Using Common Ingroup Identity to Reduce Negative Stereotyping within the Context of the Kurdish Conflict

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Abstract

This research aimed at testing the Common Ingroup Identity Model (CIIM). According to the CIIM, negative attitudes between groups can be decreased by constituting a superordinate identity. The CIIM has proven effective in laboratory settings, but was now applied to the real life context of the Kurdish conflict. The conflict is still vivid in Turkish society. The Turkish and Kurdish migrant populations are also responsive to incidents related to the Kurdish conflict. Both in Turkey and The Netherlands, problems arise between groups of Turks and Kurds. In order to find a way to fight intergroup tension, the Common Ingroup Identity Model was put to the test. Two separate studies were conducted. For the Turkish sample, the respondents' adherence to a specific superordinate identity was measured. In the Dutch sample a measure of the basic level of superordinate identity was combined with a prime of superordinate identity that was assigned to half the respondents. All respondents assigned a level of responsibility for the conflict to the ingroup and the outgroup. This measure of conflict perception was hypothesized to moderate the negative link between superordinate identity and negative stereotyping. In Turkey, the main effect was only found for Turks. Outgroup conflict perception was positively related to negative stereotyping as an independent predictor. The prime in the Dutch sample was only effective for Kurds. Ingroup and outgroup conflict perception interacted with the prime and the basic level superordinate identity, but the patterns vary across the ethnic groups. The general conclusion is that superordinate identity is involved in intergroup attitudes in different settings. This means that the Common Ingroup Identity Model is a promising tactic in manipulating attitudes through superordinate identity. However, this research did not succeed in finding an effective way to decrease negative stereotyping using the CIIM.

Theoretical Introduction

Inclusion and exclusion based on identity have served the functionality of our communities for thousands of years. A strong group identity can lead to strong aversion towards outsiders and generate aggression and extreme behaviors as became evident from wars and other large scale conflicts that involved identity issues. Of course not all ingroup sympathy covaries with outgroup aversion. Nevertheless, feelings of threat, anxiety, polarization and prejudice are common in intergroup dynamics. The intergroup dynamics are deeply rooted in our schemes for attribution

and behavior, partially surpassing our consciousness. According to Hilton & Von Hippel (1996), the unconscious intergroup negativity is very dominant and particularly difficult to fight in intergroup relations.

Discrimination and inequality between citizens caused by identity issues can be a reason to take on intergroup attitudes. Nationstates often deal with a diversity of citizens and the problems that accompany the groups' interaction and competition over resources, for there are more nations than there are states (Bruinessen, 1998). The present research aims to test a tactic designed to improve intergroup attitudes. In The Netherlands the richness of cultural backgrounds is striking and thereby the nationstate has many testable intergroup relations to offer. To put our tactic to reduce intergroup negativity to the test, additional information is gained by conducting the research in different settings, using the same ethnic groups. The intergroup attitudes between Kurds and Turks in Turkey and The Netherlands are known as problematic on both sites and will be the object of our interest. Despite the large distance, tensions are observed between the ethnic groups in both countries. With migration causing ethnicities to interact on a large scale, this research can be of value to many different contexts. Turkey's first president, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, aimed for national unity by suppressing minorities and instigating nationalism. The admiration for the modernization and civilization that he brought is still very much alive in modern Turkey. However, his policy was the offset for the Kurdish conflict and still causes the Kurdish and Turkish mindsets to clash in Turkey and beyond borders. The transnational effect of the Kurdish conflict shows the vast importance of ethnic identity across contexts. Intergroup dynamics between minorities in migrant countries probably haven't been given as much attention by scholars as the interaction between minority and majority has. Still, the relevance is becoming more and more evident from the immigrants' reactance to transnational problems in The Netherlands for example. The Kurdish issue offers a solid background to test the proneness to context of our tactic to improve intergroup attitudes. First, the conflict and its importance in both Turkey and the Netherlands are introduced, before turning to the tactic of common ingroup identity that is to be tested.

The development of the Kurdish identity and its clash with the Turks

The Kurds are an ethnic group with a territory that is widely spread across the Middle East: Kurdistan. The territory covers parts of Turkey, Syria, Iran and Iraq. Lacking an autonomous nationstate, each Kurdish population deals with the local majority and public authorities. The variety of contexts has distanced the Kurds and made them develop different Kurdish identities (Bruinessen, 1997). In Turkey, the Kurdish identity was threatened since Turkey's first president, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, in 1920 decided to act against the promises of a referendum on autonomy made to the Kurds in the treaty of Sèvres (Houston, 2001). The Republic of Turkey was contemplated on as a united country, marked by a devoted nation. In order to attain this goal, the Kurds had to be assimilated into Turkish citizens. Their culture became oppressed by the state and Kurdish nationalists were persecuted (Bruinessen, 1997). The Kurdish language was forbidden and labeled a distant rural Turkish dialect. Integrated Kurds dealt with subordination and discrimination, being tolerated as a condition for a united nation occupying the designated territory. The *Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan* (Kurdistan Workers' Party), or PKK, has been resisting the policies of suppression since the 1980's in the Kurdish territory and beyond. It is listed as a terrorist organization in both The Netherlands and the European Union, for violently advocating

Kurdish autonomy and resisting Turkish authority. The suppression of culture generally seems to have led to a revival of Kurdish identity. Having to shield the culture from local authorities and bridging large distances to communicate with other Kurdish communities is deeply imbedded in Kurdish identity nowadays (Bruinessen, 1998). Technology has contributed to strengthening the condemned culture and to the improvement of organizational structures.

The Netherlands accommodate a remarkably diverse and large body of ethnicities, with Turks being one of the two largest ethnic groups present in Dutch society after the native population[1]. As Bruinessen (1998) mentions in his description of Kurds in the European diaspora, the number of counted migrants that are Kurds is far from concrete. Estimations based on the proportion in Turkey claim that 20 percent of the Dutch Turks is actually Kurdish. The conflict between the Kurds and Turks started to manifest itself in The Netherlands. The period of immigration towards The Netherlands from the 70's onward resulted in large numbers of guestworkers. The immigrants used to live quite isolated from Dutch society, having little knowledge of the Dutch language and moving quietly through the public sphere. It took quite some time, before it became clear that their migration was of a permanent character, and the immigrant population was then considered worrisome. Due to bad integration, continuing migration and decreasing job opportunities, the high welfare costs spent on immigrants started to draw political attention. From that point on, Dutch government carefully monitored the development and needs of the immigrants. Slowly, immigrant populations started developing and participating in the public sphere, standing up for their communities. Only some decades after the arrival of the guestworkers, did the liveliness of the Kurdish conflict in The Netherlands actually become evident to the Dutch authorities.

In sharp contrast to the Turkish context, the autonomy of Kurds at the expense of the European territory is not an issue, for the strongly wished for sovereign state of Kurdistan is historically located in the East. Hence, one would expect Turks in The Netherlands to experience less direct threat from Kurds and vice versa. Both Turks and Kurds are ethnic minorities from the East, often originating from the same area. They're religious and are likely to experience similar problems integrating in Dutch society. Sometimes Turks find out they actually have a Kurdish background after adhering to a Turkish identity for years and years, since the ethnic groups can become hard to tell apart (Bruinessen, 1998). Despite their similar positions in Dutch society, Turks and Kurds clash on a regular basis. Dealing with these complex immigrant issues is a challenge to Dutch society.

The Kurdish conflict in Dutch society

Clinging to the multicultural perspective and a strong civic view on citizenship, The Netherlands foster their richness of ethnicities by upholding a high level of tolerance and the allocation of group rights as a response to equality and exceptional demands by minority groups (Koopmans, 2005). Its policies toward citizenship are characterized as products of the postwar humanistic mentality, perhaps being more welcoming to immigrants than the populist rise of the extreme right suggest in the public debate. Despite growing resistance of the nationstate's openness, The Netherlands adhere to a civic approach, resulting in the responsibility for the wellbeing of both natives and ethnic minorities. Worries about the consequences of multiculturalism for the native majority and the state have been frequently debated.

The public attention for interaction between majority and minority, minority and state does not fully cover multicultural interaction. Usually, not much attention is paid to the relation between Dutch minorities. Incidents between Dutch Kurds and Turks do require close attention. They have been reported more frequently[2] throughout the years, but probably do not cause the stir an incident directly concerning the majority would. Every now and then the Dutch Turks and Kurds clash as a reaction to the Kurdish conflict in Turkey. Some examples are the rapidly spreading online call for attacking Kurds in Amsterdam in the fall of 2011[3] and frequent threats and attacks on a Dutch-Kurdish Culture Centre following demonstrations against the PKK[4]. Moreover, Turkish academics of a range of disciplines formally warned the government for growing intergroup conflicts. They argued that the aggression between Kurds and Turks is instigated by their problematic adhesion in Dutch society[5]. One can imagine, then, that the problems of intergroup attitudes involving Turks and Kurds do not only concern the Turkish government, but also the Dutch and other host countries.

