderly (Caspi, 1984), homosexuals (Herek &

Capitanio, 1996), the mentally ill (Desforges, et al., 1991), disabled persons (Anderson, 1995), and AIDS patients (Werth & Lord, 1992).

However objections to the theory have been plentiful. Firstly, if data are purely correlational (with no longitudinal design) it remains uncertain whether attitudes measured are a consequence of contact experienced, or rather a cause of contact. Initially tolerant attitudes may lead individuals to engage in or even seek out interracial contacts (e.g. Powers & Ellsion, 1995).

Another problem with the theory is that the conditions under which contact should occur are indeterminate and hence open- ended which in turn leaves it vulnerable to an ever expandable "laundry list" escaping rejection, researchers have therefore been adding other variables (e.g. common language, prosperous economy) that may be considered as facilitating conditions as oppose to essential conditions (Pettigrew, 1996; Stephan, 1987). Furthermore, it is criticized in being vague in terms of the processes included in the processes of attitude change, not defining the *how* and *why* of change but only the *when* (Pettigrew, 1998).

Pettigrew (1998), has however, outlined the four processes of change expected to result from the contact experience. The first of these processes, , is learning new information about the out- group, particularly that which opposes stereotypes, which will in turn improve attitudes. The second process, the precursor of attitude change, is behavior modification. A dissonance between old prejudices and new behavior can cause the individual to reassess their negative attitudes, provoking repeated contact in various different settings, leading to an increased liking. The third process involves altering certain negative emotions such as anxiety commonly arousing from intergroup encounters and instead invoking positive emotions such as empathy, which can improve general attitudes toward the out- group. It is theorized that positive emotions are best evoked through intergroup friendships, such that it strongly reduces prejudice. The last involves processes regarding the in- group.

Optimal intergroup contact is suggested to provide the individual with an alternative viewpoint to one's own norms and customs. This is partly due to less in-group contact as a result of more out- group contact. This is reflected in the finding that in- group bias is positively related with in- group salience.

3.1. Contact and National stereotypes

Stereotypes are learned primarily through interaction with family, friends, teachers and the like; however, they are also likely to develop through interaction with the persons being stereotyped. Therefore stereotypes may occur as a result of interaction with members of one's in- group and other stereotypes as a result of interaction with the persons being stereotyped (Triandis & Vassiliou, 1967).

Familiarity, determined by extent of contact has been suggested as an important factor, which determines stereotypic content and has been studied extensively (Marin & Salazar, 1985). However, research findings often results seem to be quite contradictory. O' Driscoll, Haque, and Ohsako (1983) as well as Ray (1983) showed that informal contact in Australians alone does not translate into positive stereotypes of the out- group. It has even been suggested that geographical proximity, increased contact or both are associated with more confident, extreme, and negative stereotypes (LeVine & Campbell, 1972; McAndrew, 1990).

Marin and Salazar (1985) tested whether geographic proximity produced positive stereotyping (by promoting close contact) or negative perceptions (through shared fear and threat) of seven American countries (Brazil, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Mexico, Peru, U.S.A, and Venezuela). They found that as geographic distance increased (as measured by air distance between locations) stereotypes became more negative. Otherwise stated, geographically close groups held more negative perceptions of each other than those farther apart.

Several studies have reached the conclusion that contact, occurring in one's home country or the country of the other group, is an important mediator in the contact-stereotype relationship (Everett & Stening, 1987; Nichols & Mc Andrew, 1984). Nichols and Mc Andrews (1984) found that in comparing the stereotypes of American and Spanish students in their own countries with those of Malaysians studying in the United States and Americans studying in Spain, a consistent pattern emerged in which visitors in a country were always perceived by their hosts as polite but quite unfriendly, whereas the visitors perceived the hosts as friendly but quite impolite.

Brewer and Campbell (1976) found that respondents showed the smallest social distances for those groups that were geographically close (particularly when culturally similar). Furthermore, LeVine and Campbell (1972) stated evidence for greater liking between proximate groups in various anthropological studies (e.g. Meggitt, 1962; Middleton, 1960; Swartz, 1961).

In addition to this, McGrady and McGrady (1976) showed that American students' perceptions of the British, Italians and French changed significantly after direct interaction with members of these cultures during a "semester- at- sea." Similarly, Triandis and Vassiliou (1967) found predictable changes occurring in the stereotypes of Greeks and Americans when brought into closer contact.
As suggested above, the content of national stereotypes occurring under contact conditions is influenced by factors such as group size, status, and familiarity; however, the most researched by social psychologists is that of mere categorization.

4. Social Categorization

Social or self categorization theory (Oakes, Haslam, & Turner, 1994; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987; Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarthy, 1994) developed within the SIT perspective offers a unique understanding of intergroup discrimination and conflict. The theory asserts that the self can be defined at varying levels of abstraction, one such self is social identity, and this includes self-definitions in terms of social category membership and can be distinguished from personal identity, which includes self- descriptions in terms of personal or idiosyncratic attributes. The basic premise is that self- categorization (being part of a joint social unit) can lead to self- stereotyping and depersonalization of self-perception. It is argued that in situations where people define themselves in terms of a shared social category membership, there occurs a perceptual accentuation of intragroup similarities as well as intergroup differences (Turner et al., 1994).

It is therefore theorized that people stereotype themselves and others in terms of salient social categorizations such that an enhanced perceptual identity between self and intergroup members are created and an enhanced perceptual contrast between in- group and out- group are maintained. People come to see themselves as prototypical representations of their in group category as a result of a depersonalization of the self. Therefore as shared social identity becomes salient, individual self- perception becomes depersonalized in which there seems to be an alteration from personal to social identity; as the salience of shared social identity (or group membership) changes, there occurs a shift in the boundaries that define who is considered to be similar or considered different (Oakes et al., 1994).

Self- categorization theory predicts that the salience of social identity will cause personal identity to be inhibited (and vice versa). To support this assertion, many studies have shown that self- stereotyping which is ascribing in- group traits as defining the self, occurs as a result of salient social identity (e.g. Haslam, Oakes, Reynolds, & Mein, 1999; Haslam, Oakes, Reynolds, & Turner, 1999: Hogg & Turner, 1987). For instance, Hogg and Turner (1987) found that when a same- sex dyad debated with an opposite dyad (an intergroup context) both male and female participants applied more gender stereotypic traits to themselves than when two same- sex individuals expressed conflicting views (intragroup context).

Our sense of self or identity is therefore dependent on the categories we employ when defining the self and as a result of this change in category our relationship with others will change also, this will be reflected in the content of the stereotypes we use to define the "other" (Turner et al., 1987). It has therefore been suggested contact occurring under conditions in which the salience of social categories are reduced may help to improve intergroup relations (Turner, 1981; Brewer, & Miller, 1984). Social categorization is therefore seen to be the cause of discrimination, which has in turn led many theorists to develop methods in which the social categories are either altered or eliminated altogether and hence ameliorate negative aspects of intergroup relations (such as discrimination, stereotype usage, and bias), which are assumed to occur as a result of such categorization.

The common category model is one such social psychological approach, which aims at redrawing the category boundaries so that the out- group becomes part of a new and larger superordinate category (Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachevan, & Rust, 1993; Turner, 1981). It has been assumed that in- group and out- group members will now share a common in- group identity, allowing them to be closer and less discriminatory of the other. Recategorization should reduce bias such that the attractiveness of the once out- group member is increased as a result of

changing group boundaries to form a common in- group identity where "us" and "them" no longer exists, and instead the more inclusive "we" emerges (Gaertner et al., 1993).

Reducing stereotyping and discrimination by the usage of a higher level of inclusiveness has been demonstrated in the research of Gaertner and colleagues who have repeatedly demonstrated that decategorization, recategorization and mutual intergroup differentiation processes each can contribute to the reduction of intergroup bias and conflict (e.g. Gaertner, Mann, Murrell, & Dovidio, 1989; Gaertner, Dovidio, Banker, Houlette, Johnson, & McGlynn, 2000). The notion is not a new one, it has had a distinguished role in early social psychological studies, started by Sherif (1966)'s classic "summer camp" in which superordinate goals undermined intergroup conflict by shifting the benefits of interdependence to a more inclusive level, which breaded intergroup similarity and undermined distinction between the groups (such as Turkish/ Greek or Turkish Cypriot/ Greek Cypriot).

Vanbeselaere (1996), for instance, found that a shared superordinate attribute common in two separate groups reduced the usual occurrence of in- group favoritism as compared to a situation in which such commonality was missing.

More recently, Hopkins and Moore (2001) demonstrated that national stereotyping had implications for the perception of intertown similarity and the residents' stereotyping. It was found that the inhabitants of two towns, only 30 miles apart but situated in Scotland and England, assessed each other as more similar when the inclusive "British" identity was invoked but less similar when the more exclusive "English/ Scottish" identities were invoked. This showed that once a differentiating national boundary is made salient, individuals take on the group identity, differentiating them from the "other" by stating dissimilarity.

4.1. SIT and Stereotypes

In Tajfel (1972)' s SIT it is argued that categorization and intergroup perceptions involve an accentuation of intragroup similarities and intergroup differences. Social stereotypes therefore are often manipulated to obtain positive distinctiveness from relevant out- groups, particularly on valued comparison dimensions. As stated earlier, however, individuals may achieve this without necessarily derogating the out- group, only by enhancing in- group stereotype ratings. Therefore, there seem to be a variety of ways in which stereotyping may occur. In recent years, however, SCT (Turner, 1987) has particularly dealt with the link between context and stereotyping. Arguing that social categorization and stereotyping are inherently fluid and context- dependent, SCT studies have often manipulated contextual variables to look for the effect on self- categorization processes and stereotypic content (Oakes, Haslam & Turner, 1994; Haslam & Turner, 1995).

The SCT approach asserts that the content of stereotypes will change as a function of accentuation effects, i.e. maximizations of intergroup differences and intragroup similarities on relevant comparison dimensions. Supporting this claim, Haslam, Turner, Oakes, and McGarty (1992) found that the experimental manipulations of available out- groups for comparison and knowledge of American participation in the Gulf war both had significant effects on the stereotypes Australian students endorsed toward North Americans. In a further study, they demonstrated how the autostereotypes of Australian students differed when they were rated on their own as compared to ratings made with the ratings of Americans. This study offered evidence that questionnaire scales may be used to explore the context effects on both self- categorization and stereotyping processes (Cinnirella, 1998).

It is therefore claimed that while some aspects of stereotypes may remain stable, the content may actually be quite flexible and context- dependent (Oakes et al., 1994). This was demonstrated in a study by Wilder and Thompson (1988), who found that a group categorized as an out- group at one level of self- categorization were recategorized as an in- group contrasted against an even greater out- group, such that levels of abstraction of salient social categories can be manipulated in this fashion.

Therefore, Hogg and Abrams (1988) suggested that by manipulating the salience of social categories, various social identities will be activated, which in turn will influence attitudes and social knowledge attached to these identities, often reflected in the stereotypes used to define the out- group.

5. The Case of Cyprus

Cyprus is the third largest island in the Eastern Mediterranean with a strategic location at the crossroads of Europe, Asia and Africa. First colonized by the ancient Greeks, it was conquered by every ruling empire in the region until 1571 when the Ottoman Empire gained control, in which Turkish settlers were brought to the island to form almost 20% of the population. In 1878 Cyprus was taken under British administration in which it remained a colony until 1960 when the independent Republic of Cyprus was established. The impetus for independence was due to the Greek Cypriots aspirations for Enosis, or union with Greece. This was retaliated by the Turkish Cypriots with their desire for Taksim, partition of the island, divided between Greece and Turkey. The arrangement soon fell apart as the early 1960's saw periods of serious communal violence in which the Turkish Cypriot community withdrawing from the Republic's government gathered in ethnic enclaves. In 1974, a Greek- inspired coup against president Makarios, in a

last attempt at Enosis eventually led to interethnic war. Turkey as a guarantor power by the 1960 agreements sent troops to intervene, which has now become known as an invasion by Greek Cypriots and a peace operation by Turkish Cypriots. The result was a cease- fire line that left Turkish Cypriots in the northern one- third of the island and Greek Cypriots in the South.

Today a UN mediation effort continues with UN soldiers remaining on the 'Green Line', which separates the two ethnicities. In 1983 the Turkish Cypriots declared independence as the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, recognized by Turkey alone. The international community recognizes the Republic of Cyprus, in the south, in the hands of the Greek Cypriots as the de facto government. Despite many attempts to establish an agreement between the two sides nothing has prevailed and the Greek side joined the European Union in 2004 as representatives of the whole island. In April 2003 the Turkish Cypriot administration announced a new policy of opening up the borders, giving the communities the opportunity to visit the 'other' side. The conflict prevalent on this small island has created interest from many disciplines in the hope that interventions will somehow end what has now become well- known as the 'Cyprus Problem'.

CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

The focus of this chapter was to present analyses of national stereotypes characterizing the group perception of Turkish Cypriots by uncovering the content of autostereotypes of Turkish Cypriots as well as their heterostereotypes of Greek Cypriots. The second aim was to discover the amount of convergence of Turkish Cypriots' auto- and heterostereotypes. The question of stereotypic content is of great importance as contents determine the nature of intergroup relations, such that traits, intentions, abilities and characteristics likened to the out- group may influence behavior toward this group (Bar- Tal, 1997). Furthermore, stereotypic content is not universal, individuals are not born with specific contents (Aboud, 1988), but the content is filled through socialization, which goes to show how the content can be culturally and individually bound and determined.

In addition to this, I intended to discover whether Turkish Cypriots had a common representation of Greek Cypriots and to see the extent to which they attribute the same traits when evaluating themselves as when evaluating the "other". It was particularly important to determine the evaluative component of stereotypic content (a positive- negative dimension) as it provides one of the most important implications for intergroup relations in that it reflects attitudes toward the out-group and is a determinant of behavior (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980).

After determining the national stereotypic content and the factor structure of the auto- and heterostereotypes as stated above, further analyses were conducted in order to assess the following hypotheses by entering the national stereotypes in each analysis, now established as in- and out-group attitudes.

Firstly, the aim was to see whether Turkish Cypriots, who have had to struggle with a conflictual past, non- recognition from the international arena, and political stalemate demonstrate in- group bias and actually derive positive esteem from their group membership. Secondly, if in- group bias does in fact prevail, will it manifest itself as in- group favoritism or out- group derogation toward Greek Cypriots? Thirdly, it was to observe the role of in- group identification in the occurrence of in-group bias and its role in determining the national stereotypes Turkish Cypriots endorse when defining Greek Cypriots. Two conflicting theories exist in the literature regarding the effects of in- group identification on out- group attitudes. While social identity theory asserts that high group identification will lead to more negative attitudes directed to the out- group, developmental and multicultural theories claim that high identification and a more secure sense of self will manifest itself as more positive out- group attitudes. Lastly, although it is clear that increased contact with a cultural group alters stereotypes about the group, it is not clear in which direction this is likely to be, hence the effect of contact between groups is much more complex and difficult to predict. It is for this reason that the fourth aim of this research was to assess the effects of contact between Turkish and Greek Cypriots on the national stereotypes Turkish Cypriots endorse. In support of the Contact hypothesis, it was expected that high levels of exposure, measured by the extent to which Turkish Cypriots had Greek Cypriot friends, acquaintances, and the presence of family members of equal affiliation, as well as a higher percentage of crossing the South side, would be associated with lower levels of negative stereotypes as well as a greater practice of positive stereotypes toward Greek Cypriots.

After examining the determinants contributing to intergroup relations and the affects of the above factors, I attempted to conclude by introducing a model, which predicted the out- group attitudes of Turkish Cypriots toward Greek Cypriots.

31

2. Method

2.1. Participants

As seen in Table 2.1, the research participants were 150 Turkish Cypriots (79 women and 71 men) all residing in North Cyprus. Out of these participants 90.7% were of Turkish Cypriot nationality alone, 9.3% were of various other nationalities in addition to their Turkish Cypriot nationality. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 60 (M= 29.4, SD = 1.96). The majority of participants (72.7%) were of higher education, 16.7% high school, 2.7% secondary school and 7.3% primary school graduates. In terms of participants' occupation, 52.7% were civil servants, 36% were students, and 11.3% were self- employed. Eighty four percent of the participants were Muslims whereas 16% stated having no religious affiliation. Participants were more so of left- wing political view (51.3%), in comparison to only 10.6% of right wing, the remaining 35.3% stated no political affiliation.

Table 2.1. Characteristics of the sample

Demographic Variables	Mean/ Frequency	Percentages
Gender		
Female	79	52.7%
Male	71	47.3%
Age (Years)	29.3960	
Nationality		
Turkish Cypriot (TC)	136	90.7%
TC and Turkish	8	5.3%
TC and British	4	2.7%
TC and other	2	1.3%
Place of Birth		
Cyprus	130	86.7%
Turkey	4	8.7%
United Kingdom	13	2.7%
Other	3	2.0%
Education		
Primary School	11	7.3%
Secondary School	4	2.7%
High School	25	16.7%
University	99	66%
Postgraduate	10	6.7%
Occupation		
Student	54	36%
Civil Servant	79	52.7%
Self- employed	17	11.3%
Religion		
Muslim	126	84%
NOS	24	16%
Political View		
Radical Left	9	6%
Left	38	25.3%
Close to Left	30	20%
Neutral	53	35.3%
Close to Right	5	3.3%
Right	0	0
Radical Right	11	7.3%

2.2. Measures

The battery consisted of four different questionnaires. Using back translation techniques, all scales were independently translated into Turkish by two bilingual graduate students and later re- translated to English in which necessary revisions were made.

2.2.1 Social Identity Scale

Definitions and measurements of national and ethnic identity are still controversial issues, therefore a more comprehensive term that of in- group identification was used to assess the collective, group identity of the Turkish Cypriots, by a means of the Social Identity Scale. The scale consists of seven bipolar, fixed- response items derived from social identity theory, used in previous studies to test British, European and Italian identities by Cinnirella, M. (1998). The items tap perceived importance of social identity, socio- emotional implications, measures of similarity between self and in- group members as well as measures of interdependence to in-group members. Higher scores indicate stronger social identity.

In order to be certain that these items were indicators of one in- group identity measure, an exploratory factor analysis was computed on the seven items. A Varimax Principal Axis Factoring (PAF) was performed which yielded a single factor with an eigenvalue of 3.632, accounting for 44.033 % of the variance. Reliability analysis was also conducted in which Cronbach's alpha and found to be .845. The results can be seen in Table 2.2.1.

Table 2.2.1. Results of the exploratory factor analysis of the in- group identity

Items*	Factor	Communality	r	α
5. Pleasure	.747	.558	.677	.807
7. Importance	.714	.510	.647	.813
6. Similarity	.687	.472	.619	.817
8. Sharing of views	.665	.443	.608	.819
4. Ties	.611	.374	.543	.828
9. Criticism	.607	.368	.556	.828
2. Feelings of TC scale	.598	.358	.551	.827

Note: r = corrected item- total correlations; α= α if item deleted
[*]Original descriptions of the items to be found in Appendix A

In addition to this, two items phrased "To what extent do you see yourself as Cypriot?" and "To what extent do you see yourself as Turkish?" were also added to the scales to tap differing identities that Turkish Cypriots may endorse. Higher scores indicated higher endorsement of that identity type.

2.2.2. National Stereotypes

In two separate scales respondents were asked to read through a list of 70 adjectives and rate the extent to which they believed each adjective was characteristic of both Turkish Cypriots (autostereotypes) and Greek Cypriots (heterostereotypes).

2.2.2.1. Autostereotype of the Turkish Cypriots

An exploratory factor analysis was conducted on the 70 stereotypes to investigate the possibility of latent variables. While running the analysis items with factor loadings less than .30 as well as those items with double loadings were eliminated from the study in order to achieve a higher internal consistency as well as a more reliable factor structure.

A total of 41 items were factor analyzed using PAF with varimax rotation, six factors accounted 48.096% of the total variance. However when the 41 items were forced to 6 factors, the sixth subfactor consisted of only three items, therefore a five factor solution was assessed. Forcing five factors accounted for 45.812% of the variance yet once again the last subfactor had only two items preventing a five factor solution. After consulting the scree plot a four- factor solution was assessed.

The four- factor structure was found to be highly suitable in which two subfactors have 12 items each, one subfactor 10 items and the final 5 items. KMO and Bartlett's test revealed the Kaiser- Meyer- Olkin Measure of sampling adequacy as .84 indicating satisfactory factorability of R assumption.

Four factors accounted for 51.35% of the total variance. Individual factors one, two, three and four accounted for 19.78%, 13.88%, 8.96%, 8.74% of the total variance, respectively. Factor loadings were sufficiently high, ranging from .88 to .37. It was concluded that the four- factor structure taps the following four latent variables in (auto) stereotypes of Turkish Cypriots: Positivity, Competency- based, Negativity, and Religiosity/ Conservatism.

Reliability analyses were run for the four sub factors of (auto) stereotypes of Turkish Cypriots. Cronbach's alpha for each of the Positivity, Competency- based, Negativity, and Religiosity/ Conservatism subscales were found to be .93, .89, .75, and .83, respectively. The results of this analysis are presented in table 2.2.2.1.

Table 2.2.2.1. Autostereotypes of Turkish Cypriots: PAF (Varimax)

Trait	Loading	Communality	r	α
Factor 1: Positivity (accounts for 29.651% of variance)				
65. Compassionate	.877	.810	.843	.916
66. Affectionate	.864	.801	.849	.916
62. Sympathetic	.859	.755	.775	.919
61. Warm	.817	.670	.712	.921
67. Gentle	.756	.671	.759	.919
37. Generous	.719	.617	.708	.921
36. Kind	.694	.606	.675	.922
22. Friendly	.627	.459	.551	.927
64. Soothes hurt feelings	.587	.416	.596	.926
56. Tender	.566	.568	.679	.922
17. Honest	.560	.526	.572	.927
70. Takes into account other peoples feelings	.533	.584	.661	.923
Factor 2: Competency- based (accounts for 9.207% of variance)				
52. Dominant	.706	.626	.875	.875
57. Self- sufficient	.694	.565	.677	.869
58. Strong Personality	.672	.539	.561	.825
55. Independent	.668	.521	.626	.872
15. Efficient	.646	.537	.616	.873
53. Leader abilities	.622	.445	.579	.876
19. Industrious	.589	.514	.652	.871
1. Intelligent	.473	.460	.584	.875
9. Gregarious	.418	.378	.549	.877
23. Educated	.383	.339	.515	.879
6. Progressive	.372	.391	.517	.879
41. Imaginative	.325	.260	.476	.881
Factor 3: Negativity (accounts for 7.846% of variance)				
18. Quarrelsome	.702	.509	.712	.508
2. Conceited	.598	.388	.726	.422
11. Boastful	.595	.363	.727	418
60. Aggressive	.595	.366	.719	.472
26. Hostile	.566	.434	.728	.408
14. Stubborn	.537	.402	.724	.435
35. Greedy	.513	.365	.733	.379
32. Impulsive	.509	.315	.743	.289
3. Quick- tempered	.444	.239	.735	.357
44. Prejudiced	.432	.355	.789	.390
Factor 4: Religiosity/ Conservatism (accounts for 4.650% of variance)				
46. Prays	.831	.778	.774	.691
45. Religious	.820	.711	.759	.747
49. Reads religious book	.784	.713	.769	.712
50. Follows religious rules	.683	.624	.786	.653
27. Conservative	.456	.410	.865	.344

Note: r = corrected item- total correlations; α= α if item deleted

2.2.2.2. Heterostereotypes toward Greek Cypriots

An exploratory factor analysis was conducted on the 70 stereotypes to investigate the possibility of latent variables. While running the analysis items with factor loadings less than .30 as well as those items with double loadings were eliminated from the study in order to achieve a higher internal consistency as well as a more reliable factor structure.

