

Sectarianism and Social Identity in Pakistan

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ABSTRACT

The main aim of this study is to explore the role of social identity in inter-group discriminatory behavioral patterns among the religious groups of Shiite and Sunni in the capital city of Pakistan. The theoretical framework of social identity proposed by Tajfel and Turner was utilized to look into socio-cognitive processes influencing the inter-group settings. For selection of the respondents from both religious groups, purposive sampling technique was utilized. The gathered data in the study was looked into with respect to the social identity theory. The results of the study suggested that socio-cognitive processes of social categorization, social identification and social comparison in the individuals resulted in discriminatory patterns in the inter-group relations among the Shiite and Sunni religious schools of thought. The data also illustrated that additional factors of international actor's involvement, state policies, socialization process and real/ perceived deprivation influenced the social identities of the respective religious groups in inter-group settings. The results of the study showed a positive correlation between the role of social identity and inter-group discriminatory patterns supporting the utilization of Tajfel and Turner theoretical framework in the universe of the study. Hence, social identity results in inter-group discriminatory patterns in the universe of the study.

Keywords: In-group, Out-group, Inter-group, Social Identity, Social categorization, Social Identification, Social Comparison, Discrimination, Sectarianism

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Introduction

After the independence, over the period of decades, the societal divides among different ethical and religious groups intensified in the Pakistani society. Social identities on sectarian grounds are found to be affecting the social order in the society very severely. The sectarian divides in Pakistan is an outcome of dysfunctional religious institution as it is considered failed to create social harmony in society resulting in serious challenges to the nation building process (Javaid and Hashmi, 2012). The ideological divides between the Sunni and Shiite sect's resulted in members' intensive attachment to their specific social group identities in such a way that it created lack of social cohesion in the society impacting on all sectors of life. Hasan (2011) proposes that the clash of interest due to religious divides has manifested itself over the years in Pakistan and resulted in the victimization of humans with brutal acts of violence. The hatred and discrimination in inter-group behaviours are deep rooted in the socio-cognitive patterns of Pakistani society.

Pakistan as a society has witnessed time and again, brutal acts of violence happening between different ethnic and religious groups (Zaman, 1998). Various religious groups are involved in making other groups victims of brutal sectarian violence and in this process also become a victim of same from others. Hundreds of humans lost their lives in sectarian violence in Pakistan in recent decades (Hasan, 2011). Extreme ethnocentric behaviours are found to be involved in harming the cause of social order, as each religious group tries to exploit and subjugate other in various social settings. Hasan (2011) in his studies on sectarianism in study area of Jhang, Pakistan proposed that the ideological divides in the society were present there, even before the partition of Sub-continent.

It is further highlighted in the study that Islamic revolution in Iran and the General Zia regime's Islamization policies in Pakistan played a significant role in shaping the antagonistic behaviors in the inter-group relations between Shiite and Sunni sects. The research study further reveals the lethality of discriminatory patterns in the society by providing the statistical data.

Social Identity Theory

The social identities² play a vital role in the construction of in-group attachment and out-group detachment. To understand complex nature of inter-group relations, sound theoretical foundation is required to analyze the formation of social identities and their effect on individual's behavioral patterns within in-group³ and out-group⁴ (Tajfel, 1982). Social Identity theory is proposed by English scholars, Tajfel and Turner in 1979. The theory look

¹ According to English Oxford dictionary, sectarianism is defined as, "Sectarianism is excessive attachment to a particular sect or party, especially in a religion". According to Cambridge dictionary, sectarian can be defined as, "A person strongly supporting a particular religious group and not willing to accept other beliefs (Audi, 2015). Keeping in view the above definitions, the researcher has devised definition of sectarianism for the convenience of study in the local context as, "Sectarianism is an intensive sense of affiliation in the individuals with a specific religious group within a religion resulting in a self constructed perception of positive evaluation of in-group and negative evaluation of out-group (s)".

² In a research work to elaborate the basic assumptions of social identity theory, McLeod (2008) utilised the definition of social identity proposed by Tajfel, as, "An individual's sense of who they are based on their group membership(s)".

³ It is defined by Robertson (1987) as, "A sense of belonging and identification to a specific group".

⁴ It is defined by Ian Robertson (1987) as, "A group of people to which an individual do not have a sense of belonging and identification".

into the cognitive processes in inters group⁵ behaviors. The theoretical assumptions of social identity theory proposed by Tajfel and Turner in late 1970's comprehensively encompasses the cognitive process involved in analyzing the inter-group behaviors in the socio-cognitive settings (Reicher, Spears and Haslam, 2010).