Ostergaard-Nielsen (2000) describes the strong transnational connection that Turks and Kurds have with the homeland. The involvement of the Turkish government with the European diaspora depicts an extensive organizational structure. The vigorous Kurdish conflict easily transfers through the technological and emotional bond that migrants have with their place of origin. Two decades ago, Germany already got involved politically after attacks on local Turkish institutions and properties. Certain organizations that were related to the PKK became restricted or even banned. Ever since, the German government balances between preserving ties with the Turkish government and keeping the conflict under control. This way the German and Dutch domestic politics are faced with the internalization of a foreign political conflict.

Like Minescu et al. (2008) state, more research needs to be devoted to understanding real life conflicts that involve identity issues. The results can be of interest to not only Turkish and Dutch authorities that are confronted with problematic intergroup dynamics, but to every country or institution that faces (transnational) identity issues. By conducting this research on the intergroup relations between Turks and Kurds, we hope to find a way to reduce negativity of group members towards the outgroup. Using two different sites, we also aim to offer implications for other contexts. Theories on cognition and identity dynamics that will lead to the proposed tactic are now discussed.

Understanding intergroup attitudes like those between Kurds and Turks
As was stated before, the origin of identity and intergroup attitudes is deeply embedded into our system. Our goal is to find a way to improve intergroup attitudes, and therefore we need to take a close look at the motivations underlying individuals' behavior towards outgroups. We need to figure out how people make attributions, for judgments of others motivate our behavior towards them.

Making judgments or attributions about others is influenced to a large extent by unconscious processes. People use their cognitive schemes when making attributions that lead to judgments and behavior. Using knowledge from previous experiences that was efficiently organized into a cognitive network enables us to make quick decisions. Cognitive representations of the world are subject to experience and evaluation. We make cognitive representations of our social encounters, categorizing people and stereotyping them. We place ourselves somewhere in that same scheme, drawing connections to others. Next is a popular theory on how our cognition is

related to social identity and intergroup conflict, for this link is of great importance when attempting to improve intergroup attitudes.

Categorizing and stereotyping others helps people make quick decisions and catalogue memories (Bodenhausen et al., 1994a,b in Hilton & Von Hippel, 1996). Old information thereby offers a frame of reference for new situations. Unfortunately attributions aren't as flexible and objective as one might expect. For example, people tend to remember ingroup members to be more similar to the self, while memories of dissimilarities are more easily retrievable for outgroup members (Wilder, 1981). Robbins & Krueger's research (2005) showed that respondents expected their ingroup members to have more values and attitudes in common than would outgroup members. Scholars have been eager to explain these biases in attribution. Sherif & Sherif (1969) set up an experiment in a camp for boys, where they manipulated the interaction between groups. When groups functioned independently, competitiveness between them grew. However, when they shared a goal, had individual contact or joined in activities, intergroup attitudes were positive. Sherif & Sherif concluded that prejudice is a natural outcome of intergroup contact, for competition only remained unobserved when mutual goals were actively promoted. There was no explicit link between competition and the occurrence of intergroup negativity. Unraveling the underlying dynamics of attribution errors can provide insights on how to improve relations between others groups, such as Kurds and Turks.

The Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) combines knowledge of human cognition and attribution errors. According to this theory, people intend to preserve a positive social identity so they can provide themselves with positive self-evaluation through their ingroup identity. This means people try to upkeep a positive group position relative to others. Needing this positive social identity can result in biased attributions concerning both in- and outgroup that help provide or preserve a relatively high group status. For instance, when people are biased in thinking that only their ingroup members share the same values, this offers them a ground on which to downgrade outgroup members for being immoral. This way the need for positive self-evaluation through social identity encourages the exclusion of others. The SIT highlights the balance between both inclusion and exclusion. As the review by Rubin & Hewstone (1998) shows, positive self-evaluation is related to biased attributions as predicted by the SIT. The Social Identity Theory is widely supported in the social sciences.

The Social Identity Theory gives us an idea of how the human cognition interacts with the social environment. It accentuates the unconscious processes that are likely to play a role in intergroup conflicts. We expect the tense interactions between Turks and Kurds to be maintained by biases that were constituted by the need for self-esteem. The next step is to find a model that integrates the benefits and weaknesses of social identity into a system that allows us to manipulate attitudes towards the outgroup.

The Common Ingroup Identity Model

The Common Ingroup Identity Model (Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman & Rust, 1993), or CIIM, proposes a tactic to manipulate the functioning of the structural attribution errors in intergroup relations. If maintaining a positive social identity is reason enough to engage in biased perception, as the SIT states, perhaps the key is in the formulation of social identity. By altering the mental representation of the self in social networks, cues for positive self-evaluation can be

manipulated. The CIIM tries to improve the attitude towards outgroups by expanding the ingroup. In this manner, outgroups are included and can benefit from the positive attribution tendencies that derive from a common ingroup identity. Similarities based on which groups can be included in the ingroup favoritism are called the superordinate identity. Highlighting similarities that can constitute such a superordinate identity decreases the perceived distance of an outgroup to the self. A typical ingroup feature is resemblance to the self within the mental representation and positive stereotyping towards ingroup members (Stone & Crisp, 2007). In short, the CIIM places the outgroup nearer to the self through a superordinate identity and thereby changes the individual's attribution and attitude.

Research supporting the implications of the Common Ingroup Identity Model is found in diverse settings that involve intergroup attitudes (Hewstone, Rubin & Willis, 2002). Generally, a superordinate identity seems effective in reducing prejudice (Dovidio, Gaertner & Saguy, 2007). The Common Ingroup Identity Model has proven effective in both artificial and natural groups such as ethnicities and political orientation (Gaertner, Dovidio & Bachman, 1996). Others have added to this support by showing the reduction of bias, prejudice and stereotyping in groups distinguished by race, age, sex and others (resp. Nier, Gaernter, Dovidio, Banker, & Ward, 1999; Banker & Gaertner, 1998; Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio, Bachman, & Anastasio, 1994).

Studying the effectiveness of the Common Ingroup Identity Model, some other important factors were indicated. Some scholars stress the need for a balance between distinctiveness and inclusiveness, from which social identity derives (Stone & Crisp, 2007). The Social Identity Theory does indicate the distinctiveness between groups as an unconscious source for positive self-esteem. The effects of the distinctiveness threat tend to be small, concluded Jetten, Spears & Postmes (2004) from their meta-analysis of 60 studies. The need for distinctiveness appeared to depend on factors such as group status. Considering the small effect sizes found by Jetten et al., distinctiveness will not be considered when implementing a common ingroup identity.

In some studies, the included outgroup members don't benefit from the positive bias that is usually present for ingroup members. Even though negative biases and attitudes might be reduced, invoking a superordinate identity doesn't always mean outgroup members receive the same treatment as ingroup members. This is called the positive-negative asymmetry effect (Hewstone, Rubin & Willis, 2002; Mummendey & Otten, 1998). As we try to improve the intergroup relations, we find reducing negativity more important than increasing positivity. The positive-negative asymmetry effect does not threaten our objective of improving intergroup attitudes. In doing so we might have to accept the fact that complete inclusion of outgroup members is not always realistic.

Bizman & Yinon (2004) researched the link between conflict management strategies and perceptions of dual identity (sharing a superordinate identity but maintaining the ingroup identity) or separate groups. The study was conducted in Israel both in a secular-religious and an organizational context. The authors found the perception of dual identity, both groups being Israelis, to be related to the constructive strategy of problem solving in the religious-secular context and a more neutral strategy of avoidance in the organizational context. The participants that perceived the groups as separate were more likely to use contention and to force their will upon the other group in the religious-secular context. This example illustrates the negative attitudes that relate to the perceived distance between the ingroup and the outgroup in a real life context. Bizman & Yinon's research thereby supports the Social Identity Theory.

Minescu, Hagendoorn & Poppe (2008) used a survey to investigate the type of identification Russian citizens of different ethnicities adhere to and how their stereotyping relates to whether they emphasize the superordinate identity or not. The two options for superordinate identities were seeing Russians as part of a federation or a republic. Respondents that identified strongly with the republic showed less negative stereotyping and more positive stereotyping towards outgroups. People with a more federal identity tended to only improve positive, but not negative stereotyping. This research also suggests a link between the mental representation of groups and attitudes. However, like in the research of Bizman & Yinon, the question that remains is whether the Common Ingroup Identity Model would be an effective method of improving the attitudes.

The previously reported studies show how superordinate identity can have a part in real life conflicts, but effects on intergroup attitudes rely on the context and the history of the intergroup relations. The present research tests the Common Ingroup Identity Model in a polarized real life setting but adds both the transnational context and an experimental condition that examines the possibility of manipulating intergroup attitudes through identity. Researching the usefulness of the CIIM in the Kurdish conflict will tell us more about the strategy's external validity. Both the Turkish and the Dutch context are considered, so a comparison can be made between the position of the groups within society and distance from the actual conflict. Doing so, we take into account possible criticism on the Common Ingroup Identity Model. First, we shift our attention to the criterion used to measure negative intergroup attitudes.

Improving intergroup attitudes

Measuring negativity between groups can be done on many different levels. Prejudice is often used as an indicator. Intergroup evaluation and intergroup bias are also distinguished, though presumably strongly related to prejudice. The Integrated Threat Theory (ITT) attempts to structure the vagueness of negative intergroup attitudes by establishing a set of different threats that become apparent in interaction with outgroups. Stephan & Stephan (2000) are largely responsible for the early research on the threat types, combining their knowledge into the Integrated Threat Theory. These threats are consistently found over intergroup contexts and shed light on the dimensions of negative intergroup attitudes. The four types of threats that derive from the ITT are now explained.