A total of 40 items were factor analyzed using PAF with varimax rotation, six factors accounted 45.152 % of the total variance. However when the 41 items were forced to 6 factors, the sixth subfactor consisted of only three items, therefore a five factor solution was assessed. Forcing five factors accounted for 42.608% of the variance yet once again the last subfactor had only two items preventing a five factor solution. After consulting the scree plot, a four- factor solution was assessed.

The four- factor structure was found to be highly suitable in which two subfactors have 12 items each, one subfactor 10 items and the final 5 items. KMO and Bartlett's test revealed the Kaiser- Meyer- Olkin Measure of sampling adequacy as .748 indicating satisfactory factorability of R assumption.

Four factors accounted for 46.004% of the total variance. Individual factors one, two, three and four accounted for 14.874%, 12.345%, 9.954%, 8.831% of the total variance, respectively. Factor loadings were sufficiently high, ranging from .789 to .356. The four- factor structure taps the same factor- structure used to define Greek Cypriots, those being: Positivity, Competency- based, Negativity and Religiosity/ Conservatism. Cronbach's alpha for each of the Positivity, Competency- based, Negativity, and Religiosity/ Conservatism subscales as .88, .84, .81, and .76, respectively. The results of this analysis are presented in table 2.2.2.2.

Table 2.2.2.2 Heterostereotypes of Greek Cypriots: PAF (Varimax)

Trait	Loading	Communality	r	α
Factor 1: Positivity (accounts for 14.874% of variance)				
66. Affectionate	.789	.667	.737	.859
65. Compassionate	.772	.669	.720	.860
61. Warm	.690	.431	.634	.865
62. Sympathetic	.680	.474	.590	.868
22. Friendly	.661	.523	.644	.865
70. Takes into account other peoples feelings	.659	.507	.615	.866
67. Gentle	.639	.465	.616	.866
36. Kind	.583	.474	.603	.868
17. Honest	.576	.438	.534	.871
64. Soothes hurt feelings	.521	.437	.338	.884
37. Generous	.437	.428	.442	.877
56. Tender	.356	.352	.421	.877
Factor 2: Competency- based (accounts for 12.345% of variance)				
15. Efficient	.778	.665	.685	.815
9. Gregarious	.757	.614	.645	.819
6. Progressive	.727	.592	.561	.825
41. Imaginative	.641	.449	.543	.827
58. Strong Personality	.608	.506	.567	.825
19. Industrious	.591	.454	.533	.827
57. Self- sufficient	.534	.387	.452	.833
1. Intelligent	.530	.532	.438	.834
55. Independent	.525	.333	.449	.834
23. Educated	.510	.386	.377	.838
53. Leader abilities	.394	.254	.392	.839
52. Dominant	.369	.472	.435	.834
Factor 3: Negativity (accounts for 9.954% of variance)				
32. Impulsive	.574	.420	.403	.802
14. Stubborn	.562	.468	.576	.784
35. Greedy	.559	.406	.482	.794
26. Hostile	.550	.416	.521	.789
2. Conceited	.516	.385	.544	.786
60. Aggressive	.506	.431	.535	.788
44. Prejudiced	.488	.364	.509	.791
18. Quarrelsome	.485	.356	.491	.793
3. Quick- tempered	.475	.421	.289	812
11. Boastful	.450	.404	.528	.789
Factor 4: Religiosity/ Conservatism (accounts for 8.831% of variance)				
50. Follows religious rules	.761	.614	.617	.679
49. Reads religious book	.652	.497	.513	.720
45. Religious	.635	.503	.585	.694
46. Prays	.634	.517	.599	.689
27. Conservative	339	.322	.327	.779

Note: r = corrected item- total correlations; α= α if item deleted

Two items ("extremely nationalistic" and "fasts") were dropped from the factor structure because they did not load under the same factors in Turkish and Greek Cypriots. While extremely nationalistic was loaded under Religiosity/ Conservatism for Turkish Cypriots, the same item was considered to be an item of the Negativity scale while defining Greek Cypriots. The "fasts" stereotype however fell under the religiosity scale for Turkish Cypriots yet did not load under any of the factors for Greek Cypriots.

2.2.3. Contact and Exposure Scale

As a latent variable, contact was constructed by 5 items written by the researcher in addition to an open ended question where participants were asked to write as many as five villages on the Greek side. An exploratory factor analysis was conducted to test the factor structure of the five items. A Varimax Principal Axis Factoring (PAF) was performed which yielded a single factor with an eigenvalue of 2.631, accounting for 42.16 % of the variance. Reliability analysis was also conducted in which Cronbach's alpha was found to be .77. The results can be seen in Table 2.2.3.

Table 2.2.3. Results of the exploratory factor analysis of the exposure scale

Items[*]	Factor	Communality	r	α
2. Acquaintance	.854	.729	.704	.860
3. Friends	.651	.424	.564	.939
1. Meeting	.621	.386	.533	.804
5. Family	.612	.374	.545	.835
4. Crossing over	.440	.194	.398	.800

Note: r = corrected item- total correlations; α= α if item deleted

[*]Original descriptions of the items to be found in Appendix D

2.3. Statistical Analyses

Prior to analysis, the variables were examined through various SPSS programs for accuracy of data entry, missing values, and fit between distributions and the assumptions of multivariate analysis, including normality, linearity, homogeneity of variance and regression. The original sample of 150 participants was entered into the analysis. Pearson's bivariate correlational analysis, Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA) and multiple regression analyses were conducted respectively. Finally structural equation modeling (SEM) was run in order to depict a model of negative out- group attitudes.

SEM was conducted using the EQS program and maximum likelihood estimation procedures. In addition to these, LM and Wald tests, post hoc model fitting tools (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2000) were used. To determine whether the model tested should be accepted or rejected multiple goodness of fit tests were used. Although controversy remains as to which fit indexes to report, the following most commonly used were chosen: chi- square (χ^2), Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA), comparative fit index (CFI), and the goodness of the fit index (GFI). According to Tabachnick and Fidell (2000), a value less than two for the ratio of χ^2 to the degrees of freedom can be taken as an indication of a well-fitting model. Adequate fit ıs suggested with a RMSEA less than or equal to .08, more recently as equal to or less than 0.06 (Garson, 2001). As for CFI and GFI, these values should be equal to or greater than 0.90 indicating good fit (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2000; Garson, 2001).

As SEM relies on tests which are sensitive to sample size sample sizes of 200- 400 for models with 10 -15 indicators are commonly advised (Garson, 2001). Since this study had a sample size of 150, parameter estimates would have been unstable and

lacking power, hence only a pathway analysis was conducted, further confirmatory analyses were not run.

3. Results

3.1. National Stereotypes (dependent variable)

A paired samples t- test was employed to assess the mean differences in terms of the dependent variable stereotypes Turkish Cypriot participants used when evaluating both themselves (autostereotypes) and Greek Cypriots. As can be seen in Table 3.1, the findings indicated that, in general, Turkish Cypriots endorsed more positive stereotypes when evaluating their fellow Turkish Cypriots (M = 4.62, SD = .76), than when evaluating their Greek Cypriot counterparts (M = 2.83, SD = .73) such that t (149) = -13.558, $p < .001$.

Although Turkish Cypriots tended to see Greek Cypriots as possessing more competency- based traits (M = 3.50, SD = .66) than Turkish Cypriots (M = 3.43, SD = .72), this difference was not significant.

In terms of negative traits, Turkish Cypriot participants tended to assess Greek Cypriots using more negative stereotypes (M = 3.594, SD = .668) than when they evaluated themselves (M = 3.128, SD = .633), t (149) = 11.685, $p < .001$. Lastly, Turkish Cypriots viewed Greek Cypriots as more religious and conservative (M = 3.848, SD = .907) than they viewed fellow Turkish Cypriots (M = 2.613, SD = .96133), where t (149) = 7.083, $p < .001$.

Table 3.1. Results of paired samples t- test analysis

	Greek Cypriot		Turkish Cypriot		Difference				
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	t-score	df	Sig
P	2.830	.733	4.618	.755	-1.188	1.073	-13.558	149	.000*
C	3.501	.659	3.426	.723	.076	.888	1.043	149	.299
N	3.594	.675	3.128	.633	1.235	1.291	11.685	149	.000*
R	3.848	.907	2.613	.962	.467	.807	7.083	149	.000*

Note: P: Positivity; C: Competency- based; N: Negativity; R: Religiosity; $*p < .00$

3.1.1. Differential scale endorsement

In order to determine whether there were significant differences between the endorsements of each scale within the nations, separate paired t- tests were conducted. As can be seen in Figure 3.1, Greek Cypriots received the highest scores from the religiosity scale, hence seen as more religious than positive (paired t (149) = 10.312, p <.000) and competent (paired t (149) = 4.424, p <.00). Greek Cypriots received the lowest scores on the positivity scale, therefore seen as more competent (paired t (149) = 9.864, p <.000), and more negative (paired t (149) = 7.728, p <.000) than positive. They were also considered as more negative than religious (paired t (149) = 3.434, p <.01). As for Turkish Cypriots, there was an obvious ranking of the scales such that the positivity scale received the highest scores, followed by competency- based, negativity and least scores on the religiosity/ conservatism scale. Significant differences were observed between the positivity and competency- based scales (paired t (149) = 12.998, p <.000), religiosity/ conservatism (paired t (149) = 17.048, p <.00), and negativity scales (paired t (149) = 10.8867, p <.000). Competency- based scores, were significantly higher than religiosity/ conservatism scores (paired t (149) = 10.984, p <.000) and negativity scores (paired t (149) = 3.653, p <.00). Finally religiosity/ conservatism scores were significantly different from negativity scores (paired t (149) = -5.798, p <.000).
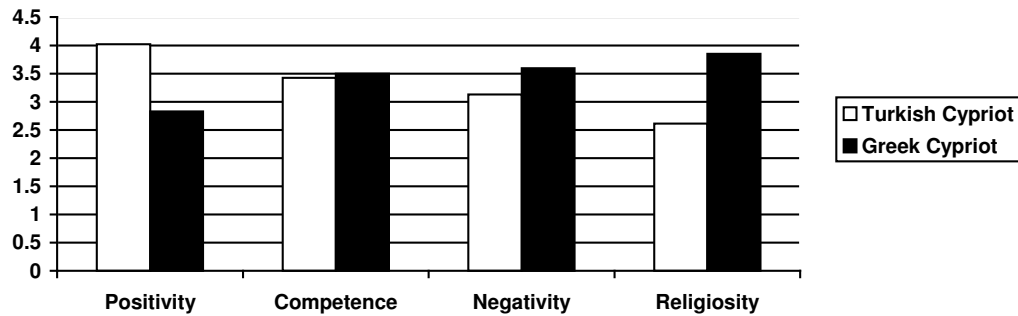
Figure 3.1.1 Differential scale endorsement of Turkish Cypriots

3.2 Intercorrelations between types of national stereotypes (dependent variables)
and study variables

Pearson's two- tailed correlation analyses were conducted on the group of
dependent variables and demographics variables, identity types, exposure,
collectivism and the national stereotype dependent variables. Results yielded a
significant positive correlation between positive stereotypes and competency- based
scores (r = .28, *p* < .001), and a negative relationship with negativity stereotypes (r
= -.50, *p* < .001) towards Greek Cypriots. Competency- based scores of Greek
Cypriots were found to be positively correlated with religiosity/ conservatism
stereotypes towards Greek Cypriots (r = .28, *p* < .001), positive stereotypes toward
Turkish Cypriots (r = .26, *p* < .001), competency- based scores of Turkish Cypriots
(r = .18, *p* < .05) and negativity scores of Turkish Cypriots (r = .20, *p* < .05).
Negative stereotypes held toward Greek Cypriots were found to be correlated with
religiosity/ conservatism scores towards Greek Cypriots (r = .38, *p* < .001), as for
stereotypes toward Turkish Cypriots, it was found to be correlated with positive (r =
.30, *p* <.001). Religiosity stereotypes towards Greek Cypriots were correlated
significantly with both positive (r = .21, *p* < 05) and negativity stereotypes (r = .24,

p < .001) toward Turkish Cypriots. Positivity scores regarding Turkish Cypriots were highly correlated to competency- based scores and religiosity/ conservatism stereotypes of fellow Turkish Cypriots (r = .72, *p* < .001 and r = .33, *p* < .001, respectively). Finally, competency- based and religiosity/ conservatism stereotypes of Turkish Cypriots were found to be significantly correlated (r = .45, *p* < .001). For the correlations between the study variables also, see table 3.2.2.

Table 3.2.2. Pearson Correlations Between Turkish Cypriot, Cypriot, Turkish identity, Exposure, Naming villages, and National Stereotypes (Positivity, Competency, Negativity, and Religiosity/ Conservatism) (N= 150)

	TC	C	T	Exp	Name	PG	CG	NG	RG	PTC	CTC	NTC	RTC
TC	-												
C	.38*	-											
T	.31*	.13	-										
Exp	.03	.16*	-.19*	-									
Name	.18*	-.16*	.05	.37*	-								
PG	-.01	.04	-.21**	.12	.12	-							
CG	.12	.08	-.01	-.02	.05	.28**	-						
NG	.05	.01	.19*	-.07	-.03	-.50**	.14	-					
RG	.00	-.14	.11	-.07	-.01	-.09	.28**	.38**	-				
PTC	.43**	.06	.20*	-.02	.14	-.05	.26**	.30**	.21*	-			
CTC	.38**	.08	.18*	-.02	.16*	.04	.18*	.15	-.01	.72**	-		
NTC	.02	.02	.05	.13	-.01	-.02	.20*	.24**	.24*	-.04	-.08	-	
RTC	.26**	.08	.35*	-.11	-.11	.01	.08	.09	.04	.33**	.45**	.12	-

Note: *Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2- tailed), ** correlation is significant at the .001 level (2- tailed).
TC: Turkish Cypriot, C: Cypriot, T: Turkish identity, G: Greek Cypriot; Exp: Exposure; Name: Naming villages; P: Positivity, C: Competency, N: Negativity, R: Religiosity/ Conservatism.

3.3 Analyses of Covariance

3.3.1. The main and interaction effects of In- group identification, Gender and Age on the Four types of National Stereotypes (Positivity, Competency- based, Negativity, Religiosity/ Conservatism)

In order to examine the main and interaction effects of in- group identification, and gender on national stereotypes by holding age constant, firstly in- group identification was categorized into three groups: low identification (M = 5.71), medium identification (M = 6.57) and high identification (M = 7.00). Then a 3 (low vs. medium vs. high in- group identification) x 2 (gender as female vs. male) ANCOVA with age as a covariate was performed for each 8 types of national stereotype variables.

3.3.1.1. Heterostereostypes toward Greek Cypriots

The findings revealed that participants' gender had a significant main effect on competency- based stereotypes held toward Greek Cypriots, F (1, 143) = 5.497, p < .02. Female participants (M = 3.60, SD = .073) scored higher in their evaluations of Greek Cypriots than did males (M = 3.35, SD = .075). A significant main effect was also found in terms of identification F (1, 143) = 4.428, p < .02. In order to determine which of the levels of identification were significantly different from one another Bonferroni's Pairwise Comparison Test was administered. It was found that low levels of identification (M = 3.29, SD = .093) significantly differed from medium levels (M = 3.67, SD = .087), such that individuals endorsing medium levels of identification used competency- based type stereotypes more than those with lower levels of identification.

Table 3.3.1.1. ANCOVA results for the main and interaction effects of gender and in- group identification on competency- based stereotypes toward Greek Cypriots

Variables	Df	MS	F	Partial eta	Obs. power
Age	1	.515	1.304	.009	.206
Gender[a]	1	2.170	5.497*	.037	.644
ID [b]	2	1.748	4.428*	.058	.754
Gender x ID	2	.616	1.560	.021	.327
Error	142	.395			
Total	149				

Note: [a] Gender: 1= Female, 2= Male. [b] In- group identification: 1= Low 2= Medium 3= High in- group identification. *$p < .02$.

3.3.1.2. Autostereotypes of Turkish Cypriots

Participants' gender was found to have a significant main effect on positivity stereotypes held toward Turkish Cypriots, $F (1, 143) = 11.825, p < .001$. Female participants (M = 4.19, SD = .076) scored higher than did males (M = 3.81, SD = .079). A significant main effect was also found in terms of identification $F (1, 143) = 19.138, p < .000$. Bonferroni's Pairwise Comparison test suggested that individuals with high levels of identification (M = 4.34, SD = .099) used significantly more positive stereotypic content of heterostereotypes, than both medium (M = 4.14, SD = .091) and low levels of identifiers (M = 3.51, SD = .097).

Table 3.3.1.2.a. ANCOVA results for the main and interaction effects of gender and in- group identification on positivity stereotypes toward Turkish Cypriots

Variables	Df	MS	F	Partial eta	Obs. power
Age	1	1.468	3.366	.023	.445
Gender[a]	1	5.156	11.825*	.076	.927
ID[b]	2	8.345	19.138*	.211	1.00
Gender x ID	2	.357	.819	.011	.188
Error	143	.436			
Total	149				

Note: [a] Gender: 1= Female, 2= Male. [b] In- group identification: 1= Low 2= Medium 3= High in- group identification. *$p < .00$.

In- group identification was found to have a significant main effect on competency-based stereotypes of Turkish Cypriots, $F(1, 143) = 13.260$, $p < .00$. Bonferroni's Pairwise Comparison Test revealed that there was a significant difference between high identification (M = 3.75, SD = .10) and medium identification (M = 3.49, SD = .093) as well as low levels of identification (M = 3.03, SD = .099).

Table 3.3.1.2.b. ANCOVA results for the main and interaction effects of gender and in- group identification on competency- based stereotypes toward Turkish Cypriots

Variables	Df	MS	F	Partial eta	Obs. power
Age	1	.008	.018	.000	.052
Gender[a]	1	1.061	2.368	.016	.333
ID [b]	2	5.943	13.260*	.156	.997
Gender x ID	2	.312	.696	.010	.166
Error	143	.448			
Total	149				

Note: [a] Gender: 1= Female, 2= Male. [b] In- group identification: 1= Low 2= Medium 3= High in- group identification. *$p < .00$.

Results revealed that participants age was a significant confounding variable in terms of negativity stereotypes, $F(1, 143) = 6.134$, $p < .020$. After adjusting for the confounding effects of age, it was found that gender had a significant main effect on negativity stereotypes, $F(1, 143) = 5.168$, $p < .05$. Male participants (M = 3.24, SD = .073) scored higher than females (M = 3.01, SD = .071).

Table 3.3.1.2.c. ANCOVA results for the main and interaction effects of gender and in- group identification on negativity stereotypes toward Turkish Cypriots

Variables	Df	MS	F	Partial eta	Obs. power
Age	1	2.291	6.134*	.041	.692
Gender[a]	1	1.930	5.168*	.035	.617
ID [b]	2	.253	.678	.009	.162
Gender x ID	2	.591	1.936	.027	.396
Error	142	.373			
Total	149				

Note: [a] Gender: 1= Female, 2= Male. [b] In- group identification: 1= Low 2= Medium 3= High in- group identification. *$p < .05$.

In- group identification was found to have a significant main effect on religiosity/ conservatism stereotypes of Turkish Cypriots, F (1, 143) = 6.389, p < .01. Post hoc analyses suggested the significant difference in levels of in- group identification were between low levels of identification (M = 2.36, SD = .135) and high identification (M = 3.02, SD = .137) as well as between medium identification (M = 2.52, SD = .127) and high levels of identification.

Table 3.3.1.2.d. ANCOVA results for the main and interaction effects of gender and in- group identification on religiosity stereotypes toward Turkish Cypriots

Variables	df	MS	F	Partial eta	Obs. power
Age	1	2.0	2.383	.016	.335
Gender[a]	1	1.312	1.563	.011	.237
ID[b]	2	5.362	6.389*	.082	.897
Gender x ID	2	.979	.714	.014	.218
Error	142	.822			
Total	149				

Note: [a] Gender: 1= Female, 2= Male. [b] In- group identification: 1= Low 2= Medium 3= High in- group identification. *p < .01.

3.3.2. The main and interaction effects of Exposure, In- group identification, Gender and Age on the four types of National Stereotypes (Positivity, Competency-based, Negativity, Religiosity/ Conservatism)

In order to examine the main and interaction effects of exposure, and gender on national stereotypes by holding age constant, exposure was initially categorized into two group: Low exposure and High exposure by using median split (Median= 2.20); such that those lower the median cut- off were considered to be the low exposed group and those above the cut- off the highly exposed group. In- group identification was also categorized into three groups: low in- group identification (M = 5.71), medium in- group identification (M = 6.57) and high in- group identification (M = 7.0). Then a 2 (low vs. high exposure) x 3 (low vs. medium vs. high in- group identification) x 2 (gender as female vs. male) ANCOVA with age as

a covariate was performed for the 4 types of national stereotype variables for heterosterotypes toward Greek Cypriots alone.

3.3.2.1. Heterostereotypes toward Greek Cypriots

The findings demonstrated that participants' level of exposure to Greek Cypriots had a significant main effect on positivity stereotypes held toward Greek Cypriots, F (1,136) = 6.792, p < .01. Higher levels of exposure in participants (M = 3.01, SD = .089) were reflected in a greater usage of positivity stereotypes toward Greek Cypriots in comparison to lower levels of exposure (M = 2.68, SD = .083).

Table 3.3.2.1.a. Analysis of covariance results for the main and interaction effects of exposure, in- group identification, age and gender on positive stereotypes toward Greek Cypriots

Variables	df	MS	F	Partial eta	Obs. power
Age	1	.645	1.319	.010	.207
Gender[a]	1	.303	.621	.005	.123
ID[b]	2	.671	1.373	.020	.291
Exposure[c]	1	3.321	6.792	.048	.735*
ID *Expo	2	1.3	2.658	.038	.520
ID *Sex	2	1.358	2.779	.039	.540
Expo*Sex	1	.141	.288	.002	.083
ID*Expo*Sex	2	.002	.004	.000	.051
Error	136	.489			
Total	149				

Note: [a] Gender: 1= Female, 2= Male; [b] In- group identification: 1= Low 2= Medium 3= High in- group identification; [c] Exposure: 1= Low, 2= High *p < .01.