The socio-psychological theory looks in to the deep rooted hidden processes, functioning at the back of scene to understand the individual's behavioral patterns in the inter-group settings. The theory assumes that individual personality is influenced by the prevailing patterns of the belonging group (Turner and Tajfel, 1986). The perception of social association with a specific group shapes the way of looking towards their own group as well as others. The individuals undergo various processes in social life, in which they get accustomed to the guidelines with respect to respective socio-cognitive settings, resulting in a specific course of behavioral actions (Turner and Tajfel, 1986). These behavioral patterns in the inter-group settings are an outcome of ideological foundations of the in-group internalized in the individuals. As group of scholars mentioned that social group ideological beliefs are internalized in individuals, resulting in the creation of affection to the in-group and aloofness against the out-group (Turner and Tajfel, 1986).

Social identity theory studies the influence of social structures on individuals with respect to internalization of behavior in social settings (Stets and Burke, 2000). The individual affiliation to the in-group results in identities formation, giving rise to discriminatory⁶ behaviors against the individuals of the out-group, which are an outcome of deep rooted ideological foundations internalized through the process of socialization (Schwartz et al, 2009). Social Identity theory looks into the socio-cognitive processes and conditions in the fabrication of social identities, resulting in ethnocentric and antagonistic behaviors against the other groups (Turner and Tajfel, 1986).

The theoretical framework of social identity theory comprises of three socio-cognitive processes of Social Categorization, Social identification and Social Comparison to explain the inter-group discriminatory behaviors. These three socio-cognitive processes are briefly elaborated in the below as per Mcleod (2008) understanding of the social identity theory:

Social Categorization: It is a first stage phenomenon which draws lines between the in-group and out-group on meanings attached to the objects in socio-cognitive settings. The classification explains about the humans with respect to "us" and "them", which enhance the perception of attachment in in-group and detachment with out-group. This socio-cognitive process of social classification gives rise to distinction between in-group from out-group.

Social Identification

In the second stage, humans by categorization, move on to internalizing the identity of a particularly attached group. In this socio-cognitive activity, humans show conformity to

⁵ It is defined by Sherif (1966) as, "Whenever individuals in one group interact, individually or collectively with another group or its members".