The realistic threat is seen as a relatively legit reason for negative intergroup attitudes, showing the ingroup's concern for its resources. Living side by side, it is likely that groups compete over the same territory for instance. Then there is the need for safety, employment, nutrition, authority and so on. The realistic threat is evident in the Kurdish question that entails territory, resources and autonomy. In sharp contrast to the realistic threat, symbolic threat shows the strain caused by contrasts in mentality and moral standards. The Turks could for instance feel offended by the Kurds' resistance to Turkish superiority. Other examples are differences in family values and religion. The ingroup morality is a source of reference that is endeavored when there is a symbolic threat. Intergroup anxiety strongly differs from realistic and symbolic threat as it refers to the tension or fear that arises when encountering or even the thought of facing outgroup members. Intergroup anxiety acknowledges the presence of negative bias towards outgroups from the others' point of view. By expecting to be approached in a downgrading or aggressive fashion by the outgroup, arousal is instigated. It reinforces the individual's negative interpretation of interaction with the outgroup through elevated sensitivity to outgroup attitudes and thereby constitutes a

vicious circle (Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999). Negative expectations are likely to be reinforced and generalized. This leads us to the last threat. Stephan & Stephan (2000) distinguish negative stereotyping as the fourth threat. Ingroup members tend to generalize outgroup members in a less positive or an outright negative fashion. This state of mind has been shown to relate to fear and feeling threatened (Verkuyten, 1997, as described in Velasco González et al., 2008).

One might wonder whether threats really relate to intergroup attitudes in the real world. Measures of perceived threats have been proven to be good predictors of attitudes in the domains of race, gender and immigrants (Stephan et al., 2002; Stephan et al., 2000; Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999). Scholars tend to find divergent patterns of threats. The presence and predictive value of the four types of threats doesn't only depend on ingroup identity. The relevance of is demonstrated by comparing the research in Northern Ireland done by Schmid et al. (2009) to Bizman & Yinon's research conducted in Israel in 2004. The threats that were evident in Israel and Ireland show great differences in the presence of the four threats. Riek, Mania & Gaertner (2006) conducted a meta-analysis of 95 samples that revealed five types of threats, each of them positively related to negative outgroup attitudes. Riek et al. (2010) also conducted a laboratory study on using common ingroup identity to reduce threat. In both the racial and the political context they found a superordinate identity to reduce threat and improve intergroup attitudes. These findings lie at the basis of our model. However, we hope to add knowledge to the link between superordinate identity and intergroup attitudes by integrating the aspect of conflict perception into the model. Negative stereotyping will now be introduced as our dependent factor before moving on to the proposed theoretical model.

Negative stereotyping

Stereotypes are examples of the efficient, though subjective cognitive representations of the world. They are grounds for prejudice and attitudes towards outgroup members (Hilton & Von Hippel, 1996). The cognitive pathways of stereotypes can become difficult to alter because they offer the opportunity for unconscious quick and dirty decision making, but at the same time make attribution errors very likely. The Social Identity Theory proposes that assumptions about others depend on the view of the self. Stereotypes accentuate superficial distinctiveness and are an easy reference frame for providing positive self-esteem. As research by Spencer et al. (1996) showed, threat to self-esteem indeed related to higher levels of negative stereotyping.

Stephan et al. (2002) tested two models in a racial sample and found the model with negative stereotyping as an antecedent to all threats to be superior. When the mediating influence of the other threats was controlled for, the results showed negative stereotyping to be a direct predictor of outgroup attitudes.

Prejudice is generally viewed as the attitude that derives from the cognitive stereotypes towards others and many studies support this connection (Hilton & Von Hippel, 1996). Stereotypes have also been proven to lead to self-fulfilling prophecies, which is especially apparent in classroom settings (Guyll, Madon, Prieto & Scherr, 2010). Apparently people have the tendency to confirm expectations others have of them, whether they are grounded or not. Clearly, this is bad news for intergroup relations that involve negative stereotyping.

In attempts to improve intergroup attitudes, scholars aim to change the structural attribution errors that are part of negative intergroup attitudes. Since stereotyping has proven to be an antecedent to threats and is closely linked to prejudice, we are convinced that this criterion is

valid as a relatively certain predictor of intergroup attitudes. According to Hilton & Von Hippel (1996), scholars share ideas about the origin of stereotypes, but the social sciences lack knowledge on how to fight negative stereotyping. A theoretical model to do so is now proposed based on the Common Ingroup Identity Model. The usability of this tactic for reducing negative stereotyping is tested in Study 1 and 2.

Using the CIIM in the context of the Kurdish conflict
The polarized situation between Kurds and Turks across contexts offers a unique chance to test the Common Ingroup Identity Model in the real world. Research on the link between superordinate identity and intergroup attitude within problematic contexts that could profit from interference is scarce, so knowledge about the effectiveness of the CIIM in real life is of great value. The present research values the nature of the intergroup relations in trying to change attitudes and acknowledges the situational and historical factors that are expected to be relevant when attempting to change attitudes towards outgroup members.

Researching the relevance of available theories on identity and group dynamics will help the social sciences to provide practical insights into the concept of (migrant) identity and ways to oppose negative intergroup behavior that derives from identity issues. Earlier studies on superordinate identity outside the laboratory mainly focused on the relation between minority and majority, they were not conducted in an experimental design or didn't entail problematic intergroup circumstances. The criterion of negative stereotyping also deserves more attention in polarized settings other than the large body of research that focused on racial stereotypes (Hilton & Von Hippel, 1996).

In Study 1 and 2, superordinate identity, conflict perception and stereotyping will be measured. In addition, Study 2 contains an experimental prime of superordinate identity. Based on the knowledge of the Common Ingroup Identity Model, we hypothesize that Kurds and Turks with a higher level of superordinate identity will show less negative stereotyping of the outgroup. Additionally, priming superordinate identity should lead to a decline in negative stereotyping. Both perception of the ingroup and the outgroup's responsibilities in the conflict are expected to moderate the link between superordinate identity and stereotyping. This brings us to hypothesize the model as shown in Figure 1. We expect the theoretical model to be applicable to the stereotyping of both Turks and Kurds.
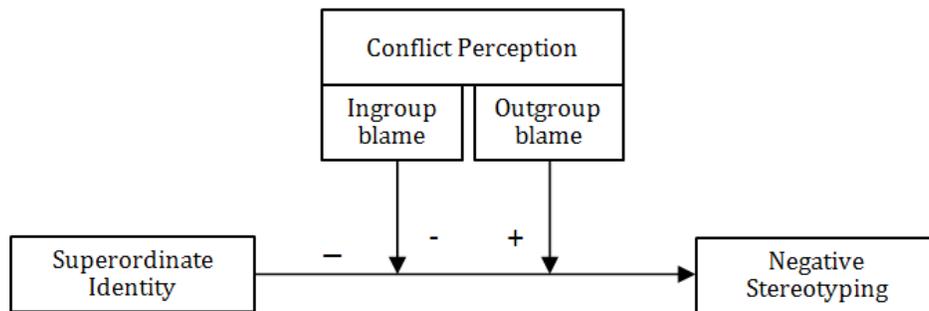

Figure 1. The proposed theoretical model.

The attribution of responsibility for the conflict is presumed to affect the influence of the superordinate identity on negative stereotyping. When a respondent is convinced that the outgroup is responsible for the conflict, the assigned similarities between Kurds and Turks might not be deemed as important. When the outgroup is held responsible, even an acknowledged superordinate identity cannot overcome the shadow thrown on the intergroup relation by the conflict perception. On the other hand, if for instance a Turk blames his ingroup, a superordinate identity might have a more outspoken negative influence on stereotyping. Perceiving the victimized, innocent group as being close to the self could yield a more positive self-evaluation. After all, placing the innocent outgroup closer to the self, can decrease the feeling of belonging to the 'bad guys' and sharing the negative trait. This hypothesis on compensating ingroup responsibility for the conflict is based on the need for self-esteem as described by the Social Identity Theory. If placing the outgroup closer to the self for compensation of the ingroup's actions is not the response, another tactic would be to solely distance oneself from the ingroup. In short, outgroup blame should strengthen the negative effect of superordinate identity on negative stereotyping, and ingroup blame is expected to do weaken the link.

Typical for the Dutch context of Study 2, is that the conflict is at a large geographical distance from the respondents. However, many migrated Turks are actively involved with the Turkish state (Ostergaard-Nielsen, 2000). Thus, we also expect to find conflict perception as a moderator in the Dutch context. Interesting comparisons that can be made between the Dutch and the Turkish context lie in the salience of transnational identity, conflict perception and their influence on the link between superordinate identity and negative stereotyping. The average levels of superordinate identity and negative stereotyping may differ between contexts. In The Netherlands for example, Turks occupy a minority position like the Kurds and might experience less feelings of superiority than they would in Turkey. Some aspects of the theories need to be taken into consideration when constructing the measures and examining the fit of the model. Therefore, we now turn to some comments from scholars on the Common Ingroup Identity Model.