Consistent with previous findings, gender was found to have a significant main effect on competency- based stereotypes held toward Greek Cypriots. Participants' gender was significant at F (1,144) = 2.434, p < .02, such that female participants (M = 3.61, SD = .08) scored higher in their evaluations of Greek Cypriots than did males (M = 3.34, SD = .08). Once again a significant main effect was also found in terms of in- group identification F (2, 136) = 4.188, p < .02. In order to determine

which of the levels of identity were significantly different from one another
Bonferroni's Pairwise Comparison Test was administered. It was found that low
levels of in- group identification (M = 3.29, SD = .01) significantly differed from
medium levels of identity (M = 3.67, SD = .09), such that individuals endorsing
medium levels of identity used competency- based stereotypes more than those with
lower levels of in- group identification.

Table 3.3.2.1.b. Analysis of covariance results for the main and interaction effects
of exposure, in- group identification, age and gender on competency- based
stereotypes toward Greek Cypriots

Variables	df	MS	F	Partial eta	Obs. Power
Age	1	.345	.862	.006	.152
Gender [a]	1	2.324	5.815	.041	.668*
ID[b]	2	1.445	3.614	.051	.660*
Exposure[c]	1	.072	.180	.001	.071
ID *Expo	2	.407	1.017	.015	.225
ID *Sex	2	.361	.903	.007	.157
Expo*Sex	1	.851	2.130	.031	.431
ID*Expo*Sex	2	.09125	.228	.003	.085
Error	135	.400			
Total	148				

Note: [a] Gender: 1= Female, 2= Male; [b] In- group identification: 1= Low 2=
Medium 3= High in- group identification; [c] Exposure: 1= Low, 2= High, *$p < .02$.

3.4. Regression Analyses

*3.4.1. The predictive power of demographic variables and identity types (Turkish
Cypriot, Cypriot, and Turkish) in predicting in- group attitudes*

In a two- step hierarchical regression analysis the unique contribution of the
demographic variables and in- group identification types on the four types of in-
group attitudes (positivity, competency- based, negativity and religiosity/
conservatism) were investigated. Age and political affiliation were entered in step

one, followed by the three types of identities (Turkish Cypriot, Cypriot, and Turkish) variables in Step two. Gender was not entered into the regression equation since it is not a continuous variable. Participants' endorsement of different types of in- group attitudes according to type of identity was assessed after the influence of demographic variables were statistically removed.

In terms of Turkish Cypriots' positive in- group attitudes, it was found that R was not significantly different from zero at the end of Step 1, this indicates that age and political affiliation did not play a significant role in predicting the positive in- group attitudes Turkish Cypriots possess to fellow Turkish Cypriots. However, in Step 2, the addition of types of identity contributed to R^2, $F (3, 139) = 12.126$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .22$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .193$, SD = .69). Out of the identity types, Turkish Cypriotness alone contributed to positive in- group attitudes, $\beta = .493$, t = 5.619, $p < .001$ (see table 3.4.1.a.).

Table 3.4.1.a. Summary of the Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Participants' Positive In- group Attitudes

	Model 1				Model 2			
Variables	B (SE)	B	T	p	B (SE)	β	t	p
Age	.01 (.01)	.033	.033	N.S.	.01 (.01)	.080	1.045	N.S.
Politics	.08 (.05)	. 131	1. 562	N.S.	- .01 (.05)	-.003	-.040	N.S.
Turkish Cypriot					- .11 (.05)	-.156	-1.897	N.S.
Turkish Cypriot					.02 (.03)	.058	.728	N.S.
					.33 (.06)	.493	5.619	.00
R		.131				.470		
R^2		.017				.221		
Adj. R^2		.003				.193		
R^2 Change		.017				.204		
F Change in R^2		1.232				12.126*		
Sig. F Chance		N.S.				.000		

It was found that entering demographic variables into the regression equation in order to predict competency- based in- group attitudes of Turkish Cypriots did not significantly contribute to R^2, however identity types entered in Step 2 significantly improved in- group attitudes, F (3, 139) = 7.246, $p < .001$, R^2= .165 (Adjusted R^2= .135). Once again out of the identity types, Turkish Cypriot identity significantly predicted competency- based attitudes, β = .384, t = 4.221, $p < .001$ (see table 3.4.1.b.).

Table 3.4.1.b. Summary of the Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Participants' Competency- based In- group attitudes

	Model 1				Model 2			
Variables	B (SE)	B	T	P	B (SE)	β	t	P
Age	-. 01 (.01)	-. 20	-2.418	.05	- .01 (.01)	-.210	-2.504	.05
Politics	-.06 (.04)	-.126	-1.526	N.S.	-.07 (.04)	-.145	-1.646	N.S.
T. Cypriot					-.02 (.05)	-.041	-.425	N.S.
Turkish					.03 (.03)	.107	1.218	N.S.
Cypriot					.03 (.05)	.030	.333	N.S.
R		.220				.247		
R^2		.048				.061		
Adj. R^2		.035				.027		
R^2 Change		.048				.012		
F Change in R^2		3.612*				.610		
Sig. F Chance		.05				N.S.		

As for negativity stereotypes held toward Turkish Cypriots using regression analyses. It was found that entering demographic variables in the first step significantly predicted in- group attitudes, F (2, 139) = 3.612, $p < .05$, R^2= .048 (Adjusted R^2= .035). In this case age significantly predicted in- group attitudes, where β = -.210, t = -2.504, $p < .05$. However no significant effect occurred after step 2 (see table 3.4.1.c.).

Table 3.4.1.c. Summary of the Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Participants Negative In- group Attitudes

	Model 1				Model 2			
Variables	*B (SE)*	*B*	*T*	*p*	*B (SE)*	*β*	*t*	*P*
Age	-.01 (.01)	.00	-.003	N.S.	.01 (.01)	.035	.440	N.S.
Politics	.10(.05)	.187	2. 239	.05	.04 (.05)	.080	.964	N.S.
T. Cypriot					.25 (.06)	.384	4.221	.000
Turkish					.02 (.03)	.054	.645	N.S.
Cypriot					-.05 (.06)	-.077	-.901	N.S.
R			.187				.407	
R^2			.035				.165	
Adj. R^2			.021				.135	
R^2 Change			.035				.131	
F Change in R^2			2.567				7.246*	
Sig. F Chance			N.S.				.000	

Lastly religiosity/ conservatism stereotypes were entered into the analysis of in-group attitudes. Results revealed that in Step 1, entering demographic variables significantly predicted in- group attitudes, $F (2, 139) = 3.579$, $p < .05$, $R^2 = .048$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .035$, SD = .94). Out of these variables, political affiliation alone contributed significantly, $β = .192$, t = 2.322, $p < .05$. In Step 2, types of identity were entered into the equation. The addition of this second block of variables created a significant effect, $F (3, 139) = 4.979$, $p < .01$. An increment in R^2 was observed, where $R^2 = .140$, suggesting that 9.2% of the variance observed in religiosity/ conservatism stereotypes can be uniquely accounted for by the inclusion of identification types. Interestingly, this time only Turkishness identity contributed to the prediction of these in- group attitudes, $β = .253$, t = 2.999, $p < .01$(see table 3.4.1.d.).

Table 3.4.1.d. Summary of the Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Participants' Religiosity/ Conservatism In- group Attitudes

	Model 1				Model 2			
Variables	B (SE)	β	T	p	B (SE)	B	t	p
Age	-.01 (.01)	-.080	-.080	N.S.	-.01 (.01)	-.077	-.964	N.S.
Political affiliation	.14 (.06)	. 192	2. 322	.05	.06 (.06)	.091	1.079	N.S.
T. Cypriot					.12 (.08)	.141	1.527	N.S.
Turkish					.12 (.04)	.253	2.999	0.01
Cypriot					-.01 (.07)	-.015	-.175	N.S.
R			.219				.375	
R^2			.048				.140	
Adj. R^2			.035				.109	
R^2 Change			.048				.092	
F Change in R^2			3.579*				4.979*	
Sig. F Chance			.05				.01	

3.4.2. The predictive power of demographic variables, in- group identification, exposure, and in- group attitudes on out- group attitudes

In a two- step hierarchical regression analysis, the unique contribution of the demographic variables, in- group identification, exposure, in- group attitudes (positivity, negativity, competency- based and religiosity/ conservatism) on out- group attitudes (positivity, negativity, competency- based and religiosity/ conservatism) were investigated. Age, political affiliation, in- group identification and exposure were entered in step one, followed by the four types of in- group attitudes in Step two. Participants' endorsement of different types of out- group attitudes according to levels in- group attitudes were assessed after the influence of demographic variables, in- group identification and exposure were statistically removed.

The positivity out- group attitudes assessed through hierarchical multiple regression found that R was significantly different from zero at the end of Step 1, F (4, 139) = 5.012, $p < .001$. This result suggested that the bivariate relationship between the first group of variables and positive out- group attitudes were statistically significant. The change in squared multiple correlation coefficient (R^2) was .126 (Adjusted R^2= .101, SD = .69), which suggests that .126 of the variance in positive stereotypes toward Greek Cypriot's is accounted uniquely by age, political affiliation, in- group identification and exposure. However, only exposure was found to be significant in predicting out- group attitudes, $\beta = .307$, t = 3.738, p < .00. Adding the in- group attitudes in the second step of the regression analysis did not reliably improve R^2.

Table 3.4.2.a. Summary of the Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Participants' Positive Out- group Attitudes

	Model 1				Model 2			
Variables	*B (SE)*	*β*	*T*	*p*	*B (SE)*	*β*	*T*	*P*
Politics	-.051 (.05)	- .094	-1.095	N.S.	-.06 (.05)	-.120	-1.381	N.S.
Age	.01 (.01)	.078	.968	N.S	.01 (.01)	.080	.961	N.S
In- gp id	.01 (.05)	.014	.166	N.S	.01 (.06)	.033	.354	N.S
Expo	.29 (.08)	.307	3.738	.00	.30 (.08)	.312	3.756	.00
Posi					-.19 (.11)	-.201	-1.695	N.S
Nega					-.07 (.09)	-.063	-.755	N.S
Comp					.17 (.12)	.167	1.350	N.S
Relig					.01 (.07)	.051	.555	N.S
R		.355				.391		
R^2		.126				.153		
Adj. R^2		.101				.103		
R^2 Change		.126				.027		
F Change in R^2		5.012*				1.076		
Sig. F Chance		.001				N.S		

Variables entered in the first step for predicting competency- based out- group attitudes did not significantly improve R^2. However the addition of the second block of variables created a significant effect, $F (8, 135) = 2.122, p < .05$. An increment in R^2 was observed, where $R^2 = .112$, suggesting that 11. 2% of the variance observed in competency- based out- group attitudes can be uniquely accounted for by the inclusion of positive ($\beta = .254, t = 2.090, p < .05$) and negative in- group attitudes ($\beta = .221, t = 2.578, p < .02$).

Table 3.4.2.b. Summary of the Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Participants' Competency- based Out- group Attitudes

	Model 1				Model 2			
Variables	B (SE)	β	T	p	B (SE)	β	T	P
Politics	-.02 (.05)	-.033	-.360	N.S.	-.01 (.04)	-.013	-.141	N.S.
Age	.01 (.01)	.022	.252	N.S.	.02 (.01)	.044	-.141	N.S.
In- gp id	.01(.052)	.108	1.22	N.S.	-.01 (.06)	-.006	.517	N.S.
Expo	.02 (.08)	.017	.189	N.S.	-.01 (.08)	-.040	-.068	N.S.
Posi					.22 (.11)	.254	2.090	.05
Nega					.24 (.09)	.221	2.578	.02
Comp						.047	.369	N.S.
Relig						-.063	-.662	N.S.
R			.108				.334	
R^2			.012				.112	
Adj. R^2			-.017				.059	
R^2 Change			.012				.100	
F Change in R^2			.408				3.804*	
Sig. F Chance			N.S.				.01	

In terms of negative out- group attitudes, entering the demographics, in- group identification and exposure revealed that R was not significantly different from zero at the end of Step 1. However, in Step 2, the addition of in-group attitudes contributed to R^2, $F (8, 135) = 5.169, p < .00, R^2 = .234$ (Adjusted $R^2 = .189$, SD = .61). Out of the second block of variables positive ($\beta = .455, t = 4.026, p < .000$) and negative ($\beta = .282, t = 3.551, p < .001$) in- group attitudes, as well as political affiliation ($\beta = .222, t = 3.757, p < .000$) significantly influenced R^2.

Table 3.4.2.c. Summary of the Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Participants' Negative Out- group Attitudes

	Model 1				Model 2			
Variables	*B (SE)*	*B*	*T*	*p*	*B (SE)*	*ß*	*T*	*P*
Politics	.01(.05)	.184	2.054	.05	.11 (.04)	.222	2.693	.01
Age	-.01 (.01)	-.060	-.712	N.S.	-.02 (.05)	-.039	-.492	N.S.
In- gp id	-.01 (.05)	-.020	-.224	N.S.	-.10 (.05)	-.173	-1.971	N.S.
Expo	-.02 (.07)	-.022	-.252	N.S.	-.04 (.07)	-.044	-.556	N.S.
Posi					.40 (.09)	.455	4.026	.00
Nega					.30 (.09)	.282	3.551	N.S.
Comp					-.07 (.11)	-.079	-.673	N.S.
Relig					-.06 (.06)	-.084	-.954	N.S.
R		.203				.484		
R^2		.041				.231		
Adj. R^2		.013				.189		
R^2 Change		.041				.193		
F Change in R^2		1.489				8.527*		
Sig. FChance		N.S.				.00		

It was found that entering demographic variables, in- group identification as well as political affiliation into the regression equation in order to predict religiosity/ conservatism scores did not significantly contribute to R^2, however positive (β = .521, t = 4.584, p < .000), negative (β = .272, t = 3.396, p < .001) and competency-based in- group attitudes (β = -.284, t = - 2.403, p < .02) significantly influenced R^2 at *F* (8, 135) = 4.891, *p* < .00, R^2= .165 (Adjusted R^2= .135) in step 2.

Table 3.4.2.d. Summary of the Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Participants' Religiosity/ conservatism Out- group Attitudes

Variables	Model 1				Model 2			
	B (SE)	B	T	p	B (SE)	β	T	P
Politics	.01 (.06)	.089	.989	N.S.	.01 (.05)	.141	1.698	N.S.
Age	.01(.01)	.132	1.552	N.S.	.01(.01)	.153	1.932	N.S.
In- gp id				N.S.	-.13 (.07)	-.165	-.1863	N.S.
Expo				N.S.	-.08 (.09)	-.069	-.871	N.S.
Posi					.59 (.13)	.521	4.584	.00
Nega					.38 (.11)	.272	3.396	.001
Comp					-.34 (.14)	-.284	-2.403	.02
Relig					-.04 (.08)	-.044	-.497	N.S.
R		.169				.474		
R^2		.029				.225		
Adj. R^2		.001				.179		
R^2 Change		.029				.196		
F Changein R^2		1.025				8.534*		
Sig. F Chance		N.S.				.00		

3.4.3. Moderation Analysis

In order to determine whether there was an indirect relationship between in- group identification and negative out- group attitudes through the variable positive in- group attitudes, moderation analysis was conducted.

After the variables were centred both in- group identification and positive in- group attitudes were entered in the first step of the regression analysis, it was found that R was significantly different from zero at the end of Step 1, F (2, 147) = 8.025, $p <$ .000. This result suggested that the bivariate relationship between the first group of variables and negative out- group attitudes held toward Greek Cypriots was statistically significant. The change in squared multiple correlation coefficient (R^2) was .098 (Adjusted R^2= .086, SD = .65). However, only positive in- group attitudes were found to be significant in predicting out- group attitudes, β = .306, t = 3.964, *p*

< .00. Adding the interaction between in- group identification and positive in- group attitudes in the second step of the regression analysis reliably improved R^2, F (3, 146) = 8.839, p < .00, R^2= .154 (Adjusted R^2= .136, SD = .63). In this step both in-group attitudes (β = .324, t = 4.302, p < .000) and the interaction between in- group identification and positive in- group attitudes (β = .156, t = 3.088, p < .002) significantly influenced R^2, such that positive in- group attitudes moderated the relationship between in- group identification and negative out- group attitudes.

Table 3.4.3. Summary of the Moderation Regression Analysis for In- group identification and Positive In- group Attitudes

Variables	Model 1				Model 2			
	B (SE)	*B*	*T*	*p*	*B (SE)*	*β*	*t*	*p*
In- gp id	-.06 (.05)	-.100	-1.159	N.S.	-.01(.05)	-.003	-.035	N.S.
Pos. in- gp atts	.31 (.08)	.343	3.964	.00	.33 (.08)	.363	4.302	.000
ID* Pos. In- gp att					.16(.05)	.258	3.088	.002
R		.314				.392		
R^2		.098				.154		
Adj. R^2		.086				.136		
R^2 Change		.098				.055		
F Change in R^2		8.025*				9.536*		
Sig. F Chance		.00				.002		

3.5 Structural Equation Modeling

As a result of the multiple regression analyses, the variables to be incorporated into the pathways of a model of out- group attitudes were determined. These were in- group identification, negative/ positive in- group attitudes, and exposure. Religion, age and political affiliation as demographic variables were also added. Regression analyses further showed that a model could only be accomplished with negative out- group attitudes hence the pathway model is one that depicts negative alone.

3.5.1. Fit of the model of negative out- group attitudes

Fit statistics for the model of negative out- group attitudes are displayed below. The model generally showed good fit to the data.

Table 3.5.1. Fit statistics for the model of negative out- group attitudes

Fit Index	Negative out- group attitudes
χ^2	32.479
Df	19
CFI	0.87
GFI	0.95
RMSEA	0.07

3.5.2 *Effects of the individual negative out- group attitudes model components*

As can be seen from Figure 3.5.2, out of the demographic variables religion played the most important role as it had a significant positive relationship with in- group identification (.20), and political affiliation (.25) yet a negative relationship with exposure to Greek Cypriots (- .28). As for age, it had a significant negative relationship with in- group attitudes (-.20) yet did not have a significant relationship with either in- group identification or political affiliation. The pathway between in-group identification and positive in- group attitudes was found to be significant (.44). Positive in- group attitudes in turn were found to have a significant relationship with negative out- group attitudes (.32) as did negative in- group attitudes (.25).
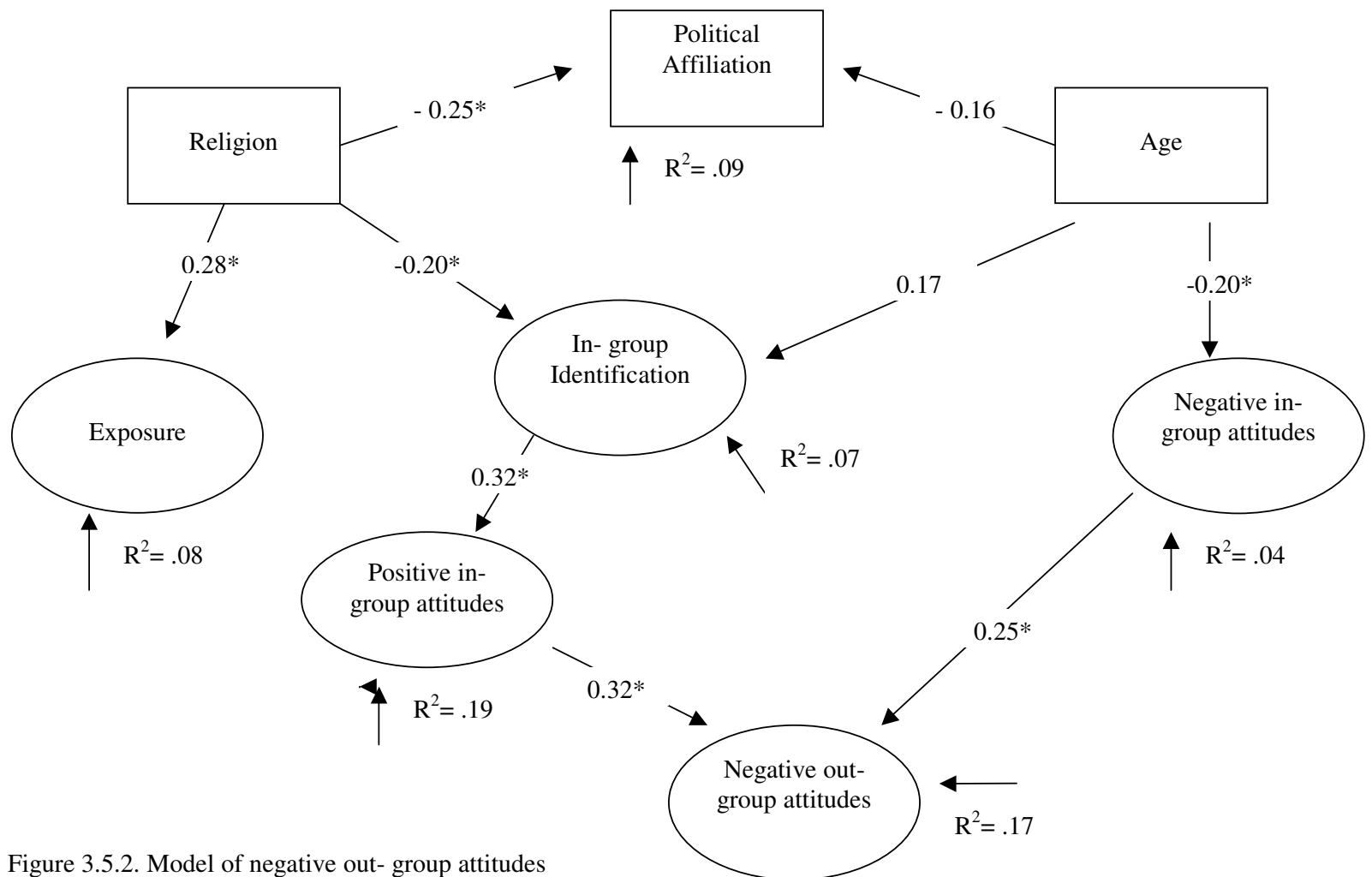
Figure 3.5.2. Model of negative out- group attitudes
Note: * *p*< .05

4. Discussion

The focus of this chapter was to present analyses of national stereotypes characterizing the group perception of Turkish Cypriots by uncovering the content of autostereotypes of Turkish Cypriots as well as their heterostereotypes of Greek Cypriots. The question of stereotypic content was of great importance as contents determine the nature of intergroup relations, because the traits, intentions, abilities and characteristics which are attached to the out- group may be reflected in the behavior toward this group (Bar- Tal, 1997). Particularly important was the evaluative component of stereotypic content (a positive- negative dimension) since it provides important implications for intergroup relations, such that it may be translated in the attitudes toward the out- group, once again determining behavior (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980).