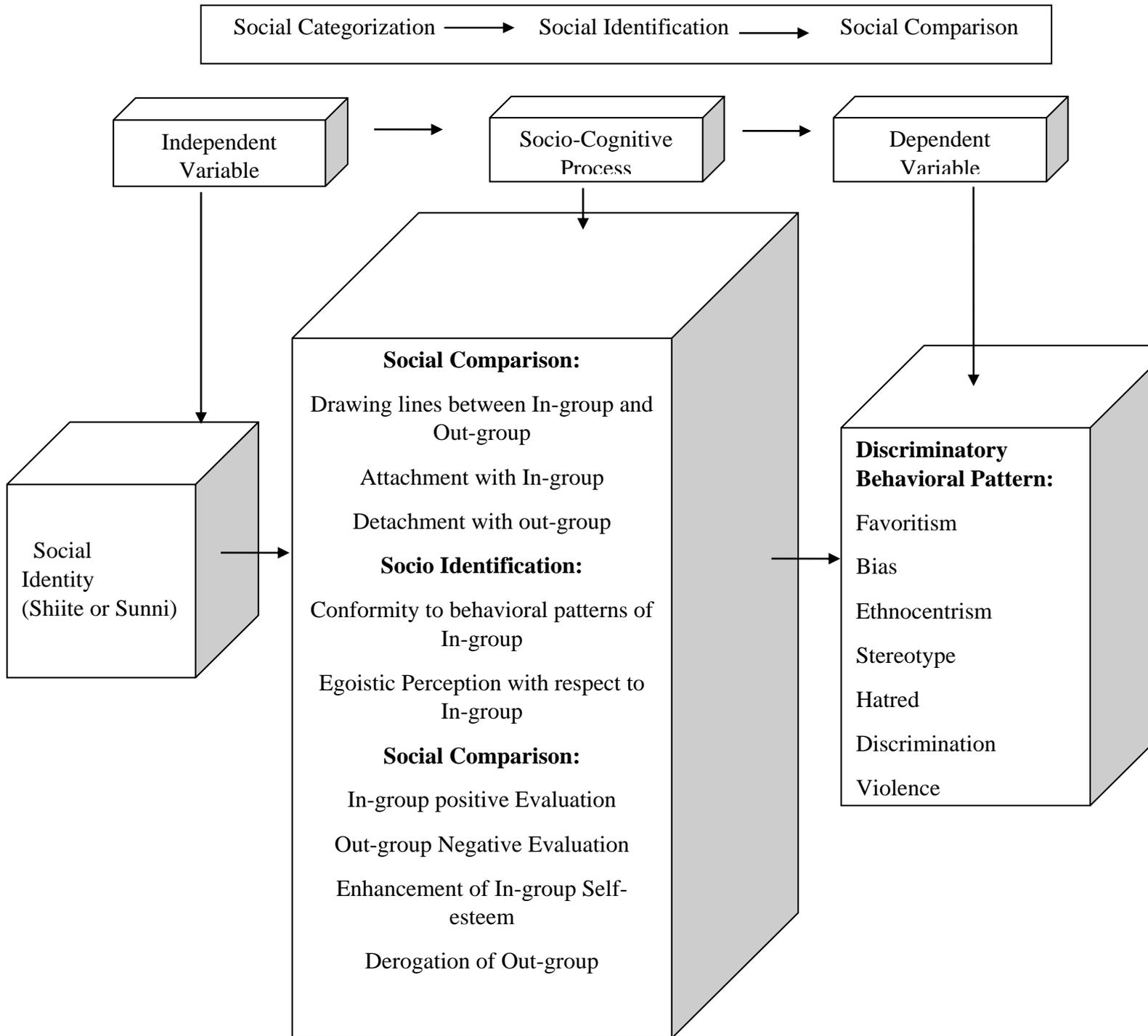
⁶ According to English Oxford dictionary, discrimination can be defined as, "The unjust or prejudicial treatment of different categories of people, on multiple grounds". According to Webster dictionary, it can be defined as, "Discrimination is an act of making or perceiving difference" or "the process by which two stimuli differing in some aspect are responded to differently". For the convenience of study, the researcher has devised definition as, "The conduct or meditation of, or generating a peculiarity in favor of or against, a person or thing based on the group, class or category to which that person or things belongs rather than on individual merit". Keeping in view the above definitions, the term discrimination includes the inter-group patterns of prejudice, bias, bigotry, stereotype, intolerance, hatred, unfairness, inequity and favoritism on part of individual or group against others.

behavioral patterns of the group, to one which is opted for more affiliation than others. This supposed process of affiliation leads to emotional attachment to the specific group resulting in egoistic identity of perceiving oneself better than others.

Social Comparison

In the third and last stage, after the process of categorization and identification to one particular group, humans do comparisons with others, in a way to enhance their self-esteem due to attachment and favoritism with the specific group. These socio-cognitive processes result in discriminatory and antagonistic behavioral patterns in the inter-group relations. Social Identity theory explores the favoritism, discrimination, bias, stereotypes, hatred and violence in human's society.

Social Identity Theory Model of Mcleod (2008)



