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**The Role of Social Identity Inclusiveness and Structure in  
Intergroup Relations**

**Individual and Contextual Differences in Ethnic and Religious Minority  
Group Members**

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**A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
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## ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis was twofold. The first aim was to propose and validate a conceptual and operational framework to examine how minority group members subjectively construe their ingroup in the context of their cross-cutting national, ethnic and religious group memberships. The second aim was to examine the role of individual versus contextual differences in the formation of ingroup construals among Turkish Australian Muslims. Four community based studies were devised to fulfil these objectives.

In the first section of this thesis (Chapter 1 and 2), I review how social identity is defined, conceptualised, and operationalised. I continue with a critical analysis of conceptualisations of *multiple* social identities, and associated ways of measurement. Subsequently, I propose a new conceptual framework to assess how minority group members define their ingroup in the context of multiple, cross-cutting category memberships. Specifically, I describe the subjective combination of multiple ingroups in terms of structure (i.e. Social Identity Structure; SIS) and inclusiveness (i.e. Social Identity Inclusiveness; SII), and introduce a methodological instrument, the Triple-Crossed Categorisation Task, allowing measurement of both constructs.

In the second section of this thesis (Chapter 3 and 4), two correlational studies investigate the validity of SII and SIS in a sample of Turkish Australian Muslim adults (Study 1), and Turkish Australian Muslim adolescents at religiously segregated schools (Study 2). In Study 1, SII and SIS varied widely among participants, even though they all belonged to the same ethnic, religious and national groups, and identification with each of these groups was generally high. These broad individual differences in SII and SIS persisted in Study 2, where participants also shared a socialization context that was highly convergent in its composition of group memberships. Findings of both studies showed SII to be a valid construct, distinct from measures of identification with singular categories, convergent with

the inclusion of outgroups in the self, and positively related to outgroup contact. Moreover, eight different SIS's were identified and replicated across both studies, further attesting to the validity of the conceptual model. Importantly, across both studies, SII uniquely predicted attitudes towards a range of outgroups, including remote outgroups with whom participants were unlikely to have contact.

In the third section of this thesis (Chapter 5 and 6), two experimental studies examined whether and how Turkish Australian Muslims altered their ingroup representations after being exposed to an ingroup identity threat or reassurance. Chapter 5 presents findings of an experiment examining the effect of religious identity threat versus reassurance on SII, SIS, and a range of other variables. Chapter 6 investigates the impact of ethnic versus religious identity threat on SII, SIS and other variables. In both studies, the inclusiveness of the ingroup construal was not affected by minority identity threat. The distribution of social identity structures did show some effects of threat, but the pattern was not consistent across studies.

The fourth and final section (Chapter 7) discusses these findings in light of the individual and contextual factors surrounding minority members' ingroup construals. The contributions of this research to the study of multiple social identities in minority groups, practical implications, limitations, and future directions are discussed as well.

## **PUBLICATIONS RELATED TO THIS THESIS**

Chapters 1, 2 and 3 of this thesis contain elements from a manuscript currently under review for publication, of which I am the principal author. This manuscript contains two studies. The first study was carried out under supervision of Prof. Miles Hewstone (University of Oxford) and Dr. Katharina Schmid (University of Oxford). A summary of this study is provided in Chapter 1. The second study that is reported in the manuscript, was carried out as part of my PhD degree, and is presented in this thesis in Chapter 3 (Study 1). This study relied on close collaboration with my supervisors, Dr. Karen Gonsalkorale and Prof. Marilyn Brewer. For both studies reported in the manuscript, I was responsible for recruiting participants, and designing the tasks. I was also responsible for the data collection and analysis. All these tasks were carried out under the supervision of Dr. Karen Gonsalkorale and Prof. Marilyn Brewer.

The first draft of the manuscript submitted for publication was written entirely by myself. I then improved all sections after feedback and comments from my PhD supervisors Dr. Karen Gonsalkorale and Marilyn Brewer, and my collaborators, Dr. Katharina Schmid and Prof. Miles Hewstone.



Andrea van Dommelen



Dr. Karen Gonsalkorale

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## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The idea that people can belong to and identify with multiple social groups and therefore endorse multiple social identities has been widely acknowledged in social-psychological research (Roccas & Brewer, 2002; Tajfel, 1978; see Deaux, 1996, for a review). Multiple social identity management is of immediate relevance in today's increasingly complex and mobile societies, as more and more people form complex identities shaped by their belonging to national, religious, ethnic, occupational and other groups.

How to combine multiple social identities into a coherent ingroup construal is especially relevant to individuals who belong to ethnic and religious minority groups within a given national context. Their minority status on these social dimensions increases the salience of their group memberships, and their self-categorisations on these dimensions are likely to be chronically accessible (Hogg, Abrams, Otten, & Hinkle, 2004). Further, ethnic and religious minority group identities are usually distinct from, and sometimes even perceived as conflicting with, national group identity, not only in terms of composition of group members (e.g., most Muslims are not German, and most Germans are not Muslim), but also in terms of category prototypes (e.g., a "typical" Muslim is different from a "typical" German), norms and values (e.g., collectivist heritage values within Western nations that value individualism). Hence, questions arise as to whether and how religious and ethnic minorities combine and integrate their belonging to these distinct social categories with their membership in the national category. How do minority group members draw their ingroup identity from multiple, highly salient and nonconvergent social group memberships? These questions are particularly important since social identities have consequences for individuals' evaluations, feelings and actions toward others, favouring others who are perceived as belonging to their own ingroup (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1978; Terry, Hogg, & White, 2000).

The research presented throughout this thesis forms an investigation into how minority group members subjectively represent their ingroup, in the context of multiple, non-convergent group memberships. I focus on Turkish Australian Muslims in particular, a community that is a minority both in terms of their ethnic and religious group memberships.

In the first chapter of this thesis I provide an overview of conceptions surrounding social identity: how social identity is defined, conceptualised, and operationalised. I then outline conceptualisations of *multiple* social identities, and associated ways of measurement. Subsequently, I propose a new conceptual framework to assess how minority group members define their ingroup in the context of multiple, cross-cutting category memberships. Specifically, the subjective combination of multiple ingroups within the individual is described in terms of structure (i.e. Social Identity Structure; SIS) and inclusiveness (i.e. Social Identity Inclusiveness; SII).

In Chapter 2, I introduce a method that enables measurement of both constructs, and that is deployed in the four empirical studies that are reported in this thesis, namely, the Triple Crossed-Categorisation Task (TCCT). Initial data using this framework and method, collected among a sample of Turkish Belgian Muslims, are presented as well.

Chapter 3 investigates individual differences in SII and SIS in an adult sample of Turkish Australian Muslims. Relationships between SII, SIS, and variables that are conceptually and theoretically related are assessed as well. Chapter 4 investigates SII and SIS in a sample of Turkish Australian Muslim adolescents, and the role of the major socialization context of the school, by comparing adolescents at religiously segregated schools with adolescents at non-segregated schools.

Whereas Chapter 3 and 4 present empirical studies assessing SII and SIS as individual differences, Chapters 5 and 6 examine the impact of the *context* on levels of SII and SIS. Specifically, I investigate the malleability of SII and SIS in response to social identity threat.

Chapter 5 presents findings of an experiment examining the effect of religious identity threat versus reassurance on SII, SIS, and a range of other variables. Chapter 6 investigates the impact of ethnic versus religious identity threat on SII, SIS and other variables.

Finally, in Chapter 7, I conclude with a restatement of the aims of this thesis, a summary of the key findings, theoretical and practical implications, and an outline of the significance and limitations of the thesis.





## CHAPTER 1: SOCIAL IDENTITIES: THEORIES, CONCEPTUALISATION, AND OPERATIONALISATION

Social psychologists have long understood social identity to be a critical force that can either hamper or facilitate interventions aimed at creating social cohesion and reducing prejudice and bias. It is now well known that social identity – that part of one’s self-concept that is drawn from the groups to whom one belongs (Tajfel, 1978) – provides a critical and unique link between individuals and social groups, and, once salient, shapes how individuals think, behave, and evaluate others. Research on social identity has mostly focused on a single social group membership at a time. However, the increased social complexity in modern societies and the subsequent salience of multiple social identities provides individuals with the opportunity to define their ingroup and combine multiple social identities in a variety of different ways. There is now extensive support for the ability of people to endorse multiple social identities (see Deaux, 1996, for a review). The assessment of multiple social identities has, however, not yet become an integral part of social identity research, possibly because no widely accepted conceptualisations and measurement methods are available.

Nonetheless, the question as to how people combine multiple group memberships in their ingroup identity is important, and of particular relevance to ethnic and religious minority group members, whose national, ethnic and religious group memberships constitute distinct, non-convergent categories, each with different norms, values, and category prototypes. How ethnic and religious minority group members reconcile their belonging to these non-convergent, potentially conflicting group memberships, is the main focus of this thesis.

Before addressing this question in the following empirical chapters, I will lay out a theoretical framework of social identity in the current chapter. Specifically, I will start by providing an overview of the conceptualisation and operationalisation of *singular* social identities in previous social psychological work. Subsequently, I will describe the different

models that have been proposed to conceptualise the combination of *multiple* social identities and discuss associated ways of assessment. Finally, I will introduce a new theoretical framework surrounding multiple social identities, and propose the concepts of Social Identity Inclusiveness and Structure. The subsequent empirical chapters of this thesis will build on this framework.

## **Social Identity as a Singular Social Group Membership**

### **Theories of Social Identity**

Tajfel (1978) defined social identity as “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. 63). Two theories, known as Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and Self Categorisation Theory (Turner, 1985; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), provide a framework through which social identity is conceptualised.

Social Identity Theory (SIT) proposes that the groups to which we feel we belong provide us with a “social identity”, or a self-definition based on this group membership. As part of the self-concept, social identities help us define who we are and where we belong, and, once salient, prescribe how we should feel, think, and behave, as members of the group. SIT posits that individuals are motivated to maintain or acquire a distinct and positive social identity, which they try to achieve through social competition and ingroup favouritism. Further, the theory proposes an “interpersonal – intergroup continuum” along which social behaviour varies. At the *interpersonal* extreme of the continuum, social interaction behaviour would be determined by unique characteristics of the individuals and the nature of their interpersonal relationship. In certain circumstances, a shift towards the *intergroup* extreme of the continuum would occur. In this case, a person’s perceptions, thoughts, feelings and behaviours would become more consensual to the norms, values and stereotypes of one’s

group, and interactions with others would be based on their group memberships. Hence, SIT proposes a qualitative difference between how one thinks, perceives, feels and behaves as an individual, as opposed to as a group member.

Self-Categorisation Theory (SCT), although closely related to SIT, much more emphasizes the role of the cognitive process of social categorisation, with the activation of social identities being a direct result of categorisation of oneself as a member of a particular social group. The theory also emphasizes the impact of the immediate context on categorisation processes and as a consequence, on the particular social identity that becomes salient and its associated attributes. SCT thus characterises social identities as very fluid, malleable and dynamic, as self-conceptions that continuously change depending on the specific situation. When social identities become salient, the individual would perceive himself or herself not as a unique individual, but as an interchangeable representative of the salient category, and thus, the self would become “depersonalised”. This shift towards the perception of oneself as an interchangeable exemplar of a category subsequently activates attitudes, thoughts, and behaviours that are collective – attuned to the group instead of being personalised. SCT takes the shift on the interpersonal-intergroup continuum as suggested by SIT one step further, by making a distinction between personal and social identity (or self-definition in terms of personal attributes versus group membership; Turner & Reynolds, 2004), as functionally antagonistic levels of self. In other words, SCT contends that social identity would function to the relative exclusion of personal identity (see Turner, 1984).

### **Conceptualisation of Social Identity**

**Components of social identity.** SIT and SCT outline a conceptual framework to understand how social identities are activated and how they influence peoples’ thoughts, feelings, and actions. Since social identities are part of the self-concept, and their very nature is psychological, their conceptualisation is challenging at the least. Nonetheless, there is

consensus by social psychologists that social identities contain cognitive, affective, and motivational components. Moreover, although not an inherent part of social identities, there are also important affective, cognitive and behavioural concomitants.

First and foremost, for a social identity to exist there has to be a social *category*, or a specific *label* which defines a group of people on the basis of certain shared characteristics. An important, crucial component of social identity is the self-categorisation of the individual as a member of the particular group. Indeed, membership to a particular group can only become a part of one's self-concept if one perceives oneself as belonging to this group in the first place. Self-categorisation is therefore considered to be a basic *cognitive* element of a social identity (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004). Merely being a member of a certain category however does not necessarily mean that this membership will be internalized as a social identity that is actually meaningful to a person. For instance, a Sudanese refugee obtaining citizenship in Australia may, despite self-categorizing as a citizen of this new country, not necessarily feel he or she belongs to Australia, and hence not identify with being Australian. Similarly, one may be born into a Christian family, self-categorize as a Christian, yet not experience being Christian as a meaningful identity. So, the key feature that distinguishes a social identity from mere *objective* group membership, is the *subjective* feeling of belonging to the group, or social identification. When a person feels he or she belongs to a certain group, and this social identity becomes salient, then this person's self-definition will shift from a personalised identity to a depersonalised, inclusive, social identity, "where I becomes we" (Brewer, 1991), "we" being all others who share membership to this salient group, based on the person's *subjective* definition of the group.

How the individual subjectively defines the group is also part of the *cognitive* component of social identities. In terms of cognitive features, social identities include all the self-knowledge derived from membership in a specific group. This includes traits, norms,

attitudes, values, beliefs and ideologies that a person associates with that particular group membership. To a certain extent, this cognitive content of social identities is entrenched with the views that are dominant within the group itself (e.g., Cheryan & Monin, 2005), as well as the views that broader society holds about a certain category (e.g., see Steele, 1997; Steele & Aronson, 1995). Nonetheless, the cognitive content of identities has been shown to be highly flexible, and varies significantly across situations (e.g., Doosje, Haslam, Spears, Oakes, & Koomen, 1998).

Apart from cognitive content, social identities carry an emotional connotation, such as a sense of pride in and belongingness to the group, and reflect the value of that identity to the group member (Albert et al., 1998).

Social identities also have a motivational component. Indeed, people do not merely undergo the effect of social categorisation, but they are motivated to identify with social groups, and thus can be seen as motivated agents rather than passive carriers of social identities. The main need that is to be satisfied by social identification has been described differently by different social psychological theories. SIT, for instance, puts the need for a positive social identity at the heart of social identification processes. People are motivated to obtain a positive evaluation of their selves, and one way to put themselves in a positive light is via their social identities and subsequent comparisons to other groups that favour their own group (intergroup differentiation). The uncertainty reduction hypothesis (Hogg, 2000) posits that reducing the level of uncertainty in life is a fundamental need that can be met by social identities. Indeed, when one self-categorizes as a group member, social identities can provide guidance as to how to think, feel, and behave, via assimilation of the self-concept to the group prototype. Optimal Distinctiveness Theory (Brewer, 1991) puts forward the opposing fundamental needs of belonging and distinctiveness as main drivers of social identification. Group membership allows a person to *assimilate* to other ingroup members, and

simultaneously, to *differentiate* from outgroup members through intergroup comparisons, fulfilling both opposing needs simultaneously. Other researchers (e.g., Baumeister & Leary, 1995) have argued that the need to belong and extend the self to include others is, in itself, a driving force of social identities. All suggested motivating needs behind social identities have been supported by empirical studies (e.g., Branscombe & Wann, 1994; Hogg, Sherman, Dierselhuis, Maitner, & Moffitt, 2007; Badea, Jetten, Czukor, & Askevis-Leherpeux, 2010) and social identities are therefore likely to fulfil multiple needs.

Social identities can strongly influence how people relate to the social world, affecting attitudes, emotions, and social behaviours. For instance, lab studies have shown how group membership, however arbitrary, can evoke preferential treatment of others belonging to the same, arbitrary group (Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971). Social identities also colour peoples' emotional responses to group-relevant events (for recent reviews, see Iyer & Leach, 2008; Yzerbyt, Dumont, Mathieu, Gordijn, & Wigboldus, 2006). For example, Kuppens and Yzerbyt (2012) demonstrated female participants to feel more anger and disgust toward Muslims when their social identity as a woman (in comparison to another social identity) was made salient. Behavioural consequences are powerfully documented by real-world events in which ethnic, religious, and many other types of groups evoke strong emotional commitment in their members and subsequently lead to extreme acts of self-sacrifice to benefit the group (e.g. self-immolation by Tibetans in China, Western European Muslims travelling to Syria to defend fellow Muslims against Assad's regime).

While social identities are characterised as cognitive structures, entailing different components and concomitants, how these attributes are organised within the self-structure remains a matter of debate (Abrams & Hogg, 2004). The same group membership can activate different cognitions, meanings, attitudes and behaviours, depending on the social context and the motivations of the individual. For instance, a Belgian may feel proud and

cultured while visiting an exhibition of the Belgian surrealist Magritte, while he or she may associate being Belgian with feelings of shame and guilt on a safari through the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In other words, social identities are self-categories whose attributes are fluid and subjectively defined within the context.

**Classification of social identities.** The abovementioned components describe how social identities are generally represented, without distinguishing between different *types* of social identities. Nonetheless, social psychologists have proposed several ways of classifying different types of social identity. Deaux (2001), for instance, distinguishes between five types of social identities, based on their specific characteristics: ethnic and religious identities, political identities, vocational and avocation identities, relationship identities, and stigmatized identities. Each type of social identity has specific characteristics that distinguish it from the other categories (for instance: ethnic and religious identities are usually ascribed from birth; relationship identities also imply a role relationship with a significant other).

In this thesis, I will focus on such *collective* or social identities (e.g., Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004) that have been shown to be of particular importance to minority group members (Phinney, 1990; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007): ethnic, national, and religious identities.

**Development of social identity.** Another important dimension to consider is the *development* of social identities over time. Several researchers have proposed stage models of development of social identities (e.g., Amiot, de la Sablonniere, Terry, & Smith, 2007; Cross, 1971; Phinney, 1989). However, it is difficult to reconcile different types of social identities under one developmental theory. Indeed, while certain identities have been shown to develop quite early on in life (e.g., identification with gender and ethnic ingroups is usually achieved by the age of seven; Bennett & Sani, 2011; Bennett, Yuill, Banerjee, & Thomson, 1998), the development of other identities may only come in a later stage of life (e.g., sexual identity,



professional identity). Nonetheless, over time, social identities can change, both in terms of content (shift in the attributes and behaviours associated with an identity) and in terms of strength of commitment (e.g. immigrants could increase or decrease their identification with their ethnic background upon settling in host country; Phinney, Horenzcyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001).

**Social identity versus social identification.** The aforementioned distinction between *content* and *strength of commitment* to a social identity, is important, and points to the use of clear terminology. The terms “social identity” and “social identification” are often used interchangeably. Nonetheless, the two concepts have a different meaning. Social identity refers to one’s self-concept as a group member, and thus points to the *content*, or the cognitive representation of the self in terms of group memberships (Brewer, 2001; Deaux, 2001). Social identification, on the other hand, refers to “the *process* of depersonalization whereby people come to perceive themselves as interchangeable exemplars of a category rather than unique individuals” (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987, p. 50). Variations in social identification refer to the extent to which a person perceives him or herself as an interchangeable group member, and thus represents the strength of one’s relationship to this particular group. In other words, social identification entails the centrality, or *strength of psychological attachment* to a social group (e.g., Deaux, 2000). Throughout this thesis, I will distinguish between content and strength of attachment to group memberships by adhering to this terminology.

### **Operationalisation of Social Identity**

As complex as the conceptualisation of social identity is, so is its operationalisation. While no widely accepted or standardised measures of social identity exist, the assessment of social identities in social psychological research has been dominated by *quantitative* assessments of social *identification*, or of the strength of one’s emotional attachment to the

group, based on self-report. A variety of scales have been developed, focusing on different aspects of the psychological attachment of the person to the group, such as centrality (assessing the importance or perceived significance that the group membership holds for an individual, e.g., Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998), positivity (assessing individuals' evaluation of their social identity, e.g., Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992), inclusion of the ingroup in the self (the perceived interconnectedness between self and the group, e.g., Tropp & Wright, 2001), and perceived superiority (see Roccas, Sagiv, Schwartz, Halevy, & Eidelson, 2008, for an overview). Other scales combine several of such dimensions into a multi-component scale for ingroup identification (e.g., Cameron, 2004; Jackson, 2002; Leach et al., 2008)

While social psychologists have generally focused on measuring the *degree* of commitment to a given social group in isolation from other identity groups (e.g., Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 2002), social reality is likely to evoke much more complex identification processes, with multiple social dimensions that are salient simultaneously, allowing individuals to actively and meaningfully construe their social identity in *qualitatively* different ways. Most measures of social identity are not able to capture this qualitative aspect or content of social identity. What does it mean for a respondent to be Muslim, or American, or liberal? "Being Muslim" or "being American" can mean very different things to different people. For instance, Cheryan and Monin (2005) found that being American was significantly associated with being White by White Americans, but not by Asian American participants. Other researchers have argued how, particularly in the case of national identities, prototypes can be claimed and construed by different groups in different ways (Waldzus, Mummendey, Wenzel, & Boettcher, 2004; Wenzel, Mummendey, & Waldzus, 2007). Given that multiple group memberships may interact in constructing the *content* of a particular identity, one cannot project a fixed content to a particular group membership, and assume this content is

similar to what majority or minority members have in mind when they report identifying with their national group. Yet most minority identity research continues to measure strength of identification with predetermined category labels, ignoring how the individual cognitively represents the category of interest and assuming that the subjective category representation reflects the objective category.

Given the interaction between multiple group memberships in determining the content or prototypes of certain social identities, it is important to expand the empirical lens to include multiple social identities when studying minority groups' identification with their multiple groups. Although SIT and SCT acknowledge the existence of multiple social identities, they do not provide a framework to conceptualise how multiple social identities are combined. However, several frameworks have been proposed to conceptualise and assess how multiple identities are organised within individuals, that may inform how minority group members combine their multiple group belongings. These frameworks will be discussed in the following section of this chapter.

### **Multiple Social Identities**

In the previous section, I outlined how social identities have been conceptualised and assessed by social psychologists. One important limitation that I raised was the focus on single social identities. Both SIT and SCT acknowledge that people belong to multiple social groups, and account for fluid, non-fixed patterns of social identification. For instance, these theories address why a Moroccan French citizen may self-categorize as a Moroccan among a group of native French citizens, while self-categorizing as a French citizen when visiting his country of origin. Despite acknowledging the fluidity of the self-concept, these theories do not address whether and how people can be *simultaneously* aware of their multiple group memberships, and how they subsequently combine these multiple group memberships into a coherent ingroup construal. Similarly, the ways social identities have been assessed in many

social psychological studies do not take into account interrelations between multiple social identities. Despite the complexity of people's social identities in the real world, the majority of scales on social identification have treated social identities as if they were independent, assessing only one social group membership at a time.

Nonetheless, the idea that people can belong to and identify with multiple social groups simultaneously has recently received more attention in social psychological research (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Several models have been proposed that address how people combine or reconcile their multiple identities. I will now discuss the following models: a unidimensional model (e.g., Gordon, 1964), a bidimensional model, stemming from acculturation research (Berry, 1997), an intersectional model (e.g., Bicultural Identity Integration, Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002), hierarchical models of inclusiveness (Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993; Hornsey & Hogg, 2000), and cross-cutting conceptualisations (Deschamps & Doise, 1978; Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Finally, drawing on previous lines of research on crossed-categorisation and Social Identity Complexity (Roccas & Brewer, 2002), I will introduce the concepts of Social Identity Inclusiveness and Social Identity Structure as new ways to conceptualise the combination of multiple social identities in ingroup construals.

### **Assessing Multiple Social Identities: A Unidimensional Model**

A body of research in acculturation has deployed a unidimensional approach in assessing multiple social identities (e.g., Gordon, 1964). Individuals are placed on a continuum of identities ranging from exclusively heritage (ethnic) identity to exclusively mainstream (national) identity. On this bipolar continuum, identification with one identity would go at the cost of one's attachment to the other identity. To account for the possibility of integrating both identities, some researchers have included bicultural or integrated identity as the midpoint of the continuum (e.g., Suinn, Ahuna, & Khoo, 1992). Although this

approach examines a person's relationship to *multiple* social groups, it holds the assumption of exclusivity of such relationships. By juxtaposing identification with two social groups as negatively correlated phenomena, it does not allow to measure the many different ways in which one can relate to multiple social identities simultaneously.

### **Assessing Multiple Social Identities: A Bidimensional Model**

To date, most of the research examining multiple social identities among minority groups has studied identification with *ethnic* versus *national* group memberships as two orthogonal, independent dimensions. Applying Berry's (1997) model of acculturation to a bidimensional model of social identification, these studies distinguish between four different identity strategies: *separation* (a strong ethnic identification and a weak or absent national identity), *assimilation* (a strong national identification and a weak or absent ethnic identity), *dual or bicultural identity* (high ethnic and high national identification), and *marginalization* (low or absent ethnic and national identification) (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009).

Although bidimensional models conceive the relationship between ethnic and national identities to be independent, research has shown that these identities are not always unrelated. In fact, positive as well as negative associations between ethnic and national identity are found in different intergroup contexts (e.g., Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006; Fleishmann & Phalet, 2013).

Further, the four identity patterns that emerge from Berry's model and that have been widely used to conceptualise and measure minority identity, do not capture the full range of identity management strategies that minority groups might adopt for combining or balancing ethnic and national identities. For example, an individual may identify solely with a subgroup that emerges out of the combination of the two cultures. This is the case for many larger minority groups that adapt elements from both cultures and form a hybrid identity distinct from either culture from which it has emerged (e.g., *French Moroccans*, *Turkish Germans*).

Moreover, individuals who are low identifiers on both ethnic and national dimensions, and are categorized as “marginalized”, do not necessarily have to *be* marginalized and excluded to the periphery of society. Instead, these individuals may just refuse to categorize themselves in terms of ethnic or national group membership and prefer to present themselves as unique individuals or egalitarian “world citizens” (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997).

Alternatively, one could construct a sense of social self through identifying with an alternative social group, based on, for example, a religion, an occupation, or a political party.

In particular, the role of religion in acculturation strategies has been largely ignored. Yet, religious group membership may provide ethnic minority members with a social identity that overlaps with the majority of others in the nation (e.g., being Christian in the United States or Western Europe), or that constitutes another distinctive minority identity (e.g., being both Turkish and Muslim in Western Europe), or that unites minority groups within a country (e.g., Tunisians and Moroccans in France are both Muslims). In recent research in the Netherlands, strength of Muslim identification has been shown to moderate whether minority group members are able to integrate their ethnic and national identities (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012). Hence, although useful within acculturation studies, Berry’s bidimensional, culture-focused model does not provide a sufficiently elaborated account to inform individuals’ social identity management when multiple social identities on multiple social dimensions are available.

Despite its weaknesses, the majority of studies on minority group members’ multiple identities have built their method of assessment on a bidimensional model, treating the two social identities as independent by deploying identification scales that assess only one social group membership at a time. Identification measures may be repeated for both the ethnic and the national ingroup, resulting in two separate scores: one for ethnic, and one for national identification, which are subsequently transformed into one of the four abovementioned

identity strategies (*segregation, assimilation, dual identity, marginalization*), by either subtracting or multiplying the scale scores, or by categorizing the respondents' scores by median split procedures into one of the four identity patterns.

Baysu and colleagues (Baysu, Phalet, & Brown, 2011) for example, measured the degree of bicultural identification by computing the interaction term between two separate items for identification with the host culture and culture of origin. In another study, Baysu, Phalet and Brown (2011) allocated participants to different identity strategies based on a median split on a single item measures of ethnic and national identification. Many other researchers have used bivariate correlations to assess the simultaneous identification with two social categories (e.g., Jetten, Branscombe, Schmitt, & Spears, 2002; van Knippenberg, van Knippenberg, Monden, & Lima, 2002; van Leeuwen, van Knippenberg, & Ellemers, 2003). This fragmented way of assessing multiple identities, by looking at national and ethnic identification separately, to then combine scores and draw conclusions on how the individual combines both identities, ignores the complex and multi-layered social context in which social identification processes are embedded. Importantly, it completely overlooks the *meaning* of national and ethnic identities as subjectively represented by minority group members. More sensitive measures should be developed to assess different identity strategies or structures, and to capture how multiple social identities are represented and combined. Measures are needed that are able to tap into identity integration, in a context where multiple group memberships are being taken into account.

### **Assessing Multiple Social Identities: Intersectional Models**

While bidimensional models assess the degree of identification with national and ethnic ingroups as separate dimensions, intersectional models tap into individual differences in the feelings about their intersection. Intersectional models place the degree to which minority individuals perceive their multiple identities as compatible and integrated on a

continuum. The extent to which minorities integrate their heritage and national identities is thus operationalised as an individual difference variable, and is measured directly by asking individuals to what extent they feel part of a combined culture (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). This approach would distinguish biculturals who are able to integrate their multiple social identities, from those who are not.

For instance, the construct of bicultural identity integration (BII; Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005) captures the degree to which bicultural individuals perceive their national and ethnic cultures as compatible versus oppositional. BII is assessed by a series of Likert-scale items enquiring about the perceived compatibility between one's ethnic and national culture (e.g., *I feel caught between the Chinese and American cultures*; Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). Yet culture is a rather abstract construct, and these items do not capture the subjective representation of heritage versus national "cultures" to a minority individual. Does one think of mere cultural *behaviours* (such as food or media preferences), or does one consider each culture's norms, values, and one's allegiance to both cultures? This subjective meaning of culture is not captured by the BII items such as *I keep Chinese and American cultures separate*, *I feel caught between Chinese and American cultures*, or *I don't feel trapped between Chinese and American cultures*. Furthermore, assessing perceived compatibility between cultures also does not inform us about how biculturals resolve high versus low perceived compatibility on the level of identification (e.g., do they merge both identities, do they identify with the intersection of both identities, or do they adopt one dominant social identity?). These different identity strategies may have quite different implications for intergroup relations. Another conceptual challenge of the BII model is the meaning of low BII. Bicultural individuals who score low on BII are equally considered to



endorse a bicultural identity, yet what this means in terms of how both identities are combined within the individual is not clear.

### **Assessing Multiple Social Identities: Hierarchical Models**

Another set of models that have been formalised in the arena of intergroup contact and prejudice research, proposes that the relationship between multiple social identities is hierarchical in nature, with certain subordinate identities being encompassed by superordinate, more inclusive identities. The most prominent examples are the Common Ingroup Identity model (Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993) and the Integrative Model of Subgroup Relations (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000). According to these models, the level of inclusiveness of an identity is determined by the relative size of the ingroup it represents. For instance, for a Moroccan heritage Muslim living in France, being Maghreb would be a subordinate, or less inclusive identity, whereas being a French citizen would be a superordinate, overarching category, that includes his subordinate Maghreb identity, as well as his Muslim identity as a subordinate category. These models suggest that strengthening the identification with the more inclusive identity would improve relationships between groups with different subordinate identities, who share a superordinate identity, via the process of recategorisation.

To conceptualise social identities as hierarchical creates important challenges. First, the hierarchy of inclusiveness that may exist among social groups in the objective, real world, may not necessarily be reflected in a person's subjective representations of these groups. Indeed, Mummendey and colleagues (Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999; see Wenzel, Mummendey, & Waldzus, 2007, for an overview) found substantial differences in the perceived composition of such superordinate ingroups, across groups that simultaneously endorsed different subgroup identities. Group members were found to generalise (project) their distinct ingroup characteristics onto the superordinate category, resulting in distinct

superordinate category representations across groups, with subgroups perceiving their own subgroup as more prototypical for the overarching category. Hence, the hierarchies between social categories are not to be taken as an objectively given, but rather a subjective construction from the specific perspective of the perceiver.

Moreover, important social categories in modern societies, such as nationality, religion, and ethnicity, are cross-cutting in nature, such that, rather than one category being completely embedded in another, both extend *beyond* each other. For instance, while ethnicity may be treated as a subordinate category of an overarching national superordinate category, in reality, it may provide an identity far more broad and inclusive, encompassing ethnic group members across nations. The cross-cutting nature of many relevant social categories has become even more apparent through globalisation, increased mobility and information technology, allowing social groups to align beyond geographical or national borders.

Finally, the conceptualisation of social identities as hierarchically organised groups based on their level of inclusiveness, cannot account for the distinct social identities that emerge from the intersection of two or more groups. For instance, the African American identity may be linked with distinct attributes that do not originate from African, nor from American identities, and may develop as a separate identity with emergent attributes that are independent from the groups whose intersection it originated from.

### **Assessing Multiple Social Identities: Cross-cutting Models**

A final line of theory has conceptualised multiple group memberships as cross-cutting. I will discuss two separate areas of research using this conceptualisation: the literature on cross-categorisation (Deschamps & Doise, 1978), and on social identity complexity (Roccas & Brewer, 2002).

**Cross-categorisation research.** Research on cross-categorisation focuses on how the perception of multiple group memberships in others is used in social judgment. The crossed categorisation paradigm (Deschamps & Doise, 1978) offers a useful method in this regard. In this paradigm, two orthogonal social dimensions are crossed, producing four distinct target groups: a double ingroup (ii) where the target shares the perceiver's category membership on both dimensions, a double outgroup (oo), where the target is different from the perceiver on both dimension, and two crossed groups (io, oi), that share one membership but not the other. Participants are asked to evaluate individual targets of these different types (Migdal, Hewstone, & Mullen, 1998; Miller, Urban, & Vanman, 1998). Different patterns of evaluation across the four target types have been identified (Brewer et al, 1987; Hewstone, Islam & Judd, 1993) and observed (Hewstone, Islam, & Judd, 1993). Meta-analyses of the crossed-categorisation literature show one pattern in particular, i.e. the additivity pattern ( $ii > io = oi > oo$ ) to be best supported (Migdal, Hewstone, & Mullen, 1998; Urban & Miller, 1998). Herein double ingroups are evaluated most positively; double outgroups most negatively, with evaluations of mixed groups falling in between these two extremes (Crisp & Hewstone, 1999).

The crossed categorisation literature has focused primarily on assessments of a target person's social group memberships, and ignored the participant's *own* ingroup identification processes that underlie these effects. To infer identification processes on the basis of evaluative judgments of others as a function of their group memberships is questionable, particularly when crossing of dimensions enables people to define their ingroup in many different ways. A better understanding of how identification processes relate to evaluation and categorisation of others requires combining external categorisations (or the categorisation of others) with internal categorisations (self-categorisation, or identification) (Hewstone, Turner, Kenworthy, & Crisp, 2006; Tajfel, 1978).

In conclusion, the crossed categorisation literature has focused on evaluation processes alone, while ignoring identification processes, and the individual variance in identification. Alternative measures of self-categorisation and identification are needed to tap on to the underlying processes of social judgment in the context of multiple categories.

**Social identity complexity.** One, more recent, line of research *does* take into account the interrelationships between one's *own* multiple social identities instead of the perception of multiple identities in others, both in terms of conceptualisation and measurement. Social identity complexity (SIC) refers to how a person perceives the interrelationships among his or her multiple group identities (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). SIC theory conceptualises social groups as cross-cutting, interrelated sources of social identity. Specifically, SIC represents the extent to which individuals perceive the groups to which they belong as overlapping and similar (low SIC) or non-overlapping and dissimilar (high SIC), and has been operationalised in two different ways. Overlap complexity reflects the perceived overlap between one's multiple ingroups in terms of group boundaries (e.g., one could ask a Turkish Muslim, "*how many Turks do you think consider themselves Muslim?*"). Similarity complexity represents the degree to which an individual perceives the prototypes of his or her multiple ingroups to be similar (e.g., one could ask the same Turkish Muslim whether "*a typical Turk is very similar to a typical Muslim*"). Thus whereas similarity complexity reflects the extent to which ingroups are cognitively represented by central tendency ("prototypes" or representations of typical members and their attributes), overlap complexity reflects the mental representations of the group boundaries.

Individual differences in perceived similarity or overlap among multiple ingroups have been shown to be related to attitudes toward outgroup members. Specifically, SIC is negatively related to ingroup favouritism (Brewer & Pierce, 2005) and positively related to tolerance toward other groups (Roccas & Brewer, 2002; Miller, Brewer, & Arbuckle, 2009).

Moreover, SIC plays a significant positive mediating role in the relationship between intergroup contact and outgroup attitudes (Schmid, Hewstone, Tausch, Cairns, & Hughes, 2009).

SIC measures indicate to what degree a person is aware of his or her ingroups being non-convergent and non-overlapping (in terms of typicality or group boundaries, respectively). However, neither measure of SIC takes into account whether respondents also identify with their ingroups when they do not overlap completely. Indeed, one might recognize that one's multiple ingroups do not overlap, and be aware that a fellow member of one ingroup can be an outgroup member on another category, thereby reflecting relatively higher overlap complexity; but, the mere *acknowledgment* of such "partial ingroup members" does not imply either embracing them as fellow ingroup members, or *identifying* with them.

The potential divergence between *awareness* of non-overlap and *identification* with non-overlapping conjunctions of one's ingroups, is particularly relevant to minority group members. Indeed, ethnic and religious minority members are very likely to be aware of the non-overlap between important identities such as nationality, ethnicity and religion, as they are per definition the minority in a nation. Being aware of the non-overlap in this case does not necessarily mean that the non-overlapping parts of multiple identities will be automatically integrated into a more inclusive, expanding social self. In contrast – since belonging to highly divergent groups may elicit stress – this awareness of non-overlap may even backfire and lead to a more exclusive rather than inclusive identity structure. For instance, a Belgian national with Turkish heritage can self-categorize as a Belgian and as a Turk. Simultaneously this person might be aware of the many fellow Belgians who do not share his or her Turkish background. This does not mean, however, that they would also perceive all these other Belgians as ingroup members. Although SIC as a theoretical construct has been found to be of importance in intergroup relations, its operationalisation thus far is

not able to differentiate between cognitive awareness of non-overlap and identification with non-overlapping conjunctions.

### **A New Way of Assessing Multiple Social Identities: Social Identity Inclusiveness and Structure**

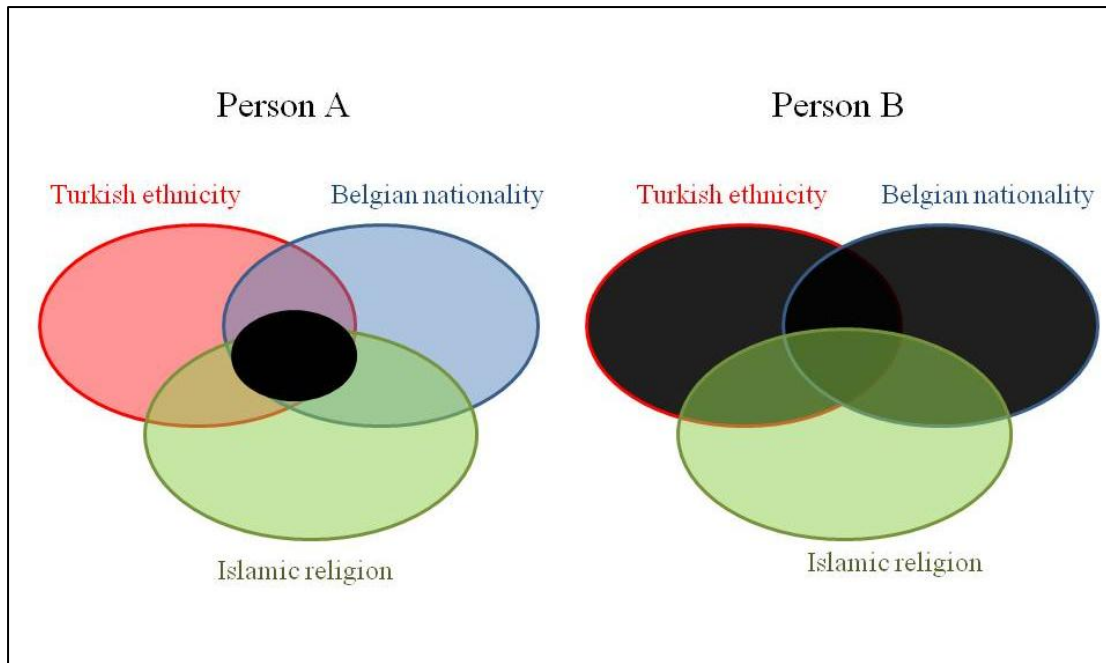
The increased social complexity in modern societies and the resulting salience of multiple social identities provides individuals with the opportunity to construct their ingroup identity and combine multiple social identities in a variety of different ways. The assessment of multiple social identities has not yet become an integral part of research on ethnic and religious minority groups, possibly because no widely accepted conceptualisations and measurement methods are available. Moreover, research that does take into account multiple identities, has commonly assessed identification with nationality and ethnicity as singular categories, predefining what constitutes the ingroup and outgroup, while ignoring how individuals construe and subjectively represent their ingroup and outgroups. Lines of research that do take into account the interrelations between one's social groups, have not assessed one's identification with these multiple social groups (e.g., cross-categorisation and SIC research). Drawing on SIC theorizing, I argue that membership in distinct ethnic, religious and national groups allows individuals to construct their ingroup identity in many different ways, both in terms of inclusiveness (e.g., how restricted or inclusive is their ingroup representation), and in terms of content (e.g., which social categories are used to define the ingroup). These aspects of social identities reflect Social Identity Inclusiveness (SII) and Social Identity Structure (SIS), respectively – two theoretical concepts surrounding ingroup identity construction, which I define below.