Exploratory factor analysis was conducted on the 70 autostereotypes to investigate the possibility of latent variables. After several analyses, it was found that a four- factor structure tapping four latent variables in autostereotypes of Turkish Cypriots was feasible. These were termed as: Positivity, Competency- based, Negativity, and Religiosity/ Conservatism, accounting for 51.354% of the total variance, and were later phrased "in- group attitudes" and used in further analyses as dependent variables. A similar procedure was conducted for the heterostereotypes regarding Greek Cypriots and quite interestingly the same four- factor structure was used to define Greek Cypriots, (factors accounted for 46.004% of the total variance). These were also used as dependent variables in later analyses as "out- group attitudes." The only difference between the two factor structures were two items ("extremely nationalistic" and "fasts") which were later dropped from the factor structure as they did not load under the same factors in the auto- and heterostereotypes. It was found that extremely nationalistic was loaded under Religiosity/ Conservatism for Turkish Cypriots, yet was considered to be an item of the Negativity scale while

defining Greek Cypriots. This may be indicative of a differential use of a trait, such that it is seen as "negative" if it is associated with Greek Cypriots but "religious" if associated with for Turkish Cypriots. As for the "fasts" stereotype, it fell under the religiosity scale for Turkish Cypriots yet did not load under any of the factors for Greek Cypriots. Despite the fact that Orthodox Christians also fast, this lack of knowledge on behalf of Turkish Cypriots can perhaps be taken as a of sign incomplete knowledge regarding the 'other' and his/her religiosity and the general use of incorrect stereotypes.

The fact that the factor structure was nearly exactly the same for both national groups is an interesting finding which implies that Turkish Cypriots use the same traits and adjectives to evaluate both themselves and the out- group and do not have a differential thought structure at work for the so- called out- group. One explanation is that there may be core traits that people continuously choose when rating groups. This undifferentiated set of traits is used to evaluate and define the individuals regardless of the group they belong to (Marin & Salazar, 1985). Equally plausible is the argument that individuals may use their own culture's standards to evaluate other cultures, demonstrating false consensus (Iwao & Triandis, 1993). Campbell (1967) described this as "phenomenological absolutism" such that the out- group is perceived as the in- group chooses to perceive it without further consideration.

Analyses conducted on the four types of stereotype scales (positivity, competency-based, negativity, and religious/ conservative) revealed that Turkish Cypriots gave higher scores to fellow Turkish Cypriots on the positivity scale and lower scores on the negativity scale. Turkish Cypriots, however, did find Greek Cypriots to be more religious/ conservative than themselves. Yet no differential scoring was given on the Competency- based scale.

Higher scores on the positivity scale (including adjective traits such as "affectionate," "compassionate," "tender'" and "friendly") for Turkish Cypriots is indicative of intergroup bias which generally refers to an individual's systematic tendency to evaluate one's own group membership (the in- group) or members of that group as more favorable than a non-membership group (the out- group) or its members. The prevalence of this in- group favoritism has been explained in detail by the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

According to SIT, being part of a group provides individuals with a sense of belongingness, contributing toward a positive sense of self. This is maintained by group members choosing to differentiate themselves from other groups in order to preserve and achieve positive group distinctiveness, which will in turn create a positive social identity for their group, hence positive identity derives largely from favorable comparisons made between the in- group and relevant out- groups. Therefore, it is suggested that successful intergroup bias creates or protects in- group status by providing a positive social identity for in- group members and satisfying their need for positive self- esteem. This has been supported by a number of review studies and meta- analysis (Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002). It has also often been suggested that members of minority or lower status groups may view themselves negatively, and even demonstrate out- group favoritism (Hewstone et al., 2002). Although neither a minority nor a low status group, Turkish Cypriots have however, a relatively lower economic status than that of the Greek Cypriots as evidenced by the Greek Cypriots joining the European Union, obvious recognition from the international arena, and greater indutrialization. Hence it may have been argued that Turkish Cypriots would view themselves as relatively inferior to the Greek Cypriots and not display in- group favoritism, may be even showing out- group favoritism, however this was not the case and the Turkish Cypriots showed a clear preference for positive traits more for their fellow Turkish Cypriots than Greek Cypriots. The reason may be that Turkish Cypriots do not perceive a status

66

differential and do in fact fulfill their needs for esteem through their Turkish Cypriot membership.

One inevitable question that emerged from this finding was whether intergroup bias would manifest itself as in- group favoritism alone or whether out- group derogation toward Greek Cypriots would also prevail. Higher scores given to Greek Cypriots on the negativity scale that is the attribution of more negative traits (such as "hostile," "conceited," "greedy" and "aggressive") for Greek Cypriots rather than Turkish Cypriots may be taken as indication of out- group derogation. The findings have generally suggested that intergroup bias is limited to in- group favouritism alone (Mummendey & Otten, 2001).

However, certain factors are said to increase the likelihood that in- group favoritism will give way to out- group derogation also. Among those suggested are strong emotions associated with the out- group (Mackie & Smith, 1998; Mummendey & Otten, 2001). Evidence suggests that the arousal that characterizes intergroup encounters and the emotions experienced at the time of contact may be translated to emotions such as fear, hatred or disgust. Smith (1993) suggested that certain intergroup encounters can elicit differing intensities of emotion such as mild emotions (e.g. disgust) and strong emotions (e.g. contempt, anger) which can be linked to other specific emotions, perceptions of the out- group as well as behavioral tendencies. For instance, an out- group that may violate in- group norms may elicit disgust and avoidance whereas an out- group seen as threatening may elicit fear and hostile emotions. Weaker emotions may only elicit avoidance whereas stronger emotions may cause more hostile action plans. It is not surprising that groups with a past of conflict and interethnic violence feel stronger emotions toward one another, it maybe the case that Greek Cypriots still invoke more intense and strong emotions in Turkish Cypriots (such as threat), which was reflected in their more negative attitudes toward the out- group. It has only been a mere three

years since the borders were lifted and the two communities were given the opportunity to mingle. A much more significant amount of years may be necessary for intergroup encounters between the two groups to no longer produce such an arousal and fail to be translated into negative out- group attitudes and perhaps even negative, discriminatory behavior.

Relevant to the above argument was the query of intergroup contact. Reviews suggest that although it is clear that increased contact with a cultural group alters stereotypes about the group it is not clear in which direction this is likely to be. In order to assess the effects of contact between Turkish and Greek Cypriots on the out- group attitudes of Turkish Cypriots ANCOVA and regression analyses were conducted. In support of the Contact hypothesis it was expected that high levels of exposure, measured by the extent to which Turkish Cypriots had Greek Cypriot friends, acquaintances, and the presence of family members of equal affiliation, as well as a higher percentage of crossing the South side, would be associated with lower levels of negative stereotypes as well as a greater practice of positive stereotypes toward Greek Cypriots. Findings of the present study suggested that high exposure was associated to more positive out- group attitudes, supporting the basic premise that contact enhances positive attitudes. The hypothesis holds that contact between members of different racial and ethnic groups will promote positive attitudes and reduce intergroup prejudice. It is likely that, as suggested by the hypothesis, intergroup contact served as a source of firsthand information which was favorable regarding knowledge about the values, lifestyles and experiences of the Greek Cypriots. This may have served as a basis for change or reformation of stereotypic content, such that the positive knowledge was generalized into a positive perception of the group as a whole.

This result is obviously not ridden of problems. The argument may still remain that the attitudes measured were not a consequence of contact experienced but rather a

cause of contact. It has often stated that initially tolerant attitudes may lead individuals to engage in or even seek out, interracial contacts (e.g. Powers & Ellsion, 1995), which may have been the cause of such a result. Therefore, the controversy still remains as to whether the contact behavior is guided by attitudes or whether attitudes follow behavior. However, whatever the cause, it can be said that the effects of contact determined the direction of out- group attitudes, such that they were more favourable. Hence it can be confidently asserted that contact is translated into positive stereotypes of the out- group and that geographical proximity, increased contact or both are not associated with more negative stereotypes.

The combined results of the ANCOVA and regression analyses provided valuable information regarding the role of the following factors on both in- and out- group attitudes: Gender, age, political affiliation, Turkish Cypriot, Cypriot, and Turkish identity.

In terms of in- group attitudes it was found that out of the types of identity, Turkish Cypriot identity played the most significant role by contributing to both positive and competency- based in- group attitudes. Age significantly predicted negative in-group attitudes. Gender, on the other hand, did not play a crucial role in determining any in- group attitude although women tended to make more positive and men more competency- based in- group attitudes. It was found that political affiliation and Turkishness identity played significant role in predicting religiosity/ conservatism attitudes. It may be the case that right wing affiliation, religiosity and Turkishness are all highly related concepts and play roles in the case of Turkish Cypriots since right wing parties are usually of more conservative viewpoints and are more inclined to endorse a political agenda that favors unification with Turkey (as opposed to the Greek Cypriots).

As for out- group attitudes, in addition to the above variables exposure and in- group attitudes were also entered into the analyses. It was found that exposure alone predicted positive out- group attitudes. As for negative attitudes, political affiliation as well as positive and negative in- group attitudes were found to be predictors. High Turkish Cypriot identity, positive and negative in- group attitudes as well female gender predicted competency- based attitudes. Lastly religiosity/ conservatism was influenced by all the in- group attitudes yet no demographics.

It was concluded, as a result of the general picture drawn by the competing factors assessed above that age, political affiliation, religion, in- group identification (yet only Turkish Cypriot identification), negative and positive in- and out- group attitudes were systematically related and played the most significant roles. Therefore, the combination of these variables allowed the development of a model of negative out- group attitudes in which most of the findings were incorporated and discussed in detail below.

The model suggests the existence of two distinct pathways that may lead to negative out- group attitudes. In the first pathway, negative in- group attitudes directly influence negative out- group attitudes, yet these attitudes had no direct or indirect effect on any other endogenous variable. In the second pathway, in- group identification predicted positive in- group attitudes which in turn predicted negative out- group attitudes, however, in- group identification had no direct effect on negative out- group attitudes. In- group identification was found to be predicted negatively by religion alone. Age on the other hand, did not have any direct effects on either in- group identification or positive in- group attitudes, but had a direct effect on negative in- group attitudes. Lastly, religion had a direct effect on political affiliation. Surprisingly exposure, did not have any effect on negative out- group attitudes.

It seems the case that the findings provided support for the Social Identity Theory view. In- group identification scores did not have a direct effect on negative out- group attitudes; however, they did have an indirect effect on these attitudes. High identification scores were positively related to in- group attitudes, which in turn predicted negative out- group attitudes. Having positive feelings about ones own group may in fact contribute to negative feelings toward others. SIT suggests that group members view their group as more different from others and are motivated to preserve, achieve positive distinctiveness and enhance positive social identity. Therefore the stronger an individual identifies with the group the more bias they demonstrate at the expense of the out- group. This differs from multicultural viewpoints that suggest positive feelings toward oneself will promote positive feelings to other groups. To the contrary, the findings may imply that encouraging positive attitudes toward ones own group may lead to negative views of the other. It may be the case that in- group identification is translated into a form of ethnocentrism (through in- group favoritism or bias). Yee and Brown (1992) suggest that ethnocentrism is still a prevalent phenomenon, which may be tied to negative out- group attitudes and discrimination. This has support from early studies of ethnocentrism, which suggested that adults with more positive in- group attitudes were more likely to endorse more negative out- group attitudes. Levinson (1950) reported a strong negative relationship between patriotism and attitudes toward foreigners. More recently Masson and Verkuyten (1993) found that positive evaluations of ones own ethnicity was strongly correlated with prejudice toward foreigners or those different from oneself as did Lee (1991) with Chinese American and African American students. Viewing ones own group more positively than others and judging other groups by ones own standards lies at the heart of ethnocentrism and may carry the seeds of rejection and dislike for the other group by seeing them as inferior and less valuable (Negy, Shreve, Jensen, & Uddin, 2003).

A similar finding was found by Phinney, Ferguson and Tate (1997), they demonstrated that ethnic identity did not have a direct effect on out- group attitudes, but was mediated by attitudes toward ones group. It seems the case that promoting in- group identification may indirectly contribute to intergroup attitudes. Programs aimed at promoting in- group identity may therefore not necessarily be working to enhance out- group attitudes but may do so through effects on in- group attitudes. Furthermore promoting in- group identification may actually serve to promote more negative and discriminatory behavior in the form of in- group bias and favoritism. Multicultural theories emphasize how ethnic identity and in- group identification can lead to a reduction in ethnocentrism, prejudicial attitudes, or, general negative out- group attitudes if educational interventions could enhance positive attitudes toward oneself and increase security within ones group membership (which will in turn be positively reflected on the out- group). However, the findings of this research suggest that interventions aimed at increasing in- group identification may only serve to enhance negative out- group attitudes by promoting highly positive in- group attitudes or ethnocentric viewpoints. A positive sense of identity derived from group membership is suggested to enhance ones self esteem according to social identity theory and may enhance well- being, which is beneficial for the individual who derives esteem from her/ his group membership, however when these only function to enhance in- group/ out- group boundaries, promoting "we- groups" and "other- groups" this may lead to further "we are better than them" viewpoints which contain kernels of prejudice and discrimination since "they are worse than us" will be likely to follow. One must be careful when promoting in- group identification as there is a significant difference between patriotism (positive national pride and attachment) and nationalism (belligerence and claimed superiority over other nations) (Feshbach, 1994).

The only support to come for the multicultural views was that as age increased, a decline in negative in- group attitudes emerged. It is suggested that as an individual

grows and matures, she or he develops a more secure sense of group identity and feels more committed to the social group. It does seem the case that with increasing age individuals become more comfortable and accepting of there own group as reflected in their lower usage of negative in- group attitudes, however, this was not transferred to greater tolerance for the out- group also.

The positive relationship between negative in- group attitudes and negative out- group attitudes may suggest a negativity response bias such as a tendency to generally make negative evaluations.

The most surprising result was that high exposure did not predict less negative out- group attitudes. Regression and ANCOVA results suggest a positive relationship between exposure and positive out- group attitudes. It may be unfounded to assume that the diametrically opposite case would also hold, that is that a negative relationship between exposure and negative out- group attitudes exist. Low exposure must not necessarily translate to negative out- group attitudes. Low contact, few acquaintances and friends need not be an indication of negative attitudes toward the other group however, high contact, many acquaintances and friends will generally be accomplished by pleasant opinions of the so- called out- group.

CHAPTER TWO

1. Introduction

National stereotypes are defined as beliefs about the characteristics, attributes and behaviors of members of certain groups (Hilton & Von Hippel, 1996). The aim of this study was to examine the uniformity (degree of agreement), direction (favorable vs. unfavorable) and quality (content) of the autostereotypes of Turkish Cypriots in addition to their heterostereotypes of the Turkish, Greek, and British, all nations that have played significant roles in the Turkish Cypriot peoples history.

In terms of direction it has been shown that autostereotypes (stereotypes of the in-group) are more positive (Triandis, Lisansky, Setiadi, Chang, Marin, & Betancourt, 1982) than heterostereotypes and that stereotypes regarding the out- group are more likely to include negative connotations than those stereotypes held about the in-group (Esses, Haddock, & Zanna, 1993). This has been called into question since some national groups do not endorse more positive autostereotypes. Social Identity Theory and the in- group favoritism phenomena, suggest that if a group is viewed negatively by society, it is likely that members may view themselves negatively also (Tajfel, 1981).

It was assumed that the Turkish Cypriots would demonstrate in- group favoritism when compared to the national groups by endorsing more positive autostereotypes than heterostereotypes. Studies have also shown that autostereotypes (stereotypes of the in- group) are more uniform (Marin & Salazar, 1985) than heterostereotypes, yet results are also unclear such that the consistency of autostereotypes vary widely from culture to culture.

As discussed in the general introduction, the content of national stereotypes have been accounted for by many theories. These range from structural to cultural and geographic determinants. It is however assumed, as suggested by Brown (1986) and Stephan and Rosenfield (1982), that evaluations of the national groups entered into the study will be influenced by the significant role that each have played in the formation of the Turkish Cypriots past, and that their national stereotypes will reflect the nature of interaction between the groups involved.

Of particular interest were the national stereotypes of the Turkish. The fact that the Turkish Cypriots and the Turkish share a common nationality "Turk" but maintain in- group/ out- group status based on ethnic, social, and cultural characteristics made these stereotypes especially interesting. A study by Mc Andrew and Akande (1995) investigated African and European stereotypes held by non- American Africans. Despite shared cultural heritage between the Africans and American Africans, American identity was a stronger determinant of stereotypic content, such that African and European Americans received the same stereotypes. Since such studies are rare in the literature it would be of value to see how seemingly close national groups regard the other.

In addition to this, the influx of Turkish immigrants to north Cyprus, the contrast of characteristics of Turkish settlers (less educated, more religious and traditional) with Turkish Cypriots, the Turkish Cypriots' threat of becoming a minority, the role of the Turkish government in Turkish Cypriot affairs, as well as the power influential of the Turkish army on the island were all expected to be influential in the nature of national stereotypes toward the Turkish.

As for the national stereotypes regarding Greece and Britain it was assumed that the direction of the stereotypes would be favorable for the British since the Turkish

Cypriots feel relatively close to the British due to their former colonial status, however unfavorable for the Greeks.

2. Method

2.1. Participants

Research participants taking part in the second study were a total of 102 Turkish Cypriots (45 women, 55 men, and 2 who stated no gender) all residing in North Cyprus. Out of these participants 93.14% were of Turkish Cypriot nationality alone, while 5.88% were also Turkish, 2.94% British, and 1.96% of other nationality in addition to their Turkish Cypriot nationality. Participants ranged in age from 17 to 65 with a mean of 30.75 (SD = 10.62). The majority of participants were of higher education 67.8%, 28.25% high school, 1.95% secondary school and 2% primary school graduates. In terms of participants' occupation, the majority were civil servants (52.05%), followed by students at various universities in both Cyprus and Turkey (32.35%), and the remaining 15.6% were self- employed. While 84.31% of the participants were Muslims, 15.69% stated no religious affiliation. A greater number of the participants (37.26%) were of left- wing political view in comparison to only 18.62% with right wing- political view, the remaining 44.12% stated no political affiliation. Further details regarding the sample are presented in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1. Characteristics of the sample

Demographic Variables	Mean/ Frequency	Percentages
Gender		
Female	45	44.12%
Male	55	53.92%
Not Stated	2	
Age (Years)	30.75	
Nationality		
Turkish Cypriot (TC)	95	93.14%
TC and Turkish	2	1.96%
TC and British	5	4.9%
Place of Birth		
Cyprus	91	89.22%
Turkey	6	5.88%
United Kingdom	3	2.94%
Other	2	1.96%
Education		
Primary School	2	2%
Secondary School	2	1.95%
High School	29	28.25%
University	60	58.95%
Postgraduate	14	8.85%
Occupation		
Student	33	32.35%
Civil Servant	53	52.05%
Self- employed	16	15.6%
Religion		
Muslim	86	84.31%
NOS	16	15.69%
Political View		
Radical Left	2	1.96%
Left	19	18.63%
Close to Left	17	16.67%
Neutral	45	44.12%
Close to Right	4	3.92%
Right	0	0
Radical Right	8	14.7%

2.2. Procedure

Participants were randomly split into two groups in which each group received one of different questionnaires. In each group, participants were asked to rate their own national group, Turkish Cypriots (autostereotyping) in addition to either ratings of the British or ratings of both the Turkish and Greek (heterostereotyping).

2.3. Measures

Each battery contained a questionnaire sheet asking several questions regarding relevant demographics such as age, sex and nationality. Using back translation techniques, all scales were independently translated into Turkish by two bilingual graduate students and later re- translated to English in which necessary revisions were made.

A modified version of Katz and Braly (1933)'s checklist was used. Subjects were given a list of 48 traits and asked to check the five traits that they thought were "most typical" of that particular group. Hence the participants rated the Turkish Cypriot, Turkish, Greek and British. A stereotype regarding a national group is said to exist to the extent that different subjects agree in the choice of trait adjectives; the more agreement the stronger or more definite the stereotype is said to be.

2.4. Statistical Analyses

Analyzing and reporting the results according to each adjective trait would be unnecessary as some adjectives received no hits. In addition to this, the nature of the data (hit counts as opposed to mean scores) rendered factor analysis not possible; however a meaningful clustering of the trait adjectives was evident. Therefore Linssen and Hagendoorn (1994)'s classification of stereotypic content

was used in addition to two other clusters added by the researcher. Each nation was therefore analyzed according to the following classification system: "Empathic," "Efficient," "Dominant," "Negative," and "Religious/ Conservative" (The latter two were added by the researcher plus the "emotional" cluster used in Linssen and Hagendoorn (1994)'s original work was assumed to be unnecessary and hence not used here). These adjectives can be seen in Table 2.4.

Uniformity (agreement or clarity) of a stereotype can be was inferred from the percentages of stereotype endorsement on each scale. Low uniformity was implied if most of the percentages were below the 25% and high uniformity if above 75% (Triandis, Lisansky, Setiadi, Chang, Marin, & Betancourt, 1982). Congruence was inferred when t- tests between auto- and heterostereotypes for each scale were not significant (Marin & Salazar, 1985). Direction was inferred from high scores on the empathy scale and low scores on the negativity scale.

Table 2.4. Content of National Stereotype Types

Dominancy
Aggressive
Quarrelsome
Domineering
Stubborn
Ambitious
Conceited
Passionate
Empathic
Gregarious
Friendly
Warm
Kind
Generous
Courteous
Loyal to family ties
Efficiency
Intelligent
Progressive
Industrious
Efficient
Honest
Educated
Scientifically- minded
Negativity
Quick tempered
Extremely nationalistic
Argumentative
Cold
Quiet
Sly
Ignorant
Lazy
Prejudiced
Cowardly
Rude
Arrogant
Religious/ Conservative
Traditional

3. Results

Prior to analysis, the variables were examined through various SPSS programs for accuracy of data entry, missing values, and fit between distributions and the assumptions of multivariate of analysis, including normality, linearity, homogeneity of variance and regression. The original sample of 102 participants was entered into the analysis. Multiple paired t- tests, one- way analyses of variances, percentage comparisons and Pearson's bivariate correlational analysis were conducted.

3.1. Intercorrelations

3.1.1. Inter- correlations between study variables and demographic variables

Pearson's two- tailed correlation analyses were conducted on the group of demographic variables and stereotypes held toward the Turkish Cypriots, Turkish, Greek and British. Results, as can be seen in Table 3.1.1, showed that males endorsed more negative stereotypes toward both Turkish Cypriots ($r = .27$, $p < .001$) and Greeks ($r = .29$, $p < .05$).

Increased age was associated with greater efficiency scores for Turkish Cypriots ($r = .24$, $p < .05$) but less for the British ($r = .24$, $p < .05$), more negative stereotypes of the Turkish ($r = .30$, $p < .05$), and no affiliation to religion ($r = - .29$, $p < .001$). The more educated seemed to be view Turkish Cypriots as more efficient ($r = .20$, $p < .05$) and saw Greeks as more religious/ conservative ($r = .39$, $p < .001$).

