The Journal of Social Psychology, 2012, *152*(4), 510–523

Identity Practices, Ingroup Projection, and the Evaluation of Subgroups: A Study Among Turkish-Dutch Sunnis

JESSAMINA LIH YAN LIE
MAYKEL VERKUYTEN
Utrecht University
Ercomer

ABSTRACT. This research focuses on religious subgroup evaluations by examining the attitude of Turkish-Dutch Sunni Muslims towards Alevi and Shiite Muslims. Following the Ingroup Projection Model, it was expected that Sunni participants who practice Islam will project their self-defining subgroup practices on the superordinate Muslim category, which will be related to more ingroup bias towards Alevis, a Muslim subgroup that performs different religious practices. Two studies yielded consistent evidence that practicing Islam increased ingroup bias towards Alevis. Furthermore, in Study 2, we found evidence that the effect of practicing Islam on ingroup bias was mediated by relative ingroup prototypicality (RIP). Moreover, practicing Islam did not affect RIP in relation to Shiites who perform the same religious practices that we examined. These findings support the Ingroup Projection Model.

Keywords: ingroup projection, intergroup relations, Islam, subgroup behavior

IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY, MANY STUDIES have examined intergroup attitudes in the context of majority and minority relations. These studies predominantly focus on how majority groups evaluate ethnic and racial minorities. There are also some studies that examine the attitudes of minorities toward the majority, and there are a few studies that investigate inter-minority relations (e.g., Philip, Mahalingam, & Sellers, 2010; White, Schmitt, & Langer, 2006). However, there is very little research on different subgroups within a shared social category, and in relation to religion in particular (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2009). Religion is often of profound importance to people's lives, and religious groups

Address correspondence to Maykel Verkuyten, Utrecht University, Interdisciplinary Social Science Department, Heidelberglaan 2, Utrecht, 3584 CS, The Netherlands; m.verkuyten@uu.nl (e-mail).

are among the more salient buttresses of identity (Seul, 1999). Religious beliefs and practices not only differ between religions, but there is also considerable variation between subgroups of the same religion. In almost all religions there is diversity of doctrines and ritual practices between subgroups, and self-defining religious practices can be important criteria for the evaluation of religious factions and denominations.

Different social psychological models on the importance of a shared, superordinate category for intergroup relations have been proposed, like the Common Ingroup Identity Model (Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman & Rust, 1993) and the Ingroup Projection Model (Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999). Whereas the former model argues that inclusion in a shared category will be associated with less intergroup bias toward subgroups, the latter model claims that it can be associated with more bias.

The current study aims to contribute to the social psychological research on ingroup projection by focusing on religious subgroups and identity defining practices of Sunni Muslims in the Netherlands. Although Islam is a religion in which the Muslim world is united in the "Ummah" or the "Community of Believers," Muslim subgroups interpret Islam in different ways. In two studies, we examined attitudes of Turkish-Dutch Sunnis towards Alevi (Studies 1 and 2) and Shiite Muslims (Study 2). We extended previous research on ingroup projection by examining the relation between religious identity behavior (practicing Islam), relative ingroup prototypicality and ingroup bias.

Identity Practices

For social psychologists, collective identities have to do with people's sense of their group memberships. The emphasis is on subjective aspects which are conceptualized in terms of, for example, cognitive centrality, importance and satisfaction. However, collective identities are not like private beliefs or convictions that, in principle, can be sustained without expression and social recognition. Social identities refer to "who people are to each other" and depend crucially on acknowledgement and verification by others (Burke & Stetts, 2009; Verkuyten, 2005). Social identities are sustainable to the extent that they are expressed and affirmed in acceptable practices. For some identities these practices are specific and well-defined and directly implicate the particular identity. For example, ethnic identity is often largely maintained through language and the ability to speak the ethnic language is used to authenticate the ethnic identity (Verkuyten, 2005).