#### **Social Identity Inclusiveness**

Social Identity Inclusiveness (SII) can be defined as the range of people a person identifies with through shared group membership. In other words, SII refers to how

inclusively or exclusively one defines the ingroup from the combination of multiple cross-cutting categories. A person high in SII will apply looser criteria for identifying with others as “one of us”, resulting in an expansive social self and a highly diverse ingroup. A person low in SII will only identify with others who fulfil more rigid membership criteria (e.g., who share membership in two or more salient ingroups), resulting in a narrowly defined ingroup constituted of others that are all very similar to oneself, and thus endorsing a restrictive, exclusive ingroup identity. SII is essentially a cognitive construct that reflects the *subjective* definition of the ingroup as perceived by the individual.

Identifying with a larger number of social categories does not necessarily equate with higher SII. The inclusiveness of one’s social identity will be determined by the combination rule that one applies to structure these categories into a relatively stable sense of who is “us” (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). To illustrate, person A who perceives him or herself as Turkish, Belgian, and Muslim, does not automatically endorse a more inclusive ingroup identity than Person B who identifies him or herself as being Turkish and Belgian but not Muslim. Person A may combine these different category memberships into a restricted ingroup identity, by only identifying with other Turkish-Belgians who are also Muslim, (i.e., the intersection of these three groups), whereas Person B may combine two identities into a higher inclusive identity, including both non-Turkish Belgians and non-Belgian Turks into his or her ingroup (see also Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Hence identifying with a larger number of ingroups may be associated with either higher or lower SII, depending on the specific combination rule through which these different ingroups are integrated within the ingroup construal (see Figure 1.1).



*Figure 1.1.* An illustration of different perceptions of the ingroup in the context of multiple cross-cutting categories, applied to Turkish Belgian Muslims (where the black portion represents the subjective ingroup).

SII builds on Self-Categorisation Theory as the concept reflects how categorisation of oneself as belonging to certain social categories provides the basis for a more or less inclusive self-definition. In addition, SII builds on the same premise that people have a bounded sense of ingroup and outgroup, in line with Social Identity Theory and Self-Categorisation Theory. However, whereas SCT largely attributes the salience of a given social identity to the immediate social context and the categorisation processes that are activated by contextual cues, SII much more emphasizes the individual's idiosyncratic categorisation tendency based on previous experiences, and the complexity of one's close network in terms of social groups. So, with SII I argue that the subjective salience of social identities is not merely evoked by social context but shaped through the process of integrating and combining multiple social identities over time. SII is thus introduced as a relatively stable individual difference variable.



**SII and related concepts.** With SII, the self is conceptualised as extending beyond the individual to encompass cross-cutting social groups. The idea that the self extends beyond the individual to include others is rooted in the study of interpersonal relations (Aron & Aron, 1996) and has also been applied to social groups (e.g., Aron & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2001; Tropp & Wright, 2001). In this regard, SII relates to the concept of Inclusion of Outgroups in the Self (IOS; Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997; Wright, Aron & Tropp, 2002), as it builds on the similar idea that categories will be incorporated into the social self. An important difference between the constructs however, is that IOS focuses on the inclusion of one singular, predefined outgroup into the self, while SII represents the degree of inclusiveness in a context of multiple, cross-cutting social categories.

Importantly, SII moves away from predefined ingroup and outgroup categories as applied in previous lines of research on multiple identities, and proposes a *subjective* definition of the ingroup. SII can therefore be conceptually linked to Pettigrew's (1997) idea of deprovincialization. With deprovincialization, Pettigrew referred to the reappraisal of one's ingroup that may result from engaging in outgroup friendships. He argued that having outgroup friends, may cause people to distance from their own group and form a less provincial perspective on their own and other groups in general. Similarly, an increase of inclusiveness in one's ingroup identity means that the perceived ingroup is less strictly defined and a more differentiated view of who belongs to one's own ingroup is adopted. In other words, as people endorse more inclusive identities, they become much less dependent on one specific group to position themselves in the complex social world. Their view of their ingroup becomes less narrowly defined, or, in other words, less *provincialized*.

### **Social Identity Structure**

Social Identity Structure (SIS) is a *qualitative* construct that describes the structural components or specific content of an individual's construed ingroup. Roccas and Brewer

(2002) distinguished between four alternative structures, each of them representing a specific combination rule individuals may deploy in construing their subjective ingroup from multiple group memberships: *intersection*, *dominance*, *compartmentalization*, and *merger*.

I argue that *compartmentalization* is not, in the strictest sense, a social identity structure. Since compartmentalization refers to alternating activation of different social identities across different situations, I believe it should be treated as a multiple identity *management strategy* rather than a distinct structure. Thus, I include only three of Roccas and Brewer's (2002) structures in the current structural model (intersection, dominance, and merger), and also introduce an additional structure labeled *egalitarianism*. What follows is a brief definition of each of these four social identity structures:

- (1) Intersection: This structure emerges from identifying with the intersection of multiple (two or more) ingroups, such that only people who share membership on all relevant ingroups are perceived to be ingroup members.
- (2) Dominance: This structure emerges when the social world is divided into “us” and “them” based on membership in one dominant category. People with a dominant SIS derive their ingroup identity from belonging to a single salient ingroup, whereas all other social dimensions remain subordinate or irrelevant.
- (3) Merger: In the case of a merger structure, one's ingroup identity is derived from belonging to equally salient multiple ingroups. All others that share membership on at least one of these salient dimensions are considered ingroup members.
- (4) Egalitarianism: When one endorses all other humans as fellow ingroup members, and no distinction between others based on group membership is made, one's SIS can be defined as egalitarian.

I have depicted some of the possible structures of the perceived ingroup in the context of three important cross-cutting categories in Figure 1.2.

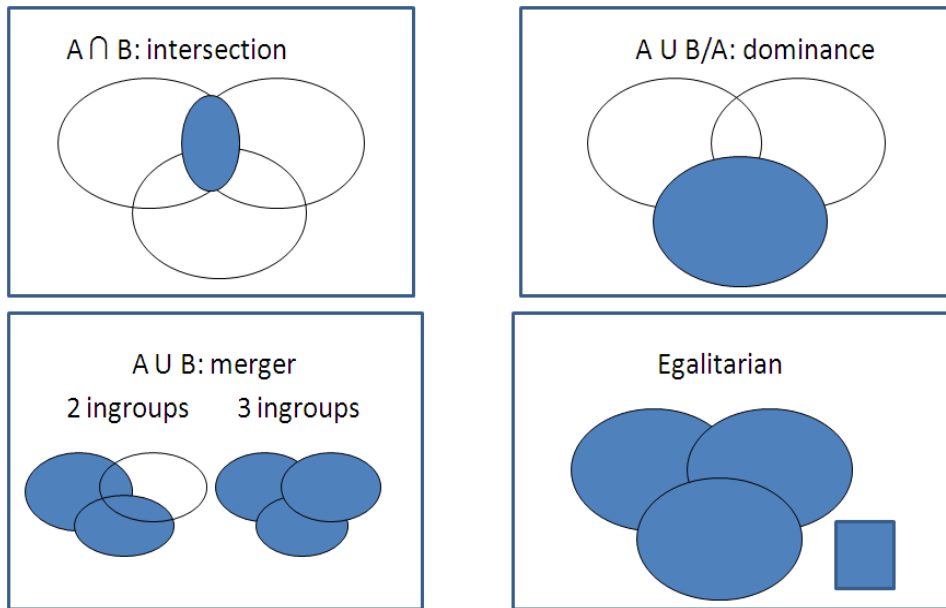


Figure 1.2. Examples of social identity structures as the perceived ingroup in the context of three cross-cutting categories.

Although SIS provides a way to look at different types of ingroup identities *qualitatively*, the four different social identity structures also vary *quantitatively* in terms of their inclusiveness, with intersection and dominance considered to be relatively less inclusive (low SII) than merger and egalitarianism (high SII; see Figure 1.3) (see Roccas & Brewer, 2002). While the specific structure of the subjective ingroup informs us about a person's level of inclusiveness, it also reveals some qualitative information about the perceived ingroup that is not captured by SII.

To illustrate, consider two people who both endorse a dominance SIS. The combination rule for determining the perceived ingroup would be equally strict in both cases, as both of them would only include others in their ingroup when these others are part of one particular social group. Therefore, they would both be considered equal in terms of their SII. However, the specific content of the construed ingroup would be very different. For instance, while one person may have a *national* dominance SIS, the other person may endorse a *religious* dominance structure. These different SIS's, although similar in terms of



However, as noted previously, the crossed categorisation literature has focused primarily on assessments of multiple group memberships *in others*, and their effect on social judgments, while the current social identity structures refer to one's *own* ingroup representation in the context of cross-cutting groups.

The proposed constructs SII and SIS move beyond the traditional focus on singular group memberships, representing the subjective combination of multiple group memberships. The assessment of both constructs requires a method that enables tapping into such subjective ingroup representations. In the following chapter, I will introduce a method that allows assessment of both the inclusiveness (SII) and structure (SIS) of ingroup construals, namely, the Triple Crossed-Categorisation Task.

## CHAPTER 2: ASSESSING SII AND SIS: THE TRIPLE CROSSED-CATEGORISATION TASK

Building on the conceptual framework as introduced in Chapter 1, the current chapter introduces the Triple Crossed-Categorisation Task (TCCT) as a means to assess both *inclusiveness* and *structure* of ingroup identities. Initial findings using this method with a sample of Turkish Belgian Muslims will be presented as well.

The Triple Crossed-Categorisation Task: An Introduction The Triple Crossed-Categorisation Task (TCCT) has been developed to assess ingroup representations in the context of multiple non-overlapping ingroups, and provides a means to assess both Social Identity Inclusiveness (SII) and Social Identity Structure (SIS). Specifically, the TCCT entails sorting multiply-categorizable stimuli – identity cards of fictitious targets belonging to different social categories – into “us” and “them”. In doing so, the TCCT aims to assess the psychological boundaries that separate the ingroup from the outgroup representation. Its basic premise, i.e., that there is a bounded sense of ingroup and outgroup which results from categorisation processes, is grounded in Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and Self Categorisation Theory (Turner, 1985).

In order to categorize the targets, participants are prompted to psychologically draw a boundary between their ingroup and outgroup representations. The stimulus set is created by crossing three important social categories, and comprises targets that share none, one, two or all three relevant group memberships with the participant.<sup>1</sup> The respondent’s SIS is derived from the category content of target cards classified as “us”. The total number of cards assigned to the ingroup (“us”) provides the measure of SII.

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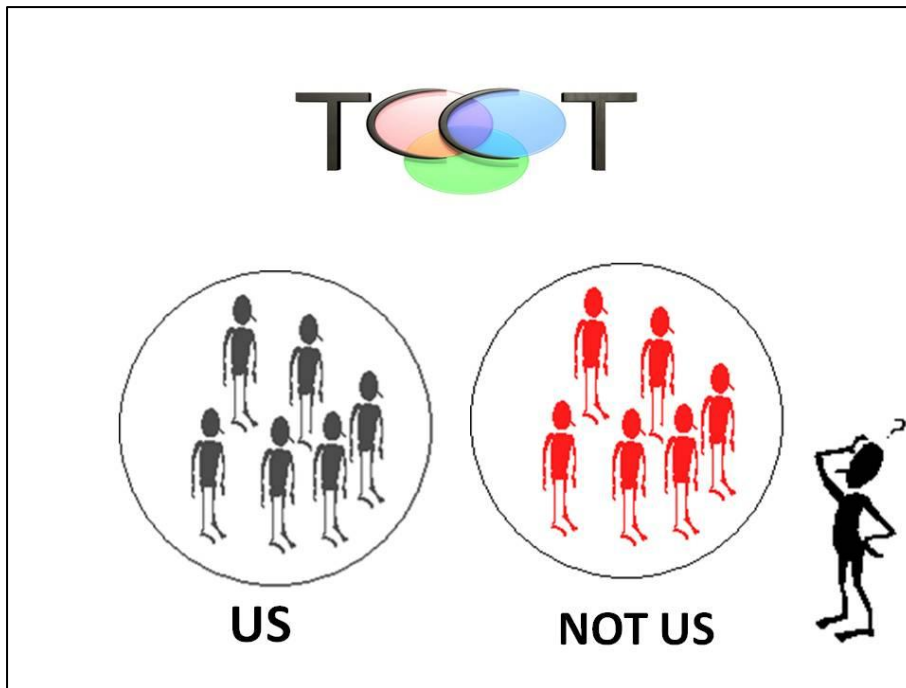
<sup>1</sup> Theoretically, the stimulus set could be generated from any number of category distinctions, but three categories are chosen for feasibility reasons. The three categories used should be determined by the purposes of the research and the social group memberships that are salient and meaningful in the specific research context.

Following the categorisation task, participants are also asked to provide an affective rating of each target. Thus, the TCCT examines not only how respondents draw psychological boundaries between “us” and “them” in a multiple group context, but also the social consequences of this categorisation in terms of affective responses to other individuals.

### **Aims and Rationale**

The TCCT strips down social identity processes to their very cognitive basis: social categorisation. According to Social Identity and Self-Categorisation theory, social identity is cognitively generated by social categorisation of self and others. We all spontaneously categorize others in groups containing the self (us) and not containing the self (them). Hence, the TCCT aims to assess these processes as if they would occur in the real world.

By including triple crossed targets, the TCCT mirrors the complex and multifaceted social environment that people find themselves in, and which is ignored by conventional measures of social identification. Moreover, adopting a bottom-up, inductive approach, and thus avoiding the deductive use of predefined clear-cut ingroup-outgroup distinctions, allows a more sensitive measurement of the *subjective* ingroup and outgroup as perceived by the individual (see Figure 2.1).



*Figure 2.1.* The Triple crossed-categorisation task. Assessing the ingroup as perceived by the individual.

### **Structure and Stimulus Distribution**

The stimulus set of the TCCT is created by the crossing of three dimensions (categories), resulting in eight distinct category conjunctions. The selected categories need to be highly salient and broadly defined ingroups for the selected sample. To illustrate the stimulus distribution of the task, I will describe the stimulus set that was used in a previous community based study on Turkish Belgian Muslims (van Dommelen, Schmid, Hewstone, Gonsalkorale, & Brewer, 2013). In this study we focused on the collective identities that are particularly meaningful to this minority group: nationality, ethnicity and religion. For this sample, nationality, ethnic background and religion represent distinct ingroups that are overlapping but non-convergent. Consequently, when ingroup membership on these three dimensions is manipulated, eight different subgroups emerge (see Figure 2.2).



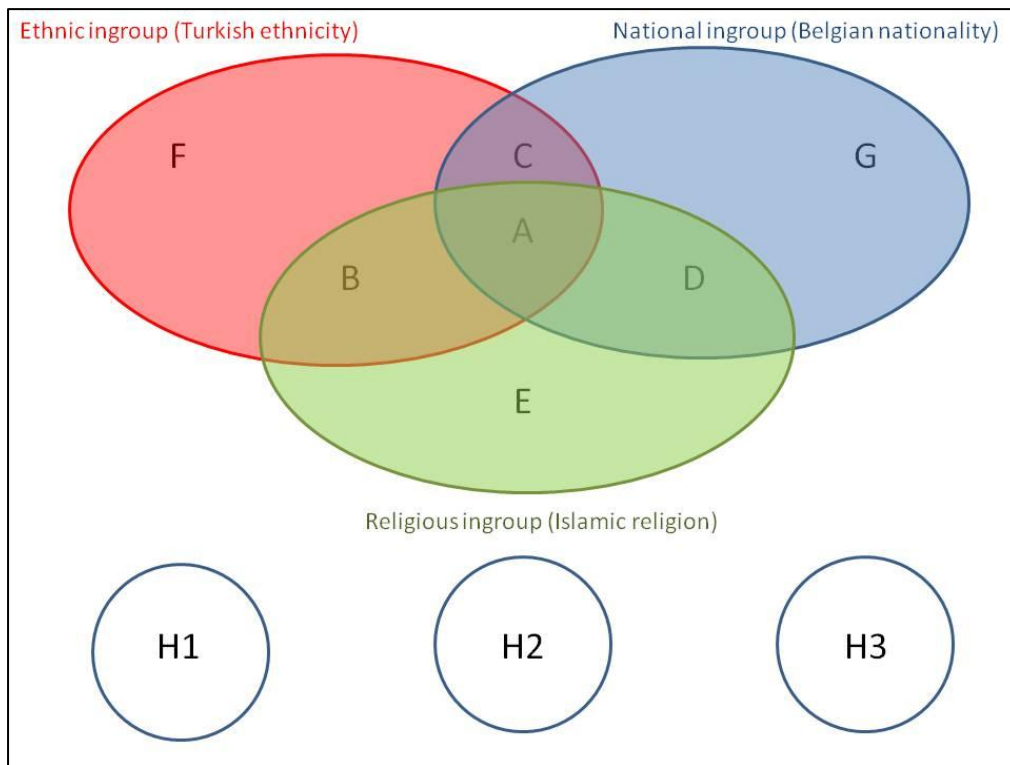


Figure 2.2. Stimuli distribution in the triple cross-categorisation task adapted to Turkish Belgian Muslims.

These eight subgroups include three distinct groups of *single ingroupers* (subgroups E, F, and G), three groups of *double ingroupers* (subgroups B, C and D), one group of *triple ingroupers* (subgroup A), and one generic group of *triple outgroupers* (H1, H2, H3).<sup>2</sup>

Single ingroupers are defined by individuals that have only one ingroup in common with respect to a given Turkish Belgian Muslim participant (and hence are outgroupers on two dimensions), for example, a fellow Belgian national who is Christian and of Flemish ethnic background. Double ingroupers are those who share two ingroups with the participants (and are outgroup members on the remaining dimension). For instance, a Turkish Muslim residing in Turkey is a double-ingrouper for our sample. Triple ingroupers are those who

<sup>2</sup> The size of each distinctive area is depicted on an arbitrary basis. In fact, had I presented the different ingroups according to real world proportions, the figure would have looked very different (e.g. the Islamic or Muslim ingroup would have been much larger compared to the other two).

share all three ingroups, i.e. fellow ethnic Turks with Belgian nationality who embrace Islam as religion. In addition, the circles H1, H2 and H3 represent three distinct groups that share none of the manipulated categories with the subjects – i.e. triple outgroupers - each of them belonging to a distinct ethnic, religious and national outgroup (for instance, a Hindu individual living in India).

The TCCT that was created for this previous study consisted of 24 “identity cards” of fictitious targets, on which membership to three categories – religion, nationality and ethnicity – was depicted (see Figure 2.3 for examples). Specifically, each “identity card” included a head-and-shoulders profile in silhouette of a fictitious target, a name, religion and a flag. By changing the names on each card (each name being a typical ethnic name), the inferred ethnicity was manipulated (e.g., “Jan Vandormael” versus “Ali Erdogan”). By varying the flag, the nationality or country of residence of the target was manipulated; and finally, by varying the given religion, both ingroup and outgroup targets on the religious dimension were created.

By manipulating ingroup/outgroup membership on these three selected dimensions, targets were created that shared none (e.g., a Hindu person from India), one (e.g., a Flemish Christian Belgian), two (e.g., a Turkish Muslim from Turkey) or three (a Turkish Muslim from Belgium) group memberships with the participants. As depicted in Table 2.1, the target cards that were created formed eight distinct category conjunctions that emerged from crossing three dimensions (ingroup vs. outgroup on each).

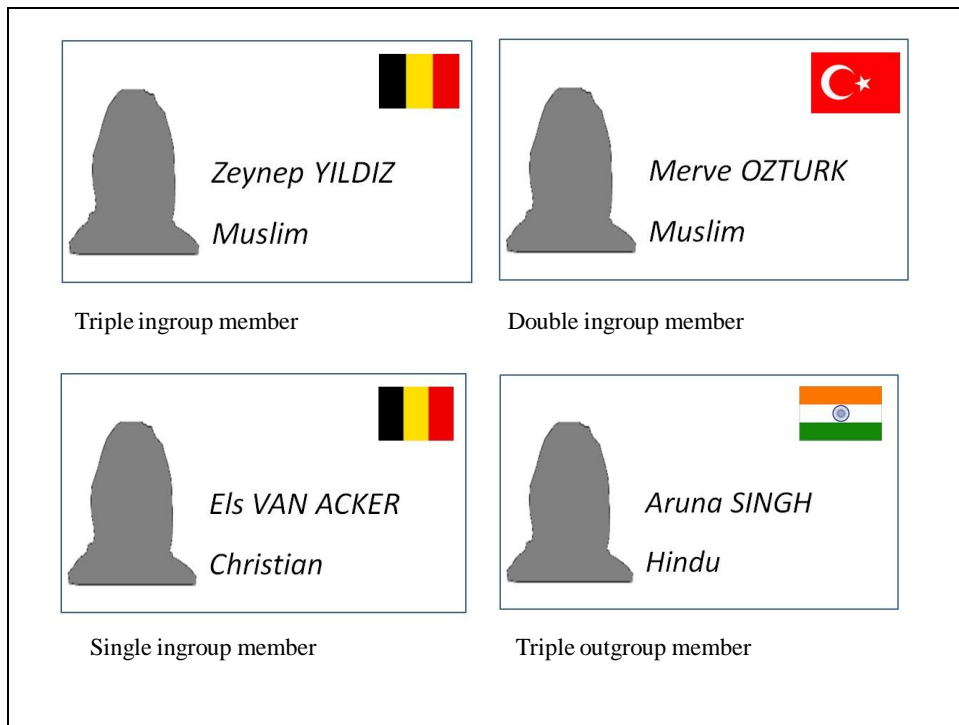


Figure 2.3. Example stimulus cards created for a sample of Turkish Belgian Muslims (van Dommelen et al., 2013).

The ratio of ingroup and outgroup members across all three dimensions was held constant, so that twelve out of the twenty-four targets were Turkish, but also twelve were Muslim and again twelve were Belgian targets. By holding the ratio of ingroup/outgroup stimuli constant across the three dimensions, we avoid group membership on one particular dimension becoming more salient than others, as heightened salience of one particular dimension could make the ingroup category more salient in the self-concept and hence skew the categorisation process.

Further, the set of stimuli contains six single, six double and six triple ingroupers, as well as six triple outgroupers. This creates a “baseline” for categorisation, holding equal the number of triple ingroupers and triple outgroupers, i.e. those targets that are very likely to be categorized as ingroup and outgroup members, respectively.

Table 2.1

*Target Distribution in the Triple Crossed-Categorisation Task*

Subcategory	Ethnicity	Nationality	Religion	# shared ingroups	# targets created	# targets that share resp. 3, 2, 1 or 0 ingroups
A	I	I	I	3	6	6
B	I	O	I	2	2	
C	I	I	O	2	2	6
D	O	I	I	2	2	
E	O	O	I	1	2	
F	I	O	O	1	2	6
G	O	I	O	1	2	
H	O	O	O	0	6	6
Total	12	12	12		24	24
targets						

*Note:* I = ingroup, O = outgroup

### Procedure

After being shown an example card of a triple ingroup member, participants are given the full set of 24 cards in random order and are asked to categorize them into two boxes, labelled US and NOT US (see Figure 2.4 for an illustration) representing the subjective categorisation of the target as either ingroup or outgroup.<sup>3</sup> The categorisation pattern allows us to identify a person's SIS. In total, 12 different predefined structures can emerge from the

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix A for detailed task instructions. In all the studies presented in this thesis, the TCCT was conducted during a face to face interview with the author of this thesis, and scored manually. However, a computerized version of the task has been developed as well (Brewer, Gonsalkorale, & van Dommelen, 2013)

TCCT (see Table 2.2). In addition, the total number of cards assigned to the “US” category (ingroup) provides the measure for SII. As can be inferred from Table 2.2, the various SIS structures differ along the dimension of social identity inclusiveness.



*Figure 2.4.* Picture taken during the execution of the TCCT as part of a study on Turkish Belgian Muslims (on the left: experimenter, on the right: participant)

*Note:* the participant consented with this picture being published as part of the research.

After participants have categorised the targets, and the experimenter has filled out the scoring sheet<sup>4</sup>, participants are shown the cards again, one by one and in random order, and asked to assign a temperature from 0-100 according to how cold (low temperature) or warm (high temperature) they feel toward each target<sup>5</sup>. The thermometer ratings enable measurement of patterns of affective evaluation that emerge when multiple social dimensions are crossed, and also assessment of mean differences in affect toward ingroup and outgroup targets. Specifically, the temperature ratings allow computing the following measures:

Mean attitudes toward the triple ingroup (i.e. section A in Figure 2.2)

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<sup>4</sup> See appendix B for an example scoring sheet.

<sup>5</sup> See appendix B for an example of the thermometer sheet shown to participants during the temperature ratings

Mean attitudes toward the triple outgroup (i.e. sections H in Figure 2.2)

Intergroup bias based on the triple ingroup - outgroup attitudes (i.e. the difference between the two means)

Table 2.2

*Sorting Schemes and Inclusiveness per Social Identity Structure Applied to an Ethnic-Religious Minority Sample*

Sub- category	# targets	Categorisation (0= outgroup, I=ingroup)												
<b>A</b>	6	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
<b>B</b>	2	0	0	I	0	I	0	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
<b>C</b>	2	0	I	0	0	I	I	0	I	I	I	I	I	I
<b>D</b>	2	0	0	0	I	0	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
<b>E</b>	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	I	0	I	I	I	I	I
<b>F</b>	2	0	0	0	0	I	0	0	I	I	0	I	I	I
<b>G</b>	2	0	0	0	0	0	I	0	I	0	I	I	I	I
<b>H</b>	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	I
<b>Social Identity Structure</b>		Ethnic- national- religious intersection	Ethnic – national Intersection	Ethnic- religious intersection	National- religious intersection	Ethnic dominance	National dominance	Religious dominance	Ethnic- national merger	Ethnic- religious merger	National- religious merger	Triple merger	Egalitarian structure	
<b>Ingroup targets</b>		6	8	8	8	12	12	12	16	16	16	18	24	
<b>Outgroup targets</b>		18	16	16	16	12	12	12	8	8	8	6	0	

### **An illustration of the usefulness of the TCCT**

The use of the TCCT in a previous study on the social identity of Turkish Belgian Muslims (van Dommelen et al., 2013) brought to light several insights into how these minority members managed their multiple, divergent group memberships. Despite the fact that respondents all self-categorized and identified as belonging to the same ethnic, religious, and national groups, broad individual differences in SII and SIS were found. For instance, some participants defined their ingroup on the basis of group membership in one singular, dominant category, while others were able to combine and integrate multiple identities, reflected in double or even triple merger social identity structures. Several of the SIS's that were identified, were not accounted for by the traditional bi-dimensional model of identification. For instance, more than 25 % of participants' categorisation data fitted a religious dominance structure (systematically excluding all targets that were not Muslim, regardless of their ethnic and national background).

The wide variations in SII and SIS that were found, indicate that objective group memberships – even when these memberships are very central to one's self-concept – may not inform us much about how these groups are *subjectively* represented (i.e. which members are these groups composed of, with regards to other important group memberships). The TCCT enabled us to tap into such subjective ingroup representations, and to obtain richer data than collected with traditional measures of identification.

The relevance of examining subjective ingroup representations for research on intergroup relations was demonstrated by the positive relationship between SII and positive outgroup attitudes, even towards remote outgroups, with whom participants did not share any of the categories of interest, and with whom they would be very unlikely to come into contact. The positive relationship between SII and outgroup attitudes existed over and above strength of identification with the separate categories, and independent from the quantity of



contact participants reported having with non-Turkish and non-Muslim others. Taken together, these findings suggest – at least for Turkish Belgian Muslims – the combination of multiple group memberships in an ingroup construal is an idiosyncratic process, predictive of attitudes towards a range of outgroups. These initial findings warranted further research employing the TCCT to assess SII and SIS among another double minority group: Turkish Australian Muslims. These studies will be presented in the following chapters.

### CHAPTER 3: SII AND SIS IN AN ADULT SAMPLE OF TURKISH AUSTRALIAN MUSLIMS

As noted in Chapter 1, the integration of multiple social identities into a coherent ingroup representation is especially relevant to individuals who belong to ethnic and religious minority groups within a given national context. In Australia, one such “double” minority group is Turkish Australian Muslims. Recent estimates suggest that there are currently around 150,000 people of Turkish ethnicity living in Australia, the majority of whom are Muslim (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006; 2011) and have adopted Australian citizenship<sup>6</sup>. The simultaneous membership to these three specific social groups makes Turkish Australian Muslims a well-defined, very specific community group. However, objective membership to these three categories does not inform us about how these individuals *subjectively* combine these group memberships into a coherent ingroup construal. How do Turkish Australian Muslims draw their ingroup identity from these multiple, highly salient and nonconvergent social group memberships?

In the current study, I assessed social identity inclusiveness and structure, using the TCCT, in a community sample of Turkish adult Muslims with Australian nationality. I designed the stimuli of the TCCT to include the broad, collective identities (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004) that are particularly relevant to ethnic and religious minorities: nationality, ethnicity and religion.

Sampling respondents from local communities defined by three shared social categories, thereby controlling for the *objective* inclusiveness of three important categories, I expected to find individual differences in the *subjective* or *perceived* inclusiveness of the ingroup. By assessing SII and SIS using the TCCT, I expected to obtain insights about

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<sup>6</sup> The rate of Australian citizenship among eligible migrants from Turkey is estimated at 92.2 %, a percentage far higher than among the total eligible foreign-born population in Australia (75.6 %; Department of Immigration and Citizenship, 2008, cited in Akgonul, Inglis, & De Tapia, 2009).

multiple social identities that would not have emerged using other measures of identification. In addition, I aimed to provide an assessment of the construct validity of the SII and SIS measures. First, I intended to assess *discriminant* validity – whether SII was distinct from constructs that share similarities but are theoretically different. Second, I wanted to test *convergent* validity – whether SII, as a measure of inclusiveness, correlates with measures of conceptually similar constructs (i.e. measures that are designed to measure a similar concept). And, finally, I wanted to examine its *nomological* validity – assessing relationships with conceptually *different* variables that – drawing on social psychological theories – should meaningfully *relate* to SII and SIS as antecedents or consequences (i.e. measures of concepts that are theoretically related to but different from SII).

## **Hypotheses**

### **Assessing the Discriminant Validity of SII**

Since SII assesses the complexity of one's perceived ingroup, one might argue it to simply be a reflection of general cognitive style rather than a construct specific to social identity. Hence one aim of the present research was to determine whether SII is empirically distinct from measures of cognitive complexity such as open-mindedness and tolerance of ambiguity. I predicted that SII would not be redundant with individual differences in these general cognitive style measures in my sample.

I also expected SII to be conceptually and empirically different from strength of identification with each of the component social group memberships as single categories, both when measured as cognitive centrality and as strength of ties with those singular ingroups. Although there may be some overlap between strength of identification with specific single ingroups and the inclusiveness of combined social identity, I predicted that SII would make a unique contribution to predicting intergroup attitudes above and beyond any effects of strength of identification with specific ingroups.

Finally, one could argue that the ingroup-outgroup categorisation of targets with a different ethnic and/or religious background may be a reflection of perceived understanding of other ethnic and religious groups, or by feelings of anxiety provoked by exposure to ethnic and religious others. SII however is proposed as a construct that taps into the representation of where one belongs in a cross-cutting social world, and therefore goes beyond mere understanding and emotions towards social groups. Hence, I predicted that SII would be distinct from intergroup understanding and intergroup anxiety.

### **Assessing the Convergent Validity of SII**

If SII is a valid operationalisation for the inclusiveness of one's perceived ingroup, then it should be related to other measures that assess social identity inclusiveness. One such similar construct is the extent to which outgroups are included in the self (Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997). Since SII captures the degree of inclusiveness of the perceived ingroup in an environment entailing multiple cross-cutting categories, higher SII should be positively related to inclusion of outgroups in the self.

Second, if SII is indeed a measure of identity complexity, then it should also correlate with measures of perceived compatibility between pairs of social identities. In other words, SII should be related to a person's beliefs about the congruence or compatibility between their group memberships. I expected the direction of this relationship to vary depending on the objective overlap of pairs of groups. That is, for groups that in reality are only slightly overlapping in a given social context (e.g., Australian and Muslim ingroups, in the Australian national context), I expected high perceived compatibility to relate *positively* to SII, since higher experienced compatibility would facilitate the integration of these objectively nonconvergent identities in the social self. For groups that are objectively *highly* overlapping in a specific context, however, I anticipated the degree of perceived compatibility to *negatively* relate with SII. In this case, a lower perceived compatibility would enable one to

cognitively disentangle the two identities, which would be associated with a higher SII (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Applied to the current sample, since their religious and ethnic groups were *high* in overlap (given that most Turkish people are Muslim) I predicted a *negative* relationship between perceived compatibility between ethnic and religious identities and SII. Based on the same rationale, I expected perceived *similarity* between ethnic and religious identities to be negatively related to SII as well (the more similar and compatible participants would perceive their ethnic and religious identities to be, the less likely they would include others who only share one of these ingroups, e.g., Turkish Christians). In contrast, for groups that were objectively *low* in overlap, i.e., national – religious and national – ethnic ingroups, I anticipated perceived compatibility to be *positively* related to SII.

Third, I expected to find a positive relationship between SII and bicultural identity integration, a construct introduced by Benet-Martinez and colleagues (Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002) that operationalises the extent to which one is able to integrate one's minority identity (ethnic and/or religious) with one's national identity.

### **Assessing the Nomological Validity of SII**

I also aimed to examine whether SII correlated with variables that social psychological theory would predict it should be conceptually related to. First, I assessed the relationship between SII and the diversity of an individual's close social network. I expected that having *more* and *more positive* contact with people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds, would be associated with a more inclusive ingroup identity, since contact with outgroup members enables the incorporation of these outgroups in the self. The proportion of *ingroup* (Turkish or Muslim) friends, on the other hand, was expected to be *negatively* related to SII.

In addition, I explored the relationship between SII and outgroup attitudes. The social identity complexity literature has reliably found SIC to be associated with positive affect

toward outgroups (Brewer & Pierce, 2005; Miller, Brewer, & Arbuckle, 2009). Similarly, I expected SII to predict more positive evaluations of target individuals who share the respondent's membership on some dimensions but who are outgroup members on others, as these individuals are more likely to be perceived as ingroup members when SII is high. Moreover, I hypothesized that SII would be associated with more positive attitudes toward remote outgroups, that is, others who do not share a single ingroup with the participants. In other words, I anticipated high SII to provide a basis for more positive affect toward outgroups in general, including members of triple outgroups (objectively defined in terms of nationality, ethnicity, and religion), and outgroups defined on dimensions that were not used in the operationalisation of SII (e.g., sexual orientation: *gay people*; socio-economic status: *homeless people*). I expected this relationship since the boundaries between "us" and "them" would be less clearly differentiated for people high in SII, lowering the distance between ingroup and outgroups in general and promoting greater tolerance of differences (cf. Roccas & Brewer, 2002; Brewer & Pierce, 2005). Importantly, I expected SII to make a unique contribution to predicting outgroup attitudes above and beyond any effects of strength of identification with specific ingroups. I also expected SII to predict outgroup attitudes independently from the reported quantity of outgroup contact.

Conversely, I predicted SII to be negatively related to perceived discrimination against the respondent's ethnic and religious ingroups. Members of disadvantaged groups are likely to attribute experiences of discrimination to exclusion and devaluation of one's minority group (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002). To cope with the threat to the value of one's identity, strongly identifying members have been shown to endorse more homogenous perceptions of their ingroup (Doosje, Spears, Ellemers, & Koomen, 1999; Hutchison, Jetten, Christian, & Haycraft, 2006). Similarly, I expected stronger perceptions of discrimination to be related to less inclusive ingroup perceptions.

For more exploratory purposes, I also assessed the relationship between SII and behavioural intentions directed towards ethnic and religious outgroup members, and with general wellbeing.

### **Assessing Social Identity Structures**

Finally, I expected distinct categorisation patterns to emerge from the TCCT, providing qualitative information on the composition of participants' subjective ingroup representations. Some respondents might display categorisation patterns that correspond to the identity strategies found in acculturation studies, which would include the following SIS structures: national category dominance (assimilation), ethnic category dominance (separation), and ethnic-national merger structures (dual identities). However, I also expected to identify SIS patterns that had not been considered in previous acculturation research, such as dominant religious structures (systematically including all Muslim targets and excluding all non-Muslims, regardless of ethnic background and nationality), intersection structures (e.g., ethnic-religious intersection – only identifying with Turkish targets that are also Muslim), ethnic-religious merger structures, and egalitarian structures (not distinguishing between others on the basis of national, religious, or ethnic group memberships).

## **Method**

### **Participants and Design**

I collected data from a community sample of Turkish Australian Muslim adult volunteers residing in Sydney ( $n = 44$ ) and greater Melbourne ( $n = 85$ ). As the city of residence did not have a significant effect on any of the measures of interest, I merged the two subsamples. Six participants who did not discriminate among targets of the TCCT in terms of categorisation and thermometer ratings (i.e., those who included all 24 targets in the ingroup and assigned the same thermometer rating to all 24 targets) were excluded from

analyses, resulting in a final sample of 123 Turkish Australian Muslims (62 males and 61 females;  $M_{age} = 38.62$ ,  $SD = 16.63$ , range = 18-81).

## Materials

The study consisted of three parts. The first and third parts entailed paper-and-pencil questionnaires<sup>7</sup>, and the second part entailed the TCCT<sup>8</sup>. I describe the measures below, in the order in which they were assessed.

### Questionnaire 1.

**Demographics.** Participants were asked to report their gender, age, nationality, ethnic background, religion, number of years they had lived in Australia, and level of education.<sup>9</sup>

**Ingroup friends.** The items “How many of your friends are of Turkish origin” and “How many of your friends are Muslim?” (1 = *none*, 6 = *all*) were included to assess ingroup friendships, or the extent to which the close network of friends contained fellow Turkish and Muslim others. Scores were collapsed into a single scale for ingroup friends ( $\alpha = .78$ ).

**Quantity of outgroup contact.** The items “How often do you have contact with people that are not Muslim” and “How often do you have contact with people that do not have a Turkish background” (1 = *never*, 6 = *very often*) were combined into a single scale for quantity of outgroup contact ( $\alpha = .80$ ).

**Quality of outgroup contact.** The items “How do you experience contact with people that are not Muslim” and “How do you experience contact with people that are not Turkish” (1 = *very negative*, 6 = *very positive*) were combined into a single scale for quality of outgroup contact ( $\alpha = .78$ ).

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<sup>7</sup> See Appendix C for a copy of the questionnaires used

<sup>8</sup> See Appendix D for an overview of the target stimuli used in this version of the TCCT

<sup>9</sup> Participants were also asked to note down which Turkish and religious community organisations they were a member of, as well as organisations outside of the Turkish/Muslim community, and to indicate the importance of belonging to these organisations (1 = *not at all important*, 7 = *very important*). However, a high proportion of data were either missing or invalid for various reasons (e.g., some participants were not able to distinguish between organisations within and outside their ethnic/religious community). Therefore, these items were not included in the analyses.



For all three contact measures (ingroup friends, quantity and quality of outgroup contact) an item assessing the national ingroup was included as well (e.g., “How many of your friends are Australian?”), but these were not analysed.<sup>10</sup>

**The Triple Crossed-Categorisation Task.** The TCCT for this study consisted of 24 “identity cards” of fictitious targets, each depicting a shaded profile, a name, religion, and a flag. By varying the name, religion and flag, I manipulated the targets’ ethnic background, religion and nationality, respectively, resulting in a target set of six triple ingroupers (Turkish Australian Muslims), six double ingroupers (e.g., Pakistani Australian Muslims), six single ingroupers (e.g., Anglo Australian Christians) and six triple outgroupers (e.g., a Hindu person from India). I created separate target sets for male and female participants, so that the gender of the targets was matched with the gender of participants.<sup>11</sup> Figure 3.1 shows an example set of cards that I used for female participants. The measures operationalised via the TCCT are listed below.