Research Question

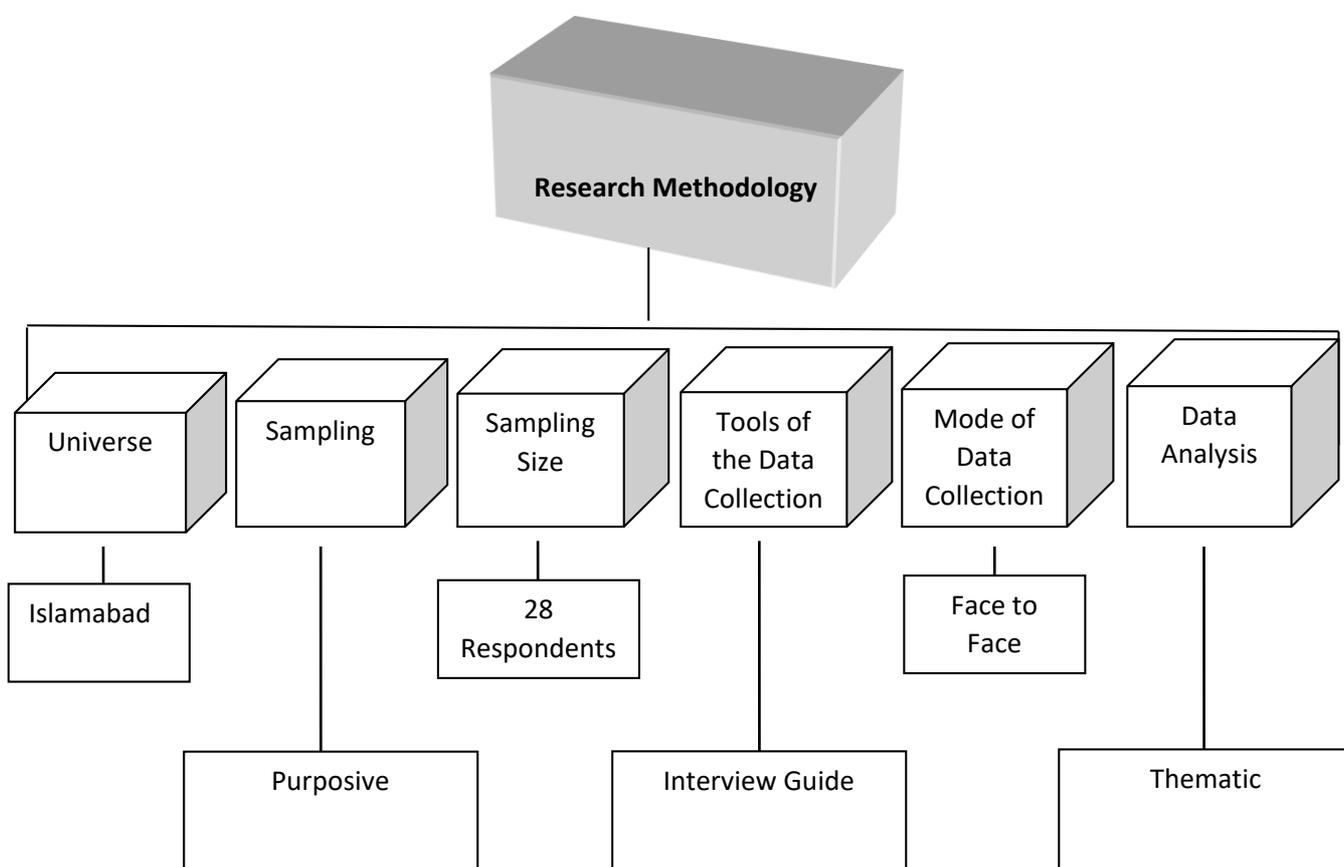
The study primarily answers the following question.

How social identity is resulting in inter-group discriminatory behavioral patterns in the study area?

Research Methodology

The research study utilized qualitative method for the collection and analysis of data. The aim of the research study was to identify the role of social identities in inter-group settings. Both primary and secondary data was used to draw conclusions. An utmost attempt was made to observe the socio-cognitive processes through the lens of social identity theory in the respondents on inter-group discriminatory behavioral patterns.

The methodological steps taken in this research study are depicted in the following figure.



The research study was conducted in capital city of Pakistan. The key reasons for selecting Islamabad as universe of the study were as follows:

Capital city of Pakistan is multi-ethnic, as people from different parts of the country come and live here.

No research study was carried out to look into the topic of sectarianism in context of social identity theory.

Along with familiarity of the area, the aspect of safety and security was also ensured.

The combination of above mentioned factors affirmed the capital city as a suitable study universe to carry out study of social identities and sectarianism.

Sampling

Taking into account the research objectives, a purposive sampling technique was used to select the respondents. In purposive sampling technique, respondents are chosen for convenience, believing that they are suitable for research (Sarantakos, 2005). Respondents are selected in accordance with the understanding and professionalism of the researcher and their relevance for research. For this study, 28 respondents were selected as study respondents. A qualitative method requires the use of sample size that can provide rich and relevant data. As Patton (1990) suggested that quality researchers as a whole strive to conduct

in-depth interviews, trusting relatively small sample sizes. Thus, unlike the quantitative research method, qualitative research method does not depend on large number of respondents, but rich and detailed data are the goals of the study (Hitzler & Honer, 1994). Considering this, the researchers chose 28 respondents as sample size of the respondents. Drawing on Bryman (2004), the researchers' decision about sample size was based on available time and resources for the study.