Another example is religious identity, in which the framework of the sacred and divine provides concrete guidelines for everyday life and ritual practices (Hogg, Adelman, & Blagg, 2010; Ysseldyk, Matheson, & Anisman, 2010). Specific behaviors are prescribed regarding matters like praying, physical appearance, and food. This is especially the case in Islam in which orthopraxy is a central defining characteristic of what it means to be a "true" Muslim. In contrast to Christianity, Islam is more about orthopraxy than orthodoxy (Williams, 1994);

more about performing the correct practices of the belief, than about believing the right things. The five pillars of Islam prescribe the key Islamic practices, like daily prayers and fasting during Ramadan. These practices directly implicate and express Muslim identity and thereby constitute the behavioral involvement dimension of group identification (Ashmore, Deaux & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004). Sunni and Shiite Muslims differ in some of their beliefs but agree on the importance of these ritual acts, although the latter refer to them by other names and have additional practices. However, in contrast to Sunnis and Shiites, Alevi Muslims interpret Islam and the Qu'ran in a spiritual and mystical way, rather than in terms of strict rules and regulations. Love of God and of other human beings is central for most Alevis. This different interpretation of Islam also implies different religious practices and customs. Instead of attending the mosque, like Sunnis and Shiites do, Alevis have congregational or assembly meetings in Cem houses led by a *dede* or *pir*, where men and women pray together. Furthermore, almost none of the Alevi practice ritual prayer five times a day and neither do they participate in Ramadan or go on the *Hajj* to Mecca (Kaya, 2006). These pillars of Islam that define Muslim identity for Sunnis and Shiites are not Alevi practices.

In-Group Projection

Ingroup projection refers to the perception of "the ingroup's greater relative prototypicality for the superordinate group" (Wenzel, Mummendey, & Waldzus, 2007, p. 337). With ingroup projection, attributes that are relatively distinctive of one's own group are regarded as prototypical for the inclusive category and thereby serve as criteria for intergroup differentiation. Based on the proposition of social identity theory that ingroups tend to be positively evaluated and that group members strive for a positive identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), the Ingroup Projection Model argues that individuals tend to perceive their own subgroup as more prototypical of the superordinate category than other subgroups (Wenzel et al., 2007). This means that it can be expected that the Sunni will consider themselves as more prototypical Muslims compared to the Alevi and the Shiite. In addition, relative ingroup prototypicality (RIP) can be expected to be related to higher ingroup bias in which the Sunni ingroup is evaluated more positively than the Alevi and the Shiite outgroups.

In situations where (religious) subgroups are nested within the superordinate (religious) category, individuals are expected to project their self-defining subgroup characteristics onto the superordinate category (Wenzel et al., 2007). This further means that it can be expected that the more Sunnis engage in their specific Muslim practices (e.g., mosque attendance, participation in Ramadan, daily prayers), the more these practices are seen as the appropriate religious behavior of "true" Muslims and thereby are used to evaluate other Muslim subgroups. Therefore, our expectation is that the more Sunnis practice Islam, the more prototypical they think Sunnis are of Muslims, particularly in comparison to Alevis.

In Study 1 we examined the relationship between Sunnis involvement in specific Muslim practices and the differential evaluation of Sunnis and Alevis. It was expected that Sunnis who more often go to the mosque, participate in Ramadan and perform their daily prayers would show higher ingroup bias in thermometer feelings and moral stereotypes. Morality is one of the key issues that religions are concerned with and Muslim subgroups claim that their interpretation of Islam is morally right.

In Study 2, we extended our research by including a measure of relative ingroup prototypicality (RIP) and by focusing on Shiites as an additional Muslim subgroup. We expected RIP to be associated with higher ingroup bias toward Alevi and Shiites. In addition, RIP was predicted to mediate the relationship between practicing Islam and ingroup bias toward Alevi. In contrast, in comparison to Shiites, Islamic practices such as mosque attendance and Ramadan are not clear distinguishing characteristic but rather might signal or function as a shared identity and thereby be related to more positive outgroup feelings (Gaertner et al., 1993).