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<sup>10</sup>The contact items about the national (Australian) ingroup were not included in the analyses since participants found it difficult to understand what was meant with “Australian”. Whereas some participants thought about Anglo Australians, others thought of Australian citizens more generally.

<sup>11</sup> The TCCT that was developed for the study on Turkish Belgian Muslims (van Dommelen et al., 2013), contained targets of both genders. The gender of the targets however did not affect categorization in this study. The decision to match the gender of the targets to participants’ gender was made to simplify the design of the TCCT and to limit the salience of the dimension gender, since it was not a dimension on the basis of which SII and SIS were assessed.

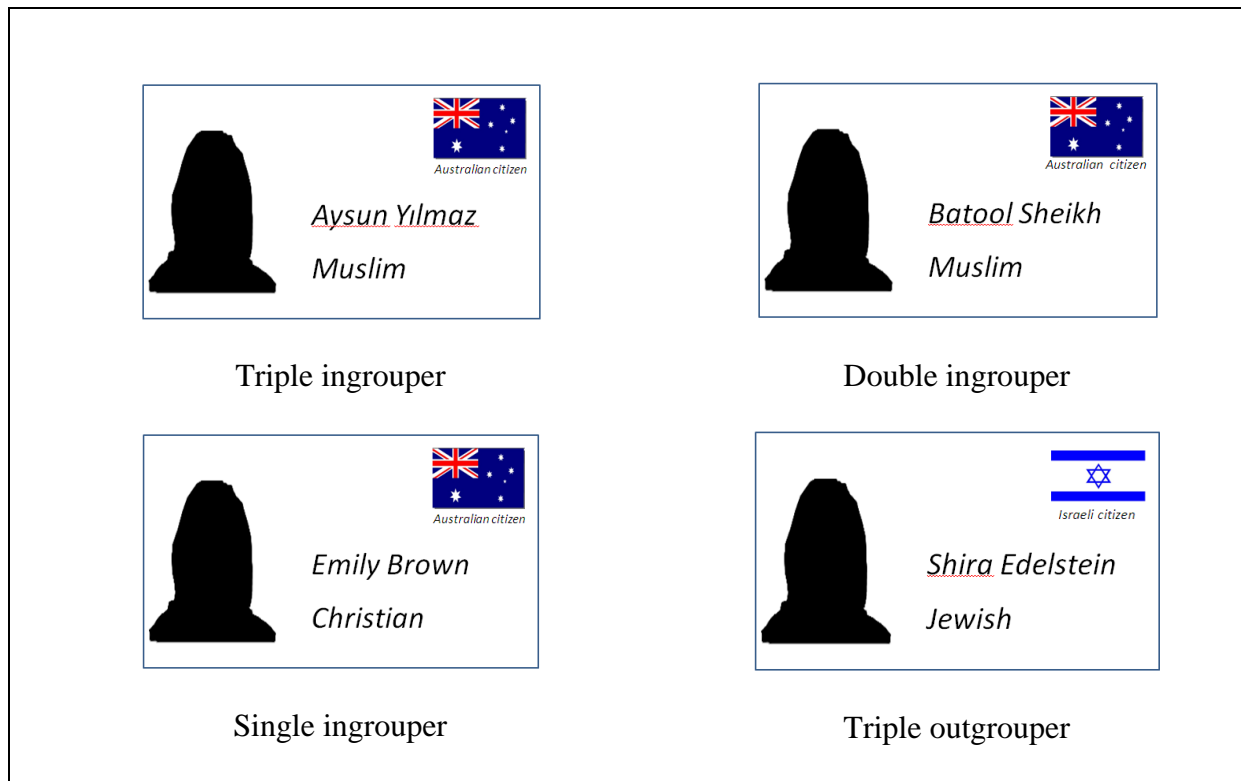


Figure 3.1. Example stimuli designed for the TCCT for the current study.

**Social Identity Inclusiveness.** SII was operationalised as the number of targets that were categorized as ingroup members, with a possible range of 0 to 24.

**Social Identity Structure.** SIS was measured by the specific categorisation pattern that emerged from each participant's categorisation data.

**Attitudes towards the triple ingroup and triple outgroup.** The means of the thermometer ratings for the six targets that share all three (triple ingroupers) or none (triple outgroupers) group memberships with the participant, provided measures for attitudes towards the triple ingroup ( $\alpha = .91$ ) and triple outgroup ( $\alpha = .94$ ), respectively.

**Intergroup bias.** This measure was computed as the difference between attitudes towards the triple ingroup and attitudes towards the triple outgroup.

## Questionnaire 2.

**Social identification.** Across the complete sample, strength of religious, national and ethnic identification were each assessed by a single item: "Being (category) is an important

part of who I am” (e.g., being *Muslim* is an important part of who I am; 1 = *not at all*, to 7 = *very much*). In the Melbourne subsample, three more items were included for each category, each with a response scale ranging from 1, *not at all*, to 7, *very much*, resulting in the following two scales:

*Identity centrality.* For each of the three relevant social categories, two items measured cognitive centrality or subjective importance of the category. For instance, for the ethnic category, these items were: “Being Turkish is an important part of who I am” (the single-item measure) and “To what extent do you see yourself as Turkish?” For each of the categories, these two items were collapsed into a single index for identity centrality (ethnicity:  $\alpha = .79$ ; religion:  $\alpha = .94$ ; nationality:  $\alpha = .92$ ).

*Ingroup ties.* The extent to which one feels bound to the group was assessed by participants’ ratings of agreement with the following two statements: “To what extent do you feel strong ties to other Turks?”, and “To what extent do you identify with other Turks?” Again, these two statements were repeated for each of the three categories, and then each pair was collapsed into a single index for ingroup ties (ethnicity:  $\alpha = .88$ ; religion:  $\alpha = .94$ ; nationality:  $\alpha = .94$ ).

In addition, I collected the following measures only among participants residing in greater Melbourne:

***Inclusion of the outgroup in the self.*** Inclusion of Anglo Australians and Christians in the self was measured by an adapted version of the Inclusion of the Ingroup in the Self measure (Tropp, & Wright, 2001). Each item depicted seven pairs of increasingly overlapping circles, representing different degrees of interconnectedness between the self and the outgroup. Each pair of circles was numbered, resulting in a response scale from 1 to 7, with a higher score indicating higher perceived overlap between the self and the outgroup. Participants were asked to mark the pair of circles that corresponded best with the extent to

which they felt close or distant from i) Anglo Australians and ii) Christians. The mean score of these two items was computed as a scale for inclusion of outgroups in the self, with a higher score indicating a higher degree of inclusion of the outgroup in the self ( $\alpha = .86$ ).

***Social identity compatibility.*** The perceived compatibility between one's multiple social identities was assessed by asking participants the extent to which they experienced each pair of social identities as compatible (e.g., "To what extent do you experience being Muslim and being Australian as compatible identities?"). The response scale depicted seven pairs of increasingly overlapping circles, representing the perceived compatibility between one's i) Australian and Turkish identities, ii) Australian and Muslim identities, and iii) Turkish and Muslim identities. Each pair of circles was numbered, ranging from 1 to 7, with a higher score indicating a higher perceived compatibility between the two social identities.

***Perceived similarity between one's Turkish and Muslim identity*** was measured with a single item: "To what extent do you feel being Turkish means the same as being Muslim?", the response scale again depicting seven pairs of increasingly overlapping circles (1 = *very dissimilar*, 7 = *very similar*).

***Bicultural Identity Integration (BII).*** Participants were asked to rate the extent they agreed with four statements that were adapted from the Bicultural Identity Integration Scale (BIIS-1, Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005), e.g., "I feel part of a combined culture (Turkish/Muslim AND Australian)" (1 = *not at all*, 7 = *very much*). Item 3 and 4 were reverse-scored. A BII scale was computed as the means of two items "I feel part of a combined culture (Turkish/Muslim AND Australian)" and "I feel both a member of the Turkish/Muslim community AND Australian" ( $r = .80, p < .001$ ), with a higher score indicating a higher level of bicultural identity integration.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Items 1-2 and items 3-4 were adapted from two separate subscales of the BII-1 (blendedness and harmony subscales, respectively). Combining these four items produced poor overall scale reliability ( $\alpha = .45$ ). Since the

**Perceived discrimination.** Participants indicated the extent of agreement with three items adapted from the Riverside Acculturation Stress Inventory – discrimination subscale (Benet-Martinez, 2003). Participants’ mean scores on these items (e.g., “I feel discriminated against by mainstream Australians because of my Turkish/Muslim background”; 1 = *not at all*, 7 = *very much*) provided a measure for perceived discrimination ( $\alpha = .89$ ), with a higher score reflecting higher levels of perceived discrimination.

**Outgroup attitudes.** Evaluations of a range of social groups were assessed by ratings on a feeling thermometer, with a response scale ranging from 0, *extremely cold*, to 100, *extremely warm*. The feeling thermometer was printed in the questionnaire booklet and participants were asked to note down their ratings of each group. Attitudes towards the following groups were assessed: Anglo Australians, Christians, Aboriginal people, Indians, Chinese. In addition, the following groups were included that did not relate to any of the given categories in the TCCT: gay people, mentally ill, and homeless people.

**Perspective taking.** A six-item scale adapted from Stephan (2002) was included to measure the level of perceived understanding of other ethnic, religious or cultural groups ( $\alpha = .77$ ). Participants indicated their level of agreement to statements such as “I think I am able to see the world through the eyes of members of other ethnic, religious and cultural groups” (1 = *strongly disagree*, 10 = *strongly agree*). Two items were reverse-scored prior to computing average scores, so that higher scores indicated a higher perceived intergroup understanding.

**Intergroup anxiety.** A six-item scale was included to measure intergroup anxiety (adapted from Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Participants were asked to think about interacting with members of other religious, ethnic or cultural groups who they did not know, and to rate the extent to which they would experience certain feelings (e.g., anxious; 1 = *not at all*, 10 =

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inter-item reliability was highest for items 1-2 (blendedness subscale;  $r = .80, p < .001$ ), this subscale was included in subsequent data analyses.

*extremely*). Three items were reverse-scored, so that a high total score indicated higher intergroup anxiety ( $\alpha = .80$ ).

***Perceived difficulty of the categorisation task.*** Participants were asked to rate how difficult they found the categorisation task (1 = *not at all difficult*, 10 = *extremely difficult*).

***Behavioural intentions.*** Participants were asked to rate how likely it would be that they would marry an Anglo Australian person, supposing they were single and looking for someone to marry, on a scale from 1, *very unlikely*, to 7, *very likely*.

***Wellbeing.*** Participants' level of wellbeing was assessed by the single item "Thinking about your own life and personal circumstances, how satisfied are you with your life as a whole?" (0 = *completely dissatisfied*, 10 = *completely satisfied*). In addition, the eight-item Personal Wellbeing Index for Adults (PWI-A; International Wellbeing Group, 2006) was used to measure satisfaction with eight specific life domains (e.g., health, personal relationships) using the same response scale as the single item for wellbeing.

***Intolerance of ambiguity.*** This nine-item subscale of the Need for Closure scale (Kruglanski, Atash, De Grada, Mannetti, & Pierro, 2013) was included to measure intolerance of ambiguity, e.g., "I don't like situations that are uncertain" (1 = *strongly agree*, 6 = *strongly disagree*). A higher mean score indicated a higher degree of intolerance of ambiguity ( $\alpha = .67$ ).

***Open-mindedness.*** From the same Need for Closure scale (Kruglanski et al., 2013), seven items from the "close-mindedness" subscale were included, e.g., "I always see many possible solutions to problems I face" (1 = *strongly agree*; 6 = *strongly disagree*). Two items were reversed-scored prior to computing average scores, so that a high score indicated a high degree of open-mindedness. ( $\alpha = .60$ )

## Procedure

Participants were recruited via community organisations and passive snowballing, and tested individually.<sup>13</sup> Instructions were delivered verbally in English, alternated with Turkish.<sup>14</sup> After participants completed the first questionnaires, they were introduced to the TCCT. Two boxes labelled “US” and “NOT US” were placed in front of the participant, randomising the relative position of the boxes, so that each box was placed either to the right or the left of the participant. After they were showed an example stimulus card of a triple ingroup member (a Turkish Australian Muslim), they were given a pile of 24 stimulus cards in a randomised order, and asked to categorise these cards by placing them in the box labelled “US” or “THEM”, depending on whether they felt the person depicted on each card belonged to their own group or to another group. Prior to categorizing, participants were allowed to browse through the stimulus set of the TCCT, since this could improve the reliability of their categorisation, and reduce the number of non-fitting, idiosyncratic structures.<sup>15</sup>

Subsequently, participants were once again presented with the complete target set in a randomized order, as well as with an A4-sheet depicting a thermometer, with temperatures in decimals from 0 up to 100 degrees Celsius. This time, participants were asked to rate how warm or cold they felt towards the target depicted on each card, by pointing to a temperature on the A4-sheet, ranging from 0 (very cold) to 100 (very warm). Participants’ responses were

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<sup>13</sup> Since I conducted all sessions myself, the experimenter was a White female of Belgian origin, who is fluent in English and Turkish. While having only one experimenter conducting the experiment should enhance consistency of the procedures, it does not allow checking for experimenter effects. The experimenter did speak both Turkish and English in the interaction with participants however, to minimise such effects. Moreover, the experimenter did not direct her attention to participants while they were carrying out the different tasks.

<sup>14</sup> Both languages were spoken in the interaction with all participants, and specific instructions were given in both English and Turkish, to ensure participants comprehended the tasks and to control for a potential confounding effect of language.

<sup>15</sup> The majority of participants did not ask for further instructions after the standard instructions were given. A minority who indicated they did not understand were told that ‘US’ was the group to whom they felt they belonged.

recorded without giving any feedback. Finally, participants were asked to fill out the second questionnaire, were thoroughly debriefed, thanked and dismissed.

## Results

First, I conducted correlational analyses to assess the construct validity of SII. I assessed both discriminant and convergent validity. Subsequently, I examined correlations between SII and theoretically related variables. This was followed by a series of regression analyses testing the unique contribution of SII as a predictor of outgroup attitudes and behavioural intentions. Finally, I examined the emerging SIS's, as well as significant differences between SIS's.

### Preliminary Analyses

**Demographic information.** On average, participants had been living in Australia for more than 25 years ( $M = 25.20$ ,  $SD = 10.93$ ). Level of education varied widely among participants. Nine participants (9 %) obtained a primary school degree, 64 participants (52 %) had a high school degree, and another 47 (38.2 %) obtained a university degree (of which 13 participants a Master degree). Three participants (2.4 %) had a PhD qualification. None of the demographic variables were significantly related to SII,  $r$ 's  $< .05$ , *ns*.

**Social identification.** To examine whether the selected categories in the TCCT were indeed relevant to the sample, I conducted  $t$ -tests comparing the mean strength of ethnic identification ( $M = 6.10$ ,  $SD = 1.12$ ), religious identification ( $M = 5.55$ ,  $SD = 1.98$ ) and national identification ( $M = 5.67$ ,  $SD = 1.53$ ) with the midpoint of the scale. Indeed, mean levels of identification with all three categories were significantly above the scale's midpoint (4),  $t(114) = 20.14$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $t(113) = 8.38$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $t(113) = 11.66$ ,  $p < .001$ , respectively, supporting the relevance of the selected categories to the sample.



**Perceived difficulty of the TCCT.** Overall, participants reported the TCCT to be a relatively easy task, with mean perceived difficulty of the task significantly lower than the item's midpoint (5.5),  $M = 4.28$ ,  $SD = 2.80$ ,  $t(71) = -3.71$ ,  $p < .001$ .

**Social Identity Inclusiveness.** SII ranged from 4 to 24 ( $M = 15.61$ ,  $SD = 4.64$ ).

### **Discriminant Validity: Support for the Uniqueness of SII**

Correlations between SII and variables that SII should not be redundant with are presented in Table 3.1. No significant correlation between SII and intolerance of ambiguity was found, nor did SII correlate with open-mindedness or intergroup anxiety. Although SII was positively related to perspective taking, this correlation did not reach statistical significance ( $r = .21$ ,  $p = .08$ ). In addition, none of the identity centrality measures was significantly related to SII. As for ingroup ties, a significant correlation with SII was found only on the religious dimension.

### **Convergent Validity: Does SII Correlate with Measures that are Conceptually Similar to Inclusiveness?**

The descriptives and intercorrelations of variables that SII was expected to converge with, are presented in Table 3.2. In line with predictions, the inclusion of outgroups in the self scale correlated positively with SII. Further, as predicted, the degree of perceived compatibility between objectively *highly* overlapping identities (i.e. ethnic and religious identities) was *negatively* related to SII. In contrast, the perceived compatibility between objectively *lowly* overlapping (i.e. ethnic and national identities) was *positively* related to SII, although this correlation was not significant ( $r = .18$ ,  $p < .13$ ). Contrary to predictions, no significant relation was found between SII and perceived compatibility of religious and national identities. Perceived *similarity* between ethnic and religious identities was, as expected, negatively related to SII. Further, bicultural identity integration was not significantly correlated with SII.

Table 3.1

*Assessing Discriminant Validity of SII: Means, SD's and Intercorrelations for Variables that SII should not be Redundant with.*

	Correlations												Mean	SD	N	
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.				
1. Level of education	-													2.26	1.20	82
2. Age	-.25*	-												36.68	17.02	82
3. Social Identity Inclusiveness	.03	-.03	-											15.97	4.62	82
4. Ethnic identity centrality	-.04	.07	-.23	-										5.94	.97	76
5. National identity centrality	.04	.11	.04	.23*	-									5.71	1.38	74
6. Religious identity centrality	.06	-.31**	-.19	.29*	.21	-								5.45	1.80	76
7. Ethnic ingroup ties	-.04	.03	-.07	.55**	.19	.37**	-							5.75	1.00	76
8. National ingroup ties	-.10	.13	.17	-.01	.73**	.03	.20	-						5.02	1.30	74
9. Religious ingroup ties	.09	-.26*	-.26*	.34**	.17	.82**	.51**	.08	-					5.01	1.74	74
10. Intolerance of ambiguity	.14	-.14	.16	-.13	.02	.05	-.08	.08	-.06	-				4.26	.69	56
11. Open-mindedness	.15	.12	.07	.13	-.04	.02	.05	-.06	-.01	-.10	-			4.29	.64	55
12. Intergroup anxiety	-.05	-.19	-.13	-.16	-.10	.02	-.15	-.05	-.03	-.03	-.37**	-		3.65	1.45	72
13. Perspective taking	-.01	-.01	.21	.07	.15	.10	.14	.26*	.19	.24	.15	-.27*		7.85	2.19	74

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

Table 3.2

*Assessing Convergent Validity of SII: Means, SD's and Intercorrelations for Variables that SII should be Conceptually Related to*

	Correlations								Mean	SD	N
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.			
1. Level of education	-								2.26	1.20	82
2. Age	-.25*	-							36.68	17.02	82
3. Social Identity Inclusiveness	.03	-.03	-						15.97	4.62	82
4. Inclusion of the Outgroup in the Self	.02	.20	.22 <sup>+</sup>	-					4.18	1.34	76
5. Social Identity Compatibility: religious – national	-.02	.08	-.01	.24*	-				4.87	1.73	76
6. Social Identity Compatibility: ethnic – national	-.08	.20	.18	.42**	.50**	-			5.54	1.40	76
7. Social Identity Compatibility: ethnic – religious	-.02	-.20	-.22 <sup>+</sup>	-.15	.27*	.10	-		5.87	1.43	76
8. Perceived similarity Ethnic – religious identity	.02	-.21	-.26*	-.22	.27*	.09	.44**	-	4.81	2.06	75
9. Bicultural Identity Integration (2-item scale)	.21	.02	.02	.04	.45**	.30*	.32**	.31**	5.80	1.23	71

\*  $p < .05$ . , \*\*  $p < .01$ , <sup>+</sup>  $p < .06$

### **Nomological Validity: SII and Theoretically Related Variables**

An overview of descriptives and intercorrelations of theoretically related variables is presented in Table 3.3. As predicted, there was a significant positive relationship between SII and quantity of outgroup contact and quality of outgroup contact. Moreover, there was a marginally significant negative relationship between SII and the extent to which a participant's network of friends contained members of the same ethnic and religious group.

Further, while SII did not show any significant correlation with attitudes towards triple *ingroup* members, SII was positively related to attitudes towards double ingroup members ( $r = .24, p < .01$ ) and single ingroup members ( $r = .40, p < .001$ ). Moreover, SII correlated positively with attitudes towards triple *outgroup* members and related negatively to intergroup bias. In addition, as predicted, SII was positively related with attitudes towards a range of outgroups, as measured in the questionnaire, including those that were unrelated to the categories examined in the TCCT (see Table 3.4).

To assess the unique effects of SII in predicting attitudes toward triple outgroupers above and beyond any effects of strength of identification with each of the categories separately and controlling for quantity of outgroup contact, I computed a regression analysis, entering all these variables into a regression model, with triple outgroup attitudes as the dependent variable. The model was significant,  $R^2 = .26, F(5, 110) = 7.38, p < .001$ . SII was a significant unique positive predictor of attitudes towards the triple outgroup ( $\beta = .33, t(105) = 3.80, p < .001$ ), controlling for these other variables. Other significant (positive)

predictors of triple outgroup attitudes in this model were quantity of contact,  $\beta = .20$ ,  $t(105) = 2.28$ ,  $p < .05$  and strength of national identification,  $\beta = .26$ ,  $t(105) = 2.91$ ,  $p < .005$ .<sup>16</sup>

In order to assess the independent contributions of SII in predicting attitudes toward outgroups that were unrelated to the TCCT categories, attitudes toward homeless, gay, and mentally ill people were aggregated into a measure for attitudes toward unrelated outgroups ( $\alpha = .70$ ), and a similar regression analysis was conducted with this new aggregate variable as the outcome variable. The model was significant,  $R^2 = .26$ ,  $F(5,73) = 4.70$ ,  $p < .01$ . SII was a significant positive predictor of attitudes toward unrelated outgroups ( $\beta = .30$ ,  $t(68) = 2.65$ ,  $p = .01$ ). Quantity of contact was another positive predictor in this model ( $\beta = .25$ ,  $t(68) = 2.31$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

In addition to attitudes, SII correlated significantly and positively with the one-item measure of behavioural intentions. However, when SII, quantity of outgroup contact, and strength of ethnic, religious and national identification were all entered as predictors of the willingness to marry an Anglo person, the model was significant,  $R^2 = .35$ ,  $F(5,71) = 7.20$ ,  $p < .001$ , but SII did not have a significant unique effect ( $\beta = .11$ ,  $t(66) = 1.06$ ,  $p = .29$ ). Strength of ethnic and religious identification were both significant negative predictors in this model ( $\beta = -.22$ ,  $t(66) = -2.06$ ,  $p < .05$  and  $\beta = -.42$ ,  $t(66) = -3.95$ ,  $p < .001$ , respectively). National identification, on the other hand, was a marginally positive predictor ( $\beta = .20$ ,  $t(66) = 1.95$ ,  $p < .06$ ). Willingness to marry an Anglo person as a behavioural indicator was apparently more related to strength of ethnic and religious identification than to inclusiveness.

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<sup>16</sup> I repeated the same regression analysis to predict attitudes toward triple outgroupers, adding the interaction terms of the separate identification measures, age and level of education as predictor variables. The model remained significant,  $R^2 = .30$ ,  $F(10, 110) = 4.25$ ,  $p < .001$ . SII remained a unique positive predictor,  $\beta = .32$ ,  $t(100) = 3.66$ ,  $p < .001$ , over and above all other variables. Other significant predictors in this model were quantity of contact ( $\beta = .22$ ,  $t(100) = 2.41$ ,  $p < .05$ ), ethnic identification ( $\beta = -.21$ ,  $t(100) = -2.01$ ,  $p < .05$ ), and national identification ( $\beta = .26$ ,  $t(100) = 2.84$ ,  $p < .01$ ).

Table 3.3

*Assessing Nomological Validity of Social Identity Inclusiveness: Means, SD's and Intercorrelations of Theoretically Related Variables - Part 1*

	Correlations								Mean	SD	N
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.			
1. Level of education	-								3.15	1.2	123
2. Age	-.24**	-							38.62	16.63	123
3. Social Identity Inclusiveness	.06	.01	-						15.61	4.64	123
4. Ingroup friends	-.24**	-.07	-.18 <sup>+</sup>	-					4.61	.84	123
5. Quantity of outgroup contact	.21*	.04	.21*	-.37**	-				4.42	1.16	123
6. Quality of outgroup contact	.10	.10	.22*	-.10	.55**	-			5.03	.86	123
7. Attitudes triple ingroup	.15	-.25**	.05	.13*	.04	.21*	-		78.73	16.87	123
8. Attitudes triple outgroup	-.07	.05	.38**	-.11	.29**	.29**	.28**	-	48.14	18.96	122
9. Intergroup bias	.19*	-.24**	-.29**	.20*	-.23*	-.09	.52**	-.66**	31.13	21.27	121

\*  $p < .05$ . , \*\*  $p < .01$ , <sup>+</sup>  $p < .06$

Table 3.4

*Assessing Nomological Validity of Social Identity Inclusiveness: Means, SD's and Intercorrelations of Theoretically Related Variables - Part 2*

	Correlations												Mean	SD	N	
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.				
1. Level of education														2.26	1.20	82
2. Age	-.25*	-												36.68	17.02	82
3. Social Identity Inclusiveness	.03	-.03	-											15.97	4.62	82
4. Attitudes towards Anglo Australians	-.03	.14	.28*	-										63.61	22.33	76
5. Attitudes towards Christians	-.05	.04	.24*	.87**	-									64.99	19.88	76
6. Attitudes towards Aboriginal people	.10	.13	.26*	.61**	.62**	-								60.71	24.56	76
7. Attitudes towards Indians	-.06	.09	.37**	.64**	.67**	.73**	-							52.89	21.28	76
8. Attitudes towards Chinese	-.01	.10	.32**	.73**	.73**	.66**	.86**	-						56.78	21.78	76
9. Attitudes towards gay people	-.00	.15	.44**	.48**	.51**	.48**	.59**	.61**	-					42.89	29.69	76
10. Attitudes towards mentally ill	.08	.04	.19	.37**	.46**	.68**	.57**	.56**	.32**	-				61.45	22.66	75
11. Attitudes towards homeless people	.05	.25*	.26*	.31**	.35**	.62**	.56**	.50**	.38**	.68**	-			57.96	25.09	76
12. Perceived discrimination	.21	-.45**	.04	-.28*	-.16	-.13	-.12	-.13	-.14	-.01	-.15	-		2.53	1.34	76
13. Behavioural intentions (1-item scale)	.17	.45**	.26*	.25*	.20	.25*	.28*	.33**	.41**	.15	.37**	-.36**		3.34	2.13	74

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

Contrary to predictions, perceived discrimination was not significantly related to SII. Other theoretically related variables that did relate significantly to SII were satisfaction with life as a whole, positively, and satisfaction with relationships, also positively (see Table 3.5).



Table 3.5

*Assessing Nomological Validity of SII: Means, SD's and Intercorrelations of Theoretically Related Variables – Part 3*

		Correlations												Mean	SD	N
		1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.			
1.	Level of education	-												2.26	1.20	82
2.	Age	-.25*	-											36.68	17.02	82
3.	Social Identity Inclusiveness	.03	-.03	-										15.97	4.62	82
Satisfaction with																
4.	- life as a whole	.20	.20	.27*	-									8.00	1.41	75
5.	- standard of living	.14	-.05	.17	.68**	-								8.12	1.37	75
6.	- health	.15	-.17	.19	.33**	.37**	-							7.64	1.65	75
7.	- achievements	.27*	-.01	.12	.57**	.48**	.33**	-						7.37	1.83	75
8.	- relationships	.30**	.17	.23*	.67**	.39**	.40**	.58**	-					7.95	1.73	75
9.	- safety	.25*	-.06	.04	.39**	.32**	.45**	.38**	.65**	-				8.52	1.23	75
10.	- community	.16	-.03	.09	.35**	.32**	.31**	.42**	.41**	.33**	-			8.13	1.69	75
11.	- future	.24*	-.08	-.04	.53**	.46**	.26*	.38**	.50**	.43**	.36**	-		7.48	1.70	75
12.	- religion/spirituality	.17	-.11	.01	.31**	.38**	.25*	.41**	.27*	.22	.64**	.25*	-	7.93	2.15	75

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

## **Social Identity Structures**

Of 123 participants who completed the TCCT, the categorisation patterns of 96 participants (78%) mapped onto one of the predefined structures (see Table 3.6). The small Ns for certain SIS's did not allow testing for differences between all SIS's on key variables. However, further analyses were conducted to test for differences between groups of participants with one of two subtypes of SIS's: those SIS's that included all Australians as part of the ingroup (i.e., including the two non-Turkish, non-Muslim, Australian targets as part of the ingroup,  $n = 48$ ) versus those SIS's that exclude both non-Muslim, non-Turkish Australians from the ingroup ( $n = 48$ ). The key difference between these two groups of participants is that one group perceives the majority group of Australian citizens to be part of "us", whereas the other group does not. Differences between these SIS subgroups are reported in Table 3.7.

Table 3.6

*Frequencies (Valid Percentages in Parentheses) of Different Social Identity Structures.*

Social Identity Structure	Frequency (percentage)	Total
Ethnic-national intersection	1 (.8)	
Ethnic-religious intersection	1 (.8)	
National-religious intersection	0 (0.0)	Total intersection structures: 2
Ethnic dominance	16 (13.0)	
National dominance	3 (2.4)	
Religious dominance	17 (13.8)	Total dominance structures: 36
Ethnic national merger	9 (7.3)	
Ethnic religious merger	13 (10.6)	
National-religious merger	0 (0.0)	
Triple merger	22 (17.9)	Total merger structures: 44
Egalitarian	14 (11.4)	Total egalitarian structures: 14
Idiosyncratic	27 (22.0)	
Total	123 (100.0)	

Table 3.7

*Means and SD's of a Series of Variables for Participants who either Included or Excluded both non-Turkish, non-Muslim Australian Targets from their Ingroup*

<i>Variable</i>	Excluding non-Turkish non-Muslims		Including non-Turkish non-Muslims		<i>t(df) = value</i>	<i>p-value</i>
	<i>Mean</i>	<i>(SD)</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>(SD)</i>		
Level of education	2.96	(1.30)	3.33	(.99)	<i>t</i> (94) = -1.58	.12
Age	39.44	(18.79)	38.44	(14.03)	<i>t</i> (94) = .29	.77
Ethnic identification	6.41	(.92)	5.70	(1.13)	<i>t</i> (88) = 3.26	.00
Religious identification	5.88	(1.71)	4.91	(2.28)	<i>t</i> (86) = 2.23	.03
National identification	5.57	(1.56)	5.67	(1.49)	<i>t</i> (86) = -.31	.75
Ingroup friendships	4.70	(.80)	4.39	(.83)	<i>t</i> (94) = 1.87	.06
Quantity contact	4.27	(1.13)	4.70	(1.06)	<i>t</i> (94) = -1.95	.05
Quality of contact	5.06	(.59)	5.09	(.87)	<i>t</i> (94) = -.20	.84
Intergroup bias	34.88	(20.10)	23.71	(19.18)	<i>t</i> (93) = 2.76	.01
Social identity	5.00	(1.79)	4.71	(1.88)	<i>t</i> (48) = .55	.59
compatibility:						
Religious-national						
Social identity	5.48	(1.37)	5.81	(.92)	<i>t</i> (48) = -.94	.35
compatibility: Ethnic-national						
Social identity	6.14	(1.30)	5.43	(1.56)	<i>t</i> (48) = 1.74	.08
compatibility:						
Religious-ethnic						
IOS	3.77	(1.09)	4.57	(1.36)	<i>t</i> (48) = -2.29	.03
Behavioural intentions	2.62	(1.82)	4.10	(2.04)	<i>t</i> (48) = -2.68	.01

Surprisingly, these two groups were not significantly different in terms of strength of national identification. However, significant differences between the groups were found in terms of ethnic and religious identification, such that the group of participants that included Anglo Australians in their ingroup, reported significantly lower levels of identification with their ethnic and their religious ingroup. Another significant difference between the two groups was obtained on the ingroup friendship measure. Participants who systematically included non-Turkish, non-Muslim Australian targets in their ingroup reported significantly lower proportions of ethnic and religious ingroup friends, compared to those participants who excluded non-Turkish, non-Muslim Australian targets from their ingroup. The former group also reported higher quantity of outgroup contact, and demonstrated lower levels of intergroup bias. Within the Melbourne subsample, where additional measures were collected, I found additional significant differences between the two groups. Specifically, participants who included non-Turkish, non-Muslim targets in their ingroup reported lower perceived compatibility between Turkish and Muslim identities, higher IOS, and greater willingness to marry an Anglo person, compared to participants who excluded non-Turkish, non-Muslim targets from their ingroup.

## Discussion

The aim of the current study was to validate the introduced constructs of SII and SIS as individual difference variables assessed by the TCCT. The individual differences in SII and SIS that were found shed light on the distinct ways in which members of this specific community of Turkish Australian Muslims deal with their belonging to three shared groups. Although all participants belonged to the same set of groups, participants' subjective ingroup identities varied from very restricted to highly inclusive. Further, evidence was found for nine distinct social identity structures. Ethnic-religious intersection, ethnic-national intersection, ethnic dominant, religious dominant, national dominant, ethnic-national merger, ethnic-religious merger, triple merger and egalitarian structures were represented among the participants. The broad variety in SII and SIS found in this very specific sample, supports the idiosyncratic nature of dealing with multiple, potentially nonconvergent identities.

The findings of the present study further attest to the validity of SII as a cognitive construct of the inclusiveness of one's perceived ingroup. First, I found SII to be distinct from other cognitive style measures such as tolerance of ambiguity and open-mindedness, from intergroup understanding and intergroup anxiety, and to be non redundant with measures of identification with singular social categories. Second, a significant correlation between SII and conceptually similar measures, such as the perceived compatibility between pairs of identities and inclusion of outgroups in the self, supports the convergent validity of SII. The negative correlation obtained between SII and perceived compatibility and similarity of ethnic (Turkish) identity and religious (Muslim) identity is consistent with findings from a study by Verkuyten and Martinovic (2012) among Turkish-Muslim residents in the Netherlands in which perceived high overlap between the two identities predicted low identification with the Netherlands. In the present study, high perceived overlap (less differentiation) between Turkish and Muslim

identities was related to lower SII and lower likelihood of including non-Muslim and non-Turkish Australians as part of the subjective ingroup.

Third, the current study provided insights into the broader network of variables that are theoretically related to SII. As predicted, I found SII to be related to one's network of relationships. While *more* and *more positive* contact with religious and ethnic others was positively related to SII, the degree of religious and ethnic ingroup friends related in the reverse direction. In other words, outgroup contact was associated with SII, expanding the psychological borders that separate "us" from "them". This finding is consistent with the self-expansion model (Wright, Aron, & Tropp, 2002) which proposes that people engage in close relationships to include close others in the self. Likewise, in the current research, more and more positive contact with non-Muslims and non-Turks was associated with greater inclusion of others who do not share membership on all examined categories in the social self.

In terms of outgroup attitudes, I found that the higher SII participants demonstrated, the more positively they evaluated targets that had only one or two relevant ingroups in common, and the lower intergroup bias in their evaluations overall. The absence of a significant correlation between SII and attitudes toward the triple ingroup indicated that this former relationship was not merely due to a generalized increase in positive attitudes. Further, more inclusive social identities related to more positive attitudes toward targets that did not share any ingroups with participants, i.e. those "triple outgroup targets". In other words, expansion of participants' social identity not only benefitted the way they evaluated the partial ingroup members, but was also associated with more positive evaluations of outgroup targets with whom they are unlikely to come into contact (e.g., Hindu targets living in India).

Moreover, a positive relationship between SII and outgroup evaluations was found even for outgroups on dimensions that were unrelated to those on which basis SII was assessed (e.g., homeless people). This relationship existed above and beyond the effects of strength of

identification with specific ingroups, and independent from the effects of outgroup contact. This finding of a robust relationship between SII and acceptance of remote outgroups is consistent with Pettigrew's (1997) notion of "deprovincialization", which refers to how reappraisal of the ingroup can lead to more positive attitudes toward outgroups in general. Deprovincialization has been proposed by Pettigrew as a key mediating process in the link between intergroup friendships and improved outgroup attitudes; and, when measured as social identity complexity (Schmid, Hewstone & Tausch, 2013), has been found to mediate between intergroup contact with a primary outgroup and more positive evaluations of other, secondary outgroups. Further studies are needed to examine the precise role of SII in the link between intergroup contact and generalised outgroup attitudes.

Finally, as predicted, distinct SIS's emerged from participants' categorisation patterns, replicating the structures that were found in a previous sample of Turkish-Belgian Muslims (van Dommelen, Schmid, Hewstone, Gonsalkorale, & Brewer, 2013). Although all participants self-categorized as members of the three categories of interest, only a small group of participants actually merged these three group memberships in defining the boundary of their perceived ingroup. A large share of the participants drew their ingroup representations solely from their ethnic and/or religious identity. A frequent SIS among participants, for instance, was the religious dominance SIS. Despite the clear importance of religion in social identity within the current sample, this social category remains overlooked in many studies on minority identification (for some exceptions, see Martinovic & Verkuyten, 2012; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). The particular content of the ingroup representation as measured by the TCCT showed a different picture from the one provided by Likert-scale items for strength of identification. Indeed, no significant difference in strength of national identification was found between two groups who nonetheless differed in their SIS's in a crucial way—they either systematically included or excluded non-Turkish, non-Muslim Australians. This seems to suggest that the



assessment of strength of identification with certain category labels does not reveal the qualitative aspects of these categories as subjectively represented by the participants.

In conclusion, the current findings suggest that the assessment of subjective ingroup representations can provide important insights into where minority group members feel they belong and whom they identify with. While individual differences in terms of i) objective group membership, ii) self-categorisation in terms of these group memberships, and iii) strength of identification with each of these groups were practically absent, broad individual differences in subjective ingroup representations were found. The constructs capturing these individual differences, i.e., social identity inclusiveness and structure, were shown to be valid constructs, as well as highly relevant to intergroup relations. Moreover, SIS revealed qualitative information about the content of ingroup representations that was not reflected in measures that assessed identification for each ingroup separately.

While the current study examined SIS and SII as individual difference variables, it is unlikely that they are fixed, trait-like attributes. Instead, both constructs are likely shaped by a complex interplay between the individual mind, the immediate social context and larger society. SII and SIS are expected to be socially structured and to be transformed through their interaction with social processes over time. Further studies are needed to identify both the immediate contextual cues as the broader social factors that impact on a person's subjective ingroup representations. In the following chapters I will examine the impact of such contextual factors on SII and SIS, both cross-sectionally (Chapter 4) and experimentally (Chapter 5 and 6).

## **CHAPTER 4: SII AND SIS IN TURKISH AUSTRALIAN MUSLIM ADOLESCENTS**

The previous study identified broad individual differences in how adult Turkish Australian Muslims thought and felt about the social groups that they are a member of. These differences were captured by Social Identity Inclusiveness (SII) and Social Identity Structure (SIS). Although assessed as individual difference variables, I argued that they should not be reduced to individual differences as such, but that they are likely to be influenced by factors in the environment.

For adult minority group members in multicultural Australia, the social environment is becoming increasingly diverse (e.g., in terms of ethnic and religious composition; Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006; 2011), providing ample opportunities to meet and interact with others who may share membership to some, but not all important social groups. Exposure to such a divergent social environment is likely to increase as adults take up new social identities such as professional and political identities, or other identities related to parenthood, a hobby or a sport. The increased social mobility and the related increase in exposure to others who do not share one's ethnic or religious identity may provide an important opportunity for adult minority group members to adopt a more inclusive social identity, that goes beyond the intersection of their own multiple group memberships to include others who may share membership to some, but not all ingroups. The finding in Study 1 that more contact with ethnic and religious others relates to a more inclusive social identity, is consistent with this reasoning.