Those affiliating to Islam were found as more likely to be of right wing political view ($r = -.25$, $p < .05$) and view Greeks as more religious/ conservative ($r = .30$, $p < .05$) Those of no religious affiliation however, viewed fellow Turkish Cypriots as

less empathic (r = -.29, p < .05), the British as less dominant (r = -.30, p < .05), and the Greeks as less negative (r = -.31, p < .05).

Lastly, political affiliation was found to have a significant and positive relationship with efficiency stereotypes of the Turkish, such that those of right wing affiliation viewed Turks as more efficient (r = .54, p < .001).

Table 3.1.1. Pearson Correlations of Demographic variables and Empathic, Efficient, Dominant, Religiosity, Negativity Stereotypes of the Turkish Cypriot, Turkish, Greek and British

	Sex	Age	Education	Religion	Politics
Sex	-				
Age	.109	-			
Education	-.117	-.17	-		
Religion	-.081	-.297**	.172	-	
Politics	-.086	-.024	-.136	-.25*	-
EmTC	-.258*	-.074	.004	-.022	-.258*
EmT	.055	.016	.066	-.291*	.055
EmG	.006	-.196	.005	.26	.006
EmB	-.026	.148	-.177	.179	-.026
EfTC	-.003	.239*	.207*	-.088	-.003
EfT	.003	-.029	.045	-.203	.003
EfG	.027	.126	-.011	.003	.027
EfB	-.198	-.308*	.06	.227	-.198
DTC	.094	-.094	-.169	.032	.094
DT	.196	-.148	.004	-.105	.196
DG	-.025	.101	-.202	-.082	-.025
DB	-.009	-.044	.184	-.303*	-.009
RTC	.023	-.054	-.006	-.174	.023
RT	.032	-.054	.022	-.036	.032
RG	-.011	.197	.387**	.298*	-.011
RB	.062	-.04	-.069	.131	.062
NTC	.265**	-.088	.034	.095	.265**
NT	-.238	.301*	.10	.131	-.238
NG	.285*	.272	-.17	-.314*	.285*
NB	.048	.153	-.081	-.173	.048

3.1.2. Inter- correlations between types of empathic, efficient, dominant, religiosity/ conservative, and negativity stereotypes of the Turkish Cypriots, Turkish, Greek and British

Pearson's two- tailed correlation analyses were also conducted between the group of dependent variables of empathic, efficient, dominant, religiosity/ conservative, and negativity between the Turkish Cypriots, Turkish, Greek and British.

Results, as can be seen in Table 3.1.2, yielded a significant positive correlation between empathic and dominance stereotypes ($r = .45$, $p < .001$) and a negative relationship with negativity stereotypes held toward Turkish Cypriots ($r = -.37$, $p < .001$). A significant relationship was observed between empathic stereotypes held toward the Turkish and efficiency scores toward the Turkish ($r = .48$, $p < .001$), dominance stereotypes of Turkish Cypriots ($r = .44$, $p < .001$) and Greeks ($r = .34$, $p < .001$), in addition to negativity stereotypes held toward the Greeks ($r = .33$, $p < .05$), British ($r = .35$, $p < .05$), negative stereotypes towards the Turkish ($r = - .36$, $p < .001$). Empathic stereotypes of the Greek was found to be significantly yet negatively related to efficiency stereotypes of Turkish Cypriots at $r = -.28$, $p < .05$, dominancy stereotypes of the Greeks ($r = -.30$, $p < .05$), and negativity stereotypes held toward Greeks ($r = .39$, $p < .001$).

Efficiency stereotypes held toward Turkish Cypriots were correlated positively with negativity stereotypes held toward Greeks ($r = .30$, $p < .05$) and negatively related to negativity ($r = -.36$, $p < .001$) and dominance stereotypes ($r = .37$, $p < .001$) held toward Turkish Cypriots. Efficiency stereotypes held toward the Turkish however were positively related to dominance stereotypes toward Turkish Cypriots ($r = .32$, $p < .05$) and negative stereotypes held toward Greek ($r = .27$, $p < .05$), yet negatively related to negative stereotypes held toward the Turkish ($r = -.46$, $p < .001$). Efficiency stereotypes held toward the Greeks were negatively correlated

negative stereotypes toward Greeks (r = -.29, p < .05). Finally efficiency stereotypes held toward the British were negatively correlated to dominance (r = -.35, p < .05) and negativity (r = -.39, p < .001) stereotypes toward the British.

Dominance stereotypes held toward Turkish Cypriots were correlated significantly and positively with dominance stereotypes toward the Turkish (r = .44, p < .001) and Greek (r = .56, p < .001) and also negativity stereotypes held toward fellow Turkish Cypriots (r = .27, p < .001). Dominance stereotypes held toward the Turkish and Greek were both positively correlated with negativity stereotypes toward Turkish Cypriots (r = .38, p < .001; r = .33, p < .001, respectively). Dominance stereotypes held toward the British on the other hand were negatively correlated to religiosity stereotypes toward the British (r = -. 36, p < .001).

Religiosity/ conservative stereotypes toward Turkish Cypriots were only correlated with religiosity stereotypes toward the Turkish (r = .32, p < .001).

Out of the last group of stereotypes, negativity stereotypes toward Turkish Cypriots were correlated positively with negativity stereotypes held toward the British (r = .30, p < .001).

Table 3.1.2. Pearson Correlations of Empathic, Efficient, Dominant, Religiosity, Negativity Stereotypes of the Turkish Cypriot, Turkish, Greek and British

Note: *Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2- tailed), ** correlation is significant at the .001 level (2- tailed).

	EmTC	Em	EmG	EmB	EfTC	EfT	EfG	EfB	DTC	DT	DG	DB	RTC	RT	RG	RB	NTC	NT	NG	NB
1	-																			
2	.05	-																		
3	.11	-.09	-																	
4	-.17	-.21	-.04	-																
5	.03	-.08	-.28*	-13	-															
6	-.08	.48*	-.12	-.04	.09	-														
7	-.05	-.01	-.20	.01	-.07	-.12	-													
8	-.01	-.11	-.01	-.13	.36**	.15	.08	-												
9	.45**	.44*	-.16	.12	-.07	.42*	-.06	-.10	-											
10	-.05	.058	.01	.01	-.20	.07	.01	-.08	.44**	-										
11	-.11	.34*	-.30*	-.04	.02	.20	.05	-.02	.56**	.23	-									
12	-.01	.08	.01	-.06	.04	-.10	-.19	-.35	.09	.06	.02	-								
13	.07	-.02	-.05	.01	-.09	-.30	-.13	-.07	-.15	.11	-.26	.09	-							
14	.02	-.02	.11	.01	.30*	-.17	-.13	-.16	-.16	-.08	-.12	.13	.32*	-						
15	.21	.04	-.05	-.05	.30*	.03	-.19	-.01	-.09	.15	-.22	.16	-.11	-.09	-					
16	.23	-.07	.02	-.16	-.27	-.02	.08	-.22	-.19	.01	-.06	-.36*	.21	.07	-.23	-				
17	-.37**	.26	.07	-.14	-.37**	.15	.06	.02	.27**	.38**	.33*	-.07	-.08	.01	-.15	.01	-			
18	.23	-.07	.02	-.16	-.01	-.46**	-.03	-.02	-.08	-.19	-.08	-.02	-.26	-.14	.15	-.06	-.03	-		
19	-.02	.33*	-.39**	-.17	.17	.27*	-.29*	.05	.06	.13	.04	.08	.09	.15	-.03	-.06	.25	-.09	-	
20	-.01	.35*	-.06	-.25	-.02	.13	.03	-.39**	.13	.09	.25	-.23	-.26	-.11	-.11	.13	.30*	-.17	.16	-

3.2. Auto- and Heterostereotype Comparison Analyses

In order to compare the cross- cultural stereotypes of the Turkish Cypriots, the autostereotypes of the Turkish Cypriots were compared to the heterostereotypes of each national group separately.

As seen in Table 3.2.a, results indicated that the autostereotypes of Turkish Cypriots differed from their heterostereotypes regarding the Turkish on the dependent variables of negativity (paired t (51) = -2.071, $p <$ .05) and religiosity/ conservative (paired t (51) = -6.469, $p <$.00), such that Turkish Cypriots viewed Turkish individuals as more negative and more religious.

Table 3.2.a. Auto- and heterostereotypes between Turkish Cypriots and Turkish

	TCs		Turkish		Difference				
	Mean	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Mean**	**SD**	**t-score**	**df**	**Sig**
Em	.1593	.135	.1126	.142	.0467	.192	1.761	51	N.S.
Eff	.1181	.138	.0824	.131	.0357	.181	1.424	51	N.S.
Dom	.0962	.109	.0841	.101	.0120	.111	.778	51	N.S.
Nega	.0997	.091	.1381	.097	-.0385	.134	-2.071	51	.028**
Relig	.0513	.121	.2500	.228	-.1987	.222	-6.469	51	.000*

Note: TC: Turkish Cypriot; Em: Empathic; Eff: Efficient; Dom: Dominant; Nega: Negative; Relig: Religiosity/ Conservatism ** $p <$ .05; * $p <$ .00

Auto and heterostereotypes between Turkish Cypriots and the British, showed that Turkish Cypriots viewed themselves as more empathic (paired t (49) = 4.229, p <.00), less negative (paired t (49) = -3.132, $p <$ .01) and less religious/ conservative (paired t (49) = -2.782, $p <$.01) than the British (see Table 3.2.b).

Table 3.2.b. Auto- and heterostereotypes between Turkish Cypriots and British

	TCs		British		Difference				
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	t-score	df	Sig
Em	.1771	.154	.0686	.105	.1086	.182	4.229	49	.000
Eff	.0971	.134	.1486	.147	-.0514	.202	-1.804	49	N.S.
Dom	.1075	.101	.0875	.108	.0200	.144	.984	49	N.S.
Nega	.0782	.081	.1291	.082	-.0509	.115	-3.132	49	.003
Relig	.0400	.109	.1400	.234	-.10	.254	-2.782	49	.008

Note: TC: Turkish Cypriot; Em: Empathic; Eff: Efficient; Dom: Dominant; Nega: Negative; Relig: Religiosity/ Conservatism ** $p < .05$; * $p < .00$

Finally in terms of the differences in auto and heterostereotypes of Turkish Cypriots with regard to Greeks, as can be seen in Table 3.2.c, it was found that Turkish Cypriots viewed themselves as more empathic (paired t (51) = 2.267, p <.50), less negative (paired t (51) = -2.701, p <.50) and less religious/ conservative (paired t (51) = -4.521, p <.00) than Greeks.

Table 3.2.c. Auto- and heterostereotypes between Turkish Cypriots and Greek

	TCs		Greek		Difference				
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	t-score	df	Sig
Em	.1593	.135	.1044	.127	.0549	.175	2.267	51	.028
Eff	.1181	.138	.0852	.103	.0330	.178	1.335	51	N.S.
Dom	.0962	.109	.1034	.095	-.0072	.098	-.535	51	N.S.
Nega	.0997	.090	.1381	.103	-.0385	.134	-2.071	51	.043*
Relig	.0513	.121	.2244	.235	-.1731	.276	-4.521	51	.000*

Note: TC: Turkish Cypriot; Em: Empathic; Eff: Efficient; Dom: Dominant; Nega: Negative; Relig: Religiosity/ Conservatism ** $p < .05$; * $p < .00$

In order to assess in- group favoritism specific comparison of higher ratings for positive characteristics and lower scores for negative characteristics were achieved. A paired samples t- test was employed to assess the mean differences between auto and heterostereotypes of Turkish Cypriot participants on the 4 dependent variables: empathic, efficient, dominant, negativity, and religiosity/ conservatism. Positive

characteristics were concentrated in the "empathic" dimension therefore, higher scores for Turkish Cypriots (autostereotypes) on the this scale as well as lower scores on the "negativity" scale were taken as evidence for in- group favoritism.

It seems the case that Turkish Cypriots show in- group favoritism in comparison to all three nations except for the Turkish, where despite regarding themselves less negatively than the Turkish, they do not perceive themselves as more "warm," "friendly," "kind," etc. than fellow Turkish individuals indicated in their non-significant empathy scores.

3.2.1. Scale differentiation of nations

In order to further determine whether various nation states were perceived as being more "empathic," "efficient," "dominant," "negative," or "religious/ conservative" multiple one- way analyses of variance were conducted, with national group as the independent variable and type of scale as the dependent variable. As can be seen from Table 3.2.1, the only scales to be significantly differentiated were those of efficiency, $F (2, 149) = 3.791$, $p < .05$ and religiosity/ conservatism, $F (2,149) = 3.444$, $p < .05$. Post hoc analyses were conducted in order to determine which nations were different from one another on the scales found to be significant. Bonferroni's post hoc comparison tests revealed that the British ($M = .149$, $SD = .147$) had significantly higher efficiency scores of than the Turkish ($M = .250$, $SD = .228$). It seems the case that Turkish Cypriots view the British as more efficient than the Turkish. As for the religiosity/ conservatism scores, a significant difference between the Turkish and British were found once again, such that the Turkish ($M = .250$, $SD = .228$) were perceived to be more religious/ conservative than the British ($M = .140$, $SD = .234$).

Table 3.2.1. Scale differentiation of nations

Variables	df	MS	F
Empathic	2	.007	.390
Error	147	.017	
Total	149		
Dominant	2	.007	.667
Error	147	.010	
Total	149		
Efficient	2	.063	3.791*
Error	147	.017	
Total	149		
Negative	2	.003	.310
Error	147	.009	
Total	149		
Religiosity	2	.183	3.444*
Error	147	.053	
Total	149		

Note: * $p < .05$

3.2.2. Features of Auto- and Heterostereotypes

In terms of uniformity, it was suggested that high uniformity could be inferred if percentages were in the 0 to 25%, or 75% to 100% range. Low uniformity was implied if most of the percentages were between the 25% and 75% range (Triandis, et al., 1982). According to this understanding, as can be seen in Table 3.2.2, the Turkish Cypriots seem to be quite conforming in their negativity scores regarding the nations; however, this is not the case in the rest of the scales. As for the uniformity scores of their own ratings, it was found that the percentages were all consistently uniform and hence above the 75% range (empathy = 89%, dominancy = 84.85, efficiency = 80.65%, negativity = 85.2%, and religiosity/ conservatism = 66.7%). It seems the case that Turkish Cypriots have a more clear understanding of their own nation and are in greater agreement regarding adjective traits.

Table 3.2.2. Percentages of endorsement

	Turkish Cypriot	Turkish	Greek	British
Empathic	89	62	62	56
Efficient	80.65	42	52	60
Dominant	84.85	50	60	52
Negative	85.20	82	86	84
Religiosity/ Conservative	66.67	64	50	32

Congruence was inferred when t- tests between auto- and heterostereotypes for each scale were not significant (Marin & Salazar, 1985). Congruence was observed in the stereotypes of the Turkish Cypriots and the Turkish on empathic, efficiency and dominancy scales and with the Greeks and British on efficiency and dominancy scales. Closer analyses revealed that the reason for this is that certain adjectives were frequently used to define nation group. For example, "extremely nationalistic" was assigned for more than two nations, both the Turkish and Greeks, "conceited" for Turkish Cypriots, Greeks and Britons, and "intelligent" for the Turkish Cypriots, Turkish, and British. This may be indicative of a basic set of stereotypes frequently endorsed when stereotyping a nation (Marin & Salazar, 1985).

In terms of direction of the stereotype content, although no significant differences between countries were found, it seems that Turkish Cypriots endorsed relatively positive stereotypes (seen from the empathy scores) for all nation groups (least for the British) yet endorsed negative stereotypes (most so for the Greeks) with greater uniformity.

4. Discussion

The aim of this chapter was to examine the content of the national stereotypes Turkish Cypriots held toward three national groups that have played a significant role in the historical and political situation of Turkish Cypriots, that is, the Turkish, Greek and British. Research suggests that national stereotypes are colored by the historical- political relationship between groups in question (Brown, 1986); therefore, it was expected that the socio- political relationship existing between these groups would be reflected in the national stereotypic content. Thus the uniformity (degree of agreement), direction (favorable vs. unfavorable) and quality (content) of the autostereotypes of Turkish Cypriots in addition to their heterostereotypes of the Turkish, Greek, and British were investigated.

4.1. Direction

It was found that the autostereotypes of Turkish Cypriots were more positive than their heterostereotypes, supporting the assertion that autostereotypes are generally more positive than heterostereotypes (Triandis et al., 1982). Also known as in-group bias, the tendency to view one's own group more favorably than other groups, was observed in comparison to each nation (except for the empathic scale with the Turkish). In- group favoritism is a widely reported phenomenon in both children and adults (Hinkle & Brown, 1990) and is mainly accounted for by the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). It is asserted that the presumed need of individuals to maintain self- regard is satisfied by viewing one's own group more positively than other groups. Being part of a group is stated to provide individuals with a sense of belongingness, contributing to a positive sense of self, the group member is said to preserve this by differentiating her or himself from others by making favorable comparisons between the in- group and relevant

91

out- group and maintaining positive group distinctiveness. It has been further suggested that groups of lower status and power may even show out- group favoritism (Hewstone et al., 2002), however regardless of the relative status and power differential with each national group, no evidence of out- group bias was reported among the Turkish Cypriot sample.

It has been suggested that wealthier and more economically developed are more admired than less developed countries, hence it has been claimed that developed nations will be evaluated more positive stereotypes (Marin & Salazar, 1985; LeVine & Campbell, 1972). This, however, does not seem to be the case with the sample of Turkish Cypriots who did *not* perceive the British (arguably, assumed to be most wealthy and economically developed in the sample) more positive (or "empathic" in this case) than any other of the national groups. This has been supported by previous research like Mc Andrew and colleagues (2000), who found that in nine different English- speaking countries, there were strong negative stereotypes of Americans (assuming America was the most wealthy nation in the sample).

4.2. Content

The literature cites many different theories attempting to account for stereotypic content (e.g. social role hypothesis, mirror image hypothesis). However, results demonstrated that evaluations made according to "empathic," "efficient," "dominant," "negative," or "religious/ conservative" scales varied mainly based on what Linssen and Hagendoorn (1994) name the structural nature of explanatory determinants. In other words, the position and features of the out- group in addition to the relationship between the two groups shaped the content of out- group stereotypes. In line with this theorizing is Brown (1986)'s assertion that stereotypes reflect the historical, societal or political relation between countries. Content is therefore said to reflect the type of relationship existing between countries

concerned (e.g. hostile nations are considered "aggressive," whereas allied nations are "friendly").

On this note, the stereotypes held toward the Turkish were of particular interest. The fact that the Turkish Cypriots and Turkish share a common nationality "Turk" but maintain in- group/ out- group status based on ethnic, social, and cultural characteristics made these stereotypes especially intriguing.

Although the Turkish were seen as more negative, they were not seen as less positive (their "empathic" scores were not significantly different from those of Turkish Cypriots). This seeming ambivalence in Turkish Cypriots perceptions of the Turkish is actually an ever- present social reality in the everyday lives of Turkish Cypriots. This ambivalence, maybe due to the fact that the Turkish immigrant population, living in Cyprus are usually uneducated and from rural, less developed regions of Turkey. Their majority population and risk of undermining the Turkish Cypriot culture may have been reflected in the negativity scores and endorsement of adjective traits such as "ignorant" or "aggressive." Kizilyurek and Gautier- Kizilyurek (2004) refer to this as "the growing tendency among the Turkish Cypriots to emphasize their difference vis- a- vis mainland Turks." On the other hand, Turkish Cypriots feel common ancestry and inevitable racial connectedness with the Turkish, plus they have the opportunity to see, through visiting students and the Turkish media that the Turkish population is not necessarily represented by those residing in Cyprus, hence high empathic scores and endorsement of adjective traits such as "courteous" or "friendly."

A similar ambivalence was observed in a study by Rustemli, Mertan, and Ciftci (2000). Native Turkish Cypriots were asked to evaluate both their own group and immigrant Turkish settlers on positive and negative traits of personal and social content. It was found that Turkish Cypriots demonstrated typical in- group

favoritism on positive traits yet differed in terms of negative traits. It was found that negative traits of social content (e.g. "conservative," "aggressive") were more applicable to Turkish immigrants than negative traits of personal content ("lack confidence," "lazy"). It seems apparent that Turkish Cypriots have not reached a consensus regarding their opinions about the Turkish, reflected in stereotypic content.

Results revealed that Turkish Cypriots viewed the Turkish as significantly more religious than the British. The reason may once again be due to the fact that the Turkish immigrants settled in North Cyprus are from rural and more religious backgrounds. Ladbury (1978), for instance, found that Turkish Cypriots reported the settlers' way of life as traditional and religious, characterizing it as "backward," "uncivilized" and "oriental."

It seems the likely that Turkish Cypriots view the Turkish as both friend (high or equal empathic scores) yet also foe (high negativity), which as stated may reflect the socio- political relationship and situation between the nations on the island, hence the results seem to support the contention that stereotypic content is a reflection of the type of relation (historical, societal, or political) present between countries concerned.

As for the British, they were perceived as the most efficient nation (significantly more than the Turkish). Linssen and Hagendoorn (1994) suggest that an attribution of efficiency is determined by perceived economic development, degree of industrialization, and government services (e.g. welfare) of the nation being stereotyped. In addition to this is the observation that characteristics associated with high- status, socially dominant groups within a nation are perceived as defining national characteristics or stereotypes by outsiders (Eagly & Kite, 1987). It is

therefore not surprising that the British received significantly higher scores of efficiency.

According to Linssen and Hagendoorn (1994), an attribution of dominancy is determined by geographical size and perceived political power and nationalism of the nation. It is interesting that this feature of stereotypic content received least hits from Turkish Cypriot respondents.

4.3. Uniformity

In terms of the uniformity of stereotypes, it is suggested that a stereotype which is uniform, is more likely to have social significance and predict other socially important responses, for instance, if 80% of a sample endorse a particular attribute as characteristic of a group then this is more meaningful than if only half of that group choose the trait. Furthermore a low level of endorsement (e.g. 20%) is also equally relevant suggesting that people are taking a stand to indicate a group does not have that particular attribute (Triandis et al., 1982).

It can easily be said that Turkish Cypriots are high in intragroup agreement in describing themselves reflected in the convergence of their scores, particularly in empathic, efficiency, dominance, and negativity scores which were all above the 80% convergence levels. Religiosity/ conservatism however was not as highly agreed on (66.7%).

Religiosity/ conservatism is an interesting variable since Turkish Cypriots were not consistent in their religiosity/ conservatism and also viewed all other comparison nations to be significantly more religious/ conservative than themselves. It seems that when it comes to religiosity/ conservatism, the only thing Turkish Cypriots are

in agreement on is that other nations are more religious and conservative than they are.