In testing these predictions we took the roles of gender, age and education into account because these factors have been found to be related to Muslim identity and outgroup attitudes in the Netherlands (e.g., Maliepaard, Lubbers, & Gijsberts, 2010). We focused on the Turkish-Dutch of which the great majority is Sunni and approximately 20% are Alevis. The two groups are comparable in terms of their relatively low socio-economic position in the Netherlands (Kaya 2006). Furthermore, in Dutch public discourse and in governmental policies they are both defined and described as Muslims and typically, no distinction between them is made.

To summarize, we expected, first, that Sunni participants who more often practice Islam will show higher ingroup bias toward Alevi (Studies 1 and 2). Second, Sunni participants will consider themselves as more prototypical Muslims compared to Alevi and to Shiites (Study 2). Third, higher relative ingroup prototypicality (RIP) was expected to be associated with higher ingroup bias in relation to Alevi and to Shiites (Study 2). And fourth, RIP was expected to mediate the relationship between practicing Islam and ingroup bias toward Alevi (Study 2).

STUDY 1

Method

Sample

Participants were 255 Turkish-Dutch, self-defined Sunni Muslims. The sample was comprised of 45% female and 55% male. Ages ranged from 16 to 84 years, with an average age of 39 years ($SD = 13$). The highest level of

education (completed or current, either in the Netherlands or in Turkey) ranged from 1 (*no education*) to 9 (*university education*) ($M = 3.97$, $SD = 2.63$).

Participants came from the regions of the cities of Utrecht, Arnhem, and Zwolle. They were recruited through snowballing techniques and with the help of members of the Turkish-Dutch community. Data collection involved a short questionnaire.

Measures

Religious group feelings. In Study 1 the dependent measures consisted of general feelings and morality stereotypes. First, religious group feelings were assessed with the well known feeling thermometer which has been used in many studies with ethnic and religious participants, including studies in the Netherlands (e.g., Verkuyten, 2007; Verkuyten & Yildiz 2009). Participants were asked to indicate on a scale from 0 to 100 degrees how warm their feelings are towards a number of groups, including the Alevi and the Sunni (0° very cold or negative, 50° neutral feelings, 100° very warm or positive feelings). We constructed a *thermometer ingroup bias score* by subtracting thermometer ratings for the outgroup (Alevi) from ratings for the ingroup (Sunni). A higher score means a stronger ingroup bias.

Morality stereotype. We measured ingroup ($\alpha = .75$) and outgroup stereotypes ($\alpha = .94$) on 7-point scales and by asking participants to indicate for the Sunni and for the Alevi to what extent they are "honest," "trustworthy," and "fair" (see Leach, Ellemers, & Barreto, 2007). We constructed a *stereotype ingroup bias score* by subtracting outgroup stereotype ratings from ingroup stereotype ratings.

Practicing Islam. This measure ($\alpha = .66$) included items that asked how often participants fasted during the last Ramadan ("not at all," "scarcely," "some days," "most days," and "all days"), how often they perform daily prayers ("never," "only on feast days," "only on Fridays," "multiple times a week," "every day"), and how often they visit the mosque ("never," "only on feast days," "every month," "every week," "multiple times a week").

Results

Descriptive Findings

The means, standard deviations and the correlations between the different measures are presented in Table 1. On a 5-point-scale, the mean score for practicing Islam is around the midpoint of the scale. There is a positive ingroup bias for

TABLE 1. Intercorrelations and Means and Standard Deviations for Study 1 ($n = 255$)

Variable	1	2	*M*	*SD*
Practicing Islam	–		3.19	1.14
Ingroup bias thermometer feelings	.33**	–	27.15	39.43
Ingroup bias morality stereotypes	.14*	.14*	.47	1.69

*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$

thermometer feelings, $t(254) = 10.99$, $p < .001$, d = 0.69, as well as for morality stereotypes, $t(254) = .48$, $p < .001$, d = .28.