But what if social mobility is limited, and the immediate environment only contains others who share membership to all important social groups? The question of whether a highly convergent social environment would affect one's ability to adopt social identities that go beyond the intersection of one's multiple groups, and include non-convergent others, is highly relevant to acculturation research. For instance, can a Turkish Australian Muslim, who lives in a segregated suburb among other Turkish Australian Muslims, who works at a local grocery

store, who prays at the local mosque built by the Turkish community, and who is part of a local choir only containing fellow Turkish Australian Muslims, identify with other Australians who are not Turkish Muslims, or with Turkish people who are not Australian, or with Muslims who are not Turkish? Or does the lack of exposure to such non-convergent group members hamper a person's ability to form a more complex social identity, inclusive of others who share some but not all group memberships?

The aim of the current study was to examine SII and SIS among Turkish Australian Muslims who spend much of their time in an environment in which their multiple ingroups converge. One such highly convergent environment is segregated schools. Hence, the current study was conducted at secondary schools in Sydney and Melbourne that were built by the Turkish community and cater for young people with a Muslim background. Although both schools present themselves to the general public as non-denominational and multicultural, at the time the interviews were conducted, more than 95% of the students at both schools were Muslim. Students at the school have access to Islamic classes and prayer rooms. In addition, schools are segregated by gender (there are separate boys and girls campuses), and headscarves are worn by a large proportion of the girls.

In terms of ethnicity, the schools were more diversified. Although the majority of the students were Turkish, other ethnic groups – traditionally from countries with a large Muslim population – such as Bosniaks, Afghans, and Lebanese, were well represented. Nonetheless, with less than 2% across both schools, the absence of Anglo students was striking. Further, Turkish culture was promoted through Turkish language classes as part of the school's curriculum, even to non-Turkish students, and through other initiatives (e.g., celebration of Turkish national holidays, learning of the Turkish national anthem). The combined emphasis on Muslim and Turkish identities, together with the lack of opportunity for contact with non-

Muslim Australians, contributes to a highly convergent environment in which students may come to develop their thoughts and feelings about their own and other social groups.

In order to enable comparisons between young people at segregated schools versus those at non-segregated schools, Turkish Australian Muslim students from mixed, non-religiously segregated schools were interviewed as well. In addition, developmental changes in SII and SIS were examined, by comparing younger adolescents (aged 12 - 15) with older (aged 16 – 18) adolescents.

### **Research Questions & Hypotheses**

#### **SII and SIS in Turkish Australian Muslim Adolescents at Segregated Schools**

The primary aim of this study was to examine SII and SIS in a sample of young people in a religiously segregated school environment. The religious and ethnic composition of these schools created an environment for Turkish Muslim students in which:

- i) their ethnic and religious ingroups were objectively highly overlapping (given the high ratio of Turkish Muslim students), which also reflects the degree of overlap outside the school context in Australia as a whole<sup>17</sup>;
- ii) their religious and national ingroups were objectively highly overlapping (given that the majority of Muslim students were Australian citizens, and the majority of Australian students were Muslim); this is much higher than the degree of objective overlap outside the school environment (where only a minority of Australian citizens are Muslim)
- iii) their ethnic and national ingroups were considerably highly overlapping (given that the majority of Australian students were of Turkish descent), which does not mirror the actual low overlap between Turkish heritage and Australian citizenship outside the school context.

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<sup>17</sup> Given that the majority of Turkish Australians are Muslim (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2011)

An illustration of the differences in objective overlap inside and outside the school boundaries is presented below (see Figure 4.1).

The question to be addressed in the current study is whether the objectively high overlap (intersection) among the three ingroup memberships within the Muslim schools will be reflected in how the Turkish Australian Muslim students perceived their multiple ingroups, in comparison to the adult sample from the same communities, and in comparison to students from non-religiously segregated schools. Specifically, I predicted i) relatively low SII, especially with regards to the inclusiveness of the national ingroup; and ii) a relatively high frequency of SIS's drawn from the intersection of national, ethnic and religious ingroups, since this structure would reflect the immediate environment best. Other SIS's I expected to find in relatively high frequencies were those drawn from ethnic and religious ingroups (given the strong emphasis on ethnic and religious identity within the schools; e.g., ethnic-religious intersection, religious dominance, ethnic dominance, and ethnic-religious merger structures).

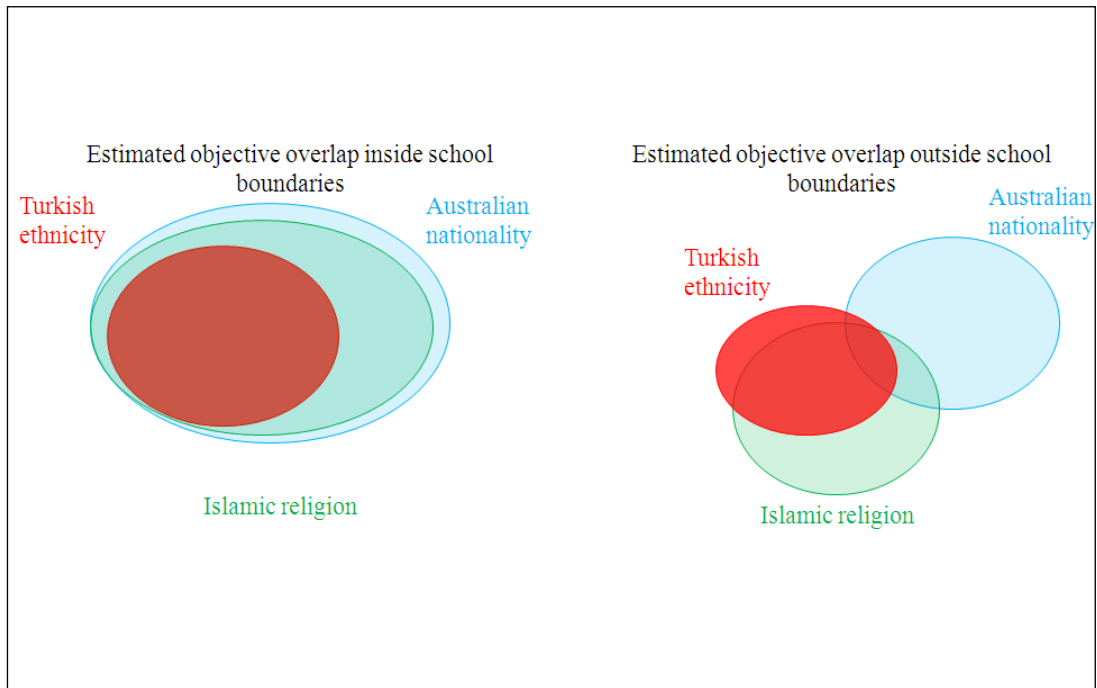


Figure 4.1. Estimated objective overlap between ingroups within the school context (left) and within the Australian context (right).<sup>18</sup>

## SII and Related Variables among Adolescents

In addition, I wanted to test whether the relationships found in Study 1 between SII and conceptually related variables (IOS, perceived compatibility and similarity between identities), and between SII and variables that are theoretically relevant (outgroup contact, attitudes), would be replicated in this sample. For exploratory purposes, the relationships of SII with the following variables were assessed as well: bicultural identity integration (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005), self-esteem, collective self-esteem (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992), perceived discrimination, wellbeing, and satisfaction with school performance.

## The Development of SII and SIS

To examine whether developmental changes occur throughout adolescence in terms of identification with multiple social groups, I assessed differences between early (aged 12-15)

<sup>18</sup> Note regarding the diagram representing overlap in the Australian context (right): Only the overlap within the circle representing the Australian ingroup is relevant. The relative size of the Turkish and Muslim ingroups outside the Australian border is not in line with real world proportions.

and late (aged 16-18) adolescence in terms of strength of ethnic, religious, and national identification, SII and SIS. Since no previous research has looked at how ingroup construals develop among minority adolescents, these relationships were examined for exploratory purposes.

## **Method**

### **Participants and Design**

Data were collected across three different educational institutions in Australia: religiously segregated schools in Sydney and in Melbourne, and a Turkish language school in Melbourne<sup>19</sup>. Prior to data collection, parental information letters were distributed, and only those students for whom written parental consent was obtained, were invited to participate. In total, 139 Turkish Australian Muslim children participated in the study. One participant did not discriminate in terms of categorisation of stimuli and thermometer ratings, and was excluded, resulting in a final sample of 138 Turkish Australian Muslim participants (69 boys, 69 girls; age range 11-18;  $M_{\text{age}} = 14.96$ ,  $SD = 1.65$ ).

### **Procedure/Materials**

Students participated in the study in a separate classroom at their school. Each session was run with a maximum of three participants. First, participants were asked to fill in a paper-and-pen questionnaire. Then they were asked to complete the TCCT (providing measures of SII, SIS, attitudes, and intergroup bias). The TCCT was carried out with each participant separately, out of hearing and viewing distance from other participants. Upon completion of the TCCT, participants were asked to fill out a second questionnaire. Then they were debriefed,

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<sup>19</sup> The Turkish language school ran Turkish language classes on Saturdays for students of Turkish background, coming from a range of public and private schools.

thanked, and dismissed. All materials and measures are reported below in the order in which they were assessed.<sup>20</sup>

### **Questionnaire 1.**

**Demographics.** Participants were asked to report their gender, age, language spoken at home, country of birth, number of years lived in Australia, suburb, ethnic background, religion, and number of years attending their school.

**Ingroup friends,** or the extent to which the close network of friends contained fellow Turkish and Muslim others, was measured with the same two-item scale that was used in Study 1 ( $r = .62, p < .001$ ).

**Outgroup friends.** The single item “How many of your friends are Anglo Australian (White Australian)” (1 = *none*, 6 = *all*) provided a measure of outgroup friends.

**Quantity of outgroup contact.** The items “how often do you have contact with people that are Anglo (White) Australian” and “how often do you have contact with people that are **not** Muslim” (1 = *never*, 6 = *very often*) were combined into a single scale for quantity of outgroup contact ( $r = .22, p < .02$ )

**Quality of outgroup contact.** The items “how do you experience contact with people that are Anglo (White) Australian” and “how do you experience contact with people that are **not** Muslim” (1 = *very negative*, 6 = *very positive*) were combined into a single scale for quality of outgroup contact ( $r = .37, p < .001$ )

**Triple Crossed Categorisation Task.** The TCCT provided the following measures, operationalised in the same way as described in Study 1:

***Social Identity Inclusiveness.***

***Social Identity Structure.***

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<sup>20</sup> The questionnaires that were used are included as Appendix E. The target set that was used in the TCCT was identical to the one used in Study 1 (see Appendix D).



*Attitudes towards the triple ingroup and triple outgroup.* ( $\alpha = .77$  and  $\alpha = .94$ , respectively).

*Objective intergroup bias.*

### **Questionnaire 2.**

*Strength of identification.* For each relevant category (ethnicity, religion and nationality), participants were asked to rate their agreement with the following 3 statements: “Being (category) is an important part of who I am” (e.g., “Being Muslim is an important part of who I am”), “To what extent do you feel strong ties to other (category)” (e.g., “To what extent do you feel strong ties to other Muslims”), and “I feel proud to be (category)” (e.g., “I feel proud to be Muslim”). The response scale ranged from 1 = *not at all*, to 7 = *very much*. The scores on these three items were collapsed into single scales for strength of religious ( $\alpha = .86$ ), ethnic ( $\alpha = .71$ ) and national ( $\alpha = .88$ ) identification.

*Inclusion of outgroups in the self* was measured by the two-item scale used in Study 1 ( $r = .50, p < .001$ ).

*Social identity compatibility.* Perceived compatibility between one’s i) Australian and Muslim identities, ii) Australian and Turkish identities, and iii) Turkish and Muslim identities, was assessed by the same items as in Study 1.

*Perceived similarity between one’s Turkish and Muslim identity* was measured with the same item as in Study 1.

*Bicultural Identity Integration (BII).* Participants were asked to rate the extent they agreed with two statements that were adapted from the Bicultural Identity Integration Scale (BII-1, Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005): “I feel both a member of the Turkish/Muslim community AND Australian”, and “I feel caught between the Turkish/Muslim culture and the Australian culture” (1 = *not at all* to 7 = *very much*). Item 2 was reverse-scored, and a mean score was computed as a scale for BII, with a high score indicating a higher level of bicultural

identity integration. However, as the items were not correlated ( $r = -.10, p > .24$ ), this scale was not included in the analyses.<sup>21</sup>

**Collective self-esteem.** Three items were adapted from the public self-esteem subscale of the Collective Self-esteem scale (Luthanen & Crocker, 1992) (e.g., “In Australia, Turkish/Muslim people are seen as good people”; 1 = *not at all* to 7 = *very much*). One item was reverse-scored, and a mean score was computed as a scale for collective self-esteem, with a higher score indicating a higher level of collective self-esteem ( $\alpha = .68$ ).

**Perceived discrimination** was assessed by the discrimination subscale of the Riverside Acculturation Stress Inventory (Benet-Martinez, 2003), as described in Study 1 ( $\alpha = .76$ ).

**Outgroup attitudes.** Evaluations of the following groups were assessed, in the same manner as described in Study 1: Anglo Australians, Christians, Aboriginal people, Indians, Chinese, mentally ill, and homeless people.

**Perceived difficulty of the categorisation task.** Participants were asked to rate how difficult they found the categorisation task (1 = *not at all difficult*, 10 = *extremely difficult*).

**Self-esteem.** Self-esteem was assessed with the single-item self-esteem scale (Robins, Hendin, & Trzesniewski, 2001), of which the response scale was adapted; “I have strong self-esteem” (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*).

**Wellbeing.** Participants’ level of wellbeing was assessed by the single item “How happy are you with your life as a whole?” (0 = *very sad*, 10 = *very happy*). In addition, the 7-item Personal Wellbeing Index for School Children (PWI-SC; Cummins, & Lau, 2005) was used to measure satisfaction with seven specific life domains (e.g., health, personal relationships) using the same response scale as the single item for wellbeing.

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<sup>21</sup> Factor analyses of the BII-I scale by Benet-Martinez and Haritatos (2005) indicated these two items load on different factors, which they labelled as blendedness vs. harmony. In hindsight, this explains why these two items were uncorrelated in the current study.

***Satisfaction with school performance.*** The single item “How happy are you about your school performance” (0 = *very sad*, 10 = *very happy*) was included to measure participants’ satisfaction with their academic achievements.

## **Results**

Although the sample shared the same religious, ethnic and national group memberships, respondents differed in terms of where they lived (Sydney versus greater Melbourne), which school they attended (religiously segregated or not), and for how many years they had been at their current school. A schematic overview of the sample distribution in terms of these variables is provided below (see Figure 4.2). To enable more refined analyses, I paired down the sample to the subsamples relevant to the following research questions:

1. What does SII and SIS look like in a sample of young people who spend much of their time in a religiously segregated environment? Are they able to combine multiple group memberships into one inclusive ingroup identity? To answer these questions, I included only those respondents who had been attending a religiously segregated school for a minimum of three years, and who were aged between 11 and 16 years ( $n = 89$ ).<sup>22</sup> This subsample will be referred to as the segregated subsample.
2. Are the relationships between SII and other conceptually and theoretically related variables, as established in the previous study, replicated among adolescents attending a religiously segregated school? The subsample analysed for this research question was the segregated subsample ( $n = 89$ ).
3. Do the social identity related variables differ between young people who have been at

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<sup>22</sup> The age of the segregated subsample in Melbourne ranged from 13 to 18 years, with the mean age being significantly higher ( $M = 15.96$ ,  $SD = .89$ ) than the mean age of the segregated subsample in Sydney ( $M = 14.34$ ,  $SD = 1.61$ ) which did not include respondents older than 16 years,  $F(1, 101) = 38.87$ ,  $p < .001$ . To control for any effect of this age disparity in the comparison of the two segregated samples, all respondents aged 17 or older were excluded.

religiously segregated schools for three years or longer, and those who go to non-segregated schools (or joined the segregated school within the last three years)? The subsample of interest for this question was the sample of “segregated” students in greater Melbourne ( $n = 49$ ) and the non-segregated students in Melbourne ( $n = 31$ ).

4. How does age relate to strength of social identification, SII, and SIS? Do the data suggest any developmental changes in terms of adolescents’ identification with (multiple) social groups? For this research question, I included only those respondents residing in greater Melbourne, aged 12 to 18, at segregated and non-segregated schools ( $n = 80$ ).

Age and sex effects on the variables of interest were examined for each research question and reported wherever significant.

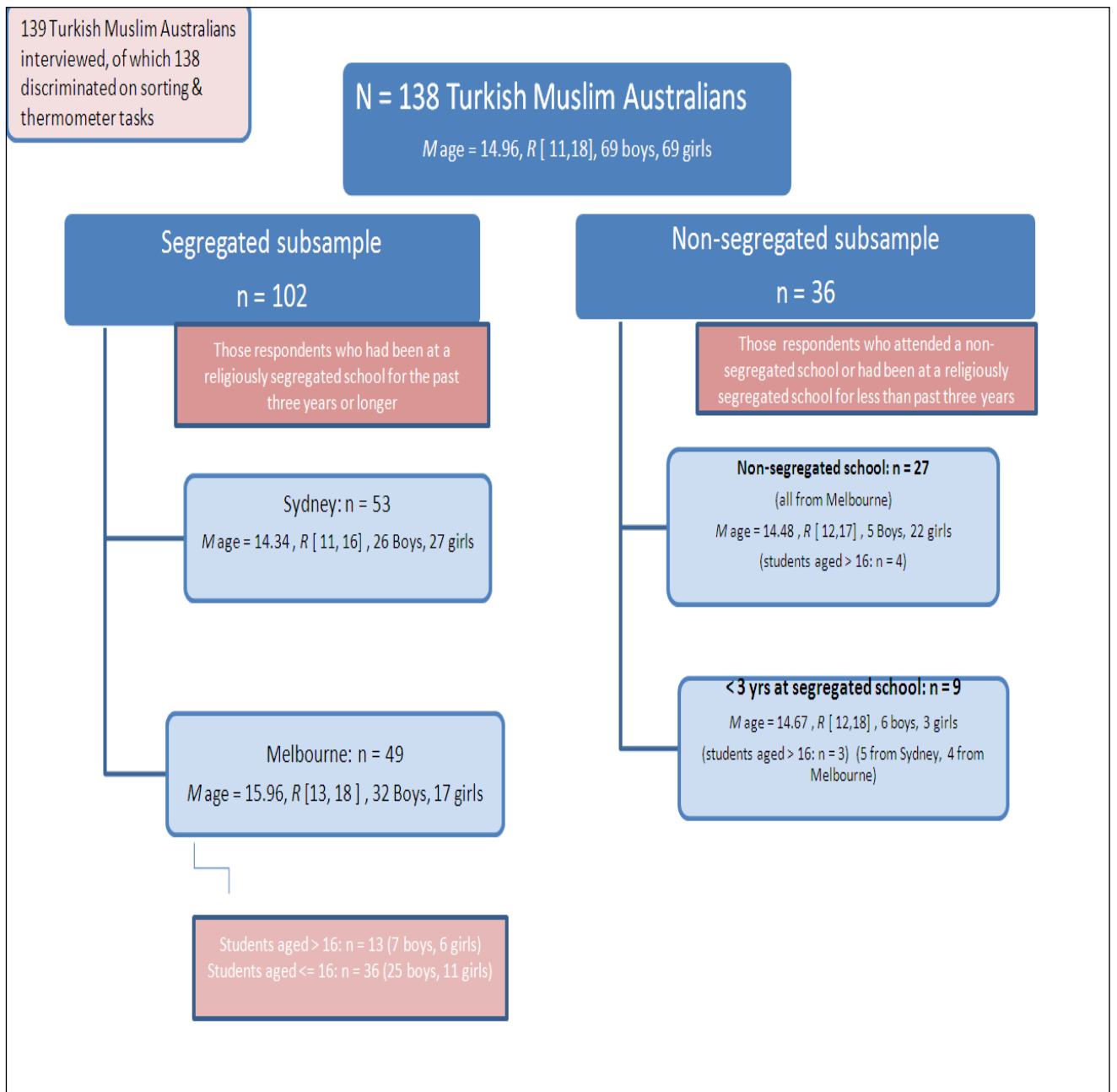


Figure 4.2. Distribution and demographics of participants by city of residence (Sydney vs. Melbourne) and school (segregated versus non-segregated).

### Preliminary Analyses

Overall, participants seemed to understand the TCCT task instructions well, and performed the task correctly. Respondents indicated that they found the TCCT relatively easy, with mean levels of perceived difficulty of the categorisation task significantly below the scale

midpoint (5.5),  $M = 4.41$ ,  $SD = 2.67$ ,  $t(130) = -4.66$ ,  $p < .001$ . This suggests that the TCCT was successfully adapted to this non-adult sample.

To examine whether the selected categories in the TCCT were indeed relevant to the sample,  $t$ -tests were conducted to compare the mean strength of ethnic identification, religious identification and national identification with the midpoint of the scale. Indeed, mean levels of identification with all three categories were significantly above the scales midpoint (4),  $t(135) = 36.40$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $t(135) = 35.53$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $t(135) = 12.55$ ,  $p < .001$ , respectively, supporting the relevance of the selected categories to the sample (see Table 4.1 for means and SDs).

Table 4.1

*Descriptives for Ethnic, Religious and National Identification*

	Mean	SD	Minimum	Maximum
Ethnic identification	6.38	.76	3.67	7.00
Religious identification	6.48	.81	1.67	7.00
National identification	5.33	1.24	1.00	7.00

**Research Question 1: SII and SIS in a Sample of Young People Growing Up in a Religiously Segregated Environment**

To ensure a relatively prolonged exposure to a highly convergent social environment, only those respondents, aged 11-16, who had been at religiously segregated schools, either in Sydney or Melbourne, for the last 3 years or longer were included in the analyses ( $n = 89$ ).<sup>23</sup>

**Preliminary analyses of the segregated subsample: city and gender differences.** To examine whether there were any differences in scores on the variables of interest between the segregated subsamples in the two cities (Sydney versus Melbourne), independent sample  $t$ -tests

<sup>23</sup> A cut-off period of 3 years was selected since this was the most optimal criterion in terms of length of attendance at segregated schools without significantly reducing the sample size

were conducted (see Table 4.2 for statistics).<sup>24</sup> In terms of outgroup contact related variables, no significant city differences were found, indicating that both the Sydney and the Melbourne subsamples were equally insular. Further, no city differences were found on the identity compatibility and identity similarity measures, suggesting no differences in how these young people cognitively represented their multiple ingroups across cities.

Despite similar levels of outgroup contact, and similar cognitions related to identity overlap and identity similarity across cities, students at the religiously segregated school in Sydney scored significantly higher on SII, and ethnic, religious and national identification than the segregated students in Melbourne. Further, they scored higher on the IOS scale, and endorsed more positive attitudes towards triple ingroup and outgroup members than those children in Melbourne. Upon controlling for age, each of these differences persisted, apart from national identification, which no longer differed significantly across cities.<sup>25</sup>

These city differences could however be driven by different gender proportions across the Sydney and Melbourne samples. While 27 out of 53 respondents (or 51 %) in the Sydney subsample were female, girls made up only 31 % of the Melbourne subsample. A 2 (sex: female vs. male) x 2 (city: Melbourne vs. Sydney) ANCOVA with age as a covariate, was conducted on the segregated subsample. Upon controlling for age and sex, city differences in terms of ethnic, national and religious identification were no longer significant,  $ps < .08$ . City differences in SII, IOS, and attitudes towards outgroups, however, remained significant, all  $ps < .05$ .<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> In the adult sample (Study 1), no significant city differences were found.

<sup>25</sup> When age was entered as a covariate in an ANCOVA with city as predictor variable, all differences remained significant,  $p < .05$ , apart from national identification,  $p < .10$

<sup>26</sup> These differences were not detected in the adult sample.

Table 4.2

*Means, SDs and T-test Statistics for Key Variables by City (n = 89)*

	city	N	Mean	(SD)	t - value	df	p - value
Age	Sydney	53	14.34	(1.60)			
	Melbourne	36	15.56	(.65)	-4.97	87	.00
Social Identity	Sydney	53	16.49	(3.59)			
Inclusiveness	Melbourne	35	13.43	(3.33)	4.03	86	.00
Ethnic identification	Sydney	51	6.61	(.49)			
	Melbourne	36	6.27	(.96)	2.00	85	.05
Religious identification	Sydney	51	6.73	(.32)			
	Melbourne	36	6.41	(.86)	2.10	85	.04
National identification	Sydney	51	5.48	(1.35)			
	Melbourne	36	4.86	(1.14)	2.29	85	.02
Inclusion of Outgroups in the Self	Sydney	51	4.04	(1.48)			
	Melbourne	36	3.11	(1.15)	3.14	85	.00
Compatibility national – religious identities	Sydney	51	4.80	(1.78)			
	Melbourne	36	5.19	(1.55)	-1.06	85	.29
Compatibility national – ethnic identities	Sydney	51	5.43	(1.95)			
	Melbourne	36	5.31	(1.55)	.32	85	.75
Compatibility ethnic – religious identities	Sydney	51	6.69	(.95)			
	Melbourne	36	6.78	(.49)	-.53	85	.60
Similarity ethnicity - religious identities	Sydney	51	5.76	(1.67)			
	Melbourne	35	5.63	(1.75)	.36	84	.72
Ingroup friends	Sydney	52	5.08	(.45)	-.05	86	.96



	Melbourne	36	5.08	(.75)			
Outgroup friends	Sydney	52	3.04	(1.43)			
	Melbourne	36	2.47	(1.48)	1.80	86	.08
Quantity contact	Sydney	52	3.51	(1.09)			
	Melbourne	36	3.21	(1.07)	1.28	86	.20
Quality contact	Sydney	52	4.65	(.85)			
	Melbourne	36	4.56	(.64)	.59	86	.56
Attitudes triple	Sydney	53	88.25	(11.64)			
ingroup	Melbourne	35	81.46	(13.84)	2.49	86	.02
Attitudes triple	Sydney	53	50.41	(18.27)			
outgroup	Melbourne	35	42.10	(18.73)	2.07	86	.04
Intergroup bias	Sydney	53	37.85	(18.17)			
	Melbourne	35	39.35	(22.80)	-.34	86	.73

To identify any systematic differences between male and female respondents, within-city sex differences were examined on the variables of interest. In the Sydney subsample, girls scored significantly higher on national identification ( $M = 5.85$ ,  $SD = 1.22$ ) than boys ( $M = 5.11$ ,  $SD = 1.39$ ),  $F(1, 50) = 4.07$ ,  $p < .05$ . Sydney girls also endorsed lower levels of similarity between their ethnic and religious group memberships ( $M = 5.31$ ,  $SD = 1.73$ ) than boys ( $M = 6.24$ ,  $SD = 1.45$ ),  $F(1, 50) = 4.24$ ,  $p < .05$ . They were also more positive towards outgroups ( $M = 57.84$ ,  $SD = 19.91$ ) than male respondents ( $M = 42.69$ ,  $SD = 12.67$ ),  $F(1, 52) = 10.83$ ,  $p < .005$ . In the Melbourne subsample, these patterns were repeated, although none of the differences reached statistical significance<sup>27, 28</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> The loss of power could have contributed to the lack of significant differences between gender in the Melbourne subsample.

**Key characteristics of the segregated subsample.** Collapsing across the Sydney and Melbourne segregated subsamples ( $n = 89$ ), the mean score on outgroup (Anglo) friends ( $M = 2.81$ ,  $SD = 1.47$ ) was significantly below the scale midpoint (3.5),  $t(86) = -4.43$ ,  $p < .001$ , reflecting the low ratio of Anglo Australian friendships among this sample. The reported proportion of ingroup friends ( $M = 5.08$ ,  $SD = .59$ ) was significantly above the scale midpoint (3.5),  $t(86) = 25.26$ ,  $p < .001$ .<sup>29</sup> Perceived compatibility between identities was above the scale midpoint (4) for each pair of identities, (national-religious identities:  $t(86) = 5.34$ ,  $p < .001$ ; national-ethnic identities:  $t(86) = 7.20$ ,  $p < .001$ ; ethnic-religious identities:  $t(86) = 32.25$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Although perceived compatibility was high between each pair of social identities, respondents' compatibility ratings between their ethnic and religious identities were significantly higher than between national and ethnic ( $t(86) = -7.68$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and national and religious identities ( $t(86) = -10.55$ ,  $p < .001$ ). In addition to compatibility, the perceived *similarity* between ethnic and religious identities was significantly above the scale midpoint (4),  $t(86) = 9.36$ ,  $p < .001$ .

Although all 89 respondents identified strongly with the same ethnic, religious and national categories,<sup>30</sup> and attended a highly segregated religious school, levels of SII varied widely, from 7 to 24 ( $M = 15.27$ ,  $SD = 3.78$ ).<sup>31</sup>

**SIS frequencies.** Out of 88 participants with TCCT data, 69 (or 78%) of all participants' categorisation patterns corresponded perfectly to one of the predefined structures (see Table 4.3). In addition, 12 participants (13.5%) categorized all Turkish and all Muslim

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<sup>28</sup> In the adult sample, no gender differences were found, apart from females being more positive towards the triple ingroup,  $F(1, 122) = 8.19$ ,  $p < .01$ .

<sup>29</sup> Comparing the adult samples' contact estimates with those of the current, young peoples' sample, the adult sample reported higher quantity ( $M = 4.42$ ,  $SD = 1.16$ ) and quality ( $M = 5.03$ ,  $SD = .86$ ) of outgroup contact, and a lower proportion of ingroup friends ( $M = 4.61$ ,  $SD = .84$ ), as compared to the current sample.

<sup>30</sup> Ceiling effects for the scores on all three identification scales were obtained. To illustrate, the 25<sup>th</sup> percentile was, for ethnic identification: 6.33, for religious identification: 6.66, and for national identification: 4.33.

<sup>31</sup> The mean level of SII of this sample is not significantly different from the mean SII of the adult sample ( $M = 15.61$ ,  $SD = 4.64$ ),  $F(1, 211) < 1$ , *ns*.

targets as “us”, except for Turkish Australians who were Christian (the two Turkish Christian targets who were Turkish citizens, however, were both included).<sup>32</sup> Although this structure was not one of the predefined possibilities,<sup>33</sup> due to its high frequency, it was added as a separate structure, raising the percentage of categorisable structures to 92%.

Contrary to expectations, among those with fitting structures, only five participants (or 6.1%) adopted an intersection structure. The vast majority of the segregated subsample with fitting structures (93.9%) integrated at least one fully inclusive ingroup in their perceived ingroup. Specifically, 66 participants (or 81.5%) included all Muslims in their ingroup perceptions. In other words, they regarded all Muslim targets, regardless of their ethnic and national background, as “one of us”. The ethnic ingroup was fully included by 44 participants (or 54.3%). That is, more than half of participants with fitting structures, perceived all ethnic Turkish targets as “one of us”, regardless of their religious or national background. Finally, 33 participants (or 40.7%) included a fully inclusive national ingroup in their perceived ingroup. They perceived all Australian targets as belonging to their ingroup, irrespective of their ethnic and religious background. Thus, despite the fact that their immediate social environment was characterized by convergent religious, national, and ethnic identity, most of the student sample identified with one or more broader communities beyond the intersection of these three groups.

Comparing the segregated subsample with the adult sample of the previous study indicated that similar structures were present among both samples (see Table 4.3). The only structure identified only among the segregated student sample was the ethnic religious merger structure, excluding Turkish Australian Christians.

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<sup>32</sup> See Appendix F for a figure depicting the categorisation pattern of this particular structure

<sup>33</sup> Interestingly, this structure was not present among the adult sample.

Table 4.3

*Frequencies and Valid Percentages (in Parentheses) of Different SIS's among Respondents at Religiously Segregated Schools (Sydney versus Melbourne) and among Respondents of the Adult Sample*

Social identity structure	Segregated school sample			Adult sample
	Sydney	Melbourne	Total	
National-ethnic-religious intersection	0 (0)	1 (2.9)	1 (1.1)	0 (0)
Ethnic-religious intersection	0 (0)	4 (11.4)	4 (4.5)	1 (.8)
Ethnic-national intersection	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (.8)
Religious dominance	11 (20.8)	8 (22.9)	19 (21.6)	17 (13.8)
Ethnic dominance	3 (5.7)	1 (2.9)	4 (4.5)	16 (13.0)
National dominance	0 (0)	1 (2.9)	1 (1.1)	3 (2.4)
Ethnic-religious merger	5 (9.4)	3 (8.6)	8 (9.1)	13 (10.6)
Ethnic-religious merger, while excluding the Turkish Australian Christians	6 (11.3)	6 (17.1)	12 (13.6)	0 (0)
Ethnic-national merger	3 (5.7)	2 (5.7)	5 (5.7)	9 (7.3)
Religious-national merger	1 (1.9)	0 (0)	1 (1.1)	0 (0)
Triple merger	19 (35.8)	5 (14.3)	24 (27.3)	22 (17.9)
Egalitarian	2 (3.8)	0 (0)	2 (2.3)	14 (11.4)
Idiosyncratic	3 (5.7)	4 (11.4)	7 (8.0)	27 (22.0)
Total	53	35	88 (100.0)	123 (100.0)

## Research Question 2: How Does SII Relate to Other Variables?

The subsample that was analysed for this research question was the segregated subsample ( $n = 89$ ).

**SII and conceptually related variables.** The descriptives and intercorrelations of variables that SII was expected to be conceptually related to are presented in Table 4.4. In line with predictions, the inclusion of outgroups in the self scale correlated positively with SII,  $r = .45$ ,  $p < .001$ , even after controlling for city, partial  $r = .39$ ,  $p < .001$ .<sup>34</sup> However, neither the degree of perceived compatibility between pairs of identities was related to SII, nor perceived *similarity* between ethnic and religious identities.<sup>35</sup>

Table 4.4

*SII and Conceptually Related Variables: Means, SD's and Correlation Coefficients*

	Correlations						Mean	SD
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.		
1. SII	-						15.27	3.78
2. IOS	.45**	-					3.66	1.42
3. Social identity compatibility: national - religious	-.08	.04	-				4.97	1.69
4. Social identity compatibility: ethnic - national	-.02	.11	.58**	-			5.38	1.79
5. Social identity compatibility: ethnic- religious	-.05	-.01	.40**	.41**	-		6.72	.79
6. Perceived similarity ethnic – religious identity	-.06	-.18	.22*	.24*	.38**	-	5.71	1.69

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

<sup>34</sup> A similar positive relationship between SII and IOS was found in the adult sample,  $r = .22$ ,  $p < .06$

<sup>35</sup> The relationships between SII and compatibility / similarity measures in the adult sample were in the expected direction, however they were not statistically significant.

**SII and theoretically related variables.** As predicted, SII correlated negatively with ingroup friends, and positively with outgroup friends, quantity and quality of outgroup contact. Moreover, while attitudes toward the triple ingroup were not related to SII, attitudes toward the triple outgroup were significantly correlated with SII, such that high SII was related to more positive attitudes toward the triple outgroup (see Table 4.5). Further, SII was significantly related to more positive attitudes towards a range of social groups (see Table 4.6).<sup>36</sup>

Table 4.5

*SII and Theoretically Related Variables: Means, SD's and Correlation Coefficients*

	Correlations								M	SD
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.		
1. SII	-								15.27	3.78
2. Ingroup friends	-.24*	-							5.08	.59
3. Outgroup friends	.28**	-.20	-						2.81	1.47
4. Quantity of contact	.22*	-.36**	.55**	-					3.39	1.09
5. Quality of contact	.24*	-.22*	.41**	.54**	-				4.61	.77
6. Attitudes triple ingroup	.06	-.09	.22*	.27*	.20	-			85.55	12.93
7. Attitudes triple outgroup	.50**	-.19	.38**	.38**	.34**	.25*	-		47.11	18.80
8. Intergroup bias	-.43**	.12	-.21	-.18	-.18	.42**	-.78**	-	38.45	20.02

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

<sup>36</sup> These relationships replicate those found in the adult sample.

Table 4.6

*SII and Theoretically Related Variables – Outgroup Attitudes: Means, SD's and Correlation Coefficients*

	Correlations							M	SD
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.		
1. Social Identity Inlusiveness	-							15.27	3.78
2. Attitudes Anglos	.33**	-						59.01	25.43
3. Attitudes Christians	.41**	.66**	-					59.36	24.87
4. Attitudes Aboriginals	.34**	.59**	.62**	-				53.78	25.94
5. Attitudes Indians	.35**	.53**	.59**	.62**	-			51.79	23.67
6. Attitudes Chinese	.32**	.57**	.64**	.71**	.88**	-		52.47	24.05
7. Attitudes mentally ill	.22*	.31**	.48**	.56**	.53**	.57**	-	61.69	29.44
8. Attitudes homeless	.18	.20	.39**	.63**	.47**	.54**	.78**	53.95	30.48

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

To assess the unique contribution of SII as a predictor of outgroup attitudes, above and beyond any effects of strength of identification with each of the categories separately and controlling for quantity of outgroup contact, city (Sydney versus Melbourne), and sex, I computed a regression analysis, entering all these variables into a regression model, with triple outgroup attitudes as the dependent variable. The model was significant,  $R^2 = .41$ ,  $F(7, 89) = 8.09$ ,  $p < .001$ . While none of the separate identification measures were significant predictors,  $\beta$ s  $< |.15|$ ,  $t$ s  $< |1.62|$ ,  $p$ s  $> .11$ , SII was a unique, positive predictor of outgroup attitudes,  $\beta = .39$ ,  $t(81) = 3.98$ ,  $p < .001$ . The only other significant predictor was quantity of contact,

positively ( $\beta = .27, t(81) = 2.88, p < .01$ ). Sex was not a unique predictor of triple outgroup attitudes,  $\beta = .11, t(81) = .74, p > .26$ , and nor was city,  $\beta = .03, t(81) = -.13, p > .79$ . Hence, the city difference in outgroup attitudes, as identified earlier, was driven by city differences in SII.

No other significant relations between SII and a range of variables that were potentially related to SII were found (see Table 4.7).

Table 4.7

*SII and Potentially Related Variables: Means, SD's and Correlation Coefficients*

	Correlations					M	SD
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.		
1. Social Identity Inlusiveness	-					15.27	3.78
2. Self-esteem	-.04	-				5.15	1.45
3. Collective esteem	-.13	.24*	-			4.43	1.18
4. Perceived discrimination	-.09	-.08	-.43**	-		2.89	1.60
5. Wellbeing	.11	.27*	.06	-.29**	-	8.18	1.00
6. Satisfaction school performance	-.03	.07	.24*	-.14	.35**	6.92	2.00

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



### Research Question 3: Differences Between Segregated versus Non-segregated

#### Subsamples

Separate 2 (segregated vs. non-segregated) x 2 (sex: male vs. female) ANCOVAs were conducted to assess the differences between segregated and non-segregated subsamples in Melbourne ( $n = 80$ ), with age as a covariate.

**Contact related variables.** Contrary to predictions, no main effect of segregation was found on the proportion of outgroup (Anglo) friends,  $F(1, 75) = 2.59, p = .11$ . Interestingly, the mean proportion of Anglo friends was significantly below the scales' midpoint (3.5) for both the segregated ( $M = 2.57, SD = 1.41$ ) as well as the non-segregated subsample ( $M = 3.23, SD = 1.18$ ),  $t(48) = 12.78$  and  $t(30) = 15.29, p < .001$ . However, a significant main effect of segregation was found on ingroup friends. As predicted, respondents at segregated schools indicated they had significantly more ingroup friends ( $M = 5.03, SD = .72$ ) than those at non-segregated schools ( $M = 3.85, SD = 1.31$ ),  $F(1, 75) = 13.80, p < .001$ .<sup>37</sup> No main effect of sex, nor interaction effects were found on the ingroup and outgroup friendship variables, all  $F_s < 1, p_s > .72$ .

In terms of *quantity* of outgroup contact, no main effect of segregation,  $F(1, 75) = 2.29, p = .14$ , nor of sex,  $F(1, 75) = 1.84, p = .18$ , nor an interaction effect,  $F(1, 75) < 1, p = .53$ , was found. *Quality* of outgroup contact was not significantly affected by segregation either,  $F(1, 75) < 1, p = .58$ , while sex did have a main effect,  $F(1, 75) = 11.90, p < .005$ . Specifically, female respondents reported significantly more positive contact with outgroups ( $M = 4.90, SD = .70$ ) than male respondents ( $M = 4.50, SD = .77$ ). Further, there was a significant interaction effect on quality of contact,  $F(1, 75) = 5.39, p < .05$ . Boys at

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<sup>37</sup> Given that both subsamples have equally few Anglo friends, while the segregated sample has more Turkish and Muslim friends than the non-segregated subsample, this suggests that the non-segregated subsample has more non-Turkish, non-Muslim friends, that are not Anglo (e.g., other minority groups, such as Indian or Chinese Australians)

segregated schools rated the quality of outgroup contact higher than boys at non-segregated schools, while girls' data revealed the opposite pattern.