It is suggested that beliefs concerning one's own group may be brought into question, and subject to change following exposure to other groups, whereas heterostereotypes may remain unchallenged and hence uniform (McGrady & McGrady, 1976; Triandis & Vassilliou, 1967). The opposite to this situation was found in this sample as autostereotypes remained significantly uniform whereas heterostereotypes were generally between the 25- 75% congruence level, suggesting less agreement between Turkish Cypriots' definitions of the national groups.

Marin and Salazar (1985) observed that uniformity among respondents became lower when the groups being evaluated had experienced conflict. They claimed that conflict is likely to create differing emotional reactions between in- group members, which will be reflected in lower levels of uniformity, something not observed in non- conflictual groups. A mixture of desirable and undesirable attributes will create conflict among responses and reduce the uniformity. The fact that each of the national groups present in the sample played relevant and significant roles in the historical developments of Turkish Cypriots and still continue to influence the state of affairs on the island has created ambivalent emotions regarding each nation state. This maybe reflected in the low levels of agreement and less clarity of evaluations between Turkish Cypriots.

CHAPTER THREE

1. Introduction

According to the social categorization theory (Oakes et al., 1994; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987; Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarthy, 1994) our sense of self or identity is dependent on the categories we employ when defining the self. Changes in these categories influence our relationship with others, reflected in the content of stereotypes we use to define the "other" (Turner et al., 1987). It is argued that in situations where people define themselves in terms of a shared social category membership, there occurs a perceptual accentuation of intragroup similarities as well as intergroup differences which is the cause of intergroup discrimination and conflict. It is therefore suggested that contact occurring under conditions in which the salience of social categories are reduced may help to improve intergroup relations (Turner, 1981; Brewer & Miller, 1984).

Manipulating questionnaire formats are thought to affect the salience of social categories, activating particular social identities, encouraging comparative frames of reference and hence activating various attitudes and the social knowledge attached to these identities (Hogg & Abrams, 1988).

Cinnirella (1998) has suggested that stereotype rating tasks, which require respondents to rate both in- and out- groups are likely to lead to the activation of in-group identity, creating the opportunity for intergroup comparison processes and in-group distinctiveness to occur. He states that the nature of the stereotyping task will influence the level of abstraction of the respondent's social identity (in- group or out- group identity), which in turn is expected to reflect on the attitudes associated with such identities. Furthermore it is assumed that the content of stereotypes may

vary as the rating tasks make different social identities salient, at differing levels of abstraction (e.g. subordinate vs. superordinate identity).

In an attempt to provide evidence for the above assertions, Cinnirella (1998) demonstrated that in a 'rate only' condition Italians were perceived as in-group (i.e. fellow Europeans) by Britons but were perceived as out-groups in a "rate both" condition. It seems the situation that the "rate both" condition activated in- group and out- group comparison processes, inhibiting superordinate identities from arising.

In light of the above review, using an experimental questionnaire manipulation and varying the stereotype rating task presented to respondents, it was intended to invoke different levels of social identity in Turkish Cypriots. Manipulations of social categories or identities at a superordinate level (e.g. as "Cypriot" as opposed to "Turkish Cypriot" or "Greek Cypriot") may function to reduce stereotyping and discrimination by recategorizing at such a higher level of inclusion as suggested by Gaertner et al. (1989).

The aim of the study was to assess the stereotypes held by inhabitants living in Lefkoşa, on the north of the island, regarding the inhabitants of Lefkoşa's counterpart on the South side, Nicosia. These two towns are both the capital of each nation, with the largest communities residing there. Although once a united town centre, now it is divided by the "green line" guarded by troops on each side. In an attempt to replicate the findings of Hopkins and Moore (2001), it was hypothesized that the characterization of residents of Nicosia, by Lefkoşa' s residents would depend on whether national categories were invoked and on which national categories were used in defining self/ other, experimentally invoked by the researcher. It was predicted that Turkish Cypriots would see themselves as more similar to Greek Cypriots living passed the border, when the "Cypriot" common

identity was invoked; the reverse was expected when "other" categorizations such as Turkish/ Greek/ British were made salient.

2. Method

2.1. Participants

As can be seen in Table 2.1 research participants were a total of 150 Turkish Cypriots (67 women, 81 men, and 1 who stated no gender) all residing in Lefkoşa, North Cyprus. Out of these participants 94.7% were of Turkish Cypriot nationality alone (2% Turkish and 3.3% British also). The age ranged between 17 and 69 (M= 30.15, SD = 10.79). The majority of participants (70%) were of higher education, 24.7% high school, 2% secondary school and 2.7% primary school graduates. As for occupation, the majority were civil servants (54%), followed by students at (33.3%), and the remaining 12.7% were self- employed. While 85.3% of the participants were Muslims, 14.7% stated no religious affiliation. A greater number of the participants were of left- wing political view (35.53%), while only 19.3% with right wing- political view, 36.7% stated no political affiliation.

Table 2.1. Characteristics of the sample

Demographic Variables	Mean/ Frequency	Percentages
Gender		
Female	67	44.07%
Male	81	54%
Not Stated	1	
Age (Years)	30.15	
Nationality		
Turkish Cypriot (TC)	142	94.7%
TC and Turkish	3	2%
TC and British	5	3.3%
Place of Birth		
Cyprus	136	90.7%
Turkey	7	4.7%
United Kingdom	5	3.3%
Education		
Primary School	4	2.7%
Secondary School	32	2%
High School	37	24.7%
University	90	60%
Postgraduate	15	10%
Occupation		
Student	50	33.33%
Civil Servant	81	54%
Self- employed	19	12.7%
Religion		
Muslim	128	85.3%
NOS	22	14.7%
Political View		
Radical Left	2	1.96%
Left	19	18.63%
Close to Left	17	16.67%
Neutral	45	44.12%
Close to Right	4	3.92%
Right	0	0
Radical Right	8	14.7%

2.2. Procedure

Turkish Cypriot participants from Lefkoşa were given one of three types of questionnaires. In the first (control) questionnaire participants were asked to stereotype the inhabitants of their own town (Lefkoşa) as well as the inhabitants of the South counterpart (Nicosia), this same task remained constant and hence was completed in all three questionnaires, across all conditions. In the second questionnaire preceding the above task, participants were asked to stereotype the British and the Cypriot (B/ C condition). In the third questionnaire, participants were asked to stereotype the Turkish and Greek (T/ G condition) before stereotyping the two towns' inhabitants.

2.3. Measures

2.3.1. National Stereotypes

Participants initially were asked to fill out questions regarding relevant demographic information (such as gender, nationality, political affiliation). As stated by Hopkins and Moore (2001), a list of stereotypes were presented in a checklist fashion (a modified version of Katz & Braly, 1933). In the two experimental conditions participants were asked to select five adjectives they believed were most applicable to the nations they were assigned to rate (either Turkey and Greece/ Britain and Cyprus) in addition to this, they were asked to choose five stereotypes they believed best reflected the inhabitants of their own town (Lefkoşa) and those of Nicosia (hence Greek Cypriots).

2.3.2. Perceived Similarity

At the end of all questionnaires was a final group of questions assessing inter- town similarity. Participants were asked to complete five items measuring perceived similarity between Lefkoşa and Nicosia. Participants' responses were measured on a seven- point Likert scale (1= disagree strongly, 7= agree strongly), such that high scores indicated higher perceived similarity.

In order to be certain that these items were indicators of a perceived similarity measure; an exploratory factor analysis was computed on the five items. A Varimax Principal Axis Factoring (PAF) was performed which yielded two factors. The first (eigenvalue= 2.298, variance explained= 36.258 %) was defined by four items: "People in Lefkoşa and Nicosia are exactly the same as each other" (.73); "There are quite large differences between people in Lefkoşa and Nicosia" (-.68); "I consider myself to be very similar to most people from Nicosia" (.65); "I would be quite happy to live in Nicosia" (.61). The second factor (eigenvalue= 1.114, variance explained= 46.06 %) was defined by the remaining item: "I consider myself to be very similar to most people from Lefkoşa" (.46). Reliability analysis was also conducted in which Cronbach's alpha was found to be .75. The results can be seen in Table 2.3.2.

Table 2.3.2. Results of factor analysis of the perceived similarity scale

Items*	Factor	Communality	r	α
3. Nicosia	.731	.587	.577	.664
2. Difference	- .676	.615	.526	.693
1. Sameness	.647	.446	.549	.680
5. Happy	.610	.414	.504	.707
4. Lefkoşa (Factor 2)	.458	.240		

Note r = corrected item- total correlations; α= α if item deleted
*Original descriptions of the items to be found in Appendix F.

3. Results

Prior to analysis, the variables were examined through various SPSS programs for accuracy of data entry, missing values, and fit between distributions and the assumptions of multivariate of analysis, including normality, linearity, homogeneity of variance and regression. The original sample of 150 participants was entered into the analysis. Multiple one way analyses of variance, chi- square analyses, paired samples t- test were run.

3.1. Judging the nations: Stereotypes of the British, Turkish, Greek and Cypriot

In order to investigate the stereotypes of the British and Cypriots (B/C) as well as the Turks and Greeks (T/ G), the frequency with which each adjective was selected was analyzed. Table 3.1.a. shows the most frequently chosen adjectives for the British were "cold," "educated," "conceited," "quiet," "pleasure- loving"; adjectives chosen for Cypriots were "warm," "friendly," "sociable," "Loyal to family ties," and "pleasure- loving" (see Table 3.1.b.). As for the perceptions of the Turkish and Greek, it was found that Turkish Cypriots frequently used the adjectives "extremely nationalistic," "religious," "aggressive," "quick- tempered," "traditional," when assessing the Turkish as shown in Table 3.1.c. As for the Greeks, similarly "extremely nationalistic," "religious," were chosen in addition to "educated," "conceited," and "sly" (for further details see table 3.1. d).

Table 3.1.a. Frequency of adjectives selected for the British

The British			
Adjectives most frequently selected	**No. of participants selecting adjectives as British - defining**	**No. of participants selecting adjectives as Cypriot- defining**	**Significance**
Cold	35	0	10.693*
Educated	16	11	N.S.
Conceited	15	1	4.365*
Quiet	14	4	2.858**
Pleasure- loving	14	16	N.S.
Conservative	9	4	N.S.
Extremely Nationalistic	9	9	N.S.
Intelligent	9	11	N.S.
Industrious	9	3	N.S.
Gregarious	9	18	-2.024***

Note: *p < .00; **p < .01; ***p < .05

Table 3.1.b. Frequency of adjectives selected for the Cypriots

The Cypriot			
Adjectives most frequently selected	**No. of participants selecting adjectives as Cypriot - defining**	**No. of participants selecting adjectives as British- defining**	**Significance**
Warm	26	3	5.619*
Friendly	19	7	2.871***
Gregarious	18	11	2.024****
Loyal to family ties	17	3	3.694**
Pleasure- loving	16	14	N.S.
Loud	12	0	3.934*
Lazy	12	1	3.348**
Educated	11	16	N.S.
Intelligent	11	9	N.S.
Extremely Nationalistic	9	9	N.S.

Note: *p < .00; **p < .001; ***p < .01; *p* < .005

Table 3.1.c. Frequency of adjectives selected for the Turkish

The Turkish			
Adjectives most frequently selected	**No. of participants selecting adjectives as Turkish- defining**	**No. of participants selecting adjectives as Greek- defining**	**Significance**
Extremely nationalistic	20	27	N.S.
Religious	17	17	N.S.
Aggressive	16	2	3.988*
Quick- tempered	14	2	3.280**
Traditional	13	4	N.S.
Loyal to family ties	13	5	2.064***
Industrious	11	8	N.S.
Ignorant	9	1	2.447**
Conservative	9	8	N.S.
Intelligent	9	2	2.447***

Note: *$p < .00$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .05$

Table 3.1.d. Frequency of adjectives selected for the Greek

The Greek			
Adjectives most frequently selected	**No. of participants selecting adjectives as Greek- defining**	**No. of participants selecting adjectives as Turkish- defining**	**Significance**
Extremely nationalistic	27	20	N.S.
Religious	17	17	N.S.
Educated	14	6	4.335*
Conceited	13	0	4.149*
Sly	10	9	N.S.
Cold	10	2	N.S.
Warm	10	6	N.S.
Gregarious	9	2	2.189***
Ambitious	8	2	N.S.
Arrogant	8	1	2.447***

Note: *$p < .00$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .05$

Paired t- test analyses were conducted to see the extent to which differential stereotyping was used in the evaluation of each nation. It was revealed that Turkish Cypriots defined the British as cold (t (49) = 10.693, p < .00), quiet (t (49) = 2.858, p < .01), conceited (t (49) = 4.365, p < .00), and gregarious (t (49) = -2.024, p < .05) but differentially chose warm (t (49) = 5.619, p < .00), friendly (t (49) = 2.871, p < .01), loyal to family ties (t (49) = 3.694, p < .001), gregarious (t (49) = 2.024, p < .05), loud (t (49) = 3.934, p < .00), and lazy (t (49) = 3.348, p < .01) when defining Cypriots. The differential stereotype usage present between British and Cypriot was not so sharp as the differential stereotype usage between Greeks and Turks hence the greater nonsignificances between each adjective, however for the Turkish, differentially from the Greek, Turkish Cypriots chose aggressive (t (49) = 3.988, p < .00), quick tempered (t (49) = 3.280, p < .01), loyal to family ties (t (49) = 2.064, p < .05), ignorant (t (49) = 2.447, p < .01) and intelligent (t (49) = 2.447, p < .05) as defining the nation, conversely they chose arrogant (t (49) = 2.447, p < .05), conceited (t (49) = 4.149, p < .00) and gregarious (t (49) = 2.189, p < .05) as different nation defining stereotypes.

3.2. Judging Lefkoşa and Nicosia

3.2.1. Intertown Similarity

In order to see whether participants perceived themselves to be more similar to residents of Nicosia depending on the condition (B/C, T/G, or control), a one- way ANOVA with condition as the independent variable and perceived similarity scores as the dependent variable was conducted. Results revealed that the condition manipulation did not significantly vary the perceived similarity scores of participants, F (2, 149) = .818, N.S. Closer analysis shows a trend effect such that relative to the control condition (M = 2.62, SD = .81), the similarity between Lefkoşa and Nicosia was less in Turkish/ Greek experimental condition (M = 2.43,

SD = .74), however this did not reach significance level. Although once again not reaching significance, counter to the expectations, the British/ Cypriot (M = 2.47, SD = .84) did not increase perceived intertown similarity when compared to the control condition. It was found that contrary to the predictions, manipulating the salience of an in- group identity such as "Cypriot" by invoking the stereotyping of other nations did not increase the perception of intertown similarity.

The item that did not load on the first factor of perceived similarity also did not show any condition effect where $F (2, 149) = .661$, N.S.

3.2.2. Town Stereotype content

In order to explore the stereotypes for Lefkoşa and Nicosia, the frequency of adjectives chosen as town- defining were analyzed. The most frequently selected adjectives have been presented in tables 3.2.2. Because the manipulation was designed to shape stereotypic content of residents of Nicosia and to manipulate its in-group/ out- group status, only these adjectives will be presented, as these are relevant for the hypotheses.

It was assumed that as a result of the salience of a differential "other" as intended to be created in the experimental groups (B/ C and T/ G) differential stereotypic content of adjective selection would occur. More specifically it was expected that in comparison to the control condition, more negative stereotypes would be assigned to inhabitants of Nicosia in the T/ G condition than in the B/ C condition, where psychological distancing between towns were assumed to be less salient. Separate chi- square analyses were conducted, entering the condition and each adjective (stereotype) at each step. It is not necessary or possible to report the findings for each stereotype however it was once again found that no significant difference in adjective content was observed over conditions, except for the following four

adjectives which reached significance level: "quiet" (B/ C = 6, T/ G = 0, C = 2, chi-square = 7.314, p < .05) where Nicosians were seen as more quiet in the B/ C condition than the control condition; "traditional" was significant (B/ C = 2, T/ G = 8 C = 11, chi- square = 8.437, p < .05), Nicosians were seen more traditional in the T/ G condition than in the B/ C condition; "friendly" (B/ C = 5, T/ G = 6 C = 0, chi-square = 6.082, p < .05), Greek Cypriots were found to be more friendly in both experimental conditions than the control; "prejudiced" was also significant (B/ C = 5, T/ G = 5 C = 14, chi- square = 8.036, p < .05), Nicosians were seen more prejudiced in both experimental conditions than the control. It seems the situation that manipulating the superordinate category of "Cypriotness" had no effect in determining the content of Turkish Cypriots' stereotypes of Nicosian's such that the content remained quite constant over conditions.

Finally, the differential stereotype selection for Lefkoşa and Nicosia was analyzed. It was expected that differential stereotype preference for Nicosia and Lefkoşa would be observed as a result of change of condition. This was conducted by investigating the group- definingness of each group by determining the degree to which they were seen as differentially applicable. This can be observed more clearly in Table 3.2.2d. The first concerned the applicability of adjectives selected as Nicosia defining to persons from Nicosia (Row 1). The second concerned these adjectives' applicability to persons from Lefkoşa (Row 2). The third regarded the applicability of adjectives selected as applicable to Lefkoşa (Row 3). The fourth regarded the applicability of the same adjectives to Nicosia as well (Row 4). The differential applicability of these adjectives were further computed in three difference scores. The differential applicability of Nicosia- defining adjectives to Nicosia (alone) was obtained by subtracting the applicability of Nicosia- defining adjectives to people from Lefkoşa from the applicability of Nicosia- defining adjectives to Nicosians (Row 1 minus Row 2). The same computation was done for Lefkoşa- defining adjectives. The final measure was the differentiation between

Lefkoşa and Nicosia based on the summation of the difference scores of rows 3 and 6, taken as an index of degree of differential stereotyping of Lefkoşa and Nicosia.

The scores were analyzed on the last three difference measures in separate one- way ANOVAs. The stereotypes of Nicosia (Row 3) over conditions were not found to be significant, F (2, 149) = 1.460, p > .05. As for the stereotypes of Lefkoşa (Row 6) over conditions, it was also not found to be significant at F (2, 149) = .282, p > .05. Lastly the composite score of differential stereotyping (Row 7) was then entered analysed to see whether the effect of condition was significant on the difference scores of Nicosia and Lefkoşa, as differentially applicable stereotypes, no significant condition effect was found, F (2, 149) = .412, p> .05. Shifting the psychological border, in self/ other definitions was not affective in the stereotyping of the two nations, even when the seemingly inclusive in- group identification of "Cypriot" is invoked, it does not reduce differential stereotyping.

Table 3.2.2.a. Town Stereotype Content B/ C condition

British/ Cypriot Condition							
Adjectives most commonly selected for Lefkoşa	Frequency of Lefkoşa – defining adjectives	Frequency of Nicosia- defining adjectives	Significance	Adjectives most commonly selected for Nicosia	Frequency of Nicosia – defining adjectives	Frequency of Lefkoşa – defining adjectives	Significance
Gregarious	22	10	2.717**	Extr. nationalistic	20	1	5.067*
Conceited	13	17	N.S.	Conceited	17	13	N.S.
Warm	13	4	2.909**	Religious	14	1	3.775*
Pleas- Loving	12	10	N.S.	Cold	13	1	-2.646**
Friendly	12	5	2.189***	Educated	11	11	N.S.

*p< .00; **p< .01; ***p< .05

Table 3.2.2.b. Town Stereotype Content T/ G condition

Turkish/ Greek Condition							
Adjectives most commonly selected for Lefkoşa	Frequency of Lefkoşa – defining adjectives	Frequency of Nicosia- defining adjectives	Significance	Adjectives most commonly selected for Nicosia	Frequency of Nicosia – defining adjectives	Frequency of Lefkoşa – defining adjectives	Significance
Gregarious	22	10	3.280**	Extr. nationalistic	23	1	6.205*
Conceited	16	11	N.S.	Religious	17	1	4.257*
Pleas- Loving	15	13	N.S.	Pleasure- Loving	13	15	N.S.
Boastful	14	5	2.272***	Conceited	11	16	N.S.
Friendly	11	6	2.189***	Industrious	11	6	N.S.

*p< .00; **p< .01; ***p< .05

Table 3.2.2.c. Town Stereotype Content control condition

Control Condition

Adjectives most commonly selected for Lefkoşa	Frequency of Lefkoşa – defining adjectives	Frequency of Nicosia- defining adjectives	Significance	Adjectives most commonly selected for Nicosia	Frequency of Nicosia – defining adjectives	Frequency of Lefkoşa – defining adjectives	Significance
Gregarious	17	9	3.280**	Extr. nationalistic	26	2	6.516*
Educated	15	7	2.064***	Religious	19	3	4.413*
Boastful	15	9	N.S.	Conceited	14	11	N.S.
Pleasure- Loving	13	4	2.438***	Prejudiced	14	5	2.137***
Loud	11	3	2.452***	Cold	9	2	2.189***

*p< .00; **p< .01; ***p< .05

Table 3.2.2.d. Town Stereotypes: Percentage Scores of Adjective Applicability

	British/ Cypriot	Turkish/ Greek	Control
1. Applicability of Nicosia-defining Adjectives to Nicosia	82	86	84
2. Applicability of Nicosia-defining Adjectives to Lefkoşa	44	60	38
3. Difference in applicability of Nicosia- defining Adjectives to Nicosia and Lefkoşa (Row 1 minus Row 2)	38	26	46
4. Applicability of Lefkoşa -defining Adjectives to Lefkoşa	84	86	76
5. Applicability of Lefkoşa -defining Adjectives to Nicosia	60	62	56
6. Difference in applicability of Lefkoşa - defining Adjectives to Lefkoşa and Nicosia (Row 4 minus Row 5)	24	24	20
7. Differentiation between Nicosia and Lefkoşa (Summation of differences reported from Row 3 and 6)	62	50	66

4. Discussion

It was hypothesized that manipulating differential national categories in different stereotyping tasks would lead to reduced discrimination in the form of increased similarity between the two towns, Lefkoşa and Nicosia, also reflected in stereotypic content.

The results revealed that manipulations did not significantly shape the perceptions of intertown similarity, under all three conditions. Contrary to the predictions,

manipulating the salience of an in- group identity such as "Cypriot" by invoking the stereotyping of other nations did not increase the perception of intertown similarity.

It was assumed that as a result of the salience of a differential "other" as intended to be created in the experimental groups (B/ C and T/ G) differential stereotypic content of adjective selection would occur. More specifically it was expected that in comparison to the control condition, more negative stereotypes would be assigned to inhabitants of Nicosia in the T/ G condition than in the B/ C condition, where psychological distancing between towns were assumed to be less salient. The findings revealed that manipulating the superordinate category of "Cypriotness" had no effect in determining the content of Turkish Cypriots' stereotypes of Nicosians; the content remained quite constant over conditions.

Finally, in order to determine the group- definingness of the selected adjectives, the degree to which differential stereotype selection occurred for Lefkoşa and Nicosia was analyzed. It was expected that differential stereotype preference for Nicosia and Lefkoşa would be observed as a result of change of condition. It was found that shifting the psychological border in self- other definitions were not affective in the stereotyping of the two nations, even when the seemingly inclusive in- group identification of "Cypriot" was invoked, it did not reduce differential stereotyping, and Nicosian's were defined in a constant manner once again.