Practicing Islam was significantly and positively related to ingroup bias scores for thermometer feelings and for morality stereotypes. The two bias measures were also significantly correlated.

Ingroup Bias

Ingroup bias was subjected to a regression analysis with practicing Islam, gender, age and educational level as predictor variables. For the thermometer feelings, gender, age and educational level were not significantly ($p_s > .10$) related to ingroup bias. However and as expected, practicing Islam was related to higher bias, $\beta = .33$, t = 5.38, $p < .001$ ($sr^2 = .103$). Thus, the more the Sunni participants practiced Islam the stronger they made a positive distinction between their ingroup and outgroup feelings.

Similar results were found for ingroup bias in relation to the morality stereotypes. Again, gender, age and educational level were not significantly predictors ($p_s > .10$). Practicing Islam was positively related to ingroup bias, indicating that the more participants practiced Islam the stronger they perceived their Sunni ingroup as relatively more moral than the Alevi outgroup, $\beta = .15$, $t = 2.34$, $p = .02$ ($sr^2 = .021$).

Discussion

The results of Study 1 indicate that the more Sunni Muslims practiced Islam, the less positive they felt toward Alevi compared to Sunnis and the relatively less moral they considered the Alevi. In Sunni Islam, orthopraxy is central. A "true" Muslim follows the five pillars of Islam with the related ritual practices and behaviors. These practices and behaviors can form the basis for evaluating Alevi, who have another interpretation of Islam and follow other types of rules. This suggests that for the Sunnis, practices like participation in Ramadan, daily prayer

and visiting the mosque define what it means to be a "true" Muslim and that these practices are used to evaluate another Muslim subgroup.

In Study 1 we did not examine the underlying mechanism of RIP. We conducted a second study to examine whether these findings could be replicated with a different sample. Furthermore, we included RIP as a mediator in the relation between practicing Islam and ingroup bias in relation to Alevi. We expected RIP to mediate the relationship between religious practices and the attitude towards Alevi. These practices do not clearly distinguish Sunnis from Shiites. However, it is possible that Sunni participants use specific beliefs to consider their subgroup as relatively more prototypical for Muslims than Shiites. This means that not only RIP in comparison to Alevi but also RIP in comparison to Shiites should be related to more ingroup bias. Study 1 showed similar effects for ingroup bias on thermometer feelings and morality stereotypes, and Study 2 focused on group feelings only.

STUDY 2

Method

Sample

Similar to Study 1, questionnaire data were collected in cooperation with members of the Turkish-Dutch community and by means of a snowball sampling method. Most of the data were collected in the region near the city of Utrecht and the city of Arnhem. Participants were 134 Turkish-Dutch, self-defined Sunnis of which 34% was female and 64% male. Ages ranged from 16 to 62 years, with an average age of 28 years ($SD = 10$). The highest level of education (completed or current, either in the Netherlands or in Turkey) was again indicated on a 9-point scale and the mean level of education was 5.68 ($SD = 2.12$).

Measures

Most of the measures in Study 2 were similar to the ones used in the first study.

Religious group feelings. In this study participants were asked to indicate thermometer-like feelings towards the ingroup and two outgroups, Alevi and Shiites. Two separate *thermometer ingroup bias scores* were constructed, one in relation to Alevi and one in relation to Shiites.

Practicing Islam. We measured the degree to which participants practice Islam by considering the same three forms of religious practices as in Study 1. However, compared to Study 1, the wording differed slightly for the item measuring

participation in Ramadan. Using a 4-point scale, participants were asked whether or not they fasted during the last Ramadan, instead of how often participants fasted. In addition, participants were asked to indicate on a 7-point scale how often they perform the *daily prayers*. Further, it was measured on a 5-point scale how often participants visit the *mosque*. Because a different wording for the question on Ramadan was used, we performed a confirmatory factor analysis in AMOS to examine the factor structure of the scale. It turned out that it was better to leave out the item on participation in Ramadan. First, we observed that the mean of this item was very high, namely 4.56 ($SD = .97$) on a 5-point scale. Furthermore, the distribution was negatively skewed (-2.31) and the mode was 5. The distributions of the items measuring praying and visiting the mosque were far less skewed. Second, the squared multiple correlation of the Ramadan item was low (.33), indicating that this item was not a strong indicator of "practicing Islam," probably because people often also participate in Ramadan for social reason. In addition, the modification indices in AMOS indicated that the model's fit could be improved by freeing a covariance between the errors of praying and mosque attendance, indicating that these two items shared another underlying factor together.