**Social identity related variables.** No main effects of segregation were found on strength of religious and ethnic identification,  $F(1, 72) < 1$ , *ns*. There was however a main effect of segregation on national identification that approached significance,  $F(1, 72) = 3.08$ ,  $p < .09$ . Respondents at segregated schools identified less strongly with being Australian ( $M = 5.03$ ,  $SD = 1.17$ ) compared to students at non-segregated schools ( $M = 5.46$ ,  $SD = 1.20$ ).<sup>38</sup> Further, an interaction effect was found on ethnic identification,  $F(1, 72) = 6.00$ ,  $p < .05$  and on religious identification (marginally),  $F(1, 72) = 3.03$ ,  $p < .09$ . Whereas girls in segregated schools scored higher on ethnic and religious identification compared to girls at non-segregated schools, boys showed the opposite pattern.

On average, SII of respondents at segregated schools was lower ( $M = 14.20$ ,  $SD = 3.65$ ) than SII among non-segregated respondents ( $M = 14.43$ ,  $SD = 5.59$ ). However, the main effect of segregation on SII was not significant,  $F(1, 72) = 2.02$ ,  $p = .16$ , nor was the effect of sex or the interaction effect, both  $F_s < 1$ ,  $p_s > .38$ . Similarly, no main effects were found on cognitive representations of one's social groups (similarity and compatibility measures), all  $F_s < 1.75$ , all  $p_s > .19$ , *ns*. There was a significant interaction effect on perceived compatibility between national and ethnic identities,  $F(1, 72) = 4.67$ ,  $p < .05$ , such that girls in segregated schools perceived lower compatibility between their national and ethnic identities as compared to girls in non-segregated schools, while the pattern was reversed for boys.

**Inclusion of outgroups in the self.** Respondents at segregated schools scored significantly lower on IOS ( $M = 3.54$ ,  $SD = 1.27$ ) than respondents at non-segregated schools

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<sup>38</sup> Nonetheless, levels of national identification were in both cases significantly above the midpoint of the scale.

( $M = 4.23$ ,  $SD = 1.35$ ),  $F(1, 72) = 7.01$ ,  $p < .05$ . No main effect of sex, nor an interaction effect on IOS was found,  $F_s < 1.24$ ,  $p_s > .23$ .

**Intergroup attitudes.** No main effect of segregation on attitudes towards triple ingroups and outgroups was found. There was a significant interaction effect on attitudes towards the triple ingroup,  $F(1, 72) = 4.19$ ,  $p < .05$ . Whereas girls in segregated schools scored higher on attitudes towards the triple ingroup, as compared to girls at non-segregated schools, boys showed the opposite pattern (for descriptives, see Table 4.8).

**Other variables.** No main effect of segregation and sex, nor interaction effects were found on collective esteem, experiences of discrimination, and wellbeing, all  $F_s < 1.51$ ,  $p_s > .22$ .

**Differences in SIS.** Due to the small size of the non-segregated subsample, meaningful comparisons in terms of SIS's between segregated and non-segregated adolescents were not possible.

Table 4.8

*Descriptives by Sex and Segregation Status of Variables for which Significant Interaction Effects Were Found*

Variable name		Boys	Girls
		<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>
Sample size	Non-segregated	7	24
	Segregated	30	17
Ethnic identification	Non-segregated	6.80 (.26)	6.13 (.90)
	Segregated	6.08 (1.01)	6.37 (.73)
Compatibility national - ethnic identities	Non-segregated	5.29 (1.11)	5.79 (1.47)
	Segregated	5.73 (1.38)	5.00 (1.58)
Quality of outgroup contact	Non-segregated	4.00 (1.08)	4.96 (.73)
	Segregated	4.58 (.68)	4.82 (.66)
Attitudes towards the triple ingroup	Non-segregated	91.90 (10.60)	85.90 (13.45)
	Segregated	79.64 (14.18)	90.29 (11.90)

#### **Research Question 4: Do the Data Suggest any Developmental Changes in Terms of Young People's Identification with (Multiple) Social Groups?**

The patterns of SII and SIS among the adolescents (in the current study) and the adults (in the previous study) appeared to be similar. However, this does not preclude the possibility of age-related shifts in SII and SIS at an earlier developmental stage. Hence, I examined SII and SIS during earlier years, among respondents residing in greater Melbourne, aged 12 to 18, at segregated and non-segregated schools ( $n = 80$ ; 39 boys, 41 girls). The distribution of age is shown in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9

*Breakdown of Sample by Age*

Age	Frequency	Valid Percent
12	6	7.5
13	4	5.0
14	6	7.5
15	16	20.0
16	28	35.0
17	18	22.5
18	2	2.5
Total	80	100.0

Upon splitting the file by age (group 1: age 12-15; group 2: age 16-18), mean differences on the variables of interest were assessed. Since the mean age of girls in this subsample ( $M = 15.12$ ,  $SD = 1.71$ ) was significantly lower than the mean age of boys ( $M = 15.85$ ,  $SD = 1.14$ ),  $t(78) = 2.23$ ,  $p < .05$ , a 2 (age group: young versus old) x 2 (sex: girl vs. boy) ANOVA was conducted.

No main effect of age was found on strength of identification with ethnic, religious and national ingroups, cognitive representations of one's social groups (similarity and compatibility measures), or contact related measures, (all  $F$ s  $< 1$ , ns). However, a significant main effect of age was found on SII, with respondents aged younger than 16 scoring lower on SII ( $M = 13.29$ ,  $SD = 2.53$ ) than respondents aged 16 or older ( $M = 15.02$ ,  $SD = 3.82$ ),  $F(1, 73) = 4.63$ ,  $p < .05$ .<sup>39</sup> No other main effects of age were found.

<sup>39</sup> To test for curvilinearity, the data were split by age into three groups ( $< 16$ ,  $= 16$ , and  $> 16$ ) and an ANOVA confirmed a gradual, significant increase of SII across the three age groups ( $M = 13.37$ ,  $SD = 2.54$ ;  $M = 14.30$ ,  $SD = 3.56$ ;  $M = 15.89$ ,  $SD = 4.04$ ),  $F(2, 77) = 3.45$ ,  $p < .05$ .

Also, a significant main effect of sex was found on ingroup friends,  $F(1, 73) = 5.91, p < .05$ , with female respondents reporting significantly lower proportions of ingroup friends ( $M = 4.32, SD = 1.34$ ) compared to male respondents ( $M = 4.86, SD = .83$ ). Further, there was a significant interaction effect between age and sex on ingroup friends,  $F(1, 73) = 6.32, p < .05$ . Within the younger age category ( $< 16$  years), boys reported significantly more ingroup friends than girls; however, this difference did not occur in the older age group ( $> = 16$  years).

### **Discussion**

The aim of the current study was threefold. First, I wanted to examine SII and SIS in a sample of Turkish Australian Muslim students at a school where their ethnic, religious and national group memberships were highly convergent. I expected the overall level of SII among this sample to be lower than among Turkish Australian Muslim students at non-segregated schools. Contrary to this prediction, no significant differences in SII between segregated and non-segregated samples were found.

In terms of SIS, I anticipated the majority of SIS's of students at segregated schools to be drawn solely from ethnic and/or religious ingroups (with intersection structures in highest frequency) while national ingroups would be fully included only by a minority. Contrary to expectations, only 6.1% of students at segregated schools adopted an intersection SIS, while the majority (93.9 %) of students expanded their SIS to include at least one fully inclusive ingroup. Specifically, the religious ingroup was fully included by 81.5% of the students, 54.3% expanded their ethnic ingroup beyond religious and national borders, and 40.7% integrated a fully inclusive national ingroup, including fellow Australians who were neither Turkish, nor Muslim.

The second aim of the study was to assess the relationships between SII and other variables that were shown in the previous study to be either conceptually or theoretically

related. Similar to the findings of the previous study with an adult sample, a positive correlation between SII and IOS was found among the segregated student sample. Further, SII was a strong positive predictor of attitudes towards a range of outgroups for the student sample as had been found for the adult sample.

The third and final aim of this study was to examine developmental differences in SII and SIS. Comparing adolescents up to 15 years of age with those between 16 and 18 years of age, a significantly higher SII was found among the older group. I will now discuss each of these findings, address study limitations, and conclude with a general discussion of Study 1 and Study 2.

### **SII and SIS in a Segregated Sample of Turkish Australian Muslims**

The aim of assessing SII and SIS within a segregated school environment was to assess if and how an environment with an objectively high overlap between one's multiple ingroups would be reflected in the subjective representation of one's ingroup. The students interviewed at the segregated schools did not only objectively belong to the same three groups, they also self-categorized in terms of these groups, and generally identified very strongly with their belonging to each of these groups. In addition, they shared the same major socialization context. Indeed, both the segregated school in Sydney and in Melbourne were founded by the same Turkish-Muslim community organisation, adhered to the same ideological belief systems, embraced the same mission and vision statements, and were attended by comparably high proportions of Turkish and Muslim students. The extremely low ratio of Anglo Australian students at segregated schools was reflected in the overall few Anglo friendships that participants at these schools reported to have, and the high number of Turkish and Muslim students was in line with the high proportions of ingroup friends. This congruence in school composition and individual friendships suggests the school to be a major context in which friendships develop. The high emphasis at these schools on both

religious and cultural practices, were mirrored in the high levels of religious and ethnic identification among the students. The objectively high overlap between ethnic, religious and national group memberships within the school boundaries were reflected in high perceived compatibility between each pair of identities.

It is striking that, despite the high convergence between multiple ingroups at the school, the high ratio of Turkish and Muslim friends among students' social networks, and their almost invariably high levels of identification with ethnic, religious, and national ingroups, SII and SIS varied widely among the segregated sample. Students were found to adopt SIS's ranging from intersections between multiple groups, to dominance, merger, and egalitarian structures. In total, 11 different structures were identified. Interestingly, a vast majority of students' (93.9%) ingroup perceptions were an expansion of the objective social reality of the school, and incorporated at least one fully inclusive social group. More than 80% of the students expanded their ingroup perceptions to include a fully inclusive religious ingroup. They not only perceived fellow Muslims who were also Turkish and Australian to be part of their ingroup, but also included Muslims who were not Turkish and/or Australian (e.g., a Muslim citizen of Pakistan, or a converted Anglo Muslim from the UK). This percentage demonstrates a remarkable ability of young people to take up fully inclusive social identities, *without* necessary direct exposure to individuals who belong to some, but not all of one's important groups.

While the ability to move beyond the convergent school environment to adopt fully inclusive ingroup representations was strongly demonstrated by religious ingroup representations, this was much less the case for representations of the national ingroup, fully included only by 40.7% of the students. In other words, the majority (59.3%) of students' subjective ingroup representations did *not* include majority, Anglo and other Christian Australians, but consisted solely of ethnic and/or religious ingroup members (either



intersection, dominance or merger structures). This may be explained by the underrepresentation of majority, Anglo and other Christian Australians within these schools. The lack of Anglo and Christian students at the school may render the non-convergence between participants' minority group memberships and national group membership less salient. This could explain why most students perceived their group memberships as highly compatible, and yet almost two thirds excluded majority members from their ingroup (majority Anglo and other ethnic Christian Australians were simply not perceived as fellow Australians).

Nonetheless, daily living in Australia should create plenty of opportunity for minorities to become aware of non-convergent national ingroup members. In fact, opportunity for contact with non-convergent *national* ingroup members (e.g., an encounter with an Anglo Australian in public spaces) should be greater than with non-convergent *religious* ingroup members (e.g., a Pakistani Muslim living in Pakistan, or an Anglo converted Muslim living in the UK). Yet, although awareness of non-convergence between groups may facilitate identification with these non-convergent others (in this case, Anglo, Christian Australians), awareness does not *equal* identification, and thus factors other than simple awareness may have impacted on students' subjective ingroup representations. One such important factor in the current study was the amount and quality of contact with Anglos and non-Muslims. More and more meaningful contact, such as friendships, was related to more inclusive identities. The overall low level of outgroup friendships among the segregated sample may thus have contributed to less than half of the students endorsing a fully inclusive national identity.

To further explore the role of student composition of schools and contact with Anglo, non-Muslim others in the development of students' cognitive representations of their ingroup, I compared Turkish Australian Muslim students' ingroup representations at segregated

schools with those at non-religiously segregated schools. Surprisingly, no differences in perceived compatibility or SII were found between these two samples. This is particularly striking, given the large difference between segregated and non-segregated school environments, not only in terms of ethnic and religious composition, but also in terms of culture, norms, and values. Differences were found, however, on measures of national identification and IOS, which were higher among students at non-segregated schools.

A closer examination of the contact related variables may provide an explanation as to why SII did not differ as a function of school segregation. Indeed, both subsamples reported equally few Anglo friends, and similar levels of quantity and quality of outgroup contact. Despite the assumed greater *opportunity* to befriend Anglo students at non-segregated schools, the lived *experience* of students at these schools was very similar to that of the segregated school adolescents. This could be explained by an incongruence between *opportunity* for outgroup contact and *actual* contact reported by students at mixed schools. Such discrepancy has been shown by previous research suggesting that people prefer to befriend others who are similar to themselves along multiple dimensions (Hallinan & Williams, 1987; Tuma & Hallinan, 1979). However, because no data on the ethnic and religious composition of the non-segregated schools were collected, it is not possible to deduce whether there was incongruence between opportunity and actual contact. It may be that Anglo students were equally scarce at non-segregated schools, and students' reported outgroup contact and friendships with Anglos reflected the actual availability of intergroup contact. Future studies should record the ethnic and religious composition of both segregated and non-segregated schools, in order to further examine the relationship between school composition and young peoples' perceptions of their multiple ingroups.

In sum, these findings suggest broad individual differences in how minority group adolescents develop a sense of belonging. These differences were apparent despite

controlling for their ethnic, national and religious group memberships, and the major socialisation context of a religiously segregated school. The limited role of the immediate context in predicting levels of SII and SIS was also suggested by the lack of differences in SII between religiously segregated and non-segregated schools.

Nonetheless, the reported quantity and quality of contact with outgroup members did relate positively to SII, independent of school context. Given that outgroup contact may be a function of the context (to what extent does the context provide opportunity for contact) and the individual (to what extent does one engage with people belonging to different groups), the level of SII is likely to be the result of an interaction between individual and contextual factors, rather than the mere product of the immediate environment.

Importantly, the majority of the young people at segregated schools integrated at least one fully inclusive group in their ingroup perceptions, expanding their subjective ingroup representations despite an objectively high overlapping school context. In addition to direct exposure and contact with non-convergent group members, other contextual factors that were not measured in this study may enhance the integration of such inclusive social identities. Some possible examples observed at the segregated schools include fundraising events to support Muslims in other countries who were victim of natural disaster (e.g. Pakistani Muslims after the 2013 earthquake), teachings about shared history with Turkey and its citizens, and media exposure to Australians with different ethnic and religious backgrounds. Future research is needed to identify which contextual factors contribute to the formation of highly inclusive social identities, and specifically, the integration of fully inclusive national identities, in the subjective ingroup representations of minority group members.

### **SII and Related Variables**

The strong positive relationship between SII and IOS supports the validity of assessing SII in a sample of young people. No significant relationships between SII and

compatibility/similarity measures were obtained, however. Nonetheless, the compatibility and similarity measures are cognitively complex, abstract tasks.<sup>40</sup> Less abstract, age-appropriate measures may have been a better alternative to assess the convergent validity of SII among a younger sample. Importantly, the positive relationship between SII and outgroup attitudes was shown to be robust, to exist beyond the dimensions on which SII was assessed, and over and above self-reported outgroup contact and identification with each category separately.

### **Age Related Differences in SII**

A significantly higher SII was found among older adolescents (aged 16-18) compared to younger adolescents (aged 12-15). No such positive correlation between SII and age was found among the adult sample of the previous study. The formation of a more complex social identity thus appears to be a process taking place during adolescence. What would drive this increased inclusiveness in adolescents as they age? The absence of a significant change in *strength* of identification with all three categories suggests that it is not the importance of belonging to these groups that increases. Young adolescents found it equally important to be Turkish, Muslim, and Australian, as older adolescents. While the *claim* to each identity remained unaltered, the *meaning* of the identities appears to change among older adolescents, with a shift in the representation of the ingroup associated with these identities. This shift could not be explained by alterations in the immediate social network, since no differences were found in contact related variables. One valid explanation is offered by work that focuses on general social-cognitive development in adolescents. Indeed, developmental research has marked adolescence as an important period for development of the socially integrated self-concept (e.g., Sebastian, Burnett, & Blakemore, 2008). Integrating an increasing number of self-dimensions into an increasingly complex self has been identified as a main

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<sup>40</sup> See Appendix E for exact instructions for these measures

developmental task for adolescence (Harter, 1999, 2003). During adolescence, intra-individual developmental changes in the self take place through cognitive developmental processes of differentiation and integration (see Amiot, de la Sablonniere, Terry, & Smith, 2007). In other words, younger adolescents may not yet have fully acquired the cognitive skill to be simultaneously *aware* of their multiple group memberships and *identify* with others on the basis of these multiple group memberships, resulting in more integrated, inclusive ingroup perceptions. This cognitive developmental account also fits the finding that the increased inclusiveness was *not* accompanied with increased positivity towards outgroups (ruling out motivational factors).

### **City and Gender Differences**

Interestingly, students at the segregated school in Sydney scored higher on SII and IOS, and were more positive towards outgroups, compared to students at the segregated school in Melbourne. These differences were present while controlling for sex and age, while both groups had equal levels of outgroup contact, and no other differences in identification measures were found. Although this city difference suggests that SII may indeed be, at least to some extent, a product of the social context, it is not clear which context played a role (e.g., the school itself, or the city more broadly), and how.

No gender-related differences in SII and SIS were found. Female participants at segregated schools did however identify more strongly with being Australian, they felt closer to Anglo and Christian individuals and they were generally more positive towards triple outgroups than their male counterparts. Whether these differences were indeed attributable to sex, is however unclear, since the female participants were recruited from campuses separate from the male campuses.

## **Study Limitations**

Although the current study provides valuable insights in multiple social identities in a specific community sample, it is important to use caution in interpreting the findings.

Generalizations from these findings to whole communities, or school systems, cannot be made, due to several limitations in the sampling process. For instance, although information and consent forms were distributed among all students at the segregated schools, only those students for whom parental consent was obtained, were able to take part in the study. There are a range of factors that could influence whether a potential participant would hand back the parental consent (ranging from parental factors as conscientiousness or engagement, to factors in the adolescent themselves, to factors related to the teacher, who handed out the forms) and all these factors could have reduced the representativeness of the sample. As for the non-segregated subsample, respondents were recruited via a Turkish language Saturday school. Although this provided relatively easy access to Turkish Muslim students from a range of non-segregated schools, there could be something specific about those young people who attend a Turkish language class that makes the non-segregated subsample less representative.

To get to the heart of the differences in SII and SIS between segregated and non-segregated school samples, larger samples are needed, drawn from more representative participant pools, and controlling for potential confounds on micro-, mezzo- and macro level (e.g., suburb, city, school composition, nation). By incorporating an assessment on the level of the school, community and city, the role of the social context in SII and SIS could also be studied more clearly. Such multi-level analyses could, for instance, help explain potential city differences in SII, as were identified in the current data set. Further studies using random sampling techniques instead of convenience sampling would also enable assessment of gender differences in identification and outgroup attitudes more thoroughly, while ruling out

confounds in the environment that were inherent in this study (i.e., separate campuses for boys and girls).

## **Conclusion**

To sum up, the current study demonstrates meaningful individual differences in subjective ingroup representations. Despite sampling from a very specific community group, controlling for three objective group memberships, self-categorisations in terms of these group memberships, and objective overlap between these groups in an important context (the school), I found broad individual differences in how young Turkish Muslims cognitively represented their ingroup. Moreover, a vast majority was able to integrate fully inclusive groups in their ingroup perceptions, beyond the highly convergent context of the school. The school composition seemed to play only a minor role in shaping these ingroup representations. Indeed, when comparing segregated with non-segregated subsamples, no differences in SII were found. The lack of a significant difference in inclusiveness across two very different school environments, challenges a commonly held belief about religiously segregated schools. Indeed, while some argue that the emphasis on students' religious identity and traditions at segregated schools may negatively impact on feelings of belonging within the nation as a whole, no such effect was found.

Inclusiveness in Turkish Australian Muslim adolescents seems to be influenced by their individual motivations and tendencies to seek outgroup contact. Contextual factors other than exposure to non-convergent others may further enhance the integration of fully inclusive identities. Further, findings suggest the formation of a more integrated social self to be task completed during adolescence. The extent to which adolescents were able to integrate their group memberships into an inclusive identity predicted their feelings towards a range of groups. Social psychological interventions aimed at increasing SII may thus be of particular benefit when they are tailored to adolescents.

## General Discussion

The findings of Study 1 and Study 2 highlight the existence of broad individual differences in how ethnic and religious minority group members construct their social identities. Adult and adolescent Turkish Australian Muslims constructed their ingroup identities subjectively in many different ways, both in terms of content and in terms of inclusiveness.

Most studies that have tried to capture individual differences in identity strategies or structures have assessed this by combining separate identification measures for ethnic and national identity (e.g., if identification is high on both, this would be categorized as dual identity). They apply an orthogonal model of social identities (cf. Berry's model), and hence are only able to specify four distinct strategies based on identification with the host and the home culture. This orthogonal approach fails to capture the perceived inclusiveness of the ingroup and the distinct structures that emerge when applying a cross-cutting model. Indeed, with only three dimensions of social categorisation, we found evidence for eight distinct social identity structures that were replicated across both studies. Ethnic-religious intersection, ethnic dominant, religious dominant, national dominant, ethnic-national merger, ethnic-religious merger, triple merger and egalitarian structures were represented among our participants across both studies. The distinct identity structures that emerge from conceptualizing ingroups as cross-cutting would not have been captured by orthogonal or hierarchical approaches that are used in most acculturation studies (e.g., Baysu, Phalet, & Brown, 2011; Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009).

The traditional orthogonal approach also fails to capture the internal representation of each group label in the perceiver's mind. If a participant reports relatively strong identification with being Australian and being Turkish, does that mean that he or she endorses a true 'dual identity'? Would he or she also identify with Australians who do not



share the same ethnic group? The TCCT allows us to assess where participants draw their social identity from in terms of content. In both studies, a large share of the participants drew their social identities from their ethnic and/or religious identity. The particular content of the ingroup representation as measured by the TCCT shows a different picture from the one provided by Likert-scale items for strength of identification. This is illustrated in both studies, as strength of national identification was found to be significantly above the scale midpoint for two groups who nonetheless differed in their SIS's in a crucial way—they either systematically included or excluded non-Turkish (Anglo), non-Muslim Australians. In other words, even those participants who excluded all non-Muslim, Anglo Australians from their ingroup, indicated high levels of national identification. This finding further attests to the importance to distinguish between the level of commitment or strength of identification with a given category, and the subjective representation or content of that category, when studying multiple social identities.

Support for the meaningfulness of SII as an individual difference variable comes from the nomological network of variables that were found to be related to SII. Across both studies, intergroup contact was associated with SII, expanding the psychological borders that separate “us” from “them”. Moreover, across both studies, SII was associated with higher inclusion of religious and ethnic outgroups in the self, further attesting to the convergent validity of SII. Importantly, in both studies, SII was found to be a strong positive predictor of attitudes towards a range of outgroups, including remote outgroups with whom contact would be rare. SII thus does not only seem to reflect where one defines one's place in society, it also appears to have significant consequences with respect to one's affective responses to other social groups. Moreover, SII was the only social identity related measure that predicted outgroup attitudes consistently across both studies. No such consistent relationship was found between strength of identification with any of the three specific ingroups, and outgroup

attitudes. The lack of a consistent correlation between identification with a specific ingroup or outgroup attitudes is in line with the weak and unstable associations that have been found in much previous correlational research (e.g., Hinkle & Brown, 1990; Mullen, Brown, & Smith, 1992). Assessing social identity related variables that go beyond one's attachment to single group memberships may therefore provide a viable alternative in studying the link between social identity and intergroup attitudes. Understanding the development of SII and SIS, and identifying factors both within and surrounding the individual that impact on SII and SIS, thus can lead to important insights in minority identity as well as intergroup relations.

The broad variety in SII and SIS within a very *specific* sample in a *specific* context supports the idiosyncratic nature of dealing with multiple, potentially conflicting identities at a time. In order for individuals to experience a sense of continuous belonging and to reduce uncertainty in today's increasingly complex societies, social identities, and in particular those social identities that are important to the individual, have to have a certain degree of continuity. This holds particularly for members of ethnic and religious minorities, as they continuously encounter others from different religious and ethnic backgrounds, rendering self-categorisations on these dimensions chronically accessible (Hogg et al., 2004; McGuire, McGuire, Child, & Fujioka, 1978). Moreover, self-categorisations on national, religious and ethnic dimensions are, for minority members, potentially conflicting and often entail risks and stressful experiences such as discrimination and stigmatization. Given this potential for conflict and stress, rather than an enduring constructing and reconstructing of psychological borders between ingroup and outgroup across different situations, minority members are likely to develop a rather stable social categorisation mechanism. Segmenting the often conflicting, multifaceted perceptual environment into "us" and "them" based on stable categorisation criteria that reflect one's own ingroup identity would render it coherent, personally meaningful and less stressful. With SIS I refer to this consistent anchor for social

categorisation and belonging. In other words, a person's SIS would enable them to establish a sense of continuity grounded in the complex social world, and to define where one exactly belongs in a complex and diverse society.

Nonetheless, social identities are not formed in a social vacuum. Individuals construct identities within certain social contexts. Study 2 examined whether SII and SIS differed as a function of a specific socialization context (i.e., the segregated or non-segregated nature of schools). While a major socialization context – the school – was not found to be related to double minority adolescents' formation of SII and SIS, this could be attributed to within-school segregation, even at schools that were not segregated along ethnic or religious lines as a whole. To further flesh out the potential role of the immediate context on individuals' subjective ingroup representations, I conducted experiments in which I presented participants with a threat or reassurance to one of their minority identities, and examined the effects of threat on SII and SIS. These studies are presented in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.

## CHAPTER 5: SII AND SIS IN A CONTEXT OF RELIGIOUS IDENTITY THREAT VERSUS REASSURANCE

People who belong to ethnic and religious minority groups are likely to be chronically aware of these minority group memberships. Their minority status on these social dimensions increases the salience of their group memberships, and as a consequence, their self-categorisations on these dimensions are prone to becoming chronically accessible (Hogg et al., 2004). This is evidenced by a growing body of research finding that minority group memberships indeed are prominent features in self-definitions (e.g., Fleischmann, 2010; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007).

Given that ethnic and religious minorities deal with simultaneously salient social group memberships such as nationality, religion and ethnicity on a daily basis, I argued that they should develop a rather stable level of SII and more or less enduring social identity structures. Following this rationale, I assessed SII and SIS in the preceding studies as idiosyncratic constructs – markers of individual differences in dealing with multiple group memberships. The findings indeed showed that participants, despite sharing membership in three specific social groups, varied widely in how they combined these group memberships in their social self. That these individual differences were meaningful was shown by their relationship with outgroup attitudes. Subjective ingroup construals predicted how participants felt towards people from other social groups, including distant groups with whom participants were unlikely to have contact.

The idea that the broader societal context, and the position of minority groups therein, contributes to relatively stable ingroup construals in minority group members, however, does not imply that these are stagnant, fixed variables that are immutable over time or situations. Factors in the *immediate* context can alter the salience and content of certain social group memberships, which in turn may affect who one perceives to be part of “us”. The immediate

context dependency of social identity is a central feature of Self Categorisation Theory (Turner, 1985), and has been demonstrated by numerous studies. For instance, social identification, or *strength* of association with a certain social group, has been shown to vary under various conditions in the immediate context, such as threat (Jetten, Branscombe, Schmitt, & Spears, 2001), cognitive load, and mood (Urban & Miller, 1998). Immediate context dependency of the *content* of social identity has been studied as well. For instance, Doosje and colleagues demonstrated how perceptions of the ingroup change, depending on which comparison group serves as a frame of reference (Doosje, Haslam, Spears, Oakes, & Koomen, 1998).

Most studies of “on the spot” malleability in terms of *strength* or *content* of social identity have limited their focus to one single group membership. In the current study, I aimed to expand the empirical lens to include multiple ingroups. Are subjective construals of the combination of multiple group memberships, influenced by more immediate social contextual factors, and if so, how?

One such immediate social contextual factor that may influence self-definitions of minorities is a threat to the perceived value of one or more group identities (see Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, and Doosje, 1999). Indeed, minority members have been found to respond in a number of ways to a threat to their group image by an outgroup (also defined as “group esteem threat”; see Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006). They may suffer from a decrease in their collective self-esteem (Branscombe, Spears, Ellemers, & Doosje, 2002), distance themselves from their ingroup (Mullen, Brown, & Smith, 1992), or alternatively increase their commitment to the group while trying to maintain a positive group image by derogating the outgroup that poses the threat (Branscombe et al., 2002), or even other outgroups (Leach, Spears, Branscombe, & Doosje, 2003).

Although group esteem threat has been shown to affect the minority identity that is the target of threat in various ways, it is not clear how it affects minorities' thoughts and feelings about their *multiple* groups. Roccas & Brewer (2002) showed that ingroup threat led participants to perceive their multiple ingroups as more similar and overlapping – to lower social identity complexity – a relationship that was confirmed in two surveys in the context of Northern Ireland (Schmid, Hewstone, Tausch, Cairns, & Hughes, 2009). How an immediate threat impacts on peoples' *identification* with cross-cutting ingroups, however, is unclear.

The relationship between group esteem threat and minorities' identification with multiple groups is highly relevant to current multicultural societies. In particular, in Western countries, Muslim minorities are often confronted with negative presentations of their religious ingroup by fellow, non-Muslim citizens. Claims of the incompatibility between Muslim and national group memberships have been part of the public debate on immigration in many Western countries, asserting that it is impossible to be both Muslim and a loyal citizen. The perceived irreconcilability has been fed further by debates that aim to define national identity by contrasting it with immigration (e.g., the national identity debate initiative by former president Nicolas Sarkozy, France, 2009) and announcements about how multiculturalism has “utterly failed” (e.g., Angela Merkel, Germany, October 2010). Other, more concrete examples of threats to Islamic identity are the ban of the head scarf in public schools (e.g., the “veil law” passed in France in 2004), publications of cartoons linking Islam with terrorism (e.g., cartoons of prophet Muhammed in Danish newspaper “Jyllands-Posten”, September 2005), and the rise of political parties endorsing an explicit anti-Islamic agenda (e.g., Party for Freedom, the Netherlands; Rise Up, Australia).

The claimed incompatibility between national and Muslim group memberships increases the perceived “Otherness” of Muslims, hereby undermining Muslims' belonging to the wider society (Dunn, Klocker, & Salabay, 2007). Group esteem threats to Muslim identity

are therefore likely to impact simultaneously on Muslim minority's religious *and* national identities. In addition, one's sense of ethnic identity may be altered as well, as it may provide an alternative source of belonging in a context where other sources of social identity are under threat. Given the relevance of religious group esteem threat for Muslim minorities in many Western countries, I decided to examine the consequences of this particular threat for one's combined ingroup identity, as measured by SII and SIS, as well as strength of social identification, cognitive, attitudinal and behavioural responses, in a sample of Turkish-Australian adult Muslims.

### **Hypotheses**

The primary aim of Study 3 was to examine whether and how minority members alter their subjective ingroup representations and the strength of identification with their multiple groups when the value of one of their important minority groups is called into question. Specifically, again sampling from the Turkish-Australian Muslim community, I wanted to examine how stable Turkish-Australian Muslims are in their perceptions of their combined ingroups under conditions of an immediate religious group esteem *threat* versus *reassurance*. In addition, I wanted to assess consequences other than social identification, such as evaluations and behavioural intentions towards in-and outgroups.

### **Predictions Related to Social Identity**

Previous research has shown how group esteem threat can either lead people to decrease or increase their identification with the threatened ingroup (e.g., Branscombe & Ellemers, 1998; Mullen, Brown, & Smith, 1992), as a function of their pre-existing individual levels of identification with the group under threat (Doosje, Spears, & Ellemers, 2001). While low identifiers are more likely to distance themselves from the group that is depicted negatively, highly identifying group members will respond to threat with increased commitment to the group. Such heightened group identification has been found to protect

against the potential harm of threat on group-based esteem (Jetten, Branscombe, Schmitt, & Spears, 2001). Research has found support for increased group identification upon identity threats (such as experiences of discrimination) among various minority groups, such as women, and African Americans (e.g., Cozzarelli & Karafa, 1998; Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999). Given the minority status of the identity under threat, and considering the high levels of religious identification among Turkish Australian Muslim participants in Study 1 and 2, I expected the strength of identification with their religious ingroup to increase upon threat.

In addition to the degree of commitment to one's ingroup, perceptions of that ingroup can change following group esteem threat. Again, how perceptions are altered upon threat has been shown to be a function of identification. While low identifiers tend to emphasize the heterogeneity within the group when that group is depicted negatively, for people who feel strongly attached to their ingroup, perceptions of this ingroup become more homogenous under conditions of threat (Doosje, Ellemers, & Spears, 1995; Doosje, Spears, Ellemers, & Koomen, 1999). Similarly, research has shown how manipulations that threaten participants along dimensions that are important to their identities, increase perceptions of ingroup homogeneity (Hutchison, Jetten, Christian, & Haycraft, 2006; Hogg, Sherman, Dierselhuis, Maitner, & Moffitt, 2006), and affect processes even as basic as face recognition (Wilson & Hugenberg, 2010). In the current study I examined whether and how negative depictions of one's ingroup alter perceptions of one's *combined* ingroup identity. Given the overall strong attachment of Turkish-Australian Muslims to their religious identity, as the data in Study 1 and Study 2 suggest, I expected religious identity threat to elicit elevated levels of ingroup homogeneity, and this increased homogeneity would be reflected in lower SII. A less inclusive social identity may increase the sense of a well-defined, coherent ingroup, thereby protecting the individual against social identity threat. In contrast, perceptions of religious



ingroup reassurance were expected to lead individuals to loosen ingroup membership criteria, resulting in higher SII. In more concrete terms, SII was expected to be significantly lower in the threat condition and significantly higher in the reassurance condition than in the control condition.

I also expected the perception of ingroup threat versus reassurance to affect participants' SIS. Previous studies have shown how people assert greater distinctiveness of their important social groups when these are threatened (Spears, Doosje, & Ellemers, 1999). Similarly, an ingroup identity threat may, because of an increased need for certainty and distinctiveness, make individuals more likely to divide the social world in *us* and *them* on the basis of membership in a single ingroup category; in other words, to adopt a dominance SIS. Adopting a more simplified strategy in categorising others would enhance certainty and accelerate categorisation processes, as identification would be based on a single social dimension (one particular membership criterion). This would enable simple, quick distinctions between us and them. Participants who were threatened were therefore expected to endorse dominance structures more often compared to participants in the control condition. Moreover, I predicted that the proportion of dominance structures would be higher in the threat than in the reassurance condition, which would suggest that the expected difference between the threat and control condition was not merely due to heightened religious ingroup salience.

In addition to examining which structures emerged upon threat, I explored the particular content from which these structures were constituted. Mussweiler, Gabriel and Bodenhausen (2000) found that, when the ingroup is depicted negatively, people may shift their self-definition to another identity. Building on this finding, I explored whether a religious dominance structure would prevail in the threat condition, or whether participants

would strategically shift to an ethnic or national dominance structure as a protective strategy to reduce the negative implications of group esteem threat on self-esteem.

Participants in the reassurance condition, on the other hand, were expected to be more likely to combine fully inclusive social identities in their ingroup construal – and hence to identify with others on the basis of multiple, combined ingroup identities. Specifically, a higher proportion of merger SIS's was expected in the reassurance condition as compared to the control condition.

### **Predictions Related to Other Cognitive/Perceptual Processes**

In addition to social identity related processes, I examined cognitive or perceptual processes potentially affected by religious identity threat. Specifically, I expected perceptions of the outgroup as a whole to become less positive upon threat. Perceptions of the ingroup, however, were expected to become more positive, as a protective strategy against the potential harmful effects of group esteem threat. Moreover, I predicted that perceptions of the ingroup on the specific dimension that was threatened would become more positive. Specifically, participants were expected to perceive integration of Muslims in Australia as more successful under threat compared to reassurance. Reasserting the ingroup on the dimension that is threatened by an outgroup may serve as a strategy to protect one's collective self-esteem from being harmed (Tajfel & Turner, 1978).

I also predicted that perceptions of similarity between the ingroup (Turkish Australians) on the one hand, and the source identity (Anglo Australian) on the other hand, would decrease upon threat. Cognitively distancing the ingroup from the threatening outgroup would provide another identity protective mechanism following threat. Religious identity reassurance, however, was expected to affect perceived similarity in the opposite direction, that is, participants in the reassurance condition were expected to perceive the

ingroup as more similar to Anglo Australians, compared to participants in the control condition.

### **Predictions Related to Attitudes towards the Outgroup**

Finally, I investigated protective/restorative identity strategies other than identification and cognitive/perceptual processes that people may engage under conditions of ingroup threat. Specifically, intergroup attitudes and behavioural intentions were examined. Many studies have demonstrated a positive link between identity threat and intergroup bias (for a review, see Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006). Increasing intergroup bias would provide a means to restore positive ingroup identity upon threat. Participants in the threat condition were therefore expected to show higher affective differentiation between ingroup and outgroup – in other words, increased intergroup bias. Concretely, they were expected to demonstrate more positive attitudes towards triple ingroupers (targets who are Turkish-Australian Muslim) and more negative attitudes towards the outgroup to whom the source of threat belonged (non-Turkish, non-Muslim Australians), compared to participants in the control condition. To examine whether the increase in negative attitudes would be specifically targeted at the source identity (i.e. non-Turkish, non-Muslim Australians), or would represent a more generalized distancing from outgroups, attitudes towards triple outgroups were analysed as well. In addition, it was predicted that participants in the threat condition would be less willing to engage in cooperative intergroup behaviour than participants in the reassurance condition.

## **Method**

### **Participants and Design**

Data were collected from an Australian-Turkish community sample residing in greater Sydney (N = 143). Participants were recruited via community organisations and passive snowballing. Participation was voluntary, and took place on the sites of the community

organisations, in a space separate from any ongoing community activities. Twelve participants who did not fulfil all inclusion criteria (Australian citizenship, Turkish ethnicity, Muslim, age 18+) were excluded from the data analysis, as well as nine participants who did not fulfil the categorisation task (i.e. who did not discriminate in terms of categorisation and thermometer ratings)<sup>41</sup>, resulting in a final sample size of 122 (63 males, 59 females; age range: 18-80,  $M_{\text{age}} = 37.36$ ,  $SD = 15.18$ ).

Participants were allocated to one of three conditions<sup>42</sup>: a threat condition (in which the religious ingroup identity was threatened,  $n = 43$ ), a reassurance condition (reassuring the religious ingroup identity,  $n = 39$ ) and a control condition ( $n = 40$ ).

## **Materials and Procedure**

First, participants were asked to fill in a paper-and-pen questionnaire. Then they were asked to read a bogus newspaper article, as part of another so-called unrelated study on memory and information processing, to which questions would follow in a later phase. In the threat and reassurance conditions, the author asserted that integration of Muslims in Australia had failed or had been successful, respectively. In the control condition, the article covered a topic that was irrelevant to the religious ingroup. Subsequently, participants were asked to complete the TCCT (providing measures of SII, SIS, attitudes, and intergroup bias) and finally to fill out a second questionnaire. All materials and measures are reported below in the order in which they were assessed.<sup>43</sup>

- **Questionnaire 1.**

**Demographics.** Participants were asked to report their gender, age, country of birth, number of years lived in Australia, level of education, nationality, ethnic background,

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<sup>41</sup> The number of participants who did not fulfil the categorisation task did not significantly differ across conditions ( $n = 3$  in all conditions; all  $X = .01$ ,  $p > .90$ )

<sup>42</sup> The condition to which participants was allocated was predetermined by an alternating sequence that was matched to participant numbers. The experimenter strictly adhered to this alternation method, and did not consult the list until after participants had consented.