Why is this the case? A faulty design may have been the reason behind the inability to differentiate Turkish Cypriots' perceived similarity scores with Greek Cypriots in addition to constant stereotypic content despite the manipulation of social categorizations with differing comparative nations. Typically, studies of stereotype variation manipulate the context in which a group gains identity by varying the number and nature of the other groups to be judged (Diab, 1963; Haslam, et al., 1992). It is suggested that the problem with this procedure is uncertainty concerning

113

its impact on the groups' perceived similarity/ difference. As the number and nature of groups increase, an increase in the frame of references also increases, the range of dimensions along which similarity/ difference may be judged will therefore inevitably be greater. This may cause different people to choose different dimensions as relevant to differentiate or view themselves as similar, hence significant differences will not emerge (Hopkins & Moore, 2001).

Another explanation may be that experimental manipulations of such nature are not potent enough to create changes in relative social categorizations. Although the literature states that social identity is fluid and context- dependent, it may be the case that the social identity of individuals of hyphenated cultures such as that of Cypriots are deeply embedded, and difficult to manipulate by varying such contextual variables. The nature of the stereotyping task may not have been strong enough to vary the level of abstraction in which the respondent was hypothesized to switch to a different social identity (in this case to "Cypriot"). It is obvious that the questionnaire manipulation did not set a context in which the salience of social categories was influenced to the extent that comparative frames of references led to differential stereotyping. Evidence to this is the fact that on a scale ranging from 1 (not at all similar) to 7 (highly similar) the similarity scores of Turkish and Greek Cypriots did not exceed even the midpoint across conditions (Control, $M = 2.62$, $SD = .81$, Turkish/ Greek $M = 2.43$, $SD = .74$, British/ Cypriot $M = 2.47$, $SD = .84$). It seems the case that no matter what national category is invoked in Turkish Cypriots, they do not perceive themselves to be similar to Greek Cypriots. Nor do their representations of Greek Cypriots change, once again to exemplify this, the adjectives "extremely nationalistic," "religious," and "conceited" remained a popular choice in all three conditions.

In his study, Cinnirella (1998), for instance, found that the manipulations of stereotype rating tasks were influential on European but not British identity scores. He took this as evidence that European identity was still "embryonic" and "fragile" in comparison to British identity. Strangor and associates (1995) observed that short- term contextual factors may primarily influence uncommon categories as opposed to more stable, set categorizations (in this case, Turkish Cypriot identity). One alternative explanation is that Turkish Cypriots were unable to use the "Cypriot" identity as a more inclusive, common in- group. It may be the case that shifting the in- group/ out- group boundary which is assumed to cause members to view each other as closer and less differentiated from the self, was actually not a possible endeavor for Turkish Cypriots to endorse.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The case of Cyprus provides researchers a unique opportunity to study a multitude of social psychological phenomena within the intergroup relations field. As with most hyphenated nations, the issue of identity, stereotypes, intergroup conflict and contact are of major significance and are worthy of investigation.

In each chapter a different aspect of intergroup relations was dealt with and provided quite significant observations and findings. To briefly review the most striking findings, the consistent recurrence of in- group favoritism of Turkish Cypriots is noteworthy since Turkish Cypriots have been struggling with non-recognition from the international arena, an underdeveloped economy, high unemployment rates, as well as a mixture of controversial, cumbersome, unpredictable yet rarely positive political state of affairs. Despite these seemingly negative aspects of the Turkish Cypriots' life they still find security within their group membership which serves to enhance their esteem. This is generally advised since feelings of commitment and belongingness are thought to be optimal aspects of identity, such that individuals are encouraged to celebrate their group identity.

However, caution is advised at this point since indirect influence between in- group identification and negative out- group attitudes was found to be moderated by in-group attitudes. It seems the case that promoting ones national/ ethnic identity may actually manifest itself as ethnocentric viewpoints which are commonly associated with xenophobic attitudes (Brown, 1965).

It may be the case that an optimal amount of promotion of ones group identity be encouraged, that is enough to derive esteem and meet such needs, yet an extreme amount may be at the expense of the out- group and have negative consequences for

them. Hence perhaps such a curvilinear relationship exists between national/ ethnic identification and positive in- group attitudes in which after a certain point, further enhancement of identification will be consequential for out- group attitudes. This may be worth investigating in further studies.

As for stereotypes the most important contribution to the literature, still in debate over the source of national stereotypes (for a review see Hilton & von Hippel, 1996), was the finding that national stereotypes are a reflection of the historical, political, and social reality as experienced by the stereotyper. This also contributes to the understanding that stereotypes are not merely simplistic views about another group but actually carry the seeds of reality, reflecting a "kernel of truth." Triandis and Vassiliou (1967) concluded that for stereotypes to have high validity, they must be elicited from individuals with firsthand knowledge of the stereotyped group. This is the case with Turkish Cypriots, since they are exposed to these nations in their daily experiences, through both political discourse and extensive media coverage.

The most optimistic finding of the studies was the result that contact determined the direction of attitudes as positive and not negative. This of particular importance for groups of conflict, such that providing exposure to the "other," may be influential in changing what Lipmann (1922) cleverly stated "[the] picture in his head." In cases hyphenated cultures these stereotypes maybe typically embedded with deep seated negative, prejudicial and even discriminatory adjectives, traits and perhaps action plans. It is often stated that nations of deep- rooted conflict develop conflict-habituated behavior and attitudes which are often invisible to the individual, hence are not questioned and taken as commonplace (Diamond, 1997). Being placed in intergroup situations, however, may lead individuals to reconsider their conflict-habituation patterns and replace them with more positive attitudes which may in fact be what we observed in the study at hand.

To the contrary of the researchers' hypotheses, manipulations of differential national categories did not lead to reduced discrimination and increased similarity as suggested by social categorization theorists. Under no circumstance did Turkish Cypriots perceive Greek Cypriots as similar nor did they change the content of the stereotypes they used to evaluate them. Could this be a consequence of the high in-group identification observed in the previous research? Perhaps. It may be the case that in- group identification was reflected on their out- group attitudes in a way in which common ground was not plausible. It may be of significance to incorporate in- group identification into the manipulation and may be even control its effects.

Limitations: A shortcoming of the researches was the selection of the sample. Due to the fact that the participants were not completely randomised, and selected on more haphazard selection methods, a heterogeneous population, representing all of the demographic characteristics of the Turkish Cypriot people was not plausible. The fact that more than half of the respondents were of left wing political affiliation may be taken as an indication of this sample bias and argued to have influenced the direction of research findings. It is therefore advised that a less homogenous population be chosen for future research in order to control for such effects.

Research Implications: A recommendation to future researchers would be to conduct the same study with the Greek Cypriots. Distinguishing whether there is convergence between Turkish Cypriots' heterostereotypes of the Greek Cypriots and the autostereotypes of the Greek Cypriots (and vice versa), discovering the role of in- group identification on their in- and out- group attitudes as well as determining the influence of contact on their perceptions of Turkish Cypriots would be particularly enlightening and interesting. This can then lead to cross- cultural comparisons in which common problems are identified and further incorporated into a workshop- type intervention bringing Turkish and Greek Cypriots together.

It may the case that conflict resolution begins by changing the perceptions, attitudes, and deep- seated thoughts of the in- group regarding the out- group, which leave groups polarized. By identifying these factors it is the researcher's aspiration that a positive step forward has been made on the road to resolution of conflictual intergroup relations which plague so many nations, including Cyprus.

References

Ajzen, I., & Fishbein, M. (1980). *Understanding attitudes and predicting social behavior.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.Allport, G. (1954/ 1979). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge: Addison- Wesley.

Amir, Y. (1976). The role of intergroup contact in change of prejudice and ethnic relations. In P.A. Katz (Ed.), *Toward the Elimination of Racism* (pp. 245- 308). New York: Pergamon.

Amir, Y., Ben- Ari, R. (1985). International tourism, ethnic contact and attitude change. *Journal of Social Issues, 41,* 105- 115.

Anderson, L.S. (1995). *Outdoor adventure recreation and social integration: a social psychological perspective.* PhD Thesis. Univ. Minn, Minneapolis.

Ashmore, R.D., & Del Boca, F.K. (1981). Conceptual approaches to stereotypes and stereotyping. In D.L. Hamilton (Ed.), *Cognitive Processes in Stereotyping and Intergroup Behavior* (pp. 1- 36). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Bar- Tal, D. (1997). Formation and change of ethnic and national stereotypes: An integrative model. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 21 (4),* 491- 523.

Baumeister, R.F. (1998). The self. In D.T. Gilbert, S.R. Fiske, & G. Linzey (Eds.), *The Handbook of Social Psychology.* New York: McGraw- Hill.

Bettencourt, B.A., Brewer, M.B., Croak, M.R., & Miller, N. (1992). Cooperation and the reduction of intergroup bias: The role of reward structure and social orientation. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 28*, 301- 319.

Berrien, F. (1969). Stereotype similarities and contrasts. *Journal of Social Psychology, 78,* 173- 83.

Berry, J., Kalin, R., & Taylor, D. (1977). *Multiculturalism and ethnic attitudes in Canada*. Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada.

Billig, M. (1987). *Arguing and thinking*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Bodenhausen, G.V., Kramer, G.P., & Susser, K. (1994). Happiness and stereotypic thinking in social judgement. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 66*, 621- 32.

Branscombe, N.R., & Wann, D.L. (1994). Collective self- esteem consequences of out- group derogation when a valued society identity is on trial. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 24*, 641- 57.

Bratt, C. (2002). Contact and attitudes between ethnic groups: A survey- based study of adolescents in Norway. *Acta Sociologica, 45*, 107- 125.

Brewer, M., & Campbelll, P.T. (1976). *Ethnocentrism and intergroup attitudes*. New York: Gudykunst, Hammer.

Brewer, M.B., & Miller, N.E. (1984). Beyond the contact hypothesis: Theoretical perspectives in desegregation: In N. E. Miller & M. B. Brewer (Eds.), *Group Conflict: The psychology of Desegregation* (pp. 123- 146). Academic Press: New York.

Brewer, M.B., & Silver, M.D. (2000).Group distinctiveness, social identity, and collective mobilization. In S. Stryker, T. Owens, & R. White (Eds.), *Self, identity and social movements.* Minneapolis, MN: Uni of Minnesota Press.

Brigham, H. (1971). Ethnic stereotypes. *Psychological Bulletin, 76*, 15- 38.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1961). The mirror image in Soviet- American relations: A social psychological report. *Journal of Social Issues, 17*, 45- 46.

Brophy, I. N. (1946). The luxury of anti- negro prejudice. *Public opinion Quarterly*, 9, 456- 66.

Brown, R. (1965). *Social Psychology*. New York: Free Press.

Brown, R. (1995). *Prejudice: It's Social Psychology*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Campbell, D.T. (1967). Stereotypes and the perception of group differences. *American Psychologist, 22*, 817- 29.

Caspi, A. (1984). Contact hypothesis and interage attitudes: A field study of cross- age contact. *Sociological Social Research, 57,* 342- 55.

Cinnirella, M. (1998). Manipulating stereotype rating tasks: understanding questionnaire context effects on measures of attitudes, social identity and stereotypes. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology, 8,* 345- 362.

Clark, K., & Clark, M. (1947). Racial identification and preference in Negro children. In T. Newcomb & E. Harley (Eds.), *Readings in social psychology* (pp. 551- 60). New York: Holt.

Cohen, E.G. (1972). Interracial interaction disability. *Human Relations, 25*, 9- 24.

Cook, S.W. (1978). Interpersonal and attitudinal outcomes in cooperating interracial groups. *Journal of Research and Development in Education, 12,* 97- 113.

Cross, W. (1991). *Shades of black: Diversity in African- American identity*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Deaux, K. (1996). Social identification. In E.T. Higgins & A.W. Kruglanski (Eds.), *Social psychology: Handbook of Basic Principles*. New York: Guilford.

Desforges, D.M., Lord, C.G., Ramsey, S.L., Mason, J.A., Van Leeuwin, D., West, S.C, & Lepper, M.R. (1991). Effects of structured cooperative contact on changing negative attitudes toward stigmatized social groups. *Journal of Social and Personality Psychology, 60,* 531- 544.

Deutsch, M., & Collins, M. (1951). *Interracial Housing: A Psychological evaluation of a social experiment.* Minneapolis: University, Minneapolis Press.

Devine, P.G. (1989). Stereotypes and prejudice: Their automatic and controlled components. *Journal of Social and Personality Psychology, 56,* 5- 18.

Diamond, L. (1997). Training in conflict- habituated systems: lessons from Cyprus. *International Negotiations, 2,* 353- 80.

Ditto, P.H., & Lopez, D.A. (1993). Motivated scepticism: Use of differential decision criteria for preferred and nonpreferred conclusions. *Journal of Social and Personality Psychology, 63,* 568- 84.

Dovidio, J.F., Mann, J., Gaertner, S.L. (1989). Resistance to affirmative action: the implications of aversive racism. In F.A. Blanchard & F.J. Crosby (Eds.), *Affirmative Action in Perspective* (pp. 83- 102). Springer: New York.

Eagly, A., & Kite, M. (1987). Are stereotypes of nationalities applied to women and man? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 53,* 451- 62.

Eagly, A.H. (1995). The science and politics of comparing women and men. *American Psychologist, 50*, 145- 58.

Edwards, A. (1940). Four dimensions in political stereotypes. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 35,* 566- 72.

Ellemers, N., Spears, R., & Doosje, B. (1999). *Social identity: Context, commitment, content*. Blackwell: Oxford.

Ellemers, N., Kortekaas, P., & Ouwerkerk, J. (1999). Self- categorization, commitment to the groups and group self- esteem as related but distinct aspects of social identity. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 29*, 371-89.

Ellemers, N., Wilke, H., & van Knippenberg, A. (1993). Effects of the legitimacy of low group or individual status on individual and collective identity enhancement strategies. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *64*, 766- 78.

Esses, V.M., Haddock, G., & Zanna, M.P. (1993). Values, stereotypes and emotions as determinants of intergroup attitudes. In D.M. Mackie & D.L. Hamilton (Eds.). *Affect, cognition, and stereotyping: Interactive Processes in Group Perception* (pp. 77- 102). San Diego: Academic.

Everett, J.E., & Stening, B.W. (1987). Stereotyping in American, British and Japanese corporations in Hong Kong and Singapore. *Journal of Social Psychology, 127*, 445- 60.

Feshbach, S. (1994). Nationalism, patriotism, and aggression: a clarification of functional differenes. In L.R. Huesmann (Ed.), *Aggressive Behavior: Current Perspectives* (pp. 275- 91). New York: Plenum.

Fiske, S.T. (1993). Controlling other people: the impact of power on stereotyping. *American Psychologist, 48*, 621- 28.

Ford, T.E., & Strangor, C. (1992). The role of diagnosticity in stereotype formation:

perceiving group means and variances. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 63*, 356- 67.

Gaertner, S.L., Mann, J., Murrell, A., & Dovidio, J.F. (1989). Reducing intergroup bias: The benefits of recategorization. *Journal of Social Psychology, 57*, 239- 249.

Gaertner, S.L., Dovidio, J.F., Anastasio, P.A., Bachman, B.A., & Rust, M.C. (1993).The common in-group identity model: recategorization and the reduction of intergroup bias. In W. Stroebe and M. Hewstone (Eds.), *European Review of Social Psychology*, (Vol. 4, pp. 1- 26). Chichester, UK: Wiley.

Gaertner, S. Dovidio, J.F., Banker, B.S., Houlette, M., Johnson, K.M., & McGlynn, E.A. (2000). Reducing intergroup conflict: From superordinate goals to decategorization, recategorization and mutual differentiation. *Group Dynamics Theory: Research and Practice, 4 (1),* 98- 114.

Garson, D. (2001). Structural equation modeling. Retrieved from the Web February 10, 2003. http://www2.chass.ncsu.edu/garson/pa765/structur.htm

Hadjipavlou (2000). Inter- ethnic stereotype, neighborliness, separation: Paradoxes and challenges in Cyprus. *Journal of Mediterranean Studies, 13 (2)*, 281- 317.

Hagendoorn, L. & Hraba, J. (1989). Foreign, different, deviant, seclusive and working class: anchors to an ethnic hierarchy in the Netherlands. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 12 (4)*, 441- 68.

Haslam, S.A., Turner, J.C., Oakes, P.J., & McGarthy, C (1992). Context Dependent variation in social stereotyping 1: the effects of intergroup relations as mediated by social change and frame reference. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 22*, 3- 20.

Haslam, S.A., & Turner, J.C. (1995). Context- dependent variation in social stereotyping 3: extremism as a self- categorical basis for polarized judgement. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 25*, 341- 71.

Haslam, S.A., Oakes, P.J., Reynolds, K.J., & Mein, J. (1999). Rhetorical unity and social division: A longitudinal study in Australian self- stereotypes. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 2,* 265- 280.

Herek, G.M., & Capitanio, J.P. (1996). "Some of my best friends": Intergroup contact, concealable stigma, and heterosexuals' attitudes toward gay men and lesbians. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 22*, 412- 24.

Helms, J. (1990). *Black and white racial identity: Theory, research and practice*. New York: Greenwood.

Hewstone, M.R.C., & Brown, R.J. (1986). Contact is not enough: an intergroup perspective on the "contact hypothesis". In M. Hewstone & R. Brown (Eds.), *Contact and conflict in intergroup encounters* (pp. 1- 44). Cambridge. MA: Addison- Wesley.

Hewstone, M., & Cairns, E. (2001). Social psychology and intergroup conflict. In D. Chirot and M.E.P Seligman (Eds.), *Ethnopolitical warfare: causes, consequences, and possible solutions* (pp. 319- 342). Washington DC: American Psychological Association.

Hewstone, M., Rubin, M., & Willis, H. (2002). Intergroup Bias. *Annual Review of Psychology, 53*, 575- 604.

Hilton, J.L. & von Hippel, W. (1996). Stereotypes. *Annual Review of Psychology, 47,* 237- 71.

Hinkle, S., Taylor, L.A., Fox- Cardamone, D.L., & Cook, S. (1989). Intragroup identification and intergroup differentiation: A multicomponent approach. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 28,* 305- 17.

Hinkle, S., & Brown, R.J. (1990). Intergroup comparisons and social identity: some links and lacunae. In D. Abrams & M.A. Hogg (Eds.), *Social Identity Theory: Constructive and Critical Advances* (pp. 48- 70). New York: Harvester, Wheatsheaf.

Hogg, M. A., & Turner, J.C. (1987). Intergroup behaviors, stereotyping the salience of social categories. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 26*, 325- 340.

Hogg, M.A., & Abrams, D. (1988). *Social Identifications: A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes*. London: Routledge.

Hopkins, N. & Moore, C. (2001). Categorizing the neighbors: Identity, distance and stereotyping. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 64 (3),* 239- 252.

Islam, M.R., & Hewstone, M. (1993). Dimension of contact as predictors of intergroup anxiety, perceived out- group variability and out- group attitude: An integrative model. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 19*, 700- 710.

Iwao, S., & Triandis, H.C. (1993). Validity of auto- and heterostereotypes among Japanese and American students. *Journal of Cross Cultural Psychology, 24 (4),* 428- 444.

Jackson, J.W. (1999). How variations in social structure affect different types of intergroup bias and different dimensions of social identity in a multi-intergroup setting. *Group and Intergroup Relations, 2*, 145- 173.

Jackson, J.W. & Smith, E.R. (1999). Conceptualizing social identity: A new framework and evidence for the impact of different dimensions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 25*, 120- 35.

Johnson, D.W., & Johnson, R.T. (1984). Relationships between black and white students in intergroup cooperation and competition. *Journal of Social Psychology, 125,* 421- 428.

Jonas, K., & Hewstone, M. (1986). The assessment of national stereotypes: A methodological study. *Journal of Social Psychology, 126 (6),* 745-754.

Jones, S., & Diener, E. (1976). Ethnic preference of college students for their own and other racial groups. *Social Behavior and Personality, 4 (2),* 225- 31.

Jost, J.T., & Banaji, M.R. (1994). The role of stereotyping in system- justification and the production of false consciousness. *British Journal of Social psychology, 33,* 1- 27.

Judd, C.M., Ryan, C.S., & Park, B. (1991). Accuracy in the judgment of in- group and out- group variability. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 61,* 366- 79.

Judd, C.M., & Park, B. (1993). Definition and assessment of variability at the individual and group levels. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 54,* 778- 88.

Jussim, L. (1991). Social perception and social reality: a reflection- construction model. *Psychological Review, 98,* 54- 73.

Katz, D., & Braly, K.W. (1933). Racial stereotypes of one hundred college students. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 28*, 280- 90.

Kephart, W.M. (1957). *Racial factors and Urban Law Enforcement*. Philadelphia: University Press.

Kirchler, E. & Zani, B. (1995). Why don't they stay at home? Prejudices against ethnic minorities in Italy. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology, 5,* 59- 65.

Krueger, J. (1996). Probabilistic national stereotypes. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 26,* 961- 80.

La Piere, R.T. (1936). Type- rationalizations of group antiplay. *Social Forces, 15*, 232- 37.

Lambert, W. Mermigis, L., & Taylor, D. (1986). Greek Canadians' attitudes toward own group and other Canadian ethnic groups: A test of the multiculturalism hypothesis. *Canadian Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 18*, 35- 51.

Landis, D., Hope, R.O., & Day, H.R. (1984). Training for desegregation in the military. In N. Miller & M.B. Brewer (Eds.), *Groups in contact: the psychology of desegregation* (pp. 257- 78). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

Lee, Y.T. (1991). In- group preference and homogeneity among African American and Chinese American students. *Journal of social Psychology, 133*, 225- 35.

LeVine, R.A., & Campbell, D.T. (1972). *Ethnocentrism: Theories and conflict, ethnic attitudes and groups behaviour.* New York: John Wiley.

Levinson, D. (1950). The study of ethnocentric ideology. In T. Adorn, E. Frenkel- Brunswik, D. Levinson, & R.N. Sanford (Eds.), *The Authoritarian Personality* (pp. 102- 150). New York: Harper.

Linssen, H., & Hagendoorn, L. (1994). Social and geographical factors in the explanation of the context of European nationality stereotypes. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 33,* 165- 82.

Lipmann, W. (1922). *Public Opinion*. New York: Harcourt, Brace.Mackie, D. M., & Smith, E.R. (1998). Intergroup relations: insights from a theoretically integrative approach. *Psychological Review, 105,* 499- 529.

Marin, G. & Salazar, J.M. (1985). Determinants of hetero- and autostereotypes: Distance, level of contact and socioeconomic development in seven nations. *Journal of Cross- Cultural Psychology, 16,* 403- 22.

Masson, C., & Verkuyten, M. (1993). Prejudice, ethnic identity, contact and ethnic group preferences among Dutch young adolescent well- being. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 23,* 156- 68.