Data Collection

Data collection is one of the most significant stages of social research. Data for this research were collected through personal interviews (face to face) using the interview guide (See appndx I for interview guides). In addition, field observation was used to enrich the data. Because of the sensitivity of the topic and immense attachment of the respondents with their ideology, access to respondents and data collection was a challenging step in Pakistani society. The researchers used the services of my friends and fellows to curb the problem during data collection. The assistance of friends helped in establishment of mutual understanding, which was important for effective data collection. After the establishment of mutual understanding, researchers conducted in-depth interviews with the respondents. All interviews were conducted until the saturation stage of the data was achieved.

Data Analysis

The thematic analysis of the qualitative method was used to analyze the data collected in the study. Codes were assigned to similar answers of the interlocutor. That made it possible to identify similarities and differences in respondent's perceptions of a particular aspect of the phenomena being studied. During, further analysis, researchers collected similar answers together and worked out the themes out of them. These themes have been presented and discussed in Chapter four. The answers, after the recording, were considered as text. The text was analyzed and inferred in the light of available literature.

Result and Discussion

After analysis of the interviews following results were drawn. As proposed by the Social Identity Theory, the result was categorized into following features.

Social Categorization

The result clearly shows that respondents segregated themselves in in-group and out-group social categories. The derived themes are given in the following diagram. Each in-group believed that Islam and their particular sect is complete code of life. They felt very strong

association with their sect. They also believed that their sect is distinct and in seeking the righteous path and that they were very committed to their sect. They also said they are recognized by their sect by other sects. As result, we could derive the outcome that they strongly draw classification in in-group and out-group categories. The results are shown in the chart below.

Results of First Stage Socio-cognitive Process

Socio-cognitive Process	Derived Themes	Outcome
Social Categorization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Complete code of life • Association • True Representation of Islam • Seeking of righteous path • Distinctiveness • Self-recognition • Commitment • Reflection of groups ideology by personal traits • Recognition by others 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drawing of imaginary by classifying in-group and out-group

Social Identification

Once the individuals are done with the categorization process by segregating themselves in the in-group and out-group, they move on to internalization of social identity with respect to their particular group. This is carried out through the socio-cognitive process of social identification. In this socio-cognitive activity, humans show conformity to prevailing behavioral patterns within the group, to one which the individual has opted for more affiliation, in comparison to others.

Each group showed a sense of satisfaction and pride for being members of particular sect. Their particular sect ideology was appealing to them. They believed that the values and teachings of their sect were universal. They also showed trust only the religious scholars of their own sect. The outcome of the interviews was that respondents from each group showed conformity to the prevailing behavior in the group and showed increased self-esteem and emotional attachment to it. The following diagram shows the results of Social Identification of respondents.

Results of Second Stage Socio-cognitive Process

Socio-cognitive Process	Derived Themes	Outcome
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Social Identification	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Source of satisfaction and pride • Connected to divine forces • Values and morals are universal • Linkage of worldly and spiritual life to group beliefs • Appealing Ideology • Notion of Perfectness • Religious scholars are inspirational • Group is reason for sense of pleasure • Involvement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conformity to the prevailing patterns in the in-group • Emotional attachment with rise in self-esteem
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Social Comparison

In the third and last stage, after the process of categorization and identification to specific group, individuals do comparisons with others, in a way to enhance their self-esteem due to attachment to the in-group and acts in favoritism with respect to the in-group and discrimination towards the out-group. These socio-cognitive processes result in favoritism, bias, stereotypes, hatred and discrimination in the inter-group relations.

Results of Third Stage Socio-cognitive Process

Socio-cognitive Process	Derived Themes	Outcome
Social Comparison	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teachings mechanism better than other • Religious teachings are more real than other • Experience of prejudice/ discrimination • Others lost the original message • Structural victimization. • Our ideology ensures peace • Other ideology internalize hatred • Main stream media and social media used for negative portrayals • Acceptance and support for in-group • Our group members more capable 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positive Evaluation of in-group • Negative Evaluation of out-group