Especially in real-life problematic intergroup relations, it is important to note that not every superordinate identity is sufficient in improving intergroup attitudes (Hornsey & Hogg, 1999). Guyll et al. (2005) found race to determine the response of Portuguese children to different superordinate identities. Black children responded better to recategorization into one superordinate identity, whereas the white children showed more positive intergroup attitudes as a response to dual identity. Introducing a superordinate identity in a polarized setting to improve intergroup relations can backfire, for the groups may resist identifying with one another. In conflict situations, a superordinate identity should be chosen and introduced cautiously. Study 1 involves preset measures of superordinate identity. Using the prime in Study 2, respondents were able to determine their own superordinate identity by naming three similarities between Turks and Kurds. This hopefully prevents the risk of presenting a superordinate identity that is not considered relevant by the respondent. If the intergroup attitude is very negative, respondents might refuse to answer this question. Conflict perception is expected to serve as a predictor of the effectiveness of the link between superordinate identity and negative stereotyping.

Ingroup salience is also stressed by some scholars to serve as a moderator (Stone & Crisp, 2007). Verkuyten, Drabbles & Van den Nieuwenhuijzen (1999) found high-identifiers to respond to superordinate identity in a different way than low-identifiers did. The influence of the level of

ingroup identification can differ between situations. Brewer (2000) expects distinctiveness to play a part here, as the need for distinctiveness depends on different factors like group status, group size and other characteristics (Hewstone, Rubin & Willis, 2002). These factors could cause the Kurds to respond differently. Jetten et al. (1997) found distinctiveness to enhance groups' self-esteem. The dual identity perspective has been proposed as an alternative to common ingroup identity because the Common Ingroup Identity Model would not value distinctiveness enough. Scholars are not unanimous on whether the CIIM truly neglects the need for distinctiveness by completely recategorizing groups into one or also offers the option of maintaining the ingroup distinctiveness. Since respondents constitute their own superordinate identity in Study 2, they determine their own grounds of distinctiveness. They can decide to recategorize Turks and Kurds as one group, or adhere to the view of dual identity. This is how the design of Study 2 takes criticism on the Common Ingroup Identity Model into account and tries to optimize its effectiveness.

The first study analyses the recent relation between the Turkish and Kurdish identity in Turkey. The Kurdish issue is still vivid in the public debate and respondents are geographically and emotionally close to the conflict. The Turkish context can serve as a useful background for the Dutch context, since transfer of the conflict is presumed. Contrasting political and religious interest, very little research has been performed on loyalty to one's transnational discourse when it comes to negative intergroup relations and polarized settings (Ostergaard-Nielsen, 2000).

Testing the theoretical model as proposed can lead to implications to be considered when responding to or preventing negative behaviors in the case of an intergroup conflict. Policy can derive from such findings and influence the design of interventions. As explained in the introduction, interethnic tensions are dealt with on a daily basis in multicultural countries such as The Netherlands. By taking the conflict into account, we add knowledge on the actual usefulness of the model of which fragments were tested in very different settings. The method and measures of Study 1 and 2 are now discussed.

STUDY 1
Method

Participants and Procedure
The data collection for Study 1 was conducted by Elif Celebi and Maykel Verkuyten in 2012. The dataset was originally designed to investigate social identities. A relevant set of variables was retrieved from the data, covering the necessary components of the theoretical model. The anonymous survey was distributed across eight colleges in the Turkish cities of Istanbul, Mardin, Urfa, Diyarbakır, Denizli, Mersin and Sakarya. Most of the respondents were from Istanbul, Sakarya and Denizli and 68% is female. A total of 702 students participated by filling out either an online or a paper pencil survey. The students were aged 18 to 26 with an average of 21.

Measures
Superordinate Identity. In Turkey, a cultural notion of Turkishness developed in the process of nation-building and modernization, stressing inclusive national identity that integrates multiethnic and multicultural geography (Somer, 2005). The term 'Türkiyeli', meaning 'from Turkey', was introduced in the public sphere to illustrate this identity. Participants were asked to rate Turks and

Kurds as being typically Türkiyeli. This item was chosen as the measure for superordinate identity after making sure both Kurds and Turks rated Turks as typically Türkiyeli (resp. 80 and 90%). This basic assumption is necessary as a frame of reference for individuals who also refer to Kurds as being typical Türkiyeli. If so, this would constitute an overlapping identity. For this reason, the group that rates Turks as below average on the typically Türkiyeli item is excluded from our analysis. The item that measures superordinate identity through the Türkiyeli typicality for Kurds was scored on a 7-point Likert scale.

Conflict Perception. Respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they hold Kurds and Turks responsible for several facets of the Kurdish conflict. Measures of the perceived responsibility entail causing damage, starting, continuing and ending the conflict. The items were scored on a 7-point Likert scale. Separate scales for ingroup conflict perception and outgroup conflict perception were calculated from these four statements' scores. The pattern matrix of the oblique factor rotation shows a clear division into two components that represent the difference between the perceived responsibility of the ingroup (α = 0.835) and the outgroup (α = 0.857).

Negative Outgroup Stereotyping. Items for measuring negative outgroup stereotyping are also integrated in the survey, such as 'what percentage, according to you, of Kurds/Turks is competent?'. The scores divided into steps of ten percent, ranging from 0 to 100%. The following set of stereotypes was presented to the respondents: competent, efficient, hardworking, friendly, nice, good-natured, honest, violent, and trustworthy. When creating a scale of the negative stereotyping by running an oblique factor rotation, a clear discrepancy between the positively formulated stereotypes and the single negatively formulated stereotype occurred. 'Violent' did not fit the scale that was constituted of the reversed positive stereotypes and had to be deleted[6] for a reliable scale to remain (α = 0.927). This way only the reverse scored positive stereotypes were used for further analysis of the data.

The missing value patterns clearly reported frequent patterns with large amounts of missing values. Cases were deleted if there were more than five missing values on relevant measures or over two on a single scale of one of the theoretical model's components. Due to the large amount of missing values, After removing the insufficient cases, 474 remained. The resulting sample contained slightly less Kurds (206) than Turks (265) and 3 cases that had missing values on ethnicity. Despite the large number of deleted cases, these proportions strongly resemble the ones in the full sample. Measures that still contained missing values were all imputed using the expectation maximization algorithm. A total of 24 missing values were imputed for the measure of negative stereotypes, 10 for outgroup conflict perception, 18 for ingroup conflict perception and 6 for superordinate identity.

Analysis
The descriptives of the measured scales are shown in Table 1. Correlations between the scales that represent the theoretical model's components were examined in order to rule out multicollinearity. Now that measures and corresponding factors are determined for all components of the theoretical model, we turn to the actual relation between them. With this correlational study we test a number of hypotheses. The first is that superordinate identity and negative stereotyping are negatively related. The second states that ingroup and outgroup conflict perception moderate the negative

relation between superordinate identity and negative stereotyping. The hypotheses are tested using regression analyses including the independent and interacting components. Before running the analysis, grand mean centering was applied so equivalent models were produced. Superordinate identity (stating to what extent Kurds are typically Türkiyeli) is inserted in the regression as the hypothesized instigator of negative outgroup stereotyping. The presumed moderators of ingroup and outgroup conflict perception are added, followed by separate blocks that contain interactions between our predictor and moderators. We now turn to the results of the regression analyses.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics for all Measures Study 1

	N	*M*	*SD*	Minimum	*Maximum*
Negative Stereotyping					
Turks	265	52.20	14.05	8	80
Kurds	209	52.44	15.59	15	80
Superordinate Identity					
Turks	265	3.39	1.57	1	7
Kurds	209	3.68	1.92	1	7
Outgroup Conflict					
Perception	265	11.43	5.80	0	20
Turks	209	13.05	6.37	0	24
Kurds					
Ingroup Conflict					
Perception	265	7.05	5.48	0	20
Turks	209	8.66	5.98	0	24
Kurds					

Results

The mean for negative outgroup stereotyping was more or less the same for Turkish and Kurdish respondents. On average, respondents made negative judgments about 65% of the outgroup. This could be considered a rather pessimistic view on the personality of outgroup members. Turks and Kurds scored nearly the same on superordinate identity, with the average lying right in the middle of the scale. Both Turks and Kurds scored lower on ingroup conflict perception than they did on outgroup conflict perception, attributing more responsibility to the outgroup than they did to their own. Kurds generally scored higher on both ingroup and outgroup conflict perception.

The outcomes of the hierarchical regression analysis are shown in Table 2. The main effect of superordinate identity on negative stereotyping is significant. Respondents that score high on superordinate identity, tend to score relatively low on negative stereotyping. Outgroup conflict perception appears to be a predictor of negative stereotyping, whereas ingroup conflict perception doesn't play a significant role in the model. Apparently blaming the outgroup for an intergroup conflict is related to a more negative attitude towards the outgroup.