Mavratas, C.V. (1999). In- group identification and consciousness in everyday life: Towards a sociology of knowledge of Greek- Cypriot nationalism. *Nations and Nationalism, 5 (1),* 91- 104.

McAndrew, F.T. (1990). Auto- and heterosstereotypes in Pakistani, French and American College students. *Journal of Social Psychology, 130 (3),* 341- 51.

McAndrew, F.T., Akande, A., Bridstock, R., Mealey, L., Gordon, S.C., Scheib, J.E., Akande- Adetoun, B., Odewale, F., Morakinyo, A., Nyahete, P., & Mubvakure, G. (2000). A multicultural study of stereotyping in english- speaking countries. *The Journal of Social Psychology, 140(4),* 487- 502.

McCauley, C. Stitt, C.L., & Segal, M. (1980). Stereotyping: from prejudice to Prediction. *Psychological Bulletin, 87*, 195- 208.

McGrady, R.E., & McGrady, J.B. (1976). Effect of direct exposure to foreign target groups on descriptive stereotypes held by American students. *Social Behavior and Personality, 4*, 233- 39.

Meggit, M.J. (1962). *Desert people.* Sydney: Angus & Robertson.

Messick, D. M., & Mackie, D. M. (1989). Intergroup Relations. *Annual Review of Psychology, 40*, 45- 81.

Middleton, J. (1960). *Lugbara religion.* London: Oxford University Press.

Mummendey, A., & Otten, S. (1998). Positive- negative asymmetry in social discrimination. In W. Stroebe & M. Hewstone (Eds.), *European Review of Social Psychology* (Vol.9, pp. 107- 143). Chichester, England: Wiley.

Mummendey, A., & Wenzel (1999).Social discrimination and tolerance in intergroup relations: reactions to intergroup difference. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 3,* 158- 74.

Negy, C., Shreve, T.L. Jensen, B.J., & Uddin, N. (2003). Ethnic identity, self-esteem, and ethnocentricism: A study of Social identity Theory versus multicultural theory of development. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 9*, 333- 344.

Nelson, L.J., & Miller, D.T. (1995). The distinctiveness effect in social-categorization: a cognitive flexibility interpretation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 59,* 411- 25.

Nichols, K.R., & McAndrew, F.T. (1984). Stereotyping and autostereotyping in Spanish, Malaysian, and American college students. *Journal of Social Psychology, 124,* 179- 89.

Oakes, P.J., & Turner, J.C. (1990). Is information processing the cause of Stereotyping? In W. Stroebe, & M. Hewstone (Eds.), *European Review of Social Psychology* (Vol.1, pp. 111-135). Chichester, UK: Wiley.

Oakes, P.J., Haslam, S.A, & Turner, J.C. (1994). *Stereotyping and social identity*. Oxford: Blackwell.

O' Driscoll, M., Haque, A., & Oshake, T. (1983). Effects of contact and perceived attitude differences on social distance among Australian, Japanese, and Pakistani students. *Journal of Social Psychology, 120*, 163-8.

Peabody, D. (1985). *National Characteristics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Perreault, S., & Bourhis, R.Y. (1999). Ethnocentrism, social identification, and discrimination. *Personality and Social Psychological Bulletin, 25*, 92- 103.

Pettigrew, T.F. (1996). *How to think like a social scientist*. New York: Harper-Collins.

Pettigrew, T.F. (1998). Intergroup contact theory. *Annual Review of Psychology, 49,* 65- 85.

Phinney, J.S. (1989). Stages of ethnic identity development in minority group adolescents. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 9*, 34- 49.

Phinney, J.S. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: Review of research. *Psychological Bulletin, 108,* 499- 514.

Phinney, J.S. (1996). Understanding ethnic diversity. *American Behavioral Scientist, 40,* 143- 152.

Phinney, J.S., & Devich- Navarro, M. (1997). Variations in bicultural identification among African Americans and Mexican American Adolescents. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 7,* 3- 32.

Phinney, J.S., Ferguson, D.L., & Tate, J.D. (1997). Intergroup attitudes among ethnic minority adolescents: A causal model. *Child Development, 68 (5)*, 955- 969.

Poppe, E., & Linssen, H. (1999). In- group favouritism and the reflection of realistic

      dimensions of difference between national states in Central and Eastern

      European nationality stereotypes. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 38,*

      85- 102.

Powers, D.A., & Ellsion, C.G. (1995). Interracial contact and black racial attitudes:

      the contact hypothesis and selectivity bias. *Sociological Forces, 74*, 205- 26.

Ray, J.J. (1983). Racial attitudes and the contact hypothesis. *Journal of Social*

      Psychology, 119, 3- 10.

Robinson, R.J., Keltner, D., Ward, A., & Ross, L. (1995). Actual versus assumed

      differences in construal: realism in intergroup perception and conflict.

      Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 68, 404- 17.

Rogler, L., Cooney, R., Ortiz, V. (1980). Intergenerational change in ethnic identity

      in The Puerto Rican family. *International Migration in Review, 14*, 193-

      214.

Rothbart, M., Dawes, R., & Park, B. (1984). Stereotyping and sampling biases in

      intergroup perception. In J.R. Elsier (Ed.), *Attitude Judgement* (pp. 109- 34).

      New York: Springer- Verlag.

Rustemli, A., Mertan, B., & Ciftci, O. (2000). In- group favouritism among native

      and immigrant Turkish Cypriots: Trait evaluations of in- group and out-

      group targets. *The Journal of Social Psychology, 140 (1),* 26- 34.

Sherif, M. (1966). *Groups Conflict and Cooperation: Their Social Psychology*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Sidanus, J. (1993). The psychology of group conflict and the dynamics of oppression: a social dominance perspective. In S. Iyengar, W.J. & McGuire (Eds.), *Explorations in Political Psychology* (pp. 183- 219). Durham, NC. Duke University Press.

Singh, V. (1977). Some theoretical and methodological problems in the study of ethnic identity: A cross- cultural perspective. *New york academy of sciences: annals, 285,* 32- 42.

Smith, E.R. (1993). Social identity and social emotions: toward new conceptualizations of prejudice. In D.M. Mackie & D.L. Hamilton (Eds.), *Affect, cognition, and stereotyping: Interactive Processes in Group Perception* (pp. 77- 102)*.* San Diego: Academic.

Snyder, M., & Miene, P. (1994). On the functions of stereotypes and prejudice. In M.P. Zanna and J.M. Olson (Eds.), *Psychology of prejudice: The Ontario Symposium* (Vol. 7, pp. 33-54)*.* Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Spears, R., Oakes, P.J., Ellemrs, N., & Haslam, S.A. (1997). *The social psychology of stereotyping and group life*. Oxford and New York: Blackwell.

Stephan, W.G. (1987). The contact hypothesis in intergroup relations. *Review of Personality and Social Psychology, 9,* 13- 40.

Stephan, W.G., & Rosenfield, D. (1982). Racial and ethnic stereotypes. In A.G. Miller (Ed.), *In the eye of the beholder*. London: Praeger.

136

Stephan, W.G. (1989). A cognitive approach to stereotyping. In D. Bar- Tal, C. F. Graumann, A.W. Kruglanski, & W. Stroebe (Eds.), *Stereotyping and Prejudice* (pp. 37- 57). New York: Springer- Verlag.

Strangor, C., & Duan, C. (1991). Effects of multiple task demands upon memory for information about social groups. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 27*, 357- 78.

Swartz, M.J. (1961). Negative ethnocentrism. *Journal of Conflict Resolution, 5,* 75- 81.

Tabachnick, B. G., & Fidell, L. S. (2000). *Using multivariate statistics* (4th ed.). USA: Allyn and Bacon.

Tajfel, H. (1969). Cognitive aspects of prejudice. *Journal of Social Issues, 25*, 79- 97.

Tajfel, H., Billig, M., Bundy, R. P. & Flament, C. (1971). Social categorization and intergroup behaviour. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 1,*149- 77.

Tajfel, H. (1972). Social categorization. In S. Moscovici (Ed.), *Introduction a la Psychologie Sociale*. Paris: Larousse.

Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human Groups and Social Categories: Studies in Social Psychology*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Tajfel, H. & Turner, J.C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergorup behaviour. In S. Worccel, & W.G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (2nd Ed.). Chicago: Nelson- Hall.

Ting- Toomey, S. (1981). Ethnic identity and close friendships in Chinese-American college students. *International Journal of Intercultural relations, 5,* 383- 406.

Turner, J.C. (1981). The experimental social psychology of intergroup behavior. In J.C. Turner & H. Giles (Eds.), *Intergroup Behavior* (pp. 66- 101). Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Turner, J.C. (1985). Social Categorization and the self- concept: A social cognitive theory of group behavior. In E. J. Lawler (Ed.), *Advances in group processes* (Vol. 2). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Turner, J.C. (1987). A self- categorization theory. In J.C. Turner., M.A. Hogg, P.J Oakes, S. Reicher, & M. Wetherell (1987), *Rediscovering the social group: A self- categorization theory*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Turner, J.C., Hogg, M.A., Oakes, P.J., Reicher, S., & Wetherell, M. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group: A self- categorization theory*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Turner, J.C., Oakes, P.K., Haslam, S.A., & McGarthy, C. (1994). Self and collective: Cognition and social context. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 20,* 454- 463.

Turner, J.C. (1999). Some current issues in research on social identity and self-categorization theories. In N. Ellemers, R. Spears, & B. Doosje (Eds.), *Social Identity* (pp. 6- 34). Blackwell: Oxford.

Triandis, H.C., Lisansky, J., Setiadi, B., Chang, B., Marin, G., & Betancourt, H. (1982). Stereotyping among Hispanics and Anglos. *Journal of Cross- Cultural Psychology, 13,* 409- 26.

Triandis, H.C., & Vassiliou, V. (1967). Frequency of contact and stereotyping. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 7(3),* 316- 28.

Tzeng, O., & Jackson, J. (1994). Effects of contact, conflict, and social identity, on interethnic group hostilities. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 18,* 259- 276.

Tzuriel, D., & Klein, M.M. (1977). Ego identity: effects of ethnocentrism, ethnic identification, and cognitive complexity in Israeli, Oriental, and Western ethnic groups. *Psychological Reports, 40,* 1099- 1110.

Watson, G. (1947). *Action for Unity*. New York: Harper.

Werth, J.L., & Lord, C.G. (1992). Previous conceptions of the typical group member and the contact hypothesis. *Basic Applied Social Psychology, 13*, 351- 69.

White, C., & Burke, P. (1987). Ethnic role identity among Black and White college students: an interactionist approach. *Sociological perspectives, 30*, 310- 331.

Wilder, D.A. (1986). Social categorization: Implications fro creation and reduction of intergroup bias. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* (Vol. 19, pp. 291- 355). New York: Academic Press.

Wilder, D.A., & Thompson, J.E. (1988). Assimilation and contrast effects in the judgments of groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 54,*62- 73.

Wilder, D.A. (1993). The role of anxiety in facilitating stereotypic judgment of out- group behavior. In D.M. Mackie & D.L. Hamilton (Eds.), *Affect, cognition, and stereotyping: Interactive Processes in Group Perception* (pp. 87- 109). San Diego: Academic.

Williams, R.M. (1947). *The reduction of Intergroup tensions*. New York: Social Science Resource Council.

Vanbeselaere, N. (1996). The impact of differentially valued overlapping categorizations upon the differentiation between positively, negatively and neutrally evaluated social groups. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 26*, 75- 96.

Von Ehrenfels, V.R. (1957). North- South polarization: a study in the typicality of attitudes. *Centemary Volume, University of Madras, 28,* 85- 103.

Von Ehrenfels, V.R. (1961). A trend in the development of national units. *Tamil Culture, 9*, 1- 12.

Von Hippel, W., Jonides, J., Hilton, J.C. & Narayan, S. (1993). Inhibitory effect of schematic processing on perceptual encoding. *Journal of Social and Personality Psychology, 64,* 921- 35.

The aim of this pack of questionnaires is to determine your thoughts and feelings on various issues regarding your perceptions on people in general as well as nationality, religion and identity. There are no correct answers to the questions therefore it is important that you answer truthfully. Your answers will be kept confidential and will be used for research purposes alone. You may contact the researcher with any questions you may have.

Thank you for participating.

Sex: F ( )   M( )

Age: _____

Education: _____

Occupation: _____

Nationality: _____

Religion: _____

Political affiliation:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Radical Left	Left	Close to Left	Neutral	Close to Right	Right	Radical Right

Appendix B- Social Identity Scale

1. To what extent do you feel Turkish?

|------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
Extremely   Not at all
Turkish   Turkish
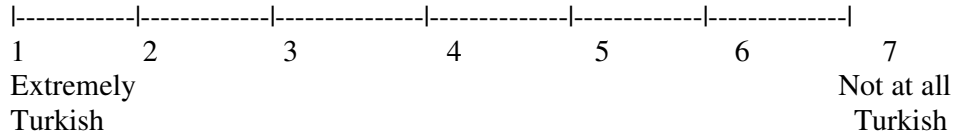
2. To what extent do you feel Cypriot?

|------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
Extremely   Not at all
Cypriot   Cypriot
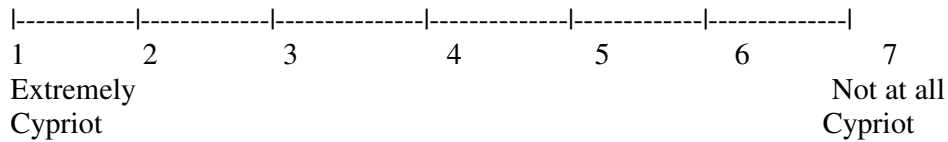
3. To what extent do you feel Turkish Cypriot?

|------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
Extremely   Not at all
Turkish Cypriot   Turkish Cypriot
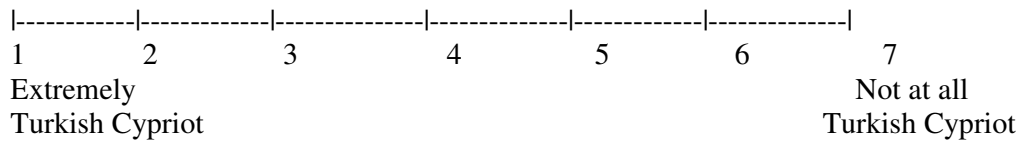
4. To what extent do you feel strong ties with other Turkish Cypriot people?

|------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
Extremely strong ties   No ties at all
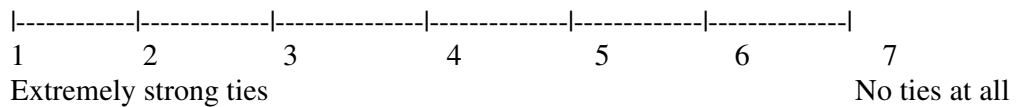
5. To what extent do you feel pleased to be Turkish Cypriot?

|------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
Extremely pleased   Not at all please
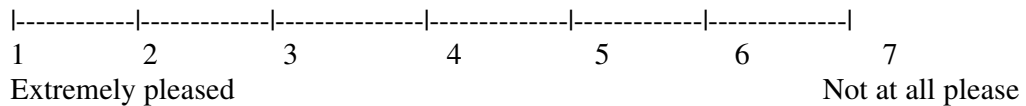
6. How similar do you think you are to the average Turkish Cypriot person?

|------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
Extremely similar   Not at all similar
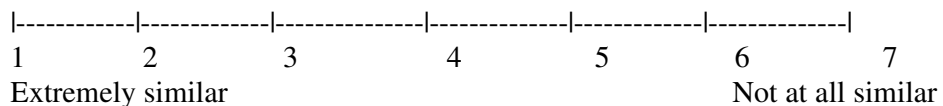
7. How important to you is being Turkish Cypriot?

|------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
Extremely important   Not at all important
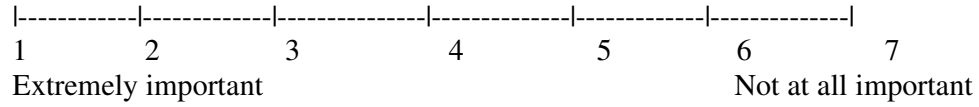
8. How much are your views about Turkish Cypriots shared by other Turkish Cypriots?

|------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
Shared by all   Not shared by any
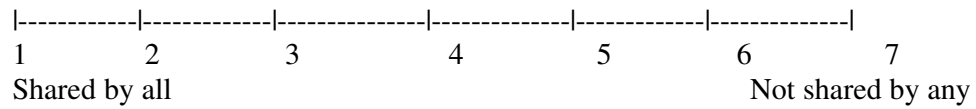
9. When you hear someone who is not Turkish Cypriot criticize the Turkish Cypriots, to what extent do you feel personally criticized?

|------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
1   2   3   4   5   6   7
Extremely criticized   Not at all criticized
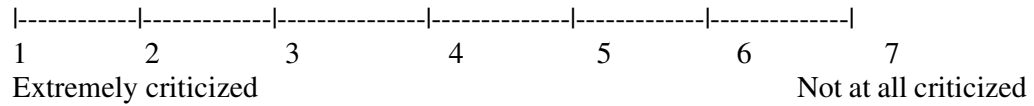
Appendix C. National Stereotypes Scale

State the degree to which you feel these characteristics are representative of Turkish/ Greek Cypriot people in general.

1---------------- 2 ---------------- 3----------------- 4 ---------------- 5

| Strongly representative | | Neutral | | | | Not at all representative |

1. Intelligent	1	2	3	4	5
2. Conceited	1	2	3	4	5
3. Quick- tempered	1	2	3	4	5
4. Extremely nationalistic	1	2	3	4	5
5. Passionate	1	2	3	4	5
6. Progressive	1	2	3	4	5
7. Reserved	1	2	3	4	5
8. Industrious	1	2	3	4	5
9. Gregarious	1	2	3	4	5
10. Pleasure- loving	1	2	3	4	5
11. Boastful	1	2	3	4	5
12. Arrogant	1	2	3	4	5
13. Loud	1	2	3	4	5
14. Stubborn	1	2	3	4	5
15. Efficient	1	2	3	4	5
16. Rude	1	2	3	4	5
17. Honest	1	2	3	4	5
18. Quarrelsome	1	2	3	4	5
19. Argumentative	1	2	3	4	5
20. Cold	1	2	3	4	5
21. Quiet	1	2	3	4	5
22. Friendly	1	2	3	4	5
23. Educated	1	2	3	4	5
24. Cowardly	1	2	3	4	5
25. Cautious	1	2	3	4	5
26. Hostile	1	2	3	4	5
27. Conservative	1	2	3	4	5
28. Traditional	1	2	3	4	5
29. Sportsmanlike	1	2	3	4	5
30. Ambitious	1	2	3	4	5
31. Scientifically- minded	1	2	3	4	5
32. Impulsive	1	2	3	4	5

33. Sly	1	2	3	4	5
34. Ignorant	1	2	3	4	5
35. Greedy	1	2	3	4	5
36. Kind	1	2	3	4	5
37. Generous	1	2	3	4	5
38. Courteous	1	2	3	4	5
39. Stupid	1	2	3	4	5
40. Lazy	1	2	3	4	5
41. Imaginative	1	2	3	4	5
42. Loyal to family ties	1	2	3	4	5
43. Brilliant	1	2	3	4	5
44. Prejudiced	1	2	3	4	5
45. Religious	1	2	3	4	5
46. Prays	1	2	3	4	5
47. Goes to church	1	2	3	4	5
48. Fasts	1	2	3	4	5
49. Reads religious books	1	2	3	4	5
50. Follows religious rules	1	2	3	4	5
51. Assertive	1	2	3	4	5
52. Dominant	1	2	3	4	5
53. Has leader abilities	1	2	3	4	5
54. Willing to take risks	1	2	3	4	5
55. Independent	1	2	3	4	5
56. Tender	1	2	3	4	5
57. Self- sufficient	1	2	3	4	5
58. Strong personality	1	2	3	4	5
59. Willing to take stand	1	2	3	4	5
60. Aggressive	1	2	3	4	5
61. Warm	1	2	3	4	5
62. Sympathetic	1	2	3	4	5
63. Defends own beliefs	1	2	3	4	5
64. Eager to soothe hurt feelings	1	2	3	4	5
65. Compassionate	1	2	3	4	5
66. Affectionate	1	2	3	4	5
67. Gentle	1	2	3	4	5
68. Understanding	1	2	3	4	5
69. Loves children	1	2	3	4	5
70. Takes account peoples feelings	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix D- Contact/ Exposure Scale

Please read each statement and tick the box stating the correct answer.

1. How many Turkish Cypriot people have you met?

0	1-2	About 5	More than 5

2. How many Turkish Cypriot acquaintances do you have?

0	1-2	About 5	More than 5

3. How many Turkish Cypriot friends do you have?

0	1-2	About 5	More than 5

4. How many times have you crossed to the north side?

0	1-2	About 5	More than 5

5. How many people in your family know someone Turkish Cypriot?

0	1-2	About 5	More than 5

6. Can you name 5 villages on the North side?

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

Appendix E- National Stereotype Manipulation Scale

The following questionnaire is concerned with the perception of people. On the following page there is a list of words. Please read through this list and choose the five words, which seem to you to be most applicable to people from Cyprus/ Turkey. Similarly choose the five words which seem to you to be most applicable to people from Britain/ Greece.

1. Intelligent		25. Warm	
2. Aggressive		26. Educated	
3. Conceited		27. Cowardly	
4. Domineering		28. Cautious	
5. Quick- tempered		29. Hostile	
6. Extremely nationalistic		30. Conservative	
7. Passionate		31. Traditional	
8. Progressive		32. Sportsmanlike	
9. Reserved		33. Ambitious	
10. Industrious		34. Scientifically- minded	
11. Gregarious		35. Impulsive	
12. Pleasure- loving		36. Sly	
13. Boastful		37. Ignorant	
14. Arrogant		38. Greedy	
15. Loud		39. Kind	
16. Stubborn		40. Generous	
17. Efficient		41. Courteous	
18. Rude		42. Stupid	
19. Honest		43. Lazy	
20. Quarrelsome		44. Imaginative	
21.Argumentative		45. Loyal to family ties	
22. Cold		46. Brilliant	
23. Quiet		47. Prejudiced	
24. Friendly		48. Religious	

Note: Respondents were given the same form to evaluate residents of Nicosia and Lefkoşa.

Appendix F- Perceived Similarity Scale

1. People in Nicosia and Lefkoşa are exactly the same as each other.

Completely Agree	Agree	Not agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

2. There are quite large differences between people in Nicosia and Lefkoşa in the way in which they think and behave.

Completely Agree	Agree	Not agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

3. I consider myself to be very similar to most people from Nicosia.

Completely Agree	Agree	Not agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

4. I consider myself to be very similar to most people from Lefkoşa.

Completely Agree	Agree	Not agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5

5. I would be quite happy to live in Lefkoşa.

Completely Agree	Agree	Not agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5