<sup>43</sup> A copy of the questionnaires that were used, is attached as Appendix G

religion, suburb, political preference, sports fandom, occupation, and community organisations that they were a member of.

***Social identification.*** After filling out their group memberships, participants were asked how important it was for them to be a member of this group, on a scale from 1, *not at all*, to 7, *very much* (e.g., “Being male is an important part of who I am”). Strength of identification with each of these groups was measured to assess their importance relative to the categories included in the TCCT, and was assessed on the following dimensions: gender, nationality, ethnicity, religion, suburb, political preference, sports fandom, occupation, and community organisation.

***Ingroup friends.*** The extent to which the close network of friends contained fellow Turkish and Muslim others was assessed by the same two-item scale that was used in Study 1 and 2 ( $r = .67, p < .001$ ).

***Quantity of outgroup contact*** was measured using the same two-item scale as in Study 1 ( $r = .50, p < .001$ ).

***Quality of outgroup contact*** was assessed by the same two-item scale as in Study 1 ( $r = .61, p < .001$ ).

***Perceived Overlap.*** Participants’ subjective estimates of overlap between their multiple groups was assessed by asking them to rate on a scale from 0, *none*, to 7, *all*, how many people in group X are also member of group Y (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Overlap was assessed between the following groups: suburb – ethnicity (e.g., “Please think of residents of your suburb in general. How many of them would you say are Turkish?”), suburb – religion, ethnicity – religion, and religion – ethnicity. The scores on these four items were collapsed into a single scale of perceived overlap. This scale was included to examine if it moderated the effects of the manipulation on SII.

**Bogus newspaper articles.** Three single paged editorials were created, containing

statements that were either: i) threatening (“*Integration of Muslims has failed*”), ii) reassuring (“*Muslim integration into Australian society has been particularly successful*”), or iii) irrelevant to participants’ religious identities (“*Bananas will soon become the first choice snackfood of all Australians*”).<sup>44</sup> The articles were made to look like published articles in the *Sydney Morning Herald*<sup>45</sup>.

The threatening and reassuring bogus newspaper articles were piloted on a sample of Turkish Australian Muslims ( $n = 21$ ). Independent sample  $t$ -tests showed that participants who read the threatening article, evaluated the author’s opinion on the integration of Muslims as more negative ( $M = 1.50, SD = 1.07$ ) compared to participants who read the reassuring article ( $M = 5.38, SD = 1.33$ ),  $t(19) = -6.99, p < .001$ . Further, the author’s attitude toward the Muslim community in Australia was evaluated more negatively in the threat condition ( $M = 1.63, SD = 1.19$ ) than in the reassurance condition ( $M = 5.54, SD = 1.45$ ),  $t(19) = -6.41, p < .001$ .

Perceived threat of the articles was measured by two items (“How threatening do you find the content of this article to you as a Muslim?”) and a reverse-scored item (“How reassuring do you find the content of this article to you as a Muslim?”). These two items were collapsed into a reliable two-item index for perceived threat ( $r = .68, p < .001$ ). Participants who read the threatening article reported a significantly higher degree of perceived threat ( $M = 5.88, SD = 1.43$ ) than participants who read the reassuring article ( $M = 2.50, SD = 1.35$ ),  $t(19) = 5.43, p < .001$ . Moreover, perceived threat in the threat condition was significantly higher than the scales’ midpoint (4),  $t(7) = 3.70, p < .01$ , and significantly lower than the midpoint in the reassurance condition,  $t(12) = -3.99, p < .005$ . Participants who read the threat article reported that they felt significantly less happy, more irritable and more angry

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<sup>44</sup> See Appendix H for a copy of the editorials

<sup>45</sup> The Sydney Morning Herald is a daily compact newspaper published by Fairfax Media in Sydney and the oldest continuously published newspaper in Australia (Lagan & Bernard, n.d.)

while reading the article compared to participants who read the reassuring article,  $t(13) = -4.58, p < .001$ ,  $t(14) = 2.97, p < .05$ ,  $t(13) = 2.13, p = .05$ , respectively. Thus, the pilot test results indicated that the article with negative information about Muslims was indeed perceived as threatening, while the article with positive information was perceived as reassuring, and that both articles evoked different emotional states.

- **The Triple Crossed-Categorisation Task.** The TCCT contained the same set of stimuli as used in the previous studies, and provided measures for SII, SIS, and attitudes toward groups sharing none versus all three group memberships with the participants. In addition, an index was computed for attitudes toward non-Turkish, non-Muslim Australians, as the mean of the attitude ratings of the two target cards that were Australian but not Turkish nor Muslim (card number 17 and 18),  $r = .85, p < .001$ <sup>46</sup>.
- **Questionnaire 2.** The second questionnaire, administered after the article manipulation and the TCCT, contained the following variables:

***Strength of religious identification.*** Identification with the religious ingroup was measured post-manipulation by three items: “I identify with the group Muslims”, “Muslims are an important group to me” and “Being a member of the group Muslims is an important part of how I see myself” (1, *not at all*, to 6, *very much*) that were collapsed into a single index for religious identification ( $\alpha = .94$ ).

***Positive perceptions of Muslims*** were assessed by asking participants to rate the extent to which they ascribed six traits to Muslims, on a scale from 1, *not at all*, to 6, *very much* (e.g., “Muslims are goodhearted”). Three items were reverse-scored, and a total scale was computed as the means of the items, with a higher score indicating more positive perceptions of Muslims ( $\alpha = .76$ )

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<sup>46</sup> See Appendix D for the specifics of these two stimuli

**Positive perceptions of Anglo Australians.** The same six traits were presented to assess the extent to which participants would assign these to Anglo Australians. A total scale for positive perceptions of Anglo Australians was computed in the same manner as for perceptions of Muslims ( $\alpha = .74$ )

**Author typicality** was assessed in the threat and reassurance conditions to examine whether participants would dismiss the perspective of the author as an exception to the rule. The following two items were included: “How typical do you think the author is as an Anglo (White) Australian?” (response scale 1, *not typical*, to 7, *very typical*) and “Of all Australian citizens, how many do you think would agree with the author’s opinion?” (1, *none*, to 7, *all*).

**Perceived success of Muslim integration** was measured only in the threat and reassurance conditions with the single item “How successfully do you think Muslims have integrated into Australian society?” (1, *not at all successful*, to 7, *very successful*)

**Affect.** To assess whether the articles indeed produced particular emotional responses, participants in the threat and reassurance condition were asked to rate a range of emotions according to how strongly they experienced these while reading the article (from 1, *very slightly or not at all*, to 5, *extremely*). Items were taken from PANAS (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988) and included 2 anger-related (angry, irritable), 2 fear-related (scared, nervous), 2 sad-related (sad, blue), 2 joviality-related (happy, cheerful), 2 serenity-related (calm, relaxed) and 2 self-assurance related (confident, fearless) items. The mean for each pair of items was computed as scales for anger, fear, sadness, joviality, and serenity, respectively ( $r_s = .68, .53, .73, .89, .62, p_s < .001$ ). The correlation between the self-assurance items was too low ( $r = .20, p < .13$ ), and therefore these items were omitted from data analyses.



**Response to the editorial.** Participants in the threat and reassurance conditions were asked to write a response to the editorial of at least five sentences. This would provide qualitative insights in their responses to group esteem threat.

**Willingness to cooperate.** As a behavioural intent measure of intergroup attitudes, participants were asked what percentage of rooms of a nursing home that was under construction by Turkish community organisations they would prefer to reserve for Anglo-Australians. A higher percentage represented a higher willingness to cooperate with Anglo-Australians.

**Perceived intergroup similarity** was measured by a single item: “How similar do you feel Turkish Australians and Anglo (White) Australians are?” (1, *very dissimilar*, to 7, *very similar*).

## Results

### Preliminary Analyses

**Demographic information.** The majority of participants were born in Turkey (78 participants or 64%). All other participants, apart from 2, were born in Australia (42 participants or 34%). On average, participants had been living in Australia for longer than 24 years ( $M = 24.13$ ,  $SD = 11.78$ ). Country of birth was not a significant predictor of any of the dependent variables of interest, all  $F_s < 3.39$ ,  $p_s > .06$ .

Level of education varied widely among participants. Ten participants (8%) obtained a primary school degree, while 72 participants (59%) had a high school degree, and another 39 (32%) a university degree (of which 10 participants had a Masters and two participants a PhD qualification). Almost half of the participants were employed at the time of the interview (60 participants or 49%). Another 36 participants (30%) were studying, 11 participants (9%) indicated they were unemployed and nine participants (7%) were retired. Level of education correlated positively with attitudes toward the triple outgroup,  $r = .19$ ,  $p < .05$ . None of the

other dependent variables correlated with this demographic. Level of education did not differ significantly across conditions,  $F(2, 120) < 1, ns$ .

**Pretest Measures.** Descriptives for all scales that were assessed pre-manipulation are presented in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1

*Descriptives for Scales Administered Pre-Manipulation*

Variable name	N	Mean (SD)	Minimum	Maximum
Strength of identification with <sup>1</sup> :				
sex	120	5.80 (1.63)	1.00	7.00
ethnicity	118	6.11 (1.35)	1.00	7.00
religion	119	5.90 (1.77)	1.00	7.00
nationality	117	5.84 (1.43)	1.00	7.00
suburb	116	3.84 (2.03)	1.00	7.00
political affiliation	104	3.80 (2.01)	1.00	7.00
sports fandom	112	3.78 (2.17)	1.00	7.00
occupation	114	5.47 (1.74)	1.00	7.00
community organization	71	5.18 (2.24)	1.00	7.00
Ingroup friends	119	4.61 (.88)	2.00	6.00
Quantity of outgroup contact	119	4.50 (1.67)	1.50	6.00
Quality of outgroup contact	119	4.98 (.86)	1.50	6.00
Perceived overlap	119	4.29 (.83)	2.00	6.75

<sup>1</sup>Note: for each dimension, strength of identification was assessed with the group to whom participants self-categorized (e.g., if a participant self-categorized as female on the dimension of sex, she was asked to rate the statement: “Being female is an important part of who I am”, on a scale from 1, *not at all*, to 7, *very much*). The N’s reflect how many participants self-categorized on each dimension *and* rated the strength of their identification with the category.

**Social identification.** As anticipated, ethnic, religious and national group memberships provided important sources of social identification to participants. Mean levels of identification with all three categories were significantly above the scales midpoint (4),  $t(117) = 17.05, p < .001$ ,  $t(118) = 11.72, p < .001$ ,  $t(116) = 13.88, p < .001$ , respectively. Other important sources of identification were drawn from gender,  $t(119) = 12.12, p < .001$ , occupation,  $t(113) = 9.04, p < .001$  and membership to community organisations,  $t(70) = 4.45, p < .001$ . Participants' level of identification with their suburb, political party, and favourite sports, in contrast, were not significantly above the scales' midpoint (4), all  $ps > .28$ .

**Contact related variables.** For descriptive purposes, I compared the mean scores of the contact related scales with their midpoint (3.5) using one-sample  $t$ -tests. While participants reported their close friends to be mostly Turkish and/or Muslim (with the mean level of ingroup friends significantly higher than the scales' midpoint (3.5),  $t(118) = 13.81, p < .001$ ), they engaged in relatively frequent contact with non-Turkish and/or non-Muslim others,  $t(118) = 10.20, p < .001$ , and experienced this contact overall as positive,  $t(118) = 18.85, p < .001$ .

**Responses to the experimental articles.** To test whether the threat and reassurance articles indeed evoked distinct emotional responses, I conducted  $t$ -tests comparing the mean levels of certain emotions across these two conditions (see Table 5.2). As expected, participants in the threat condition reported significantly higher levels of sadness,  $t(62) = 6.79, p < .001$ , anger,  $t(61) = 9.16, p < .001$ , and fear,  $t(61) = 3.75, p < .001$ , while reading the article than participants in the reassurance condition. They also reported lower levels of joviality,  $t(63) = -11.39, p < .001$ , and serenity,  $t(50) = -5.09, p < .001$ , compared to the participants in the reassurance condition. In sum, both articles evoked a distinct emotional response among participants.

Table 5.2

*Mean and SD's (in Parentheses) of Experienced Emotions while Reading the Threatening versus Reassuring Article.*

Article	Emotions				
	Sadness	Anger	Fear	Joviality	Serenity
Threat	3.14(1.37)	3.51(1.03) <sup>+</sup>	1.94(1.01) <sup>-</sup>	1.29 (.65) <sup>-</sup>	2.48(1.15) <sup>-</sup>
Reassurance	1.30 (.59) <sup>-</sup>	1.33 (.83) <sup>-</sup>	1.20 (.38) <sup>-</sup>	3.79(1.05) <sup>+</sup>	4.00 (.92) <sup>+</sup>

*Note:* a higher score indicates a higher reported level of the emotion. Participants were asked to rate the extent to which they experienced each emotion while reading the article on a scale ranging from 1, *very slightly or not at all*, to 5, *extremely*.

*Note:* Means that are significantly different from the scales' midpoint (3) are indicated by “-“ if significantly below, and “+” if significantly above, the midpoint.

Strikingly, participants in the threat condition perceived the author as much more typical of Anglo Australians in general ( $M = 4.97$ ,  $SD = 1.62$ ) compared to participants in the reassurance condition ( $M = 3.66$ ,  $SD = 1.64$ ),  $t(70) = 3.41$ ,  $p = .001$ . Also, when participants were asked to estimate how many of Australian citizens would agree with the author's opinion, estimates in the threat condition were significantly higher ( $M = 4.42$ ,  $SD = 1.56$ ) compared to the reassurance condition ( $M = 3.71$ ,  $SD = 1.36$ ),  $t(69) = 2.06$ ,  $p = .04$ . So rather than dismissing the perspective of the author as an exception to the rule, participants in the threat condition perceived him to be significantly more typical for Anglo Australians in general as compared to the reassurance condition.

### Primary Analyses

One-way analyses of variance (ANOVA) were conducted on all the dependent variables of interest. Post-hoc analyses comparing i) threat versus control conditions, ii) reassurance versus control conditions and iii) threat versus reassurance conditions are reported wherever significant. Statistical analyses were conducted to address the following key questions.

- 1) Did religious identity threat versus reassurance have an effect on the following social identity measures: i) strength of religious identification, ii) SII, and iii) SIS?
- 2) Did the manipulation have an effect on cognitive/perceptual measures: i) perceptions of Muslims and Anglo-Australians as a group, ii) perceptions of Muslims on the threatened dimension, i.e., how successfully Muslims have integrated into society, and iii) perceptions of similarity between Muslims and Anglo-Australians?
- 3) Did religious identity threat have an effect on attitudes and behavioural intentions towards the outgroup? Concretely, did the threat manipulation lead participants to engage in protective strategies such as more positive ingroup and more negative outgroup evaluations, increased intergroup bias, and reduced willingness to engage in cooperative/altruistic behaviour?

### **Are Social Identity Variables Affected by Religious Identity Threat versus Reassurance?**

**Strength of religious identification and social identity inclusiveness.** Contrary to predictions, there were no differences in post-manipulation levels of religious identification or SII across the three conditions (see Table 5.3 for descriptives and ANOVA results).<sup>47</sup> In follow-up analyses I examined whether this effect was moderated by ingroup friends, contact, perceived overlap, or pre-manipulation religious identification. Separate regression analyses were conducted with strength of religious identification and social identity inclusiveness as dependent variables. The experimental conditions were dummy coded, and then separate moderation analyses were conducted for each of these contrasts (threat versus control,

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<sup>47</sup> I conducted post-hoc power analyses to examine whether the sample was sufficiently large to detect effects of the threat manipulation on all the dependent variables for a range of effect sizes. Cohen's (1988) effect size conventions for ANOVA define  $f$  values of 0.40, 0.25, and 0.10 as large, medium, and small. According to the computer program *G\_Power* (Faul & Erdfelder, 1992), for  $N=122$ ,  $groups=3$ ,  $numerator\ df=2$ , and  $\alpha=0.05$ , the power of the  $F$  test equals 0.98, 0.68, and 0.15 for  $f=0.40$ , 0.25, and 0.10, respectively. Thus, the sample had sufficient power to detect large and medium effects, but low power to detect small effects.

reassurance versus control, and reassurance versus threat condition). For the contrast threat versus control, for instance, the dummy coded experimental condition was entered as a predictor variable, together with the potential moderator (centered), and the interaction term between the moderator and the experimental contrast (Aiken & West, 1991). These three variables were then regressed on strength of religious identification and SII separately. The interaction term was not significant in any of the analyses,  $\beta$ 's < |.34|,  $ts$  < |2.13|,  $ps$  > .20, providing no support for moderation of the overall null effects.

Table 5.3

*Means, SD's (in Parentheses) and ANOVA Results for Strength of Religious Identification and SII*

Variable	Condition		
	Threat	Reassurance	Control
Strength of religious identification	5.70 (1.55)	5.40 (1.73)	5.24 (1.97)
after manipulation	$n = 39$	$n = 36$	$n = 29$
$F(2, 103) < 1, ns, \eta^2 = .01$			
SII	14.81 (4.32)	15.21 (3.79)	14.60 (4.30)
	$n = 43$	$n = 39$	$n = 40$
$F(2, 121) < 1, ns, \eta^2 < .01$			

**Social Identity Structure.** In terms of participants' SIS, differences across conditions were found. Frequencies of different SIS's across conditions are presented in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4

*Frequencies (Percentages in Parentheses) of Social Identity Structures across Conditions*

Social Identity Structure	Condition		
	Threat	Reassurance	Control
Ethnic-national intersection	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (2.5)
Ethnic-religious intersection	2 (4.7)	0 (0.0)	3 (7.5)
National-religious intersection	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	1 (2.5)
Ethnic dominance	7 (16.3)	4 (10.3)	7 (17.5)
National dominance	0 (0.0)	2 (5.1)	1 (2.5)
Religious dominance	12 (27.9)	5 (12.8)	4 (10.0)
Ethnic-national merger	2 (4.7)	3 (7.7)	3 (7.5)
Ethnic-religious merger	3 (7.0)	7 (17.9)	4 (10.0)
National-religious merger	0 (0.0)	0 (0)	0 (0.0)
Triple merger	6 (14.0)	8 (20.5)	5 (12.5)
Egalitarianism	3 (7.0)	2 (5.1)	4 (10.0)
Idiosyncratic	8 (18.6)	8 (20.5)	7 (17.5)
Total	43 (100.0)	39 (100.0)	40 (100.0)

Chi-square analyses comparing the observed distribution of the different structures across conditions, revealed marginally significant differences between conditions,  $X^2(4, N = 99) = 9.16, p = .06$ . Observed and expected frequencies per condition are cross tabulated in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5

*Contingency Table with Observed and Expected Frequencies of Intersection, Dominance and Merger Structures as a Function of Condition*

	Intersection	Dominance	Merger	Total
Condition	structures	structures	structures	
Threat	2 (2.47)	19 (14.85)	14 (17.68)	35
Reassurance	0 (2.19)	11 (13.15)	20 (15.66)	31
Control	5 (2.33)	12 (14)	16 (16.67)	33
Total	7	42	50	99

*Note:* Merger structures include all double, triple merger and egalitarian structures

*Note:* Expected frequencies if both variables would be independent – between brackets

*Note:* Since the frequency of participants with idiosyncratic structures did not differ across conditions, these were omitted from the contingency analyses.

Follow-up chi-square analyses showed that the proportion of participants who combined fully inclusive identities was significantly higher in the reassurance condition compared to the threat condition,  $X^2(4, N = 99) = 3.96, p < .05$ . The difference in proportions of merger structures between the reassurance and control condition was not significant,  $X^2(4, N = 99) = 1.67, p = .19$ .

Although the proportion of dominance structures was higher in the threat condition (54.29 %) compared to the reassurance (35.48 %) and control condition (36.36 %), this difference was not statistically significant,  $X^2(4, N = 99) = 5.60, p = .20$ . However, chi-square analyses of the distribution of the specific categories from which dominance structures were drawn (i.e. ethnic, religious, versus national dominance) indicated that there were significant differences as a function of condition. Specifically, among all dominance structures, there was a significantly larger proportion of religious dominance structures in the threat condition compared to the control condition,  $X^2(4, N = 42) = 4.64, p = .03$ , and



compared to the reassurance condition (marginally),  $X^2(4, N = 42) = 2.83, p = .09$ . Observed and expected frequencies of ethnic, national and religious dominance structures are shown in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6

*Observed and Expected (in Parentheses) Frequencies of Ethnic, National and Religious Dominance Structures as a Function of Condition*

	Ethnic	National	Religious	Total
Condition	dominance	dominance	dominance	
Threat	7 (8.14)	0 (1.36)	12 (9.5)	19
Reassurance	4 (4.71)	2 (.78)	5 (5.5)	11
Control	7 (5.14)	1 (.86)	4 (6)	12
Total	18	3	21	42

*Note:* The number in brackets represents the expected frequency if the specific category of the dominance SIS would be independent from the experimental condition.

### **Are Other Cognitive/Perceptual Processes Affected by Religious Identity Threat versus Reassurance?**

Descriptives and ANOVA results for the dependent variables of interest are presented in Table 5.7. Contrary to predictions, neither perceptions of Muslims nor of Anglo Australians were significantly affected by the manipulation. Similarly, no differences were found in perceived similarity between Turkish and Anglo Australians. Further, contrary to predictions, no differences in perceived success of Muslim integration across conditions were found.

Table 5.7

*Means, SD's (in parentheses) and ANOVA Results for Cognitive/Perceptual Variables*

Variable name	Condition		
	Threat	Reassurance	Control
Positive perceptions of Muslims	4.43 (.80)	4.34 (.80)	4.07 (.87)
$F(2, 102) = 1.69, p = .19, \eta^2 = .03$			
Positive perceptions of Anglo Australians	4.07 (.78)	4.16 (.74)	4.19 (.70)
$F(2, 102) < 1, ns, \eta^2 < .01$			
Perceived intergroup similarity	4.00 (1.61)	4.12 (1.63)	3.45 (1.24)
$F(2, 96) = 1.70, p = .19, \eta^2 = .03$			
Perceived success of Muslim integration	4.70 (1.08)	4.40 (1.40)	-
$F(1, 71) = 1.07, p < .31, \eta^2 = .02$			

*Note:* Due to missing values, N's ranged from 34 to 39 in the threat condition, and from 34 to 35 in the reassurance condition. The N in the control condition was 29 for all reported variables.

### **Are Attitudes and Behavioural Intentions Affected by Religious Identity Threat versus Reassurance?**

Descriptives and ANOVA results for attitudes and behavioural intention measures are provided in Table 5.8. No significant differences in triple ingroup or triple outgroup attitudes across conditions were found. As predicted, however, attitudes toward non-Turkish, non-Muslim Australians were affected by the manipulation. Specifically, participants in the threat condition were marginally more negative toward non-Turkish, non-Muslim Australians as compared to participants in the reassurance condition. Participants' willingness to cooperate also remained unaffected by the manipulation.

Table 5.8

*Means, SD's (in parentheses) and ANOVA Results for Intergroup Attitudes and Willingness to Cooperate*

Variable name	Condition		
	Threat	Reassurance	Control
Attitudes triple ingroup <i>F</i> (2, 121) = 1.02, <i>p</i> < .36, $\eta^2 = .02$	81.38 (16.44)	78.59 (18.88)	75.85 (17.44)
Attitudes non-Turkish, non-Muslim			
Australians <i>F</i> (2, 121) = 2.91, <i>p</i> < .06, $\eta^2 = .04$ threat < reassurance, <i>p</i> < .06	48.95 (20.04)	58.97 (20.27)	54.38 (15.82)
Attitudes triple outgroup <i>F</i> (2, 121) < 1, <i>ns</i> , $\eta^2 = .01$	40.56 (20.18)	44.02 (18.83)	45.91 (16.20)
Willingness to cooperate <i>F</i> (2, 95) < 1, <i>ns</i> , $\eta^2 = .02$	36.79 (18.32)	37.94 (23.71)	35.00 (20.82)

*Note:* N = 43 (threat condition), N = 39 (reassurance condition) and N = 40 (control condition) for all variables apart from willingness to cooperate (N = 34 in threat and reassurance condition, and N = 28 in control condition)

## Discussion

The current study examined the malleability of religious identification, SII and SIS following an immediate religious identity threat versus reassurance. Changes in group perceptions, attitudes and behavioural intentions were also examined.

Contrary to predictions, neither religious identification nor SII were affected by the manipulation. Social identity structures did, however, alter as a function of condition. Specifically, the proportion of merger structures was higher in the reassurance condition than in the threat condition. While the overall proportion of dominance structures did not differ across conditions, an examination of the *content* of the dominance structures revealed religious dominance structures to be present more frequently in the threat as compared to the reassurance and control conditions. Thus, although threat did not reduce the overall inclusiveness of ingroup construals, the *basis* for deciding *who* is included was influenced by the threatening article.

In addition to social identity related measures, outgroup attitudes were affected by the threat manipulation as well. Specifically, attitudes toward non-Turkish, non-Muslim Australians were marginally more negative in the threat as compared to the reassurance condition. Attitudes toward the triple ingroup and toward the remote, triple outgroup, however, remained unaffected by the manipulation. Finally, contrary to predictions, perceptions of the ingroup and outgroup, and of intergroup similarity remained unaltered upon threat. In addition, no differences in willingness to cooperate were found. I will now discuss the findings related to i) social identity, ii) cognitive/perceptual/attitudinal processes, and iii) study limitations below.

## **Strength and Construals of Social identities Following Religious Identity Threat versus Reassurance**

Presenting a religious identity threat to participants was expected to increase their commitment to the group under threat, to reduce the perceived inclusiveness of their combined ingroup, and to enhance adoption of dominance social identity structures. Pre-manipulation measures of identification confirmed religious group membership to be an important source of social identity for participants. While previous research has repeatedly found group esteem threat to increase levels of identification among people who are already highly committed to the group (e.g., Doosje et al., 1995; 2001), no such increase in religious identification was found in the current study. The means for religious identification *before* the manipulation were, however, almost invariably high. On a scale from 1 to 7, around 62% of all participants obtained the maximum score of 7, and another 10% obtained a score of 6. Participants' overall very high levels of religious identification pre-manipulation could have hampered a further increase in identification upon threat. Moreover, since the post-manipulation scale for religious identification used a similar seven-point scale, actual variation among participants' experienced levels of identification after the manipulation may have gone undetected due to a ceiling effect.

High levels of identification with ethnic and religious backgrounds are commonly found among Turkish Muslim minorities in Western countries (e.g., Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012). One obvious explanation is that the minority status itself makes membership in these groups highly salient, and therefore strengthens the accessibility of this group identity in the self of its members. But also – and importantly – these groups provide a sense of meaning and belonging to people who have to find their way in a complex society. Hence, the salience of minority identities arises from people who are *motivated* to identify, in order to belong and to find meaning. Moreover, threats to minority

identities from this broader society may further *chronically* increase the levels of identification with the minority groups that are under threat.

That the broader societal context in which our participants find themselves in is to some extent “skewed” towards religious identity threat more than reassurance, is reflected in the typicality ratings of the author across conditions. Indeed, when the author wrote about how Muslims have failed to integrate, he was rated as much more typical of Anglo Australians in general, than when he wrote about how successfully Muslims have integrated. Participants also rated the percentage of Australians who would agree with the author’s opinion as much higher when the opinion was negative instead of positive on Muslim integration. These meta-perceptions of our Muslim participants, apart from conveying a rather gloomy picture of the public opinion on Muslims in Australia, suggest that religious threat may be a default, chronic state in which Muslims find themselves in, and may explain why an immediate religious threat manipulation did not further increase the already high levels of religious identification.

I also investigated whether and how the manipulation impacted on the inclusiveness of the ingroup construal, or SII. Again, no evidence was found for a significant “malleability” of this index upon being exposed to threat or reassurance. Nonetheless, analyses of the *content* of the social identity – or SIS – revealed some significant structural changes in the ingroup construal of participants upon being threatened or reassured. Specifically, in the reassurance condition, a significantly higher proportion of participants combined two or three social identities into a merger SIS as compared to the threat condition. Since the experimental conditions did not differ significantly from the control condition we cannot conclude that simple exposure to one positive opinion on Muslim integration led participants to merge multiple group memberships into their ingroup construals. Instead, the shift in merger

structures was most likely detected because of the combined effect of the threatening and reassuring messages, each slightly impacting on SIS's in opposing ways.

Similarly, dominance structures were more frequent among participants in the threat condition, and further, of all participants with dominance SIS's, a significantly higher proportion of *religious* dominance SIS's was found among participants who were exposed to a religious identity threat, as compared to those who were presented with a reassuring or irrelevant article. This increase was not a mere consequence of a priming effect of the article, since no significant increase in dominant religious SIS's was found in the reassurance condition compared to the control condition. Thus, a religious identity threat made participants with dominance structures more likely to include Muslims in their ingroup construal, and also more likely to exclude those who were not Muslim, regardless of other shared group memberships.

### **Cognitive, Perceptual and Attitudinal Effects of Identity Threat versus Reassurance**

The disparity between the findings related to strength of identification and SII (which were not affected by threat) and the more implicit, unobtrusive measure of SIS (which was altered by the manipulation), is also present in findings related to perceptions and attitudes. While no effects of threat were found on participants' perceptions of their ingroup and outgroup, in terms of trait ratings and similarity, participants were not insensitive to negative information about their religious ingroup. Indeed, the analyses of the emotional responses to the articles show that participants did respond strongly to the threatening article, by elevated levels of anger, sadness, and fear, and lowered levels of joviality and serenity. Moreover, participants in the threat condition did respond with more negative attitudes toward non-Turkish, non-Muslim Australians as compared to participants in the reassurance condition. The shift towards more *negative* attitudes toward the group to whom the source of threat belonged, suggests that participants were motivated to protect themselves against harmful

consequences of threat on their religious identity, by emotionally distancing the ingroup from the outgroup, a mechanism that has been identified in much previous social psychological work (see Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006, for a review). No such effect was found on attitudes toward remote outgroups, unrelated to the source of threat, suggesting a distancing mechanism specifically targeting the group from which the threat emerged.

One limitation of the present study is the choice of the social identity that was threatened or reassured. Given the current widespread climate of prejudice against Muslims, it is very likely that participants' feelings of belonging were "desensitised" against the impact of an immediate religious identity threat. Moreover, in this climate, positive messages about Muslim integration are likely to differ from threatening ones, not only in terms of valence but also in terms of "unexpectedness". The latter difference may have confounded the effects of threat versus reassurance. Further, a more thorough understanding of the malleability of multiple social identities following threat and reassurance requires the assessment of one's attachment to all singular identities that may be affected. In the current study, I only assessed strength of religious identification upon threat. It is however plausible for a threat directed at one social identity to impact on one's attachment to another social group. This is especially relevant to the manipulation used, since the source of threat shared national group identity with participants. Moreover, the message implied either an incompatibility (in the threatening article) or compatibility (in the reassurance article) between Muslim and Australian identity, thereby likely to affect one's perceptions of both religious and national belonging.

Despite the identified limitations of Study 3, findings suggest that the immediate context does play a role, albeit limited, in where individuals anchor their social selves in a cross-cutting social environment. While the lack of significant effects of immediate threat on participants' strength of religious identification and SII suggests an overall robustness in perceptions of belonging, assessment of the content or structure of the perceived ingroup



presents a more nuanced image of whether and how ingroup construals are affected by the immediate context of threat and reassurance. Findings are indicative of a higher tendency to adopt a dominance structure upon threat, and a merger structure upon reassurance. The aim of the following study was to replicate and extend the current study's findings and address the identified limitations.

## CHAPTER 6: SII AND SIS IN A CONTEXT OF RELIGIOUS VERSUS ETHNIC IDENTITY THREAT

In the previous study, I examined the malleability of religious identification, SII and SIS under immediate religious group esteem threat versus reassurance. Contrary to predictions, data suggested overall stable levels of religious identification and SII. Nonetheless, alterations in terms of SIS did indicate effects of the immediate context on how minority group members subjectively construe their ingroup. I argued that these inconclusive findings could at least partially be attributed to the choice of the social identity under threat, i.e., religious identity. Common exposure to negative views on Muslims in everyday life could have weakened the effect of the religious threat manipulation on ingroup construals via habituation. The prevalence of anti-Muslim sentiments in Australia has been demonstrated by a national study, which found that nearly 50% of all Australians endorsed anti-Muslim attitudes (Dunn, 2003). Media analyses also identified a generally negative representation of Muslims in Australian media (see Dunn, Klocker, & Salabay, 2007, for an overview). This negative climate could also have contributed to the scepticism of participants who were presented with a positive message about Muslims in Australia. In turn, high perceived atypicality of the reassuring message may have limited the effects of minority identity reassurance on ingroup construals.

To address the previous study's weaknesses, I conducted a follow-up experiment, again manipulating social identity threat by presenting participants with a negative editorial about one of their important minority group identities. This time, I included a condition in which the value of their *ethnic* identity was threatened. Like religious identity, ethnic identity is linked to a minority group status for Turkish Australian Muslims. In addition, ethnic identity was shown to be of similar importance to Turkish Australian Muslims as their religious identity (see Studies 1-3). Unlike religious identity, however, their ethnic identity is

much less often a target of threat in current Australian society. Hence, targeting ethnic identity would provide a more focused manipulation of group value threat, factoring out previous exposure to similar threat and accompanied desensitisation. In order to assess the differential effects of religious versus ethnic identity threat on the dependent variables, a similar religious identity threat condition was added to the experimental design.

### **Hypotheses**

The aim of the current study was to re-test the hypotheses of Study 3, while addressing the identified limitations. Using a sample of Turkish Australian Muslims, I examined social identification and ingroup construals following an immediate ethnic and religious identity threat. Potential effects on intergroup attitudes and other cognitive/perceptual processes were examined as well.

### **Predictions Related to Strength of Identification, SII and SIS**

In the current study, I assessed strength of identification post-manipulation, not only with the religious ingroup, but also with ethnic and national ingroups. Assessing commitment to all three important groups would provide a more complete picture of whether and how one's attachment to multiple social groups are affected upon threat to one particular group. In addition, I expanded the measure for strength of identification, by including a scale for identity centrality as well as ingroup ties. In doing so, the effect of group esteem threat could be examined both on perceived importance of a certain group membership to the self, and on the felt connectedness with ingroup members.<sup>48</sup>

Further, I examined the effect of threat on measures related to the combination of one's multiple identities, by assessing SII, SIS, and bicultural identity integration (BII; Benet-

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<sup>48</sup> Paired sample *t*-tests comparing mean scores on identity centrality with ingroup ties of Study 1, confirmed means for identity centrality scales to be significantly higher than means for ingroup ties. Specifically, participants scored higher on national centrality ( $M = 5.72, SD = 1.38$ ) than national ties ( $M = 5.02, SD = 1.30$ ),  $t(73) = -5.99, p < .01$ ; higher on religious centrality ( $M = 5.45, SD = 1.81$ ) than religious ties ( $M = 5.01, SD = 1.74$ ),  $t(73) = -3.49, p < .01$ , and marginally higher on ethnic centrality ( $M = 5.94, SD = .97$ ) than ethnic ties ( $M = 5.76, SD = 1.00$ ),  $t(75) = -1.72, p = .09$ . Ingroup ties are therefore expected to be less prone to a ceiling effect.

Martinez, 2002). If the non-effect of religious threat on SII, found in Study 3, was indeed partially attributable to habituation in a relatively hostile climate for Muslims, then SII was expected to decrease upon ethnic identity threat, but not, or to a lesser extent, upon religious identity threat. Similarly, BII (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005), which assesses the integration of minority and national identities, was expected to be lower in the ethnic threat condition than in the control condition, while no or a smaller decrease in BII was expected following a religious identity threat. A decrease in BII upon threat could provide another identity protective mechanism following threat, through which the minority identity is cognitively distanced from the national identity (which is shared with the source of threat). Relatedly, I also included a measure of participant's experiences of discrimination on the basis of their religious or ethnic identity to assess whether the threat article would impact on perceptions of the discrimination they experience as individuals. Being presented with a threatening article may make salient previous experiences of discrimination and therefore increase perceptions of previous discrimination.

In terms of SIS, I predicted more dominant structures and fewer merger structures in the threat conditions as compared to the control condition. The particular content of the SIS's in each condition would provide insights into whether participants would strategically shift to a particular dominant identity when one social identity is under threat.

### **Predictions Related to Other Social Identity Related Variables**

The effect of threat on perceived compatibility between one's multiple ingroups was assessed as well. I expected group esteem threat to increase or decrease perceived identity compatibility, depending on which particular pair of identities was assessed. Compatibility between one's minority identities (i.e. ethnic and religious identities) was expected to increase under threat. This increase would be driven by a higher need for distinctiveness and certainty upon threat, and would be in line with previous studies that have found an increase

in perceived overlap and similarity between one's multiple ingroups upon threat (e.g., Roccas & Brewer, 2002; Schmid et al., 2013). On the other hand, perceived compatibility between ethnic-national and religious-national identities was expected to *decrease* as a result of threat, since the threat manipulations prime perceived incompatibility between one's minority identities and the national identity.

Inclusion of outgroups in the self was assessed as well, and was expected to be lower in the threat conditions than in the control condition. Finally, I assessed the perceived typicality of oneself as a member of one's ethnic and religious ingroup. I predicted that participants would perceive themselves as more typical members of their ethnic and religious groups when these groups were threatened. Previous studies have found that highly committed group members display higher levels of self-stereotyping upon threat (Spears et al., 1999). Likewise, an increase in perceived self-typicality would attest to participants' stronger cognitive and affective affiliation with the ingroup under threat, aimed at challenging the source of threat and reaffirming the group under threat.

### **Predictions Related to Attitudes towards the Outgroup**

Finally, I examined affective responses towards ingroups and outgroups following group esteem threat. I predicted attitudes toward the group to whom the source of threat belonged (i.e. non-Turkish, non-Muslim Australians) would be more negative in the threat conditions as compared to the control condition. As in the previous studies, attitudes toward the triple ingroup and triple outgroup were assessed as well.

## **Method**

### **Participants and Design**

One hundred twenty three Turkish-Australian Muslims residing in greater Melbourne participated in this experiment. Fourteen participants who did not fulfil all inclusion criteria (Australian citizens, Turkish ethnicity, Muslim religion, not discriminating in the sorting

task) were excluded, resulting in a final sample size of  $N = 109$ , 33 males and 76 females ( $M$  age = 30.14,  $SD = 12.03$ , range = 18-68).<sup>49</sup>

Participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions: a control condition ( $n = 33$ ), an ethnic identity threat condition ( $n = 35$ ), or a religious threat condition ( $n = 41$ ).

## **Materials and Procedure**

Participants were recruited via community organisations and passive snowballing, and tested individually. The instructions were given in English, alternated with Turkish for all participants. The procedure was similar to Study 3. Participants filled out a paper-and-pen questionnaire and then read a bogus newspaper article as part of a so-called memory task, containing threatening information about Turks or Muslims in Australia, or a topic not related to their social groups. Subsequently, they completed the TCCT. Finally, participants filled out the second questionnaire, received a thorough debrief, and were thanked and dismissed. The measures presented in the questionnaires are described below, in the order in which they were assessed.<sup>50</sup>

- **Questionnaire 1.**

**Demographics.** Participants were asked to report their gender, age, native language, nationality, ethnic background, religion, country of birth, number of years lived in Australia, and level of education.

**Community involvement.** Participants were asked to list any Turkish or Muslim organisations they were a member of, and rate how important it was to them to be a member of these organisations, on a scale from 1, *not at all important*, to 7, *very important*.

**Social involvement outside the ethnic/religious community.** Membership to organisations outside the Turkish/Muslim community was recorded as well. Participants were

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<sup>49</sup> The percentage of participants who did not fulfil the sorting task was not significantly different across conditions (control: 13.3%, religious threat: 7.1%, ethnic threat: 12.5%)

<sup>50</sup> The questionnaires used are included as Appendix I and the editorials as Appendix J

asked to list the names of these organisations (if they were a member of any) and again, the degree of importance they assigned to being a member, on a scale from 1, *not at all important*, to 7, *very important*.

***Ingroup friends.*** The same scale for ingroup friends was used as in Study 3 ( $r = .64, p < .001$ ).

***Quantity of outgroup contact.*** This scale was identical to the one used in Study 3 as well ( $r = .68, p < .001$ ).

***Quality of outgroup contact*** was measured by the same scale as in Study 3 ( $r = .50, p < .001$ ).

***Perceived ingroup similarity.*** Participants were asked to rate how similar they thought Turkish people were to each other, and how similar Muslims were to each other, on a scale from 1, *very dissimilar*, to 6, *very similar*. The two items were combined into a scale for perceived ingroup similarity ( $r = .64, p < .001$ ).