Table 2

Multiple Regressions for Negative Stereotyping in Study 1

	Model 1		Model 2	
	β	t	β	t
Superordinate Identity	-.19**	-4.21	-.20**	-4.29
Outgroup Conflict Perception	.26**	5.57	.26**	5.32
Ingroup Conflict Perception	-.07	-1.55	-.06	-1.31
Superordinate Identity * Outgroup Conflict Perception			.03	.53
Superordinate Identity * Ingroup Conflict Perception			-.01	-.19
Outgroup Conflict Perception * Ingroup Conflict Perception			-.01	-.25
Superordinate Identity * Outgroup * Ingroup Conflict Perception			.05	1.07

Note. ** $p < .01$

The model that contains superordinate identity, outgroup conflict perception and ingroup conflict perception accounts for a reasonable deal of the variance of negative outgroup stereotyping ($R^2 = 0.11$). To test the moderating effect of conflict perception, interactions were added to the model. These were all found not to be significant. The moderating influence, that conflict perception was expected to have on the link between superordinate identity and negative stereotyping, is not present in the data. Finally, the regression analysis was conducted separately for Turks and Kurds. Superordinate identity is a significant predictor in the Turkish sample, but not in the Kurdish sample (see Table 3). For the Kurds, only outgroup conflict perception functions as a significant predictor. They don't let their self blame influence their attitude towards the outgroup.

Table 3

Multiple Regressions for Negative Stereotyping in Study 1: Model 1 Split by Ethnicity

	Turks		Kurds	
	β	t	β	t
Superordinate Identity	-.34**	-5.88	.05	-.74
Outgroup Conflict Perception	.22**	3.62	.27**	3.84
Ingroup Conflict Perception	-.02	-.34	-.12	-1.65

Note. ** $p < .01$

Note 2. $R^2_{Turks} = .20$ $R^2_{Kurds} = .08$

Note 3. $N_{Turks} = 265$ $N_{Kurds} = 209$

As was hypothesized, a negative relation between superordinate identity and negative outgroup stereotyping was found in Study 1. When people feel that the outgroup resembles the ingroup, they judge outgroup members more positively. The theoretical framework, and therewith the proposed model, support this relation. However, the main effect only applies to Turks. If Turks find Kurds to be typically Türkiyeli, they have less negative stereotypes towards the Kurdish outgroup. Kurds don't judge Turks more positively if they feel their group is typically Türkiyeli.

The finding that outgroup conflict perception positively relates to negative outgroup stereotyping as an independent predictor was not hypothesized, though understandable. Both ethnic groups have more negative opinions of the outgroup that they hold accountable for negative events. However, the moderating effect of conflict perception was not found in Study 1. Interactions including ingroup and outgroup conflict perception were not significant. We conclude that superordinate identity and outgroup conflict perception function as independent predictors of negative outgroup stereotyping.

Ingroup conflict perception is irrelevant as a predictor and moderator of negative stereotyping of the outgroup. This is a remarkable finding, because one would think people who blame their ingroup for negative events to perhaps have a more forgiving attitude towards the people that they think were affected. One explanation could be that the negative attitude is a reaction of coping with the guilt caused by the damage done to the outgroup. Group members could feel less guilty about the harm done to an outgroup if they hold the outgroup responsible for a conflict or if they dislike the outgroup.

The first model (with significant predictors being superordinate identity and outgroup conflict perception) applies to Turks who judge their ethnic group as representative for the term Türkiyeli, since this is a core assumption to our measure of superordinate identity. A different conclusion applies to the Kurds. Superordinate identity does not seem to determine their level of negative stereotyping, for only their outgroup perception of the conflict was found to be a significant predictor. One explanation is that there is no consensus between Turks and Kurds about

the Türkiyeli characteristic that the measure of superordinate identity consists of.

Some doubts exist about this operationalization of superordinate identity for Study 1. Therefore, this component will be approached differently in Study 2 in an attempt to optimize the adequacy of the common ingroup identity model. Study 2 will also focus on the direction of causality by adding a prime of superordinate identity.

STUDY 2
Method

Participants and Procedure
An online questionnaire was spread through social media, Turkish and Kurdish organizational networks and the personal network of the author. Completing the questionnaire took about ten minutes. A snowball effect was triggered using a lottery in which respondents could double their chances on the prize by recruiting additional respondents. The questionnaire could be answered anonymously. Over a period of two months, a total of 83 Dutch Turks and Kurds (mean age = 26) participated. Of these respondents, 43 were Turks and 40 were Kurds (23 men and 60 women), 49 of them were born in The Netherlands. The items in Study 2 partially correspond to the ones in Study 1, but some adjustments had to be made in order to fit the Dutch sample of Turks and Kurds and to improve the research design. The measures and their differences compared to the ones in Study 1 are now discussed.

Measures
Superordinate identity. Apart from priming superordinate identity, a basic level was measured as well. This measure included three items on the extent to which respondents find the involved groups to resemble each other. The items were inspired by a set of items that the dataset for Study 1 contained[7]. Some adjustments were made so that the items suited the Dutch questionnaire for Study 2. The phrases now read 1) 'Despite Turks and Kurds living in the same country, I find these ethnic groups completely different' 2) 'Despite the differences in ethnicity and religion, there is a sense of unity between Kurds and Turks' 3) 'To me, Turks and Kurds are one ethnic group'. The 7-point Likert scales of these items are used to check the basic level of superordinate identity for all respondents. This way we can test the main effect of superordinate identity on negative stereotyping and detect differences between the effect of priming superordinate identity on individuals with high rates on the basic level of superordinate identity differently and on the ones with a low level. The scale for basic level of superordinate identity (α = .72) did not contain items that had to be deleted.

Prime. A prime that aims to improve the superordinate identity was randomly assigned to half the participants of both Kurdish and Turkish origin. It was located directly after the measures of superordinate identity and conflict perception and before the measures of stereotypes, so that the basic level of superordinate identity could be controlled for when analyzing the effect of superordinate identity on negative stereotyping. By preceding no other measures of components, the prime could only affect the items on stereotyping. The prime is a cue to name three similarities between Kurds and Turks. This way, respondents were able to choose similar traits that they

personally found to be relevant. This tactic is used to decrease the risk of providing respondents with an irrelevant superordinate identity that might trigger a counter reaction, as was warned for by Brewer (2000) and Hornsey & Hogg (1999). Hilton & Von Hippel (1996) concluded from their literature review that it is more effective to reduce stereotyping through stereotypical information than it is to decategorize outgroup members, trying to abolish stereotyping as a whole. This supports the choice for priming stereotypes that apply to both Turks and Kurds as a tactic to reduce negative intergroup attitudes. The open question also offers the opportunity to detect patterns in the perceived resemblances that can inform us on which similarities to focus in the future.

Conflict perception. The same table that was used to measure conflict perception in Study 1 was used in Study 2, but then with a 7-point Likert-scale to offer a wider range of responses. We decided to do so, because we expected the distance of Dutch participants to the conflict to bring into play a larger group of mild, yet significant conflict perceptions. The variables for ingroup and outgroup conflict perception, negative stereotypes towards the Dutch and the broader outgroup were constructed. Based on factor analyses, the scales for outgroup conflict perception (α = .77) and ingroup perception (α = .72) did not contain items that had to be deleted.

Stereotyping. In most other studies, a more diverse set of stereotypes is used to measure stereotyping than the combination used in Study 1. Like other scholars, we based our items on the set of positive and negative stereotypes proposed by Stephan et al. (1993). Judgments ranged from 0 to 100% in an 11-point Likert scale. It was advised by Riek et al. (2010) to add items that correspond to the items of the stereotypes, measuring the importance of each trait for judging others. This way, an index can be computed per person that expresses the individual's most salient judgments. These personal indexes have proven to be better predictors of negative attitudes toward the outgroup than solely the percentages (Riek et al., 2010). For this reason, only the stereotypes weighed by salience will be reported as results. The stereotypes were separately questioned for the ethnic outgroup in The Netherlands and the entire ethnic outgroup.

Positively formulated stereotypes of the entire population and the Dutch outgroup loaded heavily on the same factor, not loading to the same factor as negatively formulated stereotypes. The items on aggression and ignorance did not combine together into one factor either. Looking at the salience of stereotypes, the same pattern became evident for these items. As was decided in Study 1, the negatively formulated stereotypes are not included in the factors for negative outgroup stereotyping. Positive stereotypes were reverse scored so all scores on stereotypes represented the level of negativity towards the other group. Two reliable scales remained for negative stereotyping of the Dutch population (α = .95) and the entire population (α = .87).

Results

In Table 4 the descriptive statistics of the factors are shown. The basic level of superordinate identity for Turks was 11.40, whereas Kurds scored an average of 6.46. There is quite a discrepancy between Turks and Kurds in adhering to a superordinate identity for that matter. Kurds scored higher on negative stereotyping than Turks did, looking at both the simple trait percentages and the index that included the salience of each trait. Kurds were more outspokenly negative about the

Dutch Turks and the Turkish outgroup as a whole. Kurds also held Turks more responsible for the conflict than the Turks did them. Both ethnic groups scored about the same on ingroup conflict perception, ascribing far less responsibility to the ingroup than they did to the outgroup.

All factors were centered. Regression analyses were carried out in order to investigate the relation between the factors. Every analysis was run on the factors for stereotyping the Dutch and the entire outgroup. Only very few factors were included in the regression analysis, for the small number of participants would lead to problematic power and reliability. Table 5 and 6 show the outcomes of the regression analyses that were performed with the dependent variables being the salient negative stereotyping of the entire outgroup and the Dutch outgroup. After studying the general tendencies in the sample, one-way ANOVA's are carried out to study the differences of the effects between the Kurdish and the Turkish respondents. Due to the small sample size, multiple regression analysis is not an option when analyzing the ethnic groups separately.