Relative ingroup prototypicality. In a pilot test, an indirect measure for group prototypicality using generated traits was found to be too complex in a questionnaire. Furthermore, Waldzus, Mummendey, Wenzel, and Weber (2003) found that asking participants directly how prototypical they thought the ingroup and the outgroup are for the superordinate category, correlated highly with indirect measures. We therefore used direct, single measures of prototypicality. After an introductory statement ("Some groups are more seen as typical or 'real' Muslims than other groups") participants were asked to rate Sunni, Alevi and Shiites on how typical they are for Muslims as a group (7-point scales). Following Wenzel et al. (2007), two RIP scores were computed by subtracting Alevi prototypicality from Sunni prototypicality, and Shiite prototypicality from Sunni prototypicality. A higher score indicates higher RIP.

Results

Descriptive Findings

Table 2 shows the means and the standard deviations of the variables. Using a 5-point scale, the mean score for practicing Islam was above the midpoint of the scale. Participants' thermometer score for Alevi was below the midpoint, whereas the thermometer score for Shiites was a little above the midpoint. The mean score for feelings toward Sunnis was significantly higher compared to the score for the Alevi, $t(133) = 10.70$, $p < .001$, and the score for the Shiites, $t(133) = 8.47$, $p < .001$, indicating that there was positive ingroup bias toward

TABLE 2. Means and Standard Deviations for Study 2 ($n = 134$)

	M	*SD*
Practicing Islam	3.41	1.31
Thermometer scores		
Outgroup Alevi	40.80	33.61
Outgroup Shiite	56.83	29.70
Ingroup Sunni	77.80	25.53
Ingroup bias Alevi	37.01	40.05
Ingroup bias Shiite	20.98	28.68
Prototypicality scores		
Outgroup Alevi	2.91	1.71
Outgroup Shiites	5.19	1.68
Ingroup Sunni	5.63	1.69
RIP Alevi	2.72	2.43
RIP Shiite	.44	1.29

RIP = relative ingroup prototypicality.

both groups. In addition, the Shiites were evaluated more positively than the Alevi, $t(133) = 6.02$, $p < .001$.

The prototypicality score for Alevi was below the midpoint of the 7-point scale and was significantly lower than the prototypicality scores for the Sunnis, $t(133) = -12.95$, $p < .001$, and for the Shiites, $t(133) = -11.32$, $p < .001$. The prototypicality scores for the Shiites and the Sunnis were both above the midpoint. However, the Sunni ingroup was significantly seen as more prototypical than the Shiite outgroup, $t(133) = 3.92$, $p < .001$.

The correlation coefficients between the different measures are presented in Table 3. Practicing Islam was positively related to the ingroup bias score toward Alevi, but not toward Shiites. In addition, there was a positive association between practicing Islam and RIP in relation to Alevi but not in relation to Shiites. Furthermore, higher RIP in relation to Alevi was related to higher ingroup bias toward this group, and higher RIP in relation to Shiites was associated to more positive feelings towards Sunnis compared to Shiites.