- **Bogus newspaper articles.** Three bogus newspaper editorials, allegedly published in the Age<sup>51</sup>, were created, containing information that was either threatening and related to the religious ingroup ("*Integration of Muslims has failed*"), threatening and related to the ethnic ingroup ("*Integration of Turks has failed*"), or non-threatening and not related to either the ethnic ingroup or religious ingroup ("*Bananas will soon become the first choice snackfood of all Australians*"). The same religiously threatening article and ingroup irrelevant article were used as the ones that were piloted and used in Study 3. The ethnically threatening article was modelled on the religious threat article, with a similar structure and same type of threatening information, adapted to the Turkish identity (see Appendix J for content).

- **The Triple Crossed-Categorisation Task.** The TCCT contained the same set of stimuli as used in the previous studies, and provided measures for SII, SIS, and attitudes

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<sup>51</sup> *The Age* is a daily newspaper, owned and published by *Fairfax Media*, which has been published in Melbourne, Australia, since 1854 ([www.theage.com](http://www.theage.com))

towards groups sharing none versus all three group memberships with the participants. As in Study 3, an index was computed for attitudes toward non-Turkish, non-Muslim Australians, as the mean of the attitude ratings of the two target cards that were Australian but not Turkish nor Muslim (card number 17 and 18),  $r = .89, p < .001$ .

- **Questionnaire 2.** The second questionnaire contained the following measures:

***Social identification.*** for each of the three categories of interest (ethnicity, religion, nationality), four items were included to measure identification with the respective category, all with a response scale ranging from 1, *not at all*, to 7, *very much*:

***Centrality.*** Two items measured cognitive centrality or subjective importance of the category. For instance, for the ethnic category these items were: “Being Turkish is an important part of who I am” and “To what extent do you see yourself as Turkish?” For each of the categories, these two items were collapsed into a single index for centrality of the social identity, (ethnicity:  $r = .76, p < .001$ ; religion:  $r = .93, p < .001$ ; nationality:  $r = .86, p < .001$ )

***Ingroup ties.*** The extent to which one feels bound to the group was assessed by participants’ ratings of agreement with two statements; e.g., “To what extent do you feel strong ties to other Turks?”, and “To what extent do you identify with other Turks?” Again, these two items were repeated for each of the three categories and collapsed into a single index for ingroup ties (ethnicity:  $r = .87, p < .001$ ; religion:  $r = .88, p < .001$ ; nationality:  $r = .84, p < .001$ ).

***Inclusion of the Outgroup in the Self*** was assessed with the same scale as used in Study 1 and 2 ( $r = .69, p < .001$ ).

***Social identity compatibility.*** The perceived compatibility between each pair of identities (i.e., Muslim and Turkish, Turkish and Australian, Muslim and Australian) was assessed with the same items as used in Study 2.



**Perceived typicality of oneself as a group member** was measured by the item: “Would you think it is accurate if you were described as a typical Turk?” (This item was repeated for religious (Muslim) and national (Australian) categories) (1, *not at all*, to 7, *very much*).

**Bicultural Identity Integration (BII).** Participants were asked to rate the extent they agreed with four statements that were adapted from the Bicultural Identity Integration Scale (BII-I, Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005), e.g., “I feel part of a combined culture (Turkish/Muslim AND Australian)” (1, *not at all* to 7, *very much*). A BII scale was computed as the means of the items “I feel part of a combined culture (Turkish/Muslim AND Australian)” and “I feel both a member of the Turkish/Muslim community AND Australian” ( $r = .79, p < .001$ ), with a higher score indicating a higher level of bicultural identity integration.<sup>52</sup>

**Experiences of discrimination.** Participants indicated the extent of agreement with three items adapted from the Riverside Acculturation Stress Inventory – discrimination subscale (Benet-Martinez, 2003). The scores on these items (e.g., “I feel discriminated against by mainstream Australians because of my Turkish/Muslim background”, 1, *not at all*, 7, *very much*) were averaged as a measure for experiences of discrimination, with a higher score reflecting higher levels of perceived discrimination ( $\alpha = .83$ ).

**Perceived threat to the ingroup** was assessed by the items “Do you think Muslims in general would find this article threatening?” and “Do you think Turkish people in general would find this article threatening?” (1, *not at all*, 7, *very much*).

**Author typicality** was assessed with the same two items as used in Study 3.

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<sup>52</sup> Items 1-2 and items 3-4 were adapted from two separate subscales of the BII-1 (blendedness and harmony subscales, respectively). As anticipated, and in line with Study 1, the overall scale reliability was low ( $\alpha = .64$ ). Since the inter-item reliability was highest for items 1-2 (blendedness subscale;  $r = .79, p < .001$ ), this subscale was included in subsequent data analyses.

**Affect.** Participants in the threat conditions were asked to rate a range of emotions according to how strongly they experienced these while reading the article (response scale from 1, *very slightly or not at all*, to 5, *extremely*). The same 12 items were selected from PANAS (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988) as in Study 3, and provided scales for anger ( $r = .68, p < .001$ ), fear ( $r = .70, p < .001$ ), sadness ( $r = .36, p < .01$ ), joviality ( $r = .48, p < .001$ ), and serenity ( $r = .73, p < .001$ ).

## Results

### Preliminary Analyses

**Demographic information.** Sixty four participants were born in Australia (59%), while another 38 participants (35%) were born in Turkey. Seven participants (6%) were born in other countries. Country of birth was not a significant predictor of any of the dependent variables of interest, all  $F_s < 3.20, p_s > .07$ . The level of education varied widely among participants. While 53 participants (50%) obtained a Bachelors' or Masters' degree, 52 participants (48%) had a high school degree (of which another 24 had obtained an additional certificate). Only two participants (2 %) had stopped their education at the level of primary school. Level of education correlated negatively with ethnic ties ( $r = -.27, p < .01$ ) and positively with attitudes towards non-Turkish, non-Muslim Australians ( $r = .21, p < .05$ ). No significant relationships with any of the other dependent variables were found, all  $r_s < .19, p_s > .07$ .

**Contact related variables.** In terms of community engagement, 51% of the participants indicated they were an active member of at least one Turkish or Muslim organisation (37% indicated they did not take part in these community organisations, and 13% did not provide a response to this question). Only 32% of participants indicated they were a member of organisations not related to Turkish/Muslim communities (45% did not belong to any of such organisations, and another 23% did not answer this question).

In terms of close friends, participants' network consisted mainly of fellow Turkish and/or Muslim others (since the mean level of ingroup friends was significantly above the scale midpoint,  $M = 4.58$ ,  $SD = .81$ ,  $t(105) = 13.86$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Nonetheless, participants reported relatively frequent contact with people who are not Turkish or Muslim, with the mean score for quantity of contact ( $M = 4.49$ ,  $SD = 1.11$ ) being significantly above the scale's midpoint (3.5),  $t(105) = 9.24$ ,  $p < .001$ . This contact was generally experienced positively, with mean levels of reported quality of outgroup contact ( $M = 5.05$ ,  $SD = .74$ ) being significantly higher than the scale's midpoint (3.5),  $t(105) = 21.48$ ,  $p < .001$ .

**Responses to the experimental articles.** To test whether the ethnic and religious threat articles were effective in evoking similar emotional responses, I conducted *t*-tests comparing the mean levels of certain emotions across these two conditions (see Table 6.1). Participants who read the religious threat article, reported significantly higher levels of fear than participants who read the ethnic threat article,  $t(60) = 2.05$ ,  $p < .05$ . However, no other significant differences in emotional responses between the two conditions were found, all  $t$ s  $< |1.75|$ ,  $p$ s  $> .08$ . Thus, both articles evoked similar levels of sadness, anger, serenity, and joviality among participants.

To assess the nature and degree of emotional response to the ethnic and religious threat articles, mean scores on the affect scales were collapsed across conditions and compared with the scale midpoints via one-sample *t*-tests. Reading the threatening articles evoked significantly elevated levels of anger ( $t(62) = 2.68$ ,  $p < .01$ ), and lowered levels of serenity ( $t(61) = -2.82$ ,  $p < .01$ ), joviality ( $t(59) = -23.37$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and fear ( $t(61) = -8.10$ ,  $p < .001$ ) in participants. Levels of sadness did not significantly differ from the scale's midpoint ( $t(65) = -.48$ ,  $p = .63$ ).<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> The emotional responses to the threatening articles in the current study were similar to the responses that were recorded to the religious threat article in Study 3 (i.e. high levels of anger, low levels of joviality, serenity and fear, and levels of sadness that were not significantly different from the scales' midpoints).

Table 6.1

*Means and SD's (in Parentheses) of Experienced Emotions while Reading the Ethnic versus Religious Threat Article*

Article	Emotions				
	Sadness	Anger	Fear	Joviality	Serenity
Religious threat	3.11 (1.20)	3.56(1.25)	2.14 (1.22)	1.19(.54)	2.37 (1.20)
Ethnic threat	2.73 (1.06)	3.27 (1.23)	1.58 (.87)	1.28(.63)	2.73 (1.32)

*Note:* A higher score indicates a higher reported level of the emotion. Participants were asked to rate the extent to which they experienced each emotion while reading the article on a scale ranging from 1, *very slightly or not at all*, to 5, *extremely*.

Despite the mean levels of reported fear while reading the article being significantly *below* the scale midpoint in both conditions, participants did rate the article as threatening when they were asked to rate it on behalf of their ingroup (see Table 6.2). Participants in the ethnic threat condition rated perceived threat on behalf of the ethnic ingroup significantly above the scale midpoint (4),  $t(33) = 2.26, p = .03$ , while no elevated threat perceptions on behalf of the religious ingroup were found,  $t(33) = -1.12, p = .27$ , indicating the ethnic threat condition to be *specifically* perceived as threatening to the ingroup that was targeted. In the religious threat condition, however, perceived threat on behalf of the religious ingroup *and* the ethnic ingroup was significantly elevated,  $t(39) = 4.35, p < .001$ , and  $t(39) = 5.27, p < .001$ . While designed to threaten only the religious ingroup identity, the religious threat article thus also affected the ethnic ingroup identity.

Table 6.2

*Mean Ratings of Perceived Ingroup Threat as a Function of Condition (Religious vs. Ethnic Threat) and Reference Ingroup Identity (Turkish vs. Muslim) (SD's in parentheses).*

Condition	Reference Ingroup Identity	
	Ethnicity (Turkish)	Religion (Muslim)
Religious identity threat (n = 40)	5.03 <sup>+</sup> (1.23)	4.70 <sup>+</sup> (1.02)
Ethnic identity threat (n = 34)	4.59 <sup>+</sup> (1.52)	3.71 (1.53)

*Note:* Participants were asked to rate the extent to which they thought Turkish people would find the article threatening, and the extent to which they thought Muslims would find the article threatening, on a scale from 1, *not at all*, to 7, *very much*.

*Note:* Means that are significantly different from the scales' midpoint (4) are indicated by “-“ if significantly below, and “+” if significantly above, the midpoint.

If the experimental manipulation (ethnic threat versus religious threat) indeed impacted on the social identity under threat, while not or only slightly affecting the other minority identity, then a significant interaction effect would be expected between those two factors. To test this, I conducted a mixed 2 x 2 ANOVA with the condition (ethnic versus religious threat) as the between-subjects factor and reference social identity (ethnicity versus religion) as the within-subjects factor. The findings are depicted in Figure 6.1. A main effect of condition was found,  $F(1, 72) = 7.00, p < .01$ . Participants in the religious threat condition rated their article as significantly more threatening than participants who read the ethnic threat article. In addition, a main effect of reference social identity was found,  $F(1, 72) = 16.30, p < .001$ , such that perceived threat by fellow Turkish people was significantly higher ( $M = 4.82, SD = 1.38$ ) than by fellow Muslims ( $M = 4.24, SD = 1.36$ ). The interaction effect approached significance,  $F(1, 72) = 3.78, p < .07$ . As expected, participants in the ethnic threat condition perceived less threat on behalf of Muslims than on behalf of Turkish people. However, participants in the religious threat condition perceived threat on behalf of Muslims and on behalf of Turkish people at similar levels.

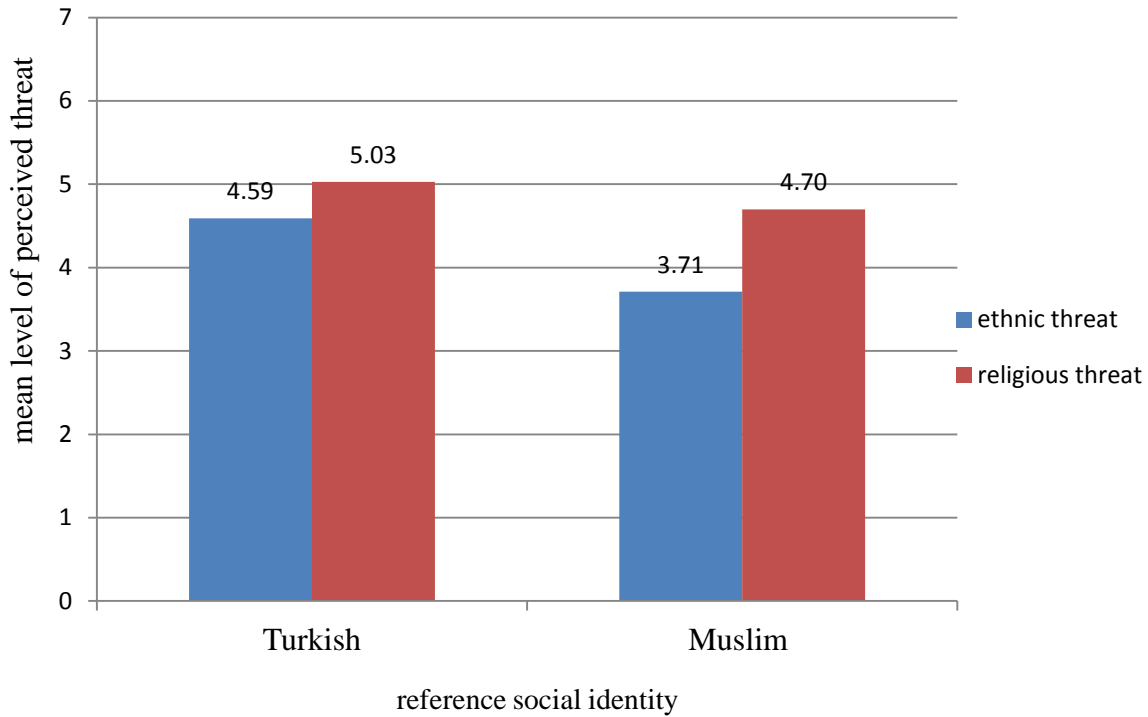


Figure 6.1. Perceived threat ratings as a function of condition (religious versus ethnic threat) and reference social identity (Turkish versus Muslim).

In both conditions, the degree of typicality of the author as an Anglo-Australian was rated significantly above the scale's midpoint (4),  $t(38) = 3.90, p < .001$  (religious threat condition) and  $t(32) = 3.02, p < .01$  (ethnic threat condition). Perceived typicality did not significantly differ between conditions,  $F(1, 71) < 1, ns$ . The proportion of Australians that participants thought would agree with the author was also significantly above the scale's midpoint,  $t(39) = 2.47, p < .05$  (religious threat condition) and  $t(33) = 2.29, p < .03$  (ethnic threat condition). Again, no difference between conditions was found,  $F(1, 73) < 1, ns$ . Thus, participants did not subtype the author as an exception to the rule. Means and SD's of the author's typicality ratings are presented in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3

*Means and SD's (in Parentheses) of Author Typicality Ratings by Condition*

Condition	Item	
	How typical do you think the author is as an Anglo Australian?	Of all Australians, how many do you think would agree with this article?
Religious identity threat	5.05 (1.69)	4.45 (1.15)
Ethnic identity threat	4.94 (1.78)	4.59 (1.50)

*Note:* Both items were assessed on a response scale from 1, *not typical*, to 7, *very typical*.

*Note:* Due to missing data, N's ranged from 39 - 40 for the religious identity threat group, and 33 - 34 for the ethnic identity threat group.

### Primary Analyses

Given that both the ethnic and religious threat manipulations were perceived as significantly threatening to the ethnic ingroup, while only the religious threat (and not the ethnic threat) manipulation was perceived as significantly threatening to the religious ingroup, comparing the two conditions would *not* provide insights into the differential effects of ethnic versus religious threat. Instead, differences between ethnic and religious threat conditions would point to different effects of *multiple* identity threat in the religious threat condition (perceived as threatening in both ethnic and religious terms) compared to the *single*, ethnic threat in the ethnic threat condition. Therefore, I conducted orthogonal a priori contrast analyses comparing i) both threat conditions to the control condition, assessing the impact of minority identity threat in general on the dependent variables of interest, and ii) the ethnic threat to the religious threat condition, assessing the added effect of multiple identity threat (combined ethnic and religious threat) against single, ethnic identity threat.

## **Are Social Identity Related Variables Affected by Religious and Ethnic Identity Threat?**

### **Strength of ethnic, religious and national identification**

Planned orthogonal contrasts were conducted to assess differences in strength of identification, both in terms of centrality and in terms of ingroup ties. Means, SD's and contrast results are presented in Table 6.4. A marginally significant effect of the threat manipulation on centrality of the national identity was found. Specifically, national centrality was marginally higher in the threat conditions as compared to the control condition. No other significant differences between conditions were found<sup>54</sup>.

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<sup>54</sup> I conducted post-hoc power analyses to examine whether the sample was sufficiently large to detect effects of the threat manipulation on all the dependent variables for a range of effect sizes. Cohen's (1988) effect size conventions for ANOVA define  $f$  values of 0.40, 0.25, and 0.10 as large, medium, and small. According to the computer program G\_Power (Faul & Erdfelder, 1992), for  $N = 100$ , groups = 2, numerator  $df = 1$  and  $\alpha = 0.05$ , the power of the  $F$  test equals 0.98, 0.72, and 0.17 for  $f = 0.40$ , 0.25, and 0.10, respectively. Thus, Study 4 had sufficient power to detect large and medium effects, but low power to detect small effects of minority threat vs. control (no threat) and of ethnic vs. religious threat on the dependent variables.



Table 6.4

*Means, SD's (in Parentheses) and Orthogonal Contrast Results for Identification Scales*

Identification scale	Condition		
	Religious threat ( <i>n</i> = 40)	Ethnic threat ( <i>n</i> = 35)	Control ( <i>n</i> = 28)
Ethnic centrality <sup>a</sup> $F(1, 100) < 1, p = .75, \eta^2 < .01$ <sup>b</sup> $F(1, 100) < 1, p = .39, \eta^2 = .01$	6.15 (1.03)	6.22 (.96)	6.18 (1.04)
Religious centrality <sup>a</sup> $F(1, 100) < 1, p = .70, \eta^2 < .01$ <sup>b</sup> $F(1, 100) < 1, p = .46, \eta^2 < .01$	6.00 (1.38)	5.72 (1.69)	5.73 (1.62)
National centrality <sup>a</sup> $F(1, 100) = 3.53, p = .06, \eta^2 = .01$ <sup>b</sup> $F(1, 100) = 2.62, p = .11, \eta^2 = .04$	6.11 (1.16)	5.60 (1.37)	5.29 (1.62)
Ethnic ties <sup>a</sup> $F(1, 100) = 1.08, p = .30, \eta^2 = .04$ <sup>b</sup> $F(1, 100) = 1.17, p = .28, \eta^2 = .02$	5.49 (1.11)	5.77 (1.12)	5.89 (1.20)
Religious ties <sup>a</sup> $F(1, 100) < 1, p = .87, \eta^2 < .01$ <sup>b</sup> $F(1, 100) < 1, p = .71, \eta^2 < .01$	5.39 (1.24)	5.26 (1.56)	5.26 (1.67)
National ties <sup>a</sup> $F(1, 100) = 1.04, p = .31, \eta^2 < .01$ <sup>b</sup> $F(1, 100) < 1, p = .86, \eta^2 < .01$	5.23 (1.26)	5.17 (1.21)	4.92 (1.32)

<sup>a</sup> contrast 1: comparing ethnic and religious identity threat conditions against the control condition

<sup>b</sup> contrast 2: comparing ethnic identity threat against the religious identity threat condition

To test whether the relationships between each of the contrasts and the dependent variables were moderated by ingroup friends, quantity of contact, or perceived ingroup similarity, I conducted moderation analyses. First, I dummy coded the contrast groups (threat versus control, and ethnic versus religious threat condition), centered the potential moderator, and computed their interaction terms (Aiken & West, 1991). I subsequently entered the dummy coded contrast, moderator (centered), and their interaction term as predictors into a multiple regression. I conducted these regressions separately for both contrasts and for each potential moderator. Ingroup friends moderated the effect of identity threat on religious centrality,  $R^2 = .28$ ,  $F(3,99) = 12.29$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\beta = -.18$ ,  $t(95) = -1.78$ ,  $p < .08$ , and religious ties,  $R^2 = .31$ ,  $F(3,99) = 14.53$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\beta = -.20$ ,  $t(95) = -2.06$ ,  $p < .05$ . Follow-up analyses confirmed significantly higher levels of religious centrality and ties in the threat conditions as compared to the control condition among those participants who had relatively few ingroup friends (see Figure 6.2 and 6.3). For those with a preponderance of ingroup friends, religious centrality and ties were equally high in the control and threat conditions.

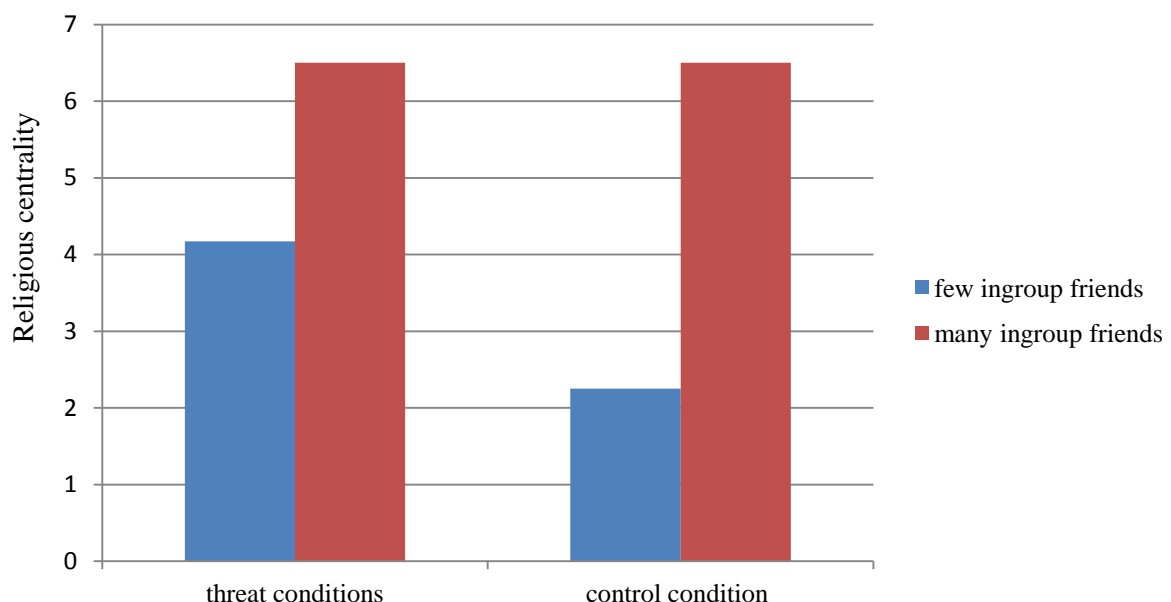


Figure 6.2. Mean levels of religious centrality in the threat versus control conditions by ingroup friends (comparing participants with ingroup friends scores  $>$  mean + 1 SD (red bars) and scores  $<$  mean - 1 SD (blue bars)).

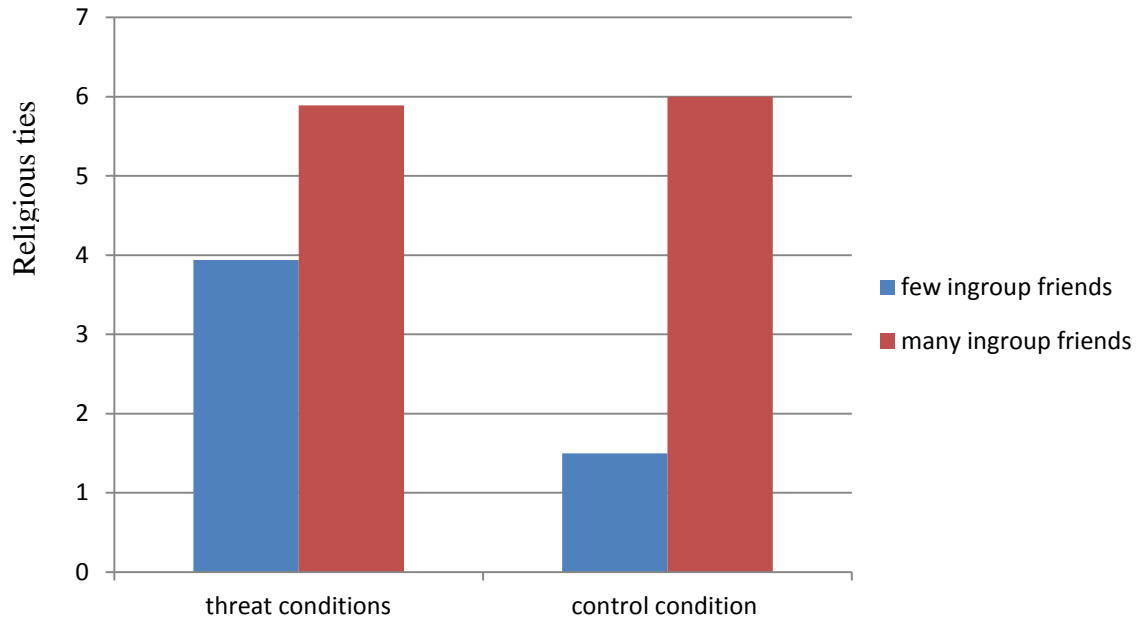


Figure 6.3. Mean levels of religious ties in the threat versus control conditions by ingroup friends (comparing participants with ingroup friends scores > mean + 1 SD (red bars) and scores < mean - 1 SD (blue bars)).

No other significant moderation effects were found,  $\beta_s < |.13|$ ,  $ts < |.1.14|$ ,  $ps > .26$ .

**Social Identity Inclusiveness.** The same orthogonal contrast analyses revealed no significant differences in SII between the threat conditions and the control condition ( $M = 14.79$ ,  $SD = 4.19$ ), nor between the ethnic ( $M = 13.77$ ,  $SD = 2.93$ ) and religious threat ( $M = 14.80$ ,  $SD = 3.64$ ) conditions,  $ts < |.66|$ ,  $ps > .21$ . No significant moderation effects of ingroup friends, quantity of contact or ingroup similarity were found,  $\beta_s < |.18|$ ,  $ts < |.1.56|$ ,  $ps > .12$ .

**Social Identity Structures.** Frequencies of SIS's per condition are presented in Table 6.5. Table 6.6 shows the actual distribution of intersection, dominance and merger structures for each condition, as well as the expected distribution (in parentheses) if SIS would be independent of condition.

Table 6.5

*Frequencies of Social Identity Structures by Condition (Percentages in Parentheses)*

Social Identity Structure	Condition		
	Religious identity threat	Ethnic identity threat	Control
National-ethnic-religious intersection	1 (2.4)	0 (0.0)	1 (3.0)
Ethnic-national intersection	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Ethnic-religious intersection	1 (2.4)	3 (8.6)	0 (0.0)
National-religious intersection	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Ethnic dominance	3 (7.3)	7 (20.0)	5 (15.2)
National dominance	3 (7.3)	8 (22.9)	1 (3.0)
Religious dominance	8 (19.5)	2 (5.7)	9 (27.3)
Ethnic-national merger	6 (14.6)	4 (11.4)	1 (3.0)
Ethnic-religious merger	8 (19.5)	7 (20.0)	4 (12.1)
National-religious merger	1 (2.4)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
Triple merger	5 (12.2)	3 (8.6)	6 (18.2)
Egalitarianism	2 (4.9)	0 (0.0)	2 (6.1)
Idiosyncratic	3 (7.3)	1 (2.9)	4 (12.1)
Total	41 (100.0)	35 (100.0)	33 (100.0)

Table 6.6

*Contingency Table with Observed and Expected Frequencies of Intersection, Dominance and Merger Structures as a Function of Condition*

	Intersection	Dominant	Merger	Total
Condition	structures	structures	structures	
Religious threat	2 (2.25)	14 (17.31)	22 (18.43)	38
Ethnic threat	3 (2.02)	17 (15.49)	14 (14.49)	34
Control	1 (1.72)	15 (13.21)	13 (14.07)	29
Total	6	46	49	101

*Note:* Merger structures include all double, triple merger and egalitarian structures

*Note:* Expected frequencies if both variables would be independent are indicated between parentheses

*Note:* Since the frequency of participants with idiosyncratic structures did not differ across conditions, these were omitted from the contingency analyses.

Contrary to predictions, the observed distribution of SIS did not significantly differ across conditions,  $X^2(4, N = 101) = 2.62, p = .26$ . Similarly, upon comparing the distribution of SIS's in the threat conditions versus the control condition, no significant differences were found in intersection, dominance, or merger structures (see Table 6.7),  $X^2(2, N = 101) = .87, p = .26$ .

Table 6.7

*Observed and Expected (in Parentheses) Frequencies of Intersection, Dominance and Merger Structures in Threat versus Control Conditions*

	Intersection	Dominance	Merger	
Condition	structures	structures	structures	Total
Threat	5 (4.28)	31 (32.79)	36 (34.93)	72
Control	1 (1.72)	15 (13.21)	13 (14.07)	29
Total	6	46	49	101

*Note:* The threat condition includes all participants in both the ethnic and religious threat conditions.

Thus, as in Study 3, the hypothesis of an increase in dominance structures in the threat conditions was not supported. However, comparing the distribution of the content or categories within dominance structures across conditions, a significant difference was found,  $X^2(4, N = 46) = 12.72, p < .03$  (see Table 6.8). Follow-up pairwise Chi Square analyses revealed a significantly higher proportion of national dominance structures in the ethnic threat condition compared to the control condition,  $X^2(1, N = 46) = 5.15, p < .03$ , as well as significantly fewer religious dominance structures than in the control condition,  $X^2(1, N = 46) = 6.87, p < .01$ . Contrary to predictions, religious dominance structures were not significantly more frequent in the religious threat condition compared to the control condition,  $X^2(1, N = 46) = .87, p = .35$ .

Table 6.8

*Observed and Expected (in Parentheses) Frequencies of Ethnic, Religious and National Dominance Structures as a Function of Condition*

	Ethnic	Religious	National	Total
Condition	dominance	dominance	dominance	
Religious threat	3 (4.57)	8 (5.78)	3 (3.65)	14
Ethnic threat	7 (4.56)	2 (7.02)	8 (4.43)	17
Control	5 (4.89)	9 (6.20)	1 (3.91)	15
Total	15	19	12	46

### **Does the Manipulation Lead Participants to Engage in Other Protective Identity Strategies?**

Scores on IOS, identity compatibility, perceived typicality as an ingroup member and BII were subjected to orthogonal contrast analyses, examining significant differences by contrasting i) the threat conditions with the control condition, and ii) the ethnic with the religious threat condition. Descriptives and ANOVA results for these variables are presented in Table 6.9.

Table 6.9

*Means, SD's (in Parentheses) and Orthogonal Contrast Results for Other Identity Variables*

Variable name	Condition		
	Religious threat	Ethnic threat	Control
Inclusion of Outgroup in the Self	4.05 (1.48)	4.19 (1.38)	3.53 (1.60)
<sup>a</sup> $F(1, 100) = 3.10, p = .08, \eta^2 = .01$			
<sup>b</sup> $F(1, 100) < 1, p = .69, \eta^2 < .01$			
Compatibility national-religious identities	5.53 (1.56)	5.03 (1.59)	4.54 (1.91)
<sup>a</sup> $F(1, 100) = 4.00, p < .05, \eta^2 < .01$			
<sup>b</sup> $F(1, 100) = 1.64, p = .20, \eta^2 = .02$			
Compatibility national-ethnic identities	5.41 (1.48)	5.00 (1.84)	4.96 (1.81)
<sup>a</sup> $F(1, 99) < 1, p = .53, \eta^2 < .01$			
<sup>b</sup> $F(1, 99) = 1.06, p = .30, \eta^2 = .02$			
Compatibility ethnic-religious identities	6.23 (1.27)	5.97 (1.22)	6.18 (1.21)
<sup>a</sup> $F(1, 100) < 1, p = .38, \eta^2 < .01$			
<sup>b</sup> $F(1, 100) < 1, p = .77, \eta^2 = .01$			
Perceived typicality of oneself as Muslim	3.79 (1.75)	4.31 (1.95)	4.15 (1.99)
<sup>a</sup> $F(1, 98) < 1, p = .83, \eta^2 < .01$			
<sup>b</sup> $F(1, 98) = -1.18, p = .24, \eta^2 = .02$			
Perceived typicality of oneself as a Turk	3.64 (1.82)	4.09 (1.50)	4.11 (1.78)
<sup>a</sup> $F(1, 98) = 1.04, p = .31, \eta^2 = .03$			
<sup>b</sup> $F(1, 98) = 2.62, p = .11, \eta^2 = .04$			
Bicultural Identity Integration	5.59 (1.21)	5.73 (1.29)	5.94 (.98)
<sup>a</sup> $F(1, 93) = 1.02, p = .31, \eta^2 = .01$			
<sup>b</sup> $F(1, 93) < 1, p = .63, \eta^2 < .01$			

<sup>a</sup> Contrast 1: comparing ethnic and religious identity threat conditions against the control condition

<sup>b</sup> Contrast 2: comparing ethnic identity threat against the religious identity threat condition

*Note:* Due to missing data, *N*'s ranged from 38-41 for the religious threat condition, 33-35 for the ethnic threat condition, and 25-32 for the control condition.

A significant effect of the manipulation was found on compatibility between one's national and religious identities. Contrary to predictions, contrast analyses showed significantly *higher* perceived compatibility between one's national and religious identities in



the threat conditions as opposed to the control condition,  $t(100) = 1.99, p < .05$ . Perceived compatibility between one's national and ethnic identities, and one's ethnic and religious identities were however not affected by the manipulation.

Further, contrary to predictions, IOS was marginally higher in the threat conditions than in the control condition. However, moderation analyses showed that this effect was qualified by ingroup friends,  $R^2 = .09, F(3,99) = 3.09, p < .05, \beta = -.25, t = -2.24, p = .03$ . Follow up analyses were conducted to examine the effect of threat on IOS separately for participants with many versus few ingroup friends (see Figure 6.4).<sup>55</sup> Participants with *few* ingroup friends had significantly lower levels of IOS in the threat ( $M = 3.67, SD = 1.25$ ) than in the control condition ( $M = 6.25, SD = 1.06$ ),  $F(1, 10) = 7.21, p < .05$ . Among participants with many ingroup friends, scores on IOS were low in both conditions, though slightly higher in the threat ( $M = 3.83, SD = 1.77$ ) than in the control condition ( $M = 3.17, SD = 2.08$ ); however, this difference did not reach significance,  $F(1, 11) < 1, ns$ .

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<sup>55</sup> Participants with many ingroup friends were defined as those who scored higher on ingroup friends than the Mean + 1 SD. Participants with few ingroup friends, on the other hand, were those with scores lower than the Mean - 1SD.

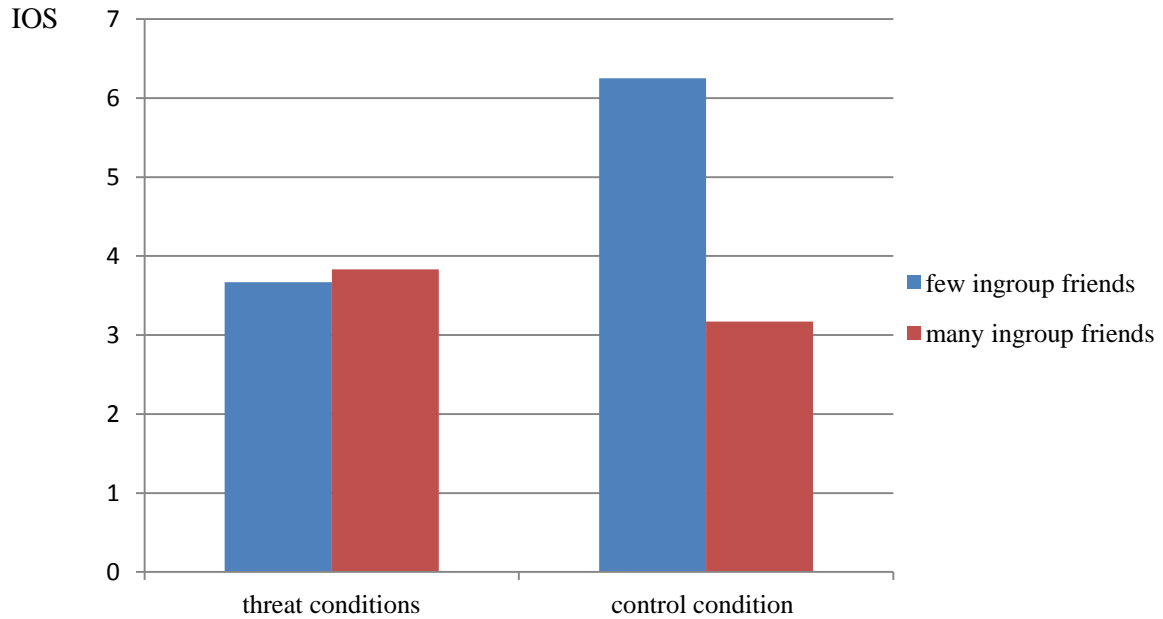


Figure 6.4. Mean levels of inclusion of the outgroup in the self (IOS) in the threat versus control conditions by ingroup friends (comparing participants with ingroup friends scores > mean + 1 SD (red bars) and scores < mean - 1 SD (blue bars)).

**Does the Manipulation Affect Attitudes Towards Outgroups, and Perceived Discrimination?**

Finally, I conducted a priori contrast analyses to assess whether the threat manipulations affected attitudes towards triple ingroups, non-Turkish, non-Muslim Australians, triple outgroups, and perceived discrimination (see Table 6.10). No significant differences, nor moderation effects of ingroup friends, contact, and ingroup similarity, were found,  $\beta$ s < |.18|,  $t$ s < |1.65|,  $p$ s > .10.

Table 6.10

*Means, SD's (in Parentheses) and Orthogonal Contrast Results for Intergroup Attitudes and Experiences of Discrimination*

Variable name	Condition		
	Religious threat	Ethnic threat	Control
<hr/>			
Attitudes triple ingroup			
<sup>a</sup> $F(1, 104) = 1.49, p = .23, \eta^2 = .02$	84.98 (15.59)	83.92 (15.33)	79.97 (21.13)
<sup>b</sup> $F(1, 104) < 1, p = .79, \eta^2 < .01$			
<hr/>			
Attitudes non-Turkish, non-Muslim Australians			
<sup>a</sup> $F(1, 104) < 1, p = .41, \eta^2 < .01$	62.44 (19.28)	58.24 (20.07)	56.48 (27.11)
<sup>b</sup> $F(1, 104) < 1, p = .42, \eta^2 = .01$			
<hr/>			
Attitudes triple outgroup			
<sup>a</sup> $F(1, 104) < 1, p = .90, \eta^2 < .01$	48.19 (19.18)	45.34 (14.14)	47.34 (27.39)
<sup>b</sup> $F(1, 104) < 1, p = .56, \eta^2 < .01$			
<hr/>			
Experiences of discrimination			
<sup>a</sup> $F(1, 100) < 1, p = .95, \eta^2 < .01$	3.20 (1.65)	3.05 (1.55)	3.14 (1.40)
<sup>b</sup> $F(1, 100) < 1, p = .68, \eta^2 < .01$			

<sup>a</sup> Contrast 1: comparing ethnic and religious identity threat conditions against the control condition

<sup>b</sup> Contrast 2: comparing ethnic identity threat against the religious identity threat condition

*Note:* Due to missing data, *N*'s ranged from 38-41 for the religious threat condition, 33-35 for the ethnic threat condition, and 25-32 for the control condition.