Table 4

Descriptive Statistics for All Measures in Study 2

	N	M	SD	Minimum	Maximum
Negative Stereotyping Entire Nation * Salience					
Turks	36	18.59	7.88	8.75	37.00
Kurds	39	23.00	9.66	6.63	47.13
Negative Stereotyping Dutch Nation * Salience					
Turks	38	17.35	10.23	0.00	44.00
Kurds	39	22.98	10.58	5.63	53.00
Basic Level Superordinate Identity					
Turks	42	11.40	3.59	2.00	19.00
Kurds	39	6.46	3.93	2.00	16.00
Outgroup Conflict Perception					
Turks	42	18.67	5.79	4.00	28.00
Kurds	39	23.05	4.66	10.00	28.00
Ingroup Conflict Perception					
Turks	42	13.52	4.76	4.00	24.00
Kurds	39	13.69	4.90	4.00	28.00

Table 5

Predictors of Negative Stereotyping the Entire Outgroup

	β	t
Model 1		
Prime Superordinate Identity	-.10	-.86
Outgroup Conflict Perception	-.21	-.57
Interaction	.36	.96
Model 2		
Prime Superordinate Identity	-.08	-.66
Ingroup Conflict Perception	-.17	-.47
Interaction	.08	.22
Model 3		
Basic Level Superordinate Identity	-.44**	-3.97
Outgroup Conflict Perception	-.16	-1.38
Interaction	.35**	3.37
Model 4		
Basic Level Superordinate Identity	-.39**	-3.54
Ingroup Conflict Perception	-.10	-.91
Interaction	.08	.73

Note. ** $p < .01$

Note 2. $R^2_{Model\ 1} = .04$ $R^2_{Model\ 2} = .02$ $R^2_{Model\ 3} = .17$ $R^2_{Model\ 4} = .19$

Note 3. $N = 72$

The prime encouraged respondents to come up with similarities between Kurds and Turks. The most frequent answers entailed religion, appearance, morality, food, language and personality traits such as stubbornness. The prime did not work when stereotypes about the entire outgroup were measured. However, the interaction between the prime and ingroup conflict perception was a significant predictor of negative stereotyping in the case of the outgroup being Dutch. The prime seems to strengthen the negative link between the ingroup conflict perception and negative stereotyping. This result is not in line with our hypothesis that conflict perception moderates the negative link between the prime of superordinate identity and negative stereotyping. Instead, it's more likely that the prime is actually the moderator when respondents refer to the Dutch outgroup.

Table 6

Predictors of Negative Stereotyping the Dutch Outgroup

	β	t
Model 1		
Prime Superordinate Identity	-.14	-1.19
Outgroup Conflict Perception	-.05	-.15
Interaction	.22	.61
Model 2		
Prime Superordinate Identity	-.13	-1.09
Ingroup Conflict Perception	-.79*	-2.29
Interaction	.74*	2.15
Model 3		
Basic Level Superordinate Identity	-.45**	-3.98
Outgroup Conflict Perception	-.13	-1.14
Interaction	.31**	2.98
Model 4		
Basic Level Superordinate Identity	-.40**	-3.80
Ingroup Conflict Perception	-.12	-1.15
Interaction	.18	1.68

*Note. * p < .05 ** p < .01*

Note2. $R^2_{Model\,1}$ = .05 $R^2_{Model\,2}$ =.08 $R^2_{Model\,3}$ = .28 $R^2_{Model\,4}$ =.20

Note 3. N =74

The prime of superordinate identity does not behave as expected. An explanation is that the prime does not function the way it was expected to and is insufficient as a trigger of superordinate identity. We take a step back by comparing our findings of the prime's functioning with the functioning of the basic level of superordinate identity. The respondents' basic level of superordinate identity is indeed negatively linked to the scale of stereotyping the Dutch and the entire outgroup. This predictor interacts with outgroup conflict perception, which is not a significant independent predictor. Outgroup conflict perception strengthens the hypothesized link. We conclude that outgroup conflict perception is indeed a moderator to the negative effect that the basic level of superordinate identity has on negative stereotyping. Outgroup and ingroup conflict perception are not significant as independent predictors of negative stereotyping of the Dutch and the entire outgroup.

An independent samples t-test reported that the prime was only effective for Kurds who judged the entire outgroup ($F(37) = 4.25$, $p < .05$). The Turks did not show a significant response to the prime of superordinate identity by judging Kurds more positively. A one-way ANOVA

demonstrates the negative effect of the Turks' basic level of superordinate identity on their negative stereotyping of the entire Kurdish outgroup ($F(12, 22) = 2.27$, $p < .05$). As becomes evident from the different influences of the prime and the basic level of superordinate identity on the ethnic groups, Kurds and Turks were in different ways more positive about the outgroup when they adhered to a superordinate identity. A negative effect was also found of Turks' ingroup conflict perception on negative stereotyping of the entire outgroup ($F(16, 18) = 3.13$, $p < .05$). Only for the Turks did the factor of ingroup conflict perception play a role. Kurdish ingroup conflict perception did not show a significant link to negative stereotyping. For Turks and Kurds, outgroup conflict perception alone did not significantly relate to negative stereotyping.

As a whole, the conclusion of Study 2 is that the prime did not function optimally as a tactic against negative stereotyping. Superordinate identity does clearly have a part in the intergroup dynamics between Turks and Kurds and their attitudes toward outgroup members. Its influence does differ between the ethnic groups. The outgroup conflict perception doesn't seem as important in the Dutch sample as it was in the Turkish sample of Study 1. Remarkably, ingroup conflict perception is the factor that showed more influence on the attitudes of Dutch Turks and Kurds compared to the Turkish sample. The extent, to which generalization of stereotypes and the link with superordinate identity and conflict perception occurs, differs between ethnic groups.

Discussion

This study examines the Common Ingroup Identity Model (CIIM) as a tactic to improve intergroup attitudes. The CIIM proposes the use of a common ingroup identity that offers grounds for inclusion of the outgroup. The individual then has to take on a more positive attitude towards the former outgroup, in order to prevent negative self-esteem to derive from judging the newly included. The model has already proven effective in laboratory settings with different kinds of groups, based on race and political preference for instance. The step to discovering the actual effectiveness in an intergroup conflict outside the laboratory is next within the process to implementation of the Common Ingroup Identity Model.

The Kurdish issue has lead to tensions between Turks and Kurds for many decades. There are disputes concerning the autonomy of a Kurdish state and the Kurdish cultural discourse. The conflict between the Kurds and the Turkish state took off after Mustafa Kemal Atatürk decided to act against the Treaty of Sèvres that promised a referendum on the rise of Kurdistan. The past couple of decades, incidents surrounding the Kurdish conflict have also had their impact on the migrant populations of Turks and Kurds, such as the ones in The Netherlands. Tensions between both ethnic groups are evident in both Turkey and The Netherlands. The Common Ingroup Identity Model is put to the test as a tactic to soothe the problematic relation between Turks and Kurds. If common ingroup identity is a successful weapon against negative intergroup attitudes, the realization of a superordinate identity through intergroup similarities and relatedness should lessen negative judgments about the outgroup. The dependent variable in the present research is negative stereotyping, which has proven to be a good predictor of intergroup attitudes.

Both the results from Study 1 and 2 pronounce the relevance of superordinate identity to negative stereotyping of the outgroup. The Türkiyeli identity (Study 1) and the basic level of

superordinate identity that describes the relatedness of the Turks and Kurds as ethnic groups (Study 2) are connected to individuals' negative stereotyping of the outgroup. Generally speaking, the proposed main effect, which is superordinate identity's negative influence on negative stereotyping, is confirmed by this research. When people feel they resemble each other, and thereby adhere to a superordinate identity, they have a more positive attitude towards the other group. This phenomenon can be interpreted as the need for positive self-esteem that is stressed by Tajfel & Turner's Social Identity Theory (1986). It's important to positively evaluate the self and what is related to the self. When people feel related to others, the others become part of the mental representation of the self and self-esteem partially derives from the way they are evaluated. The fact that the present research confirms this link in the context of a real life conflict is promising to the Common Ingroup Identity Theory. On the other hand, the link is not the same for all groups. For example, Study 1 shows a relation between superordinate identity and negative stereotyping for the Turks in the sample, but not for the Kurds. Study 2 distinguishes stereotypes on the Dutch outgroup of Turks and Kurds and the ethnic outgroup as a whole. It demonstrates different influences of superordinate identity on the stereotyping of the Dutch outgroup and the entire outgroup. The basic level of superordinate identity was only related to negative stereotyping of the entire outgroup by the Turks.