Ingroup Bias in Relation to Alevi

A hierarchical regression analysis was conducted to predict ingroup bias toward Alevi. In Step 1, the effects of age, gender and education were included as predictors, and in Step 2 the main effects of practicing Islam and RIP were added as additional variables. The model in the first step was not significant $F_{\text{change}}(3, 133) = .35$, $p > .10$. Thus, there were no gender and age effects and also

TABLE 3. Intercorrelations for Study 2 ($n = 134$)

	1	2	3	4
Practicing Islam	–			
Ingroup bias Alevi	.15*	–		
Ingroup bias Shiite	−.07	.64***	–	
RIP Alevi	.28**	.26**	−.09	–
RIP Shiite	.10	.28**	.25**	.34**

*$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$.

no effect for educational level. The explained variance increased significantly in Step 2, $R^2 = .08$, $F_{\text{change}}(2, 128) = 5.58$, $p = .005$. RIP had a significant positive effect on ingroup bias, $\beta = .23$, $t = 2.56$, $p = .012$ ($sr^2 = .047$). Practicing Islam had no independent effect on ingroup bias, $\beta = .13$, $t = 1.31$, $p > .10$.

We then used Preacher and Hayes' (2008) bootstrapping macro with 1000 iterations to determine whether the indirect effect of practicing Islam on ingroup bias toward Alevi was significantly different from zero (controlling for the unique effects of gender, education and age). The indirect effect was estimated to lie between .45 and 4.67 with 95% confidence. Because zero is not in the 95% confidence interval, the indirect effect is indeed significantly different from zero at $p < .05$.

Ingroup Bias in Relation to Shiites

A similar regression analysis was conducted for examining ingroup bias in relation to Shiites. Again, we found that the model in Step 1 was not significant $F_{\text{change}}(3, 133) = .807$, $p > .10$, indicating that there were no gender, age and educational effects. After adding the two continuous measures in Step 2, the explained variance increased significantly $R^2 = .07$, $F_{\text{change}}(2, 128) = 4.61$, $p = .012$. RIP had a significant positive effect on ingroup bias, $\beta = .26$, $t = 2.98$, $p = .004$ ($sr^2 = .063$), whereas practicing Islam had no independent effect on ingroup bias, $\beta = -.10$, $t = -1.01$, $p > .10$. In addition, in an analysis without RIP, practicing Islam was not significantly related to ingroup bias, $\beta = -.06$, $t = -.60$, $p > .10$, and practicing Islam was not a significant predictor of RIP, $\beta = .15$, $t = 1.53$, $p > .10$. There was no evidence for practicing Islam having a mediated or indirect effect on outgroup bias toward Shiites via RIP.

Discussion

The findings for ingroup bias were similar to Study 1 and in line with our expectations. RIP had a positive effect on ingroup bias toward both Alevi and

Shiites. Thus, in general, the more the Sunni participants perceived their ingroup as relatively prototypical Muslims, the larger the ingroup bias. However, practicing Islam was only related to RIP in comparison to Alevi and not to Shiites. The probable reason for this is that Alevi and Sunnis differ strongly in their religious practices, whereas Sunnis and Shiites have different beliefs but are similar in the religious practices that we focused upon. Furthermore, practicing Islam had an indirect positive relationship with the ingroup bias toward Alevi, and this relationship was mediated by RIP. In contrast, practicing Islam was not associated with ingroup bias in relation to Shiites.

General Discussion

Although religion is an important dimension for defining a positive social identity in comparison to other religions and to dissenters and non-believers, social psychology has not paid much attention to religious identity (but see Argyle & Beit-Hallahmi, 1975; Verkuyten, 2007). Religion unifies the community of believers around a consensus of values, truths and ritual practices, and in doing so makes meaningful ingroup and outgroup distinctions which contribute to social divisions and current conflicts in many parts of the world. In addition, there are often considerable differences between factions and denominations within a particular religion which can also lead to divisions and conflicts, such as between Sunni, Shiite and Alevi Muslims.