## Discussion

In the current study, I examined the impact of an immediate religious versus ethnic identity threat on one's perceptions and feelings towards one's multiple ingroups. Below is a brief overview of the primary findings.

When strength of identification was assessed separately for each relevant ingroup category, no significant differences in strength of ethnic or religious identification were found between participants who were threatened and those who were not. However, a threat to the value of one's minority identities led to a higher centrality of religious identity, and to closer ties with fellow religious ingroup members, among those participants who had relatively fewer ingroup friends (i.e. those with more outgroup friendships). For these participants in the control condition, religious identification was lower than for participants with many ingroup friends, but under threat, religious identification rose to comparable levels.

Interestingly, centrality of national identity was also marginally higher upon minority identity threat. Reported closeness or ties with fellow national ingroup members (Australians), however, did not alter as a function of threat.

How participants combined their multiple identities, in terms of inclusiveness (SII) and integration (BII) were also unaffected by the threat manipulation. The particular combination rule that participants applied in constructing their ingroup, or SIS, also did not change as a function of threat. Examining the content of dominance structures, however, did reveal differences across conditions. Specifically, in the ethnic threat condition, a higher proportion of national dominance structures, and fewer religious dominance structures were found as compared to the control condition. The content of dominance structures in the religious threat condition did however not differ from the control condition.

While no significant increase in perceived compatibility between one's national and ethnic identities, or between ethnic and religious identities was found upon threat,

compatibility between religious and national identities was significantly higher among participants whose minority identities were threatened. Thus, there was evidence that both centrality (and dominance) of national identity and perceived compatibility between national and religious identity actually increased following exposure to identity threat, contrary to expectations.

There was no main effect of threat on inclusion of the outgroup in the self (IOS), but this was also qualified by the number of ingroup friends participants had. For those with predominantly Turkish and Muslim friends, IOS was generally low and not significantly affected by threat. For those with fewer (less exclusive) ingroup friendships, IOS was lowered in the threat condition compared to their relatively high IOS in the control condition.

Finally, outgroup attitudes and intergroup bias remained unaffected by the manipulation.

### **Ethnic versus Religious Identity Threat: The Effectiveness of the Manipulation**

The experimental three-group design was designed to assess the differential effects of ethnic versus religious identity threat, against a neutral, no-threat condition. Given that Islamic identity is under considerable, chronic threat in Australian society, I expected exposure to a single editorial containing negative information about Muslims to have no or limited effects on one's multiple social identities, as compared to the control condition. The value of one's ethnic identity, however, was expected to be much less often the target of threat in broader society, and thus, an experimentally induced threat to ethnic identity was anticipated to have more pronounced effects on one's multiple social identities.

Assessing participants' emotional response to the ethnic and religious threat articles, confirmed that both articles induced similar levels of anger, distress, and lowered happiness. While participants did not report elevated levels of fear, participants in both the ethnic and religious threat conditions did experience the article as threatening to the ingroup that was

targeted by the manipulation. However, these perceptions of threat on behalf of ingroups signalled that the manipulation was not as “clean” as intended. Indeed, the religious threat article not only induced perceptions of threat on behalf of the *religious* ingroup, but it also led to perceptions of threat on behalf of the *ethnic* ingroup. Although this editorial was designed to solely threaten the religious ingroup identity, and did not contain any reference to ethnicity, it was perceived as significantly threatening to Muslims *and* Turkish people.

The spill-over effect of religious threat to perceptions of threat on behalf of multiple ingroups can be explained by the objectively high overlap between the composition of Turkish and Muslim Australians. This finding defeats the rationale that ethnic identity threat would be less common in current Australia. Indeed, although real world threats may be most often directed at Islamic identities, ratings of threat perceptions by ingroups suggest that such religious threats are also likely to be perceived as threatening ethnic group membership as well. Minority identities, as much as they are overlapping in terms of group members, are thus also likely to share in the effect of threat directed at only one of them. This finding led to reframing the experimental conditions as assessing the effect of *multiple* social identity threat (religious threat condition) versus *single* social identity threat (ethnic threat condition) versus *no* threat (control condition).

### **The Effect of Minority Identity Threat on Social Identity Related Variables**

Being presented with a minority identity threat did not lead to overall higher levels of religious and ethnic identification. Participants’ affiliation with the national ingroup however did alter in response to threat. Specifically, centrality of national identity was marginally higher among participants in the threat conditions as compared to those in the control condition. No such increase was found in experienced connectedness or ties with fellow Australians. Hence, a threat to one’s minority identity led participants to assign more importance to their national group membership as a marker of their social identity, without

altering their feelings of connectedness to Australians from other ethnic and religious backgrounds. Although speculative, the selective increase in terms of centrality of national identity could be explained as an identity restorative mechanism upon threat, through which participants *claim* membership to a group more strongly, driven by a need for a positive self concept rather than an increased need to belong.

The lack of a significant change in identification with the ethnic and religious ingroup, SII, and BII upon threat supports the idea of relative stability among minority group members' self construals. However, data also suggest that this relative stability in terms of social identity, to some extent, was qualified by how many ingroup friends participants reported having. For those with relatively high proportion of ingroup friends, strength of religious identification was equally high in both control and threat conditions. Participants who reported few ingroup friends, however, showed a significantly higher level of religious identity centrality and ties in the threat conditions. This finding suggests a ceiling effect that may have hampered further increase in religious identification following threat among those who befriend mostly fellow Turkish/Muslim others. In contrast, those participants whose close networks were more ethnically and religiously diverse, had overall lower levels of religious identification in the control condition, and therefore the effect of threat on religious identification was more likely to be detected. No pre-manipulation levels of religious identification were assessed, however, which would be needed to verify this post-hoc explanation.

A similar pattern of moderation was found on the measure of inclusion of outgroups in the self. Participants with high ingroup friendship scores were equally low in IOS in control and threat conditions, but participants with fewer ingroup friends were more affected by the threat manipulation, significantly lowering IOS compared to under the control condition.

Another reason as to why threat only evoked increased levels of religious identification and lower IOS among those with more diverse networks of close friends, could be a higher sensitivity to identity threat among those socially more integrated participants. Previous research has found a greater impact of minority identity threat among minority members who are better integrated, or who adopt dual identities (merger between national and minority identity) as opposed to segregated or assimilated identities. For instance, Baysu, Phalet and Brown (2011) found more negative school outcomes following minority identity threat only among Turkish Belgian students who had a dual identity, but not among those with a separated identity (e.g., assimilated or segregated identity). Similarly, Brown, Rutland, and Watters (2007) found Asian minority children with an integration strategy of acculturation exhibited more stress and social anxiety in school than children with either separation or assimilation strategies. Likewise, current findings may suggest a higher sensitivity towards identity threat, as expressed by a reactive increase in religious identification and distancing from religious and ethnic outgroup members, only among those participants who are socially better integrated and likely to merge multiple group memberships in their ingroup representations.

Contrary to predictions, no significant increase in dominance structures, nor a decrease in merger structures, was found upon threat. Nonetheless, some significant changes in terms of *content* of the identity were found, among those participants who endorsed dominant SIS's. Specifically, among participants with dominant SIS's, national dominance structures were represented more often in the ethnic identity threat condition while religious dominance structures were less common as compared to the control condition. While the increase in national dominance structures in the ethnic threat condition could suggest a strategic shift towards another identity source when another valued identity is under threat, it is not clear why such a shift was absent in the religious threat condition, especially since the



religious threat article was rated as more threatening, and increased perceptions of threat by the ethnic as well as the religious ingroup. This inconsistency makes it hard to meaningfully interpret these findings, and point to the usefulness of follow up studies with larger sample sizes.

### **The Effect of Minority Identity Threat on Intergroup Attitudes**

Contrary to predictions, no effect of the threat manipulation on intergroup attitudes was found. Although participants in the threat condition did show increased positivity towards fellow Turkish Australian Muslim targets in the TCCT as compared to those in the control condition, this difference did not reach significance. (Attitude ratings of triple ingroup members were very high in the control condition to begin with, hence again a ceiling effect could have reduced sensitivity to change). Similarly, no difference in attitudes towards non-Turkish, non-Muslim Australians, nor towards remote outgroups, was found.

### **Study Limitations and Conclusion**

One major limitation of the current study is the lack of success in creating a manipulation that solely impacts on one single important social identity. The finding that a threat targeted at one particular ingroup was also perceived to be threatening to another ingroup, makes it hard to interpret the findings. Moreover, the finding that a threat directed at one's religious identity was also threatening to one's Turkish identity, makes it likely for Turkish Australian Muslims to experience threat to both their ethnic and religious identities on a regular basis, given the widespread negative attitudes towards Muslims. Putting the findings in a wider context, this leads to questioning the "neutrality" of participants in the control condition. Given that they, too, live in a context where religious and ethnic threat do not seem to be exceptional, it is unlikely for a simple, single threat manipulation to lead to differential effects among participants in the experimental conditions. In conclusion, the immediate context does seem to impact on minority group members' multiple social

identities temporarily and to some extent; however, the impact of the broader environment in which they live (more specifically, chronic threat exposures) may override those “on the spot” alterations in their perceptions of multiple ingroups.

### **General Discussion**

Study 3 and 4 were designed to examine whether and how ingroup construals would be altered following an immediate threat to a valued minority identity. Changes in intergroup perceptions and attitudes were examined as well. The results of both studies do not indicate a significant malleability of ingroup construals among ethnic and religious minority members under an immediate minority identity threat. In both studies, the inclusiveness of the ingroup construal was not affected by minority identity threat. Similarly, across both studies, the distribution of social identity structures did show some effects of threat, but the pattern was not consistent across studies. In Study 3, a significantly higher proportion of merger structures was detected among participants whose religious identity was reassured as opposed to threatened, suggesting the distribution of SIS's to shift only when the immediate context alters quite drastically, e.g., from an environment that reassures minority identity to an environment that threatens it. But even then, the effect on ingroup construals was minor. Whereas exposure to identity threat did not impact significantly on the overall distribution of social identity structures, it did affect the particular composition of ingroup construals among participants with dominance structures. In Study 3, religious dominance structures were present more frequently in the religious threat condition, as compared to the reassurance and control conditions. In Study 4, a higher proportion of national dominance structures, and a lower proportion of religious dominance structures were found in the ethnic threat condition as compared to the control condition. These findings suggest that, as a result of an immediate ingroup threat, minority members who define their ingroup on the basis of one single dominant category may shift their ingroup construal to another important category. However,

the effects of threat on the content of dominance structures that were found across both studies do not paint a coherent picture as to *which* categories minority members will shift to under *which* ingroup identity threat.

In terms of strength of identification with singular categories, inconsistencies were found across the two studies as well. Whereas in Study 3 religious identification was not stronger among participants whose religious identity was threatened, Study 4 did provide evidence of greater religious identification upon threat, but only among those participants who had relatively few ingroup friends. In other words, those Turkish Australian Muslims who had a more diverse network of friends (reaching beyond their religious and ethnic ingroup boundaries) did respond to threat with increased attachment to their Muslim identity, and to fellow Muslims. Study 4 also provided evidence of stronger national identification among threatened participants. Specifically, participants whose minority identity was threatened gave greater importance to their Australian identity as a self-definition, but did not increase their ties or emotional closeness to fellow Australians. Unfortunately, national and ethnic identification measures were not included in Study 3, and therefore no inferences can be made on the robustness of the effect of threat on national identification.

Taking the results of both studies together, the only consistent finding is the minimal effect of immediate minority identity threat on the inclusiveness of the ingroup construal and on the combination rule participants applied to construct their ingroup from multiple categories. Thus, the ways in which double minority participants construed their ingroup remained largely unaffected by immediate minority threat. Participants' ethnic, religious and national group memberships provide important sources for their self definitions, as evidenced by the overall high levels of ethnic, religious and national identification among participants across both studies. The combination of these important group memberships into a coherent ingroup construal is critical for minority members' positioning and belonging within a

complex society. Hence, repositioning or redefining themselves in terms of belonging in response to a single immediate cue may not be a functional strategy, especially since threats towards Muslim identity are currently common in Australia, and thus this would require instant and constant shifting of ingroup construals in response to immediate threats.

The absence of an immediate response in terms of SII and SIS to a threat directed at the minority identity does not imply that ingroup construals are immune to the social context. Minority members however are often exposed to identity threats and messages about the incompatibility of their group memberships, and thus the experimental threat manipulation may have been more a reflection of the societal context instead of a manipulation as such. To study the effect of chronic exposure to identity threats on ingroup construals among minority groups, comparative studies on minorities with similar ethnic and religious group memberships living in a different national context may be useful. To get to the heart of whether and how ingroup construals are affected by the immediate context, lab studies on artificial group memberships and induced social identities may provide a more “clean” – albeit ecologically less valid – alternative to study this relationship. Another suggestion for future research may be to adapt the TCCT instructions so that the task would become more context-sensitive. For example, the instructions of the TCCT could ask participants to categorise the targets according to how they perceive their ingroup *right now*; this may make the method more sensitive to the immediate manipulated context and as a result, categorisation patterns may be more likely to change following the threat manipulation.<sup>56</sup> These and other future directions and limitations will be expanded upon in the following, final Chapter.

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<sup>56</sup> I would like to thank an anonymous examiner of this thesis for this suggestion.



## CHAPTER 7: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The current research proposes a new framework to conceptualise and measure how members of minority groups subjectively combine their cross-cutting group memberships into an ingroup construal. Specifically, the subjective combination of multiple social identities is described in terms of structure (Social Identity Structure, SIS) and inclusiveness (Social Identity Inclusiveness, SII). For both these concepts, I introduced a method of assessment in the form of the Triple-Crossed Categorisation Task. This task was deployed in four community based studies in this thesis.

In the first two studies, I assessed SII and SIS as individual difference variables in a sample of Turkish Australian Muslim adults (Study 1) and Turkish Australian Muslim adolescents (Study 2). In Study 1, SII and SIS varied widely among participants, even though they all belonged to the same ethnic, religious and national groups, and identification with each of these groups was generally high. These broad individual differences in SII and SIS persisted in Study 2, where participants also shared a socialization context that was highly convergent in its composition of group memberships. Findings of both studies showed SII to be a valid construct, distinct from measures of identification with singular categories, convergent with the inclusion of outgroups in the self, and positively related with outgroup contact. Moreover, eight different SIS's were identified and replicated across both studies, further attesting to the validity of the conceptual model. Importantly, across both studies, SII uniquely predicted attitudes towards a range of outgroups, including remote outgroups with whom participants were unlikely to have contact.

Taken together, these findings attest to the need to distinguish a person's subjective construal of the ingroup from their objective group memberships, and from their levels of identification with each group measured separately. The identified levels of inclusiveness and structures provide a picture as to where Turkish Australian Muslim participants felt they

belong, much richer than the possible combinations of identities that are proposed by unidimensional, bidimensional, or hierarchical models of multiple identities. In addition to delineating subjective belonging in a complex, cross-cutting society, subjective ingroup construals were consistently linked with attitudes towards other groups. The assessment of SII and SIS may thus help to untangle the link between social identity and intergroup relations, a link that has not been fully understood with classical assessments of social identification.

Given their potential significance to the study of intergroup relations, in the next two studies I examined the malleability of SII and SIS in the face of minority identity threat. In both studies, the inclusiveness of the ingroup construal was not affected by a threat to Turkish or Muslim identity. Social identity structures were affected by threat, but the pattern was not consistent across the two studies. In sum, exposure to a minority identity threat did not have a consistent effect on how our double minority participants construed their ingroup.

In the current chapter, I first bring together the findings of all four empirical chapters and discuss these in light of the individual and contextual factors surrounding minority members' ingroup construals. I continue with a discussion of the contributions this research has made to the study of multiple social identities in minority groups. Finally, this chapter discusses practical implications, limitations, and future directions.

### **The Role of Individual versus Contextual Differences in SII and SIS**

The resolution of multiple, divergent group memberships into a coherent ingroup construal was expected to vary among individuals (i.e. as an individual difference variable), but also to be influenced by the close social environment (e.g., a person's social network), and the broader socio-political context (e.g., prevailing norms on the compatibility between multiple group memberships). Apart from these more stable, chronic predictors, the impact of

more immediate factors on ingroup construals was examined as well in the present research (Study 3 and 4).

Findings of the first two studies indeed revealed wide individual differences in SII and SIS among participants who nonetheless shared the same three important group memberships and lived in similar social environments. The inclusiveness of ingroup construals was, however, related to variations among participants in the quantity and quality of contact and friendships they had with people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds. Engaging in frequent and positive outgroup contact may thus, over time, lead minority members to extend their ingroup construal to encompass people who belong to other religious and/or ethnic groups. Hence, SII and SIS are by no means fixed, stable personality attributes that are independent of the context. Instead, they appear to be shaped by a person's social network.

In addition to the diversity of the social network, there may be other contextual factors that lead to expansion of ingroup construals. Findings of Study 2, for instance, showed a remarkable ability of Turkish Australian Muslim students at segregated schools to adopt ingroup construals more inclusive than the immediate, highly convergent environment, even including others with whom contact ought to be rare or nonexistent (such as Muslims living in Pakistan, or Christian Turkish citizens). This demonstrates how ingroup construals are in essence psychological representations of where one belongs, that are not necessarily reflections of (and may go far beyond) one's immediate social environment.

Another social factor that may influence feelings of belonging, and contribute to the discrepancy between the inclusiveness of the ingroups one is *physically* surrounded by, and the inclusiveness of the ingroup one *psychologically* feels to belong to, may be related to the prevailing societal norms about the compatibility between minorities' multiple groups. Indeed, findings of Study 3 showed that participants were less likely to combine multiple



groups in their ingroup construal after reading a threatening (as opposed to reassuring) message about Muslim integration in Australia. While the lower likelihood to combine multiple identities upon threat may point to a defensive mechanism, through which minorities simplify their ingroup definition in order to protect themselves from the harmful effects of threat, findings of Study 4 provide some evidence for an opposite strategy of identity reassertion upon threat. In this study, both centrality of national identification and perceived compatibility between religious and national identities increased after a similar threat.

Although findings of Study 3 and 4 were inconclusive, they do demonstrate ingroup definitions to be affected by immediate, identity threatening situations. This suggests that more chronic exposure to societal norms and conceptions surrounding the compatibility between minority and national identities may also play a role in shaping the ingroup construals of minority members. Although no such conclusion can be drawn from current findings, previous research has demonstrated how feelings of belonging among minorities may alter as a function of the broader societal context. For instance, correlations between ethnic and national identity differ according to the national context: in countries without an extensive history of migration, and with assimilationist policies, these correlations tend to be strongly negative (Yagmur & van de Vijver, 2012). Other research has shown how the feeling of validation of dual identities by majority members is a requirement for the psychological compatibility of ethnic/religious and national identities in minority members (Fleischmann & Phalet, 2013). The current data were all collected within the same national context of Australia, and therefore do not allow assessment of the exact role of the broader societal context in the formation of ingroup construals. Whether and how broader societal norms moderate ingroup construals of ethnic and religious minority groups, remains to be investigated. Studies comparing similar minorities in different national contexts would be able to shed more light on the role of the broader, national context.

In sum, the present research has demonstrated broad individual differences in ingroup construals among Turkish Australian Muslims. These differences were not trait-like qualities, but were related to contextual factors –especially outgroup contact and friendships, and to some extent influenced by exposure to ideas about the (in)compatibility between identities. Individuals’ ingroup construals are therefore likely to be formed through an interaction between psychological processes on one hand, and social processes (e.g., social network, social structure of intergroup relations) on the other hand.

### **Contributions of the Research**

The findings of this research offer noteworthy contributions to i) models of multiple social identities, ii) methods of assessment of social identities, iii) our understanding of social identities in increasingly complex societies, and iv) our understanding of the link between social identity and outgroup attitudes. This section addresses each of these points.

#### **Contributions to Models of Multiple Social Identities**

The constructs of SII and SIS as proposed in this thesis make several contributions to models and conceptions of multiple social identities already in place.

First, the validity of SII and SIS, and their meaningful relationship with outgroup attitudes as demonstrated in this research, supports Roccas and Brewer’s (2002) conceptualisation of the subjective interrelations between multiple social identities as a meaningful individual difference variable. A similar, consistent positive relationship between SIC and outgroup attitudes has been demonstrated in several other studies (e.g., Brewer & Pierce, 2005; Miller, Brewer, & Arbuckle, 2009; Schmid et al., 2009). SII also offers a valid extension of the construct of social identity complexity, conceptualised as the perceived overlap among group memberships (Roccas and Brewer, 2002). Whereas previous research on SIC theory has repeatedly demonstrated the relevance of cognitive *awareness* of non-overlap between multiple social identities to outgroup attitudes (Brewer & Pierce, 2005;

Miller, Brewer, and Arbuckle, 2009), the current research has extended this by demonstrating how *identification* with non-overlapping conjunctions also consistently predicts outgroup attitudes. The differentiation between the ability to cognitively disentangle partially overlapping ingroups in terms of their group compositions, and the actual full acceptance of others who share membership to some but not all important ingroups, may be particularly relevant to studies on minority groups. Although minority group members are likely to be aware of the low overlap between their national and ethnic/religious minority identities, that does not necessarily mean their ingroup construal would encompass all their fellow national, ethnic and religious ingroup members. Especially when a particular combination of multiple identities is contested by societal norms (such as Islamic and national identities), identification with non-overlapping conjunctions is unlikely to automatically flow from being aware of this non-overlap. Indeed, Brewer and colleagues (Brewer, Gonsalkorale, van Dommelen, 2013) found a significant positive correlation between the awareness of non-overlap (SIC) and the inclusiveness of the national identity among majority members (Anglo Australians), but no such significant correlation was found among minority members (Asian Australians). Hence, the proposed extension of identity complexity as a measure for the inclusiveness of the ingroup construal may be of particular relevance to minority groups.

In addition, this research is the first to successfully operationalise and validate the distinct social identity structures introduced by Roccas and Brewer (2002) among community groups to whom this construct is of particular relevance. Importantly, several social identity structures that were identified in the studies (e.g., religious dominance, ethnic-religious intersection, or egalitarian structures) would not have emerged when applying unidimensional, bidimensional or hierarchical models. These models are thus not fully informative when applied to ethnic and religious minority groups.

A common weakness in these other models is that they all hold assumptions on how social identities are combined. According to unidimensional models (e.g., Gordon, 1964) the relationship between multiple group memberships is mutually exclusive. Bidimensional models (based on Berry's (1999) acculturation model) conceive this relationship as independent. Hierarchical models, such as the Common Ingroup Identity Model (Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993), propose multiple identities to encompass each other as more or less inclusive ingroup definitions. Each of these assumptions surrounding the relationship between multiple social identities has been contested by research (e.g., Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000; Fleischmann & Phalet, 2013; Wenzel, Mummendey, & Waldzus, 2007). A novel contribution of this current work is that restrictive assumptions regarding the combination of multiple social identities that underlie previous models are removed from the conceptual framework and method of assessment. By assessing how individuals subjectively combine their multiple group memberships in an unconstrained manner, a greater range of feelings of belonging and specific identity patterns is obtained.

Also contributing to a more specific assessment of ingroup construals, is the inclusion of religious group membership in addition to ethnic and national group memberships. Most studies on multiple identities in minority groups have compared attachment to the nation (national identity) with attachment to the heritage culture – the latter representing both ethnic and religious belonging. The findings of the current work however demonstrate that, for double minorities, it is more appropriate to assess ethnic and religious group memberships as distinct categories. Indeed, despite an objectively high overlap between their ethnic and religious groups (since most Turkish are also Muslim), participants across all studies clearly differentiated between the two groups in their ingroup construals (SIS's such as religious dominance and ethnic dominance attest to this). By including religious membership as a third

important basis for ingroup construals, much richer insights into subjective belonging were obtained.

### **Contributions to the Assessment of Multiple Social Identities**

The introduced Triple-Crossed Categorisation Task (TCCT) may be a useful addition to the range of identification measures currently available (e.g., Cameron, 2004; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Tropp & Wright, 2001). Indeed, this measurement tool has several advantages over other identification measures. First, the crossing of salient dimensions reveals important quantitative and qualitative information about social identity processes in the context of multiple categories. Traditional identification measures fail to capture the cognitive representation that participants have of each ingroup label. By crossing ingroup/outgroup membership on multiple dimensions simultaneously, the TCCT enables the respondent to exclude targets that do not fit the prototype that he or she has in mind. The comparison of results from traditional measures of identification with each ingroup separately with those from the SIS patterns derived from the TCCT (Study 1) argues in favour of a need to differentiate between quantitative identification with external labels and qualitative internal representations of the ingroup.

Second, the simultaneous variation of ingroup-outgroup membership on multiple categories makes the TCCT a relatively unobtrusive measure of both identification and intergroup bias, as one can exclude a target, or evaluate it negatively, without explicitly revealing the categorical basis on which this was done. Its unobtrusive nature should decrease social desirability influences compared to traditional explicit ingroup/out-group attitudinal self-report measures.

Third, the TCCT is also particularly useful when language forms a barrier to assessment, as is often the case in acculturation research. Finally, the TCCT can be used not only to assess SII and SIS among minority members, but can also be applied to study ingroup

construals among majority or other minority groups within the same national context for purposes of comparison or explication of the relationships between ingroup identity structures and intergroup relations.

### **Contributions to our Understanding of Complex Identities in Complex Societies**

The assessment of subjective ingroup construals among community members who highly identified with the same three specific groups, revealed quantitative and qualitative individual differences in subjective belonging. In today's cross-cutting, interconnected societies, in which individuals have access to many different social identities, the assessment of subjective ingroup construals is becoming increasingly relevant. Preconceived ideas about mutual exclusiveness between social identities, and distinctions between, for instance, majority and minority groups, are increasingly challenged by today's reality. For instance, in many Western countries, the number of majority members who convert to Islam, and thus take up a minority identity, is on the rise, thereby challenging the perceived incompatibility between national and religious belonging. Moreover, the discrepancy between the inclusiveness of the ingroup one is physically surrounded by, and the inclusiveness of the ingroup one psychologically feels to belong to, is becoming increasingly clear in today's globalised and interconnected world (e.g., global movements such as Greenpeace, Western European youngsters who convert to Islam and travel to Syria to defend fellow Muslims). Ingroup representations are no longer bound by the social environment, but may transcend nations and even continents.

Individuals can all strongly identify with a group while the perceived inclusiveness of this group may vary drastically across those individuals, which challenges the idea that an objective category label should be linked to a preconceived ingroup representation. Yet research continues to deploy methods of assessment of social identities that assume static and mutually exclusive ingroup representations, by assessing and comparing identification with

separate category labels. For instance, the Pew global attitudes survey (2006), assessing attitudes among European Muslims towards “Westerners,” asked respondents to choose between religion and nationality as their primary identity. Such assessments may not only distort research findings, but also *dictate* social identities, and further reinforce ideas that feed separation and intergroup hostility. In today’s cross-cutting and globalised worlds, the assessment of subjective ingroup construals may thus be more relevant than ever.

### **Contributions to our Understanding of the Relationship between Social Identity and Intergroup Relations**

Finally, the assessment of the ingroup construal as perceived by the individual not only provides specific insight into feelings of belonging, but also enables the study of the link between social identity and prejudice more comprehensively. Although it has been established that social identity plays a key role in shaping outgroup attitudes, research examining the relationship between strength of identification and outgroup attitudes has yielded contradicting results, with correlations ranging from significantly positive to significantly negative (Hinkle & Brown, 1990). A possible explanation for this inconsistent relationship is that the effect of group identification on attitudes may be qualified by a range of other variables, such as the particular nature or content of the ingroup category that is examined (e.g., What are the ingroup norms? Some groups promote universal tolerance and altruism, whereas other groups endorse racist ideologies), the particular social context (e.g., Are groups perceived to be in conflict with one another over scarce resources, or political power? e.g., Sherif, 1966), and the particular dimension of identification that is being measured (different dimensions of identification may relate differently to outgroup attitudes; e.g., Phinney, 1990). Social identity inclusiveness, however, predicted outgroup attitudes consistently across both studies, while none of the measures of identification with singular groups yielded a similar consistent relationship. Thus, SII may provide a mechanism which

explains how close friendships with outgroup members may lead to generalised positive effects on attitudes towards a range of outgroups. Previous research has demonstrated that a close friendship with an outgroup member may lead a person to perceive a higher overlap between this outgroup and the self, and to incorporate this outgroup in the self (Wright, Aron, & Tropp, 2002). SII, which was shown in Study 1 and 2 to be empirically related to the inclusion of outgroups in the self, may help explain the pathway from close outgroup friends to generalised positive attitudes towards a range of outgroups.

Moreover, SII was a unique, positive predictor of attitudes towards a range of outgroups, including remote outgroups with whom participants were unlikely to have contact (e.g., Hindu people living in India), and outgroups defined on dimensions other than the ethnicity, religion, and nationality, on which basis SII was assessed (e.g., gay people, homeless people). Thus, the variation in attitudes towards a range of outgroups was partially yet consistently derived from variations in the way participants conceptualised their own ingroup. This interrelatedness between perceptions of one's own group versus other groups in general, supports the deprovincialization hypothesis as postulated by Pettigrew (1997). Deprovincialization is proposed as a mechanism of distancing from one's own ingroups that flows from extensive personal contact with members of an outgroup, and that would explain the generalization of more positive attitudes towards a range of outgroups (Pettigrew, 1997).

While previous research has provided support for the first part of the deprovincialization hypothesis, specifically, for the association between quantity of outgroup contact and distancing from the ingroup (Verkuyten, Thijs, & Bekhuis, 2010), the current research provides support for the second pathway, i.e., from the redefinition of the ingroup to attitudes towards a range of outgroups. Indeed, across two studies, variations in SII (as a proxy for deprovincialization) significantly predicted attitudes toward a range of outgroups, independently from outgroup contact. Measures of identification with singular ingroups (also



used by Verkuyten et al., 2010, as a proxy for deprovincialization) did not predict outgroup attitudes consistently across both studies.

Thus, the study of ingroup construals may provide an alternative way to study the link between social belonging and outgroup attitudes, going beyond the specifics of one particular group or context. Conceptualising and measuring ingroup identity as the combination of multiple important group memberships, may lead to a better understanding of the relationship between contact, social identity, and outgroup attitudes. In turn, this may inform the development of more effective intervention strategies aimed at improving intergroup relations.

### **Practical Implications**

From this research, an important conclusion can also be drawn with regards to policies and interventions aimed at increasing social harmony and reducing prejudice. Although social psychologists have long understood the impact of social identity on the effectiveness of such interventions (mostly involving some form of intergroup contact), existing models approach social identities as mutually exclusive, hierarchical group memberships whose salience needs to be manipulated, if an intervention were to succeed (see also Brewer, 2008, for relevant commentaries). For instance, the common ingroup identity model suggests that making salient a more inclusive, superordinate ingroup identity would provide the social glue that connects individuals with each other across ethnic and religious group lines, and decreases prejudice and bias towards those who were previously perceived as outgroup members. Other models suggest to *reduce* the salience of group memberships to favour personalised encounters with outgroup members (Brewer & Miller, 1984), or instead to *increase* social identity salience to foster mutual respect and enable positive interdependence (Hewson & Brown, 1986). Although each of these models have been shown to be effective in creating cohesion and lowering bias among groups in lab-based studies (Gaertner, Mann, Murrell, &

Dovidio, 1989; Gaertner, Mann, Dovidio, Murrell, & Pomare, 1990), real-world applications are likely to become much more complicated compared to the experimental paradigms that have been tested so far. Indeed, when applied to real groups, in environments that are often highly contextualised, motivational forces may undermine any effort to redefine one's ingroup as more inclusive, or alter its salience. For instance, merging groups into one overarching social category has been found to sometimes even worsen intergroup bias (e.g., Hornsey & Hogg, 2000).

The introduced constructs SII and SIS move away from the conceptualisation of social identities as mutually exclusive, hierarchical self-categorisations. By characterizing social groups as cross-cutting sources from which individuals can draw their ingroup construals, they may provide a valuable alternative conceptualisation on which future interventions may capitalise. Indeed, the consistent positive relationship between SII and attitudes towards a range of outgroups – including remote outgroups – opens up another avenue to the development of interventions aimed at increasing harmony and reducing prejudice. Instead of working towards increased identification with presumed superordinate categories (national identity being the most likely target identity), it may be more effective, and realistic in countries where discrimination and power differences still prevail, to make salient the multiple group memberships both majorities and minorities take on, and the cross-cutting nature of one's multiple group memberships (see Brewer, 1997).

Further, since individuals form their ingroup construals not in a vacuum, but in highly contextualised societies, social interventions may be more beneficial than individual level programs. One possibility, for instance, would be to offer a platform to individuals who belong to the intersection of groups who, according to prevailing norms, are thought to be mutually exclusive (e.g., Anglo Australians who converted to Islam). Although immediate effects of such interventions on people's ingroup construals are unlikely, making a prolonged

effort to increase peoples' social identity inclusiveness may be a more productive route to increasing social harmony and reducing prejudice, than trying to impose superordinate national identification on all citizens.

### **Limitations and Future Directions**

The research in this thesis moves beyond the traditional quantitative methods used in social identity research and builds on theory concerning social identity complexity (Roccas & Brewer, 2002) by operationalising qualitative, subjective aspects of social identities. In addition to the contributions of this work to the field, which have been discussed in the previous section, the following limitations can be noted.

First, although the current work offers insights into the antecedents and consequences of ingroup construals among Turkish Australian Muslims, a limitation is the reliance on the same double minority in the same national context across all four studies. However, most social psychological research to date relies on samples of convenience (student samples), which, in addition to being less relevant to studies of multiple social identities, also does not allow generalising to groups other than student populations. Nonetheless, further research is needed to examine whether the current findings also apply to other minority groups in different national contexts. Indeed, the population of Turkish Australian Muslims that was examined in this thesis may carry distinct qualities, not present in other minority groups, that could have coloured the findings. To illustrate, certain social identity structures that were identified, are also reflected in the political landscape in Turkey, which is clearly divided by Turkish nationalist (ethnic dominance) and Islamist (religious dominance) movements. Current findings may also be specific to the national (Australian) context, and the intergroup dynamics between majority and minorities in Australia (Yagmur & van de Vijver, 2012). Hence, future studies on other double minority groups in different national contexts would enable testing of whether the current findings generalise across distinct minority populations.

Research examining antecedents of more inclusive ingroup construals, both on the level of the individual (e.g., personal attributes such as values, self-expansion motives), the minority group that is examined (by comparing different minorities in the same country), and the broader society (e.g., by comparing the same minority group in countries that differ in, for example, immigration policies) will help understand how ingroup construals develop and, in turn, may inform interventions aimed at reducing prejudice and improving social cohesion.

The current work has convincingly demonstrated a consistent link between SII and attitudes towards a range of outgroups. What yet needs to be examined is whether SII also predicts people's behaviour towards members of outgroups, and if so, whether these behavioural changes persist in interactions with members of different outgroups, including remote outgroups. In addition, there are other domains that may affect, or be affected by, ingroup construals, that warrant further research. For example, findings of Study 1 demonstrated a significant positive relationship between SII and variables related to psychological wellbeing, specifically, satisfaction with personal relationships, and life as a whole. Other researchers have recognised the importance of social support and close relationships in enhancing the formation of an integrated, inclusive social self (e.g., Amiot, de la Sablonniere, Terry, & Smith, 2007). Future research may investigate whether and how personal relationships and psychological wellbeing influence ingroup construals.

Another limitation is the use of relatively small samples. I tried to make the samples as large as pragmatically possible, and all studies contained a final sample size (after exclusions) between 109 and 138 participants. Nonetheless, larger sample sizes would have enabled meaningful comparisons of different SIS's, and allowed examination of intercorrelations among traditional identification items across different SIS's.

Moreover, while the current research contained both cross-sectional and experimental studies, developmental and longitudinal research is also needed to examine the intra-

individual development and stability of SIS and SII across time. For instance, data of Study 4 indicated SII to significantly increase among Turkish Muslim students aged 16 to 18 years, suggesting a developmental shift in SII in late adolescence, yet it is not clear what factors are facilitating this developmental increase in inclusiveness. In their cognitive-developmental model for the integration of social identities, Amiot and colleagues (Amiot, de la Sablonniere, Terry, & Smith, 2007) nominate inhibitors (e.g., feelings of threat resulting from a changing environment) as well as facilitators (e.g., coping skills, social support) that can explain developmental changes in integration of social identities in the self. Future longitudinal research would enable us to shed light on cognitive and developmental pathways that may either facilitate or impede the combination of multiple ingroups into a coherent ingroup construal, and in turn may inform the development of school-based interventions surrounding social belonging and prejudice.

Future studies that assess the relationship between SII and Bicultural Identity Integration (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005) could further contribute to establishing the construct validity of SII. Although the current work did not find a significant relationship between SII and BII, this could be due to a poor selection and adaptation of the original BII-1 items that were included in the current studies. In the adapted BII items, for instance, ethnic and religious group memberships were assessed in combination against the national category. Including BII items that assess the integration of each pair of group memberships separately, may have been a more appropriate adaptation for assessing the relationship between BII and SII.

In all four studies of the current research, SII and SIS were assessed on the basis of national, ethnic and religious categories. One important question is which and how many categories should be included in the categorisation task, in order for results to best reflect the subjective ingroup representation. In these studies, I opted to select these three categories,

since i) previous research has shown these categories to be of importance to ethnic and religious minorities, and their importance was confirmed by the current data, and ii) three categories appears to be the maximum for feasibility of the method and statistical analyses.

Nonetheless, there are other sources of identity, such as regional or city identities, professional identities, and gender identities, and leaving out these group memberships may have somewhat distorted the findings. For instance, a person may not identify with a majority Australian in general, but if city identity is important, he or she may identify with a majority member who shares the same city. Future research may consider other sources of identity when assessing ingroup construals, depending on the specific sample and context of the research. Relatedly, one may question whether the correlations between SII, contact, and outgroup attitudes, would emerge when other dimensions, such as profession or sports fandom, would be used to determine ingroup construals. These relationships are expected to hold, as long as the social categories examined are intrinsically meaningful to the self-definition of the sample of interest; in other words, when people actually identify as members of the categories examined. Future research is needed however, to study whether these relationships indeed hold up when important categories other than nationality, ethnicity and religion are used in the categorisation task.

Another limitation of this work is that no study was conducted among ethnic and religious majority members in Australia (i.e., Anglo Australian Christians). Insight into ingroup construals among majority members within the same nation would have put the distribution of SII and SIS's into a more meaningful context. For instance, data of Study 1 and 2 revealed almost half of Turkish Australian Muslim participants included non-Turkish, Christian Australians in their ingroup construals, whereas half did not. A similar study among Anglo Australians would certainly have helped to meaningfully interpret this proportion. It may be that the exclusion of Australians with different ethnic and religious backgrounds, is

equally or more common among majority members. Research comparing the inclusiveness of Australian identity between Anglo and Chinese Australian students, has found no significant difference in overall inclusiveness between these two groups, but there were differences in which groups were included in the subjective ingroup. Chinese-Australians were more likely to include Anglo-Australians in their ingroup than Anglos to include Chinese-Australians (Brewer, Gonsalkorale, & van Dommelen, 2013). Since the combination of Muslim and Australian identities is generally contested in current Australian society, one would expect majority members to exclude Muslim Australians from their Australian ingroup definition equally or even more often, than Muslim Australians would exclude Anglo (Christian) Australians. Indeed, minority members do not just take up identities that they want to take up, but are often restricted in their identity combinations by a social reality in which the powerful majority does not validate certain identity combinations (Fleischmann & Phalet, 2013). The TCCT enables future research to assess ingroup construals among both minority and majority members, and may help to shed light on such social dimensions of ingroup construals.

### **Conclusion**

To conclude, the current research has provided insights into subjective feelings of belonging among Turkish Australian Muslims, much richer and more meaningful than the insights that would emerge from assessing their mere objective group memberships, their self-categorisation as members of certain groups, and their strength of identification with each category separately. Hence, this research speaks to the need to distinguish between the assessment of objective category memberships, and how one subjectively construes the ingroup. As individual selves increasingly reflect the complexity of societies, we as researchers should approach them as multifaceted as well when studying processes of social identification. We should try to move away from assumed fixed ingroup and outgroup categories, and develop more sensitive constructs and tools that measure social identities as

subjectively defined and experienced. Measurement tools such as the TCCT that try to capture the complex and multifaceted nature of ingroup construals can enrich our insights into multiple social identity management, which is a significant issue for many individuals in increasingly diverse societies.



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## APPENDICES