Following a measure of the basic level of each participant's superordinate identity, Study 2 introduced a prime of superordinate identity to check whether the direction of causality of the proposed model is confirmed. The prime only affected the Kurds' negative stereotyping of the outgroup in general. Triggering superordinate identity helped reduce their negative attitudes, confirming the directionality that was proposed in the theoretical model. Turks were unaffected by the prime. However, their average basic level of superordinate identity was almost twice as high as that of the Kurds. Due to this already relatively high level of superordinate identity, Turks might not be as sensitive to the prime. The Turks did indeed show less negative stereotyping towards the Kurds. When participants were exposed to the prime that cued them to name similarities between Turks and Kurds, the conscious focus on superordinate identity did not make them more positive towards the Dutch outgroup in particular. An explanation could be that the Dutch populations of Turks and Kurds are not considered as representative for the outgroup. We now turn to the proposed moderators that might help interpret the divergent effects of superordinate identity.

Considering the presence of the Kurdish conflict and its strong link to Turkish and Kurdish identity issues, the interpretation of the conflict is deemed important as an influence on the intergroup attitudes that are the subject of our interest. Conflict perception was therefore introduced as a moderator of the negative link between superordinate identity and negative stereotyping. Attribution of responsibility to the ingroup and outgroup for different aspects of the conflict were measured and hypothesized to have a respectively increasing and decreasing effect on the negative relation between superordinate identity and superordinate identity. The Turks in Study 1 and 2 ascribe less responsibility for the conflict to the Kurds than the Kurds ascribe to them. Generally, the Kurds are more outspoken about the conflict.

Outgroup conflict perception is an independent predictor of negative stereotyping by Turks and Kurds in Study 1. The higher a respondent's score on outgroup conflict perception, the more likely that the respondent stereotypes the outgroup negatively. For the complete Turkish sample, outgroup conflict perception plays a central role in the attitude towards the outgroup, irrespective

of the relation between superordinate identity and negative stereotyping. As an independent predictor, outgroup conflict perception does not interact with superordinate identity as was hypothesized. This means that whether a respondent adhered to the Türkiyeli superordinate identity or not, the level of outgroup conflict perception related to negative stereotyping. No significant results were found for the predictive value of ingroup conflict perception and its interactions in the total sample of Study 1. Looking at the tenor of the conflict, it is not surprising that only outgroup conflict perception was found to account for negative stereotyping by the Kurds. After all, their identities have evolved as a result of the restrictions laid on them by the Turks.

The role of conflict perception is different for Study 2, which involved two variables of superordinate identity, a prime and basic level, and distinguished negative stereotyping of the Dutch outgroup and the entire ethnic outgroup. For Turks and Kurds, ingroup conflict perception was not a significant predictor of negative stereotyping. Ingroup conflict perception was only involved when interacting with the prime of superordinate identity. The interaction between these two measures solely predicted negative stereotyping of the Dutch outgroup. Outgroup conflict perception is not an independent predictor either, but moderates the link between the basic level superordinate identity and negative stereotyping of the Dutch and the entire outgroup. One can imagine that Turks and Kurds with more outspoken opinions on the conflict find similarities with the outgroup less important, even though they are aware of the resemblance between the in- and outgroup. Being geographically located further from Kurdistan and the Kurdish conflict, conflict perception is not an independent predictor for the intergroup attitudes of Dutch respondents.

Considering the total of findings in this research, the conclusion is that, in the light of the Kurdish issue, common ingroup identity does play a role in the intergroup attitudes between Turks and Kurds. This applies to both Turks and Kurds who live in Turkey and in The Netherlands. Nevertheless, there is a different association and importance of the superordinate identity across the populations in this real life conflict. Unfortunately, the prime in Study 2 was not as effective as expected. Conflict perception influences the attitudes of respondents living in Turkey. Ingroup conflict perception is less important than outgroup conflict perception. The respondents who live in The Netherlands do take the conflict into account, but probably have a lower level of direct personal relevance due to their geographical distance from the conflict. Being a migrant, Dutch Turks and Kurds might also have other important processes that involve identity and intergroup attitudes interfering with the identity issues that originate from their motherland. It would be interesting to involve measures of their relatedness to Dutch society and affinity with multiculturalism in future research, to investigate the role that the migrant position plays in a conflict situation.

Some limitations of the present research need to be considered when interpreting the results. For example, operationalizing superordinate identity requires knowledge of intergroup circumstances. The Türkiyeli term that was used for measuring superordinate identity in Study 1 is politically charged, as it is invented to improve inclusion through civic citizenship (Somer, 2005). The perception of Turkish national identity is therefore important to the effectiveness of this superordinate identity. Turks and Kurds who don't adhere to the ideology of a united Turkey could turn against this superordinate identity in particular, without necessarily rejecting resemblance and relatedness between Turks and Kurds. There was indeed a group of respondents that could not be included due to their judgment of the Turks as not being typically Türkiyeli. The dataset of Study 1 did not offer the opportunity to use a more diverse set of superordinate identities. The basic level

of superordinate identity in Study 2 was measured by three statements on the overlap between the ethnic groups and provides a more reliable and neutral measure of superordinate identity. The prime made respondents responsible for naming superordinate identities and resulted in a large set of alternative similarities, produced by the respondents. The responses to the prime could be interpreted as the superordinate identities that the respondents would adhere to and can be applied as items in the future. By checking for present superordinate identities, researchers can provide a set of superordinate identities that individuals are unlikely to counteract to in order to increase the effectiveness of a prime or reliability of a measure.

This research measured negative stereotyping, since it's proven to be a reliable predictor of intergroup behaviors. One could argue that measures of other aspects of intergroup attitudes provide a more informative view on the intergroup processes that identity incites. The Integrated Threat Theory proposes the promising additional measures of realistic threat, intergroup anxiety and symbolic threat. Even though negative stereotyping is found to relate to these other threats, adding measures of the other threats could help interpret the underlying motives of real life intergroup conflicts. In the current research, negative stereotyping was measured by items on positive stereotypes that were reverse-scored. The few negatively formulated stereotypes could not be used in combination with the reverse-scored items. In the future, results should be compared between sets of items that are positively and negatively formulated. When designing measures, it is important to take these kinds of subtle but possibly influential differences into account.

Study 1 included college students only, so not much variance was present in the educational level of the respondents. This affects the external validity of the results, for participants with higher educational levels are generally known to stereotype outgroups in a milder fashion. Future research should cover a more diverse sample of respondents. Despite the sufficient sample size, a big amount of cases had to be removed due to missing values. The reason for the large amount of missing values is unclear. We suspect the sensitivity of the subject to be the main cause. Not many respondents participated in Study 2, which was problematic for the reliability and significance of our results. Unfortunately, it proved to be rather difficult to find Dutch Turks and Kurds willing to participate. The subject of the Kurdish issue was often something they were hesitant to talk about. Turks regularly declined engaging in the research, stressing that they don't experience any problems between Turks and Kurds. The questionnaire offered room for comments at the end. Kurds more frequently wrote responses, showing their support for the research or questioning its motives, thereby illustrating more involvedness than Turks did. Kurds seemed more interested in bringing up the subject and giving their opinions. Despite being outnumbered by Turks in the Dutch society, it wasn't more difficult to find Kurdish participants. The fact that the questionnaire is spread online could result in a less diverse population of respondents, for regular social media users are generally youngsters. Additionally, by addressing Kurdish and Turkish organization, a relatively large group of people who are actively engaged with their ethnic group participated in the research. Perhaps it should be considered to use more diverse techniques of recruiting participants when researching a sensitive issue, such as the Kurdish conflict.

Based on the results of this research, the implementation of practical interventions using superordinate identity can be considered when intergroup tension needs soothing. The role of superordinate identity within intergroup dynamics has been confirmed both in previous laboratory research and the present applied research. This confirms the idea that the Common Ingroup

Identity Model is a promising tactic on reducing negativity between groups. However, the current study involving Turks and Kurds did not show a great effectiveness of the operationalized common ingroup identity. Some limitations to the research that could've caused these findings were already mentioned. The proposed theoretical model was not the optimal solution to account for the intergroup attitudes of Turks and Kurds across contexts. Future research should focus on testing different kinds of primes and models to find out more about the optimal conditions for accomplishing improvement of intergroup attitudes through superordinate identity in real life conflicts. So far, this step of testing the Common Ingroup Identity Model has not received much attention from scholars.

Notes

1 Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek. *Jaarrapport Integratie 2012*, p. 36-37.

2 Cinibulak, T. (2011). *Turken kunnen zich gaan afreageren op Nederlandse samenleving*. Acquired on Januari 17 2013, from http://www.volkskrant.nl/vk/nl/3184/opinie/article/detail/3008620 /2011/11/02/Turken-kunnen-zich-gaanafreageren-op-nederlandsesamenleving.dhtml?utm_ source=scherm1&utm_ medium=button&utm_campaign=Cookiecheck.

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3 Van der Kloor, R. (2011). *Turken in Nederland roepen op tot rellen tegen Koerden*. Aquired on Januari 17 2013, from http://www.elsevier.nl/Nederland/nieuws/2011/10/Turken-in-Neder land-roepen-optotrellen-tegen-Koerden-ELSEVIER320364W/.

4 ANP (2011). *Koerdisch centrum nog elke dag bedreigd*. Aquired on Januari 17 2013, from http://www.nu.nl/binnenland/2666368/koerdisch-centrum-nog-elke-dag-bedreigd.html

5 Volkskrant (2011). *Manifest Turks-Nederlandse professionals: Problematiek jongeren zeer verontrustend*. Acquired on Januari 17 2013, from http://www.volkskrant.nl/vk/nl/2686/Binnen land/article/detail/1790349/2011/01/Manifest-Turks-Nederlandse-professionals-Problematiek-jongeren-zeerverontrustend.html.