The Ingroup Projection Model argues that attributes that are relatively distinctive of one's own subgroup are regarded as prototypical for the inclusive category and thereby serve as criteria for intergroup differentiation (Wenzel et al., 2007). In Islam, orthopraxis is a central self-defining aspect of what it means to be a "true" Muslim (Williams, 1994). However, the ritual practices of Sunni and Alevi Muslims differ. Daily prayer, participating in Ramadan and going to the mosque are Sunni, but not Alevi, practices. Therefore, we argued that Sunnis who participate in these practices will be relatively more negative toward Alevi. The findings of the two studies showed that higher involvement in these identity defining practices was indeed related to greater ingroup bias. Furthermore, in Study 2 it was found that this relationship was mediated by relative ingroup protyotypicality (RIP). This suggests that Sunnis who are more involved in these ritual practices consider their own group to be more "true" Muslims than Alevi, and, therefore, make a stronger evaluative distinction between both Islamic subgroups.

The results for the evaluation of Shiites further support the Ingroup Projection Model. RIP in comparison to this subgroup was also related to higher ingroup bias. Sunnis and Shiites differ in some of their religious beliefs, including the rightful succession of Mohammed, and these can form the basis for claiming relative higher prototypicality. Higher involvement in the religious practices was not, however, related to RIP. This is understandable because going to the mosque, daily prayer and participation in Ramadan are also Shiite practices and therefore

do not form a basis for considering Sunnis as relatively more typical Muslims. The greater similarity between Sunnis and Shiites than with Alevi is also shown in the fact that the Sunni participants perceived the Shiites as more prototypical Muslims than the Alevi and evaluated Shiites more positively than Alevi. These findings are in agreement with the Common Ingroup Identity Model (Gaertner et al., 1993).

A further result in line with the Ingroup Projection Model is that the Sunni participants considered their ingroup as more prototypical Muslims compared to Alevi and to Shiites. According to the model and following social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), group members want to see and portray their own group as more prototypical than others for the superordinate category (Wenzel et al., 2007). This means that RIP is a form of ingroup favoritism in which there is a bias in favor of ingroup characteristics that cannot be missed in the definition of the superordinate Muslim category.

To our knowledge, the present research is the first to examine whether engaging in religious identity defining practices is related to the evaluation of other subgroups of the same religion. We have shown that it is important to examine how differences between religious subgroups influence mechanisms of ingroup projection. In addition we have argued that social identity is about socially defined and recognized distinctions and designations (Burke & Stetts, 2010; Verkuyten, 2005). Psychological research often tends to forget or ignore this because the focus is on people's sense of religious, ethnic or racial identity that is conceptualised and measured along attitude-like dimensions, such as subjective importance and satisfaction. But people express their sense of religious identity and authenticate their religious group membership in identity-relevant behaviors. Religious behaviors communicate one's distinctive religious identity; they tell others who you are, to which religious (sub)group you belong and what this group membership means to you. This means that it is important to examine religious identity in terms of behaviors that directly implicate this identity and form the basis for ingroup projection. Such an examination is in agreement with social psychological approaches that, in addition to dimensions such as importance and satisfaction, argue for behavioral involvement as a key element of group identification (see Ashmore et al., 2004). The identity relevance of behavioral involvement will differ between different types of groups but is central for most religious groups and for Sunni Muslims in particular.

Future research should examine these issues among other religious subgroups and other religions, and also among groups in other countries. In doing so, other religious practices and also beliefs can be taken into account, and more extensive measures of prototypicality and group evaluations can be used. Furthermore, because our findings are based on cross-sectional data we cannot be certain of the causal direction of the relationships. It might be possible that people who consider their subgroup more prototypical for their religion will become more involved in identity-defining practices. Further research should examine the causal relationships between religious subgroup behavior, RIP, and intergroup

attitudes. This research can improve our understanding of the social psychological processes underlying negative attitudes and relationships between different factions and denominations of a particular religion, and of social groups in general. The current findings support the ingroup projection model but go beyond previous research on ingroup projection by examining identity behavior and relative ingroup prototypicality in relation to religious subgroups.

AUTHOR NOTES

Jessamina Lih Yan Lie is affiliated with Utrecht University and Ercomer. **Maykel Verkuyten** is affiliated with Utrecht University and Ercomer.