6 In Study 2, more negative stereotypes will be added to see whether doing so will abolish the incompatibleness with the positively formulated stereotypes.

7 Due to an ambiguous formulation of the statements in the previous questionnaire, the items were considered insufficient as measures of superordinate identity earlier.

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APPENDIX

A. Relevant Survey Items Study 1(translated from Turkish)

Age: ____

Gender: □ Male   □ Female

In Turkey there are different ethnic or cultural group, like the Turks, Kurds, Laz and Çerkez. Which ethnic group do you belong to?

Turks □	Kurds □	Çerkez □	Laz □	Other _____

The following questions are about the groups of Turkish and Kurdish people. Please check the box for what the percentage is to which the particular trait applies. Thus what, according to you, is the percentage that is 'Competent', and so on.

TURKS

	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Competent											
Efficient											
Hard working											
Friendly											
Nice											
Good-natured											
Honest											
Violent											
Trustworthy											

KURDS

	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Competent											
Efficient											
Hard working											
Friendly											
Nice											
Good-natured											
Honest											
Violent											
Trustworthy											

Some ethnic groups are seen as more 'typical' for "Türkiyeli" than other groups. How is this for:

	Not at all			In between			Most typical
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Turks							
Kurds							

Perception and evaluation of 'the conflict'
Please indicate the amount of responsibility that each of the following groups have for (1) starting, (2) continuing, (3) ending, and (4) for the amount of damage and harm caused in the conflict between Turks and Kurds. Use the following scale

No responsibility						Complete responsibility
0	1	2	3	4	5	6

Circle the number in the appropriate box.

	0	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
Turks							
Starting							
Continuing							
Ending							
Damage							
Kurds							
Starting							
Continuing							
Ending							
Damage							

APPENDIX

B. Online Survey Study 2 (translated from Dutch)

Gender: □ Male □ Female

Age: ____

Ethnicity: □ Kurdish □ Turkish Other: _____

I follow the Turkish or Kurdish news on TV, through the internet or other ways:
□ Daily
□ Weekly
□ Monthly
□ Less than monthly or never

The following questions are about the Kurdish conflict in Turkey. Please indicate to what extent you think **Turks** are responsible for the conflict in matters of *starting, continuing, ending* and *damaging*.

Use 0 for 'not at all' and 6 for 'entirely'.

Responsibility of the Turks

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Beginning the conflict							
Continuing the conflict							
Ending the conflict							
Damaging in the conflict							

The following questions are about the Kurdish conflict in Turkey. Please indicate to what extent you think **Kurds** are responsible for the conflict in matters of *starting, continuing, ending* and *damaging*.

Use 0 for 'not at all' and 6 for 'entirely'.

Responsibility of the Kurds

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Beginning the conflict							
Continuing the conflict							
Ending the conflict							
Damaging in the conflict							

I was born in: □ Turkey □ The Netherlands Other: _____

[The next items were only displayed to respondents who were not born in The Netherlands]

Age of migration: ____

Father's country of birth: □ Turkey □ The Netherlands   Other: _____

Mother's country of birth: □ Turkey □ The Netherlands   Other: _____

[End of selection: the following items were displayed to all respondents.]

The highest educational level that I graduated in or the level of my current studies:
□ Basisonderwijs
□ Middelbaar onderwijs (vmbo/havo/vwo)
□ MBO
□ HBO
□ WO
□ Other: _____

Indicate to what extent you agree with the following statements.

Use 0 for 'not at all' and 6 for 'entirely'.

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Even though Kurds and Turks live in the same country, I think these ethnic groups are completely different.							
Despite differences in ethnicity and religion, there is a feeling of solidarity between Kurds and Turks.							
I feel that Turks and Kurds are one ethnic group.							

[The next block of items was randomly assigned or not.]

Name at least three similarities between Kurds and Turks.

1) _____
2) _____
3) _____

[End of selection.]

[The next two blocks of stereotypes were only displayed to Kurds.]

Check the box that refers to the percentage of **Turks (in general, regardless of where they live)** that can be characterized by the trait.

How many percent of the **Turks (in general, regardless of where they live)** is:

	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Competent											
Ignorant											
Hard working											
Friendly											
Nice											
Good-natured											
Honest											
Violent											
Trustworthy											
Efficient											

Check the box that refers to the percentage of **Dutch Turks** that can be characterized by the trait.

How many percent of the **Dutch Turks** is:

	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Competent											
Ignorant											
Hard working											
Friendly											
Nice											
Good-natured											
Honest											
Violent											
Trustworthy											
Efficient											

[The next two blocks of stereotypes were only displayed to Turks.]

Check the box that refers to the percentage of **Kurds (in general, regardless of where they live)** that can be characterized by the trait.

How many percent of the **Kurds (in general, regardless of where they live)** is:

	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Competent											
Ignorant											
Hard working											
Friendly											
Nice											
Good-natured											
Honest											
Violent											
Trustworthy											
Efficient											

Check the box that refers to the percentage of **Dutch Kurds** that can be characterized by the trait.

How many percent of the **Dutch Kurds** is:

	0%	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
Competent											
Ignorant											
Hard working											
Friendly											
Nice											
Good-natured											
Honest											
Violent											
Trustworthy											
Efficient											

[End of selection. The next questions were displayed to all participants.]

How do you **value** the characteristics mentioned below when you judge someone's personality on a scale from 0 (not at all) to 6 (a lot)?

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Competent							
Ignorant							
Hard working							
Friendly							
Nice							
Good-natured							
Honest							
Violent							
Trustworthy							
Efficient							

C. Correlations Study 1

Table C1

Correlations Among the Variables of Study 1

	Negative Stereotyping	Superordinate Identity	Outgroup Conflict Perception	Ingroup Conflict Perception
Negative Stereotyping	—	-.244**	.001	.278**
Superordinate Identity		—	.022	-.213**
Outgroup Conflict Perception			—	.293**
Ingroup Conflict Perception				—

Note. ** $p < 0.01$ (2-tailed).

D. SPSS Output Study 1

Table D1 *Model Summary*

Ethnic group	Model	R	R²	Adjusted R²	Std. Error of the Estimate
Turkish	1	,451ᵃ	,204	,195	12,60845
	2	,461ᵇ	,213	,191	12,63542
Kurdish	1	,278ᵃ	,077	,064	15,08057
	2	,291ᶜ	,085	,053	15,16848

Table D2 *Coefficients*

			Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
			B	Std. Error	β	t	Sig.
Turkish	1	(Constant)	-,151	,789		-,192	,848
		Centre_TurkiyeliK	-3,043	,517	-,341	-5,883	,000
		Centre_OutgroupPerception	,527	,146	,217	3,618	,000
		Centre_IngroupPerception	-,050	,148	-,020	-,339	,735
	2	(Constant)	-,373	,850		-,439	,661
		Centre_TurkiyeliK	-3,166	,549	-,354	-5,768	,000
		Centre_OutgroupPerception	,562	,157	,232	3,585	,000
		Centre_IngroupPerception	-,024	,156	-,009	-,156	,876
		Interact_OutgroupTurkiyeliK	-,071	,098	-,047	-,723	,471
		Interact_OutgroupIngroup	,009	,021	,024	,396	,692
		Interact_IngroupTurkiyeli	-,097	,094	-,065	-1,027	,306
		Interact_ALL	,001	,014	,005	,071	,944
Kurdish	1	(Constant)	-,137	1,066		-,128	,898
		Centre_TurkiyeliK	-,411	,553	-,051	-,744	,458
		Centre_OutgroupPerception	,669	,174	,274	3,839	,000
		Centre_IngroupPerception	-,302	,183	-,116	-1,646	,101
	2	(Constant)	-,021	1,146		-,018	,985
		Centre_TurkiyeliK	-,650	,620	-,080	-1,048	,296
		Centre_OutgroupPerception	,651	,183	,266	3,556	,000
		Centre_IngroupPerception	-,289	,207	-,111	-1,396	,164
		Interact_OutgroupTurkiyeliK	,025	,095	,020	,257	,797
		Interact_OutgroupIngroup	-,008	,030	-,019	-,258	,797
		Interact_IngroupTurkiyeli	,042	,101	,035	,419	,675
		Interact_ALL	,012	,015	,065	,790	,430

Note: Dependent Variable: Centre_OutgroupStereotyping.

APPENDIX

E. Correlations Study 2

Table E1

Correlations Among the Variables Study 2

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Negative Stereotyping Entire Nation * Salience (1)	—	.783**	.862**	.681**	-.412**	.118	-.103
Negative Stereotyping Dutch Nation * Salience (2)		—	.705**	.910**	-.436**	.146	-.102
Negative Stereotyping Entire Nation (3)			—	.813**	-.347**	.065	-.109
Negative Stereotyping Dutch Nation (4)				—	-.370**	.093	-.087
Basic Level Superordinate Identity (5)					—	-.394**	.024
Outgroup Conflict Perception (6)						—	-.006
Ingroup Conflict Perception (7)							—

Note. ** *p* < 0.01 (2-tailed).