REFERENCES

Argyle, M., & Beit-Hallahmi, B. (1975). *The social psychology of religion*. London, UK: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Ashmore, R. D., Deaux, K., & McLaughlin-Volpe, T. (2004). An organizing framework for collective identity: Articulation and significance of multidimensionality. *Psychological Bulletin*, *136*, 80–114.

Burke, P. J., & Stets, J. E. (2009). *Identity theory*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Gaertner, S. L., Dovidio, J. F., Anastasio, P. A., Bachman, B. A., & Rust, M. (1993). The common ingroup identity model: Recategorization and the reduction of intergroup bias. *European Review of Social Psychology*, *4*, 1–26. doi: 10.1080/14792779343000004

Hogg, M. A., Adelman, J. R., & Blagg, R. D. (2010). Religion in the face of uncertainty: An Uncertainty-Identity Theory Account of Religiousness. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *14*, 72–83. doi: 10.1177/1088868309349692

Kaya, H. (2006). Verschillen in integratie Turken in Nederland. [Differences in integration of Turks in the Netherlands]. *Demos*, *22*, 45–48.

Leach, C. W., Ellemers, N., & Barreto, M. (2007). Group virtue: The importance of morality (vs. competence and sociability) in the positive evaluations of ingroups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *93*, 234–279. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.93.2.234

Maliepaard, M., Lubbers, M., & Gijsberts, M. (2010). Generational differences in ethnic and religious attachment and their interrelation. A study among Muslim Minorities in the Netherlands. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *33*, 451–472. doi: 10.1080/01419870903318169

Mummendey, A., & Wenzel, M. (1999). Social discrimination and tolerance in intergroup relations: Reactions to intergroup difference. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *3*, 158–174.

Philip, C. L., Mahalingam, R., & Sellers, R. M. (2010). Understanding East Indians' attitudes toward African Americans: Do mainstream prejudicial attitudes transfer to immigrants? *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *36*, 651–671. doi: 10.1080/13691830903525399

Preacher, K. J., & Hayes, A. F. (2008). Asymptotic and re-sampling strategies for assessing and comparing indirect effects in multiple mediator models. *Behavioral Research Methods*, *40*, 879–891. doi: 10.3758 /brm.40.3.879

Seul, J. R. (1999). "Ours is the way of God": Religion, identity, and intergroup conflict. *Journal of Peace Research*, *36*, 553–569. doi: 10.1177/0022343399036005004

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33–48). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.

Verkuyten, M. (2005). *The social psychology of ethnic identity*. Hove, UK: Psychology Press.

Verkuyten, M. (2007). Religious group identification and inter-religious relations: A study among Turkish-Dutch Muslims. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, *10*, 341–357. doi: 10.1177/1368430207078695

Verkuyten, M., & Yildiz, A. A. (2009). Muslim immigrants and religious group feelings: self-identification and attitudes among Sunni and Alevi Turkish-Dutch. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *32*, 1121–1142. doi: 10.1080/01419870802379312

Waldzus, S., Mummendey, A., Wenzel, M., & Weber, U. (2003). Towards tolerance: Representations of superordinate categories and perceived in-group prototypicality. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *39*, 31–47. doi: 10.1016/S0022-1031(02)00507-3

Wenzel, M., Mummendey, A., & Waldzus, S. (2007). Superordinate identities and intergroup conflict: The Ingroup Projection Model. *European Review of Social Psychology*, *18*, 331–372. doi: 10.1080/10463280701728302

White, J. B., Schmitt, M. T., & Langer, E. J. (2006). Horizontal hostility: Multiple minority groups and differentiation from the mainstream. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, *9*, 339–358. doi: 10.1177/1368430206064638

Williams, J. A. (1994). *The world of Islam*. London, UK: Thames and Hudson.

Ysseldyk, R., Matheson, K., & Anisman, H. (2010) Religiosity as identity: Toward an understanding of religion from a social identity perspective. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *14*, 60–71. doi: 10.1177/1088868309349693

Received June 30, 2011
Accepted November 17, 2011