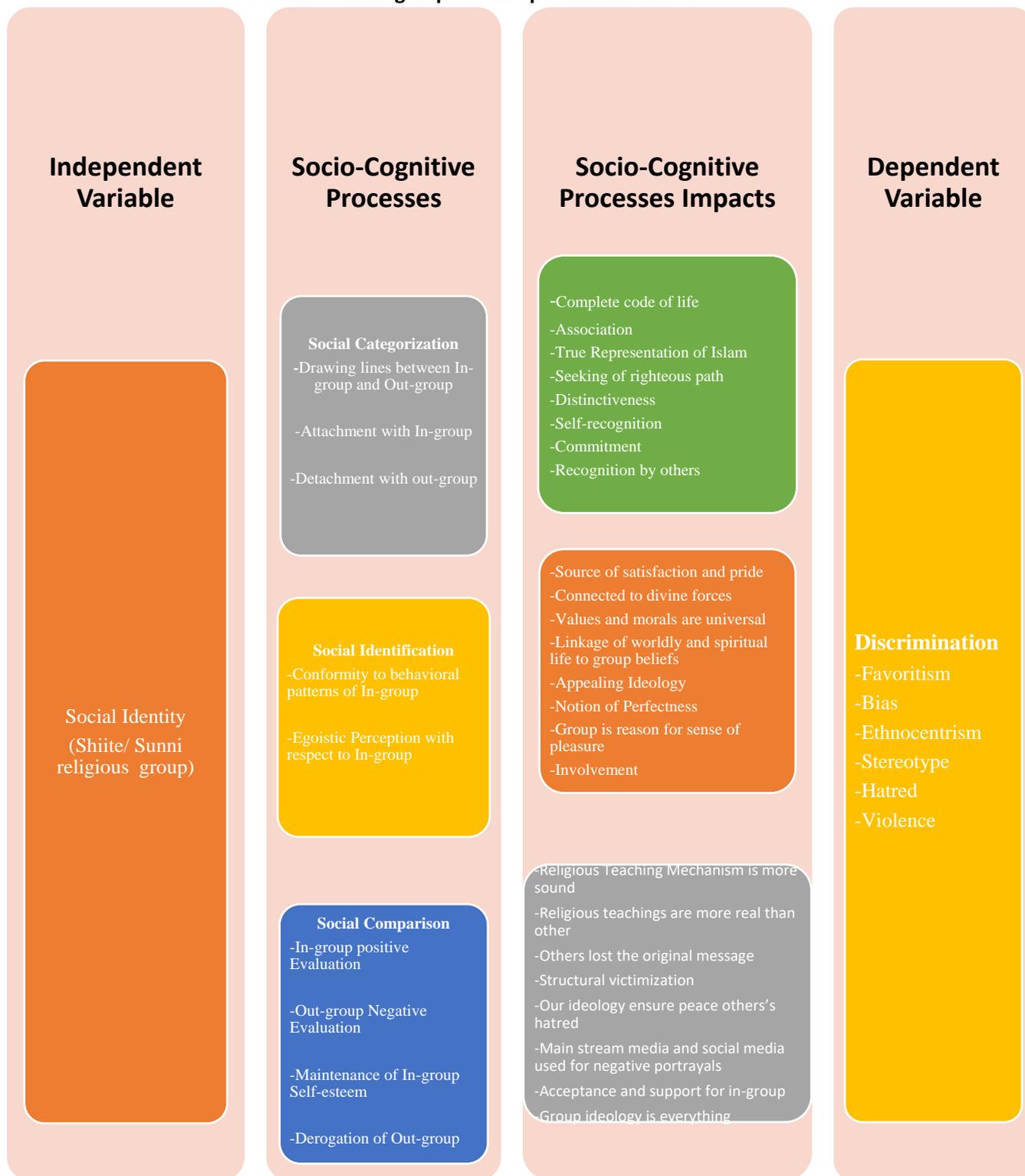
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Group ideology is everything 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintenance of self-esteem
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This research finding in the study universe supports the Tajfel and Turner theory of Social Identity with following additional assumptions:

- Involvement of international actors influenced the formation of strong social identity in both religious groups leading to inter-group discriminatory behavioral patterns.
- Curriculum taught in the formal education sector was one of the additional factors to influence the social identity in both religious groups.
- One of the factors was religious institution teaching mechanism in both religious groups leading to inter-group discriminatory behavioral patterns.
- The controversial literature was found to be involved in creating social identities resulting in inter-group discriminatory behavioral patterns.
- Real/ perceived deprivation in the individuals was one of the major factors influencing the inter-group behavioral patterns.
- Frustration/ aggression was one of the factors seriously impacting on development of social identity in both religious groups.
- Non-deliverance of state is impacting severely the reach out of the state. It was found to be involved in influencing the inter-group behaviors in multi ways.
- Lack of sovereign policies was also impacting on the masses in both religious groups.
- Lack of inter sect harmony set up was also found to be involved in influencing the inter-group discriminatory behavioral patterns.

The study was aimed to explore the role of social identities in inter-group discriminatory behavioral patterns between the religious groups of Shiite and Sunni in the capital city of Pakistan. The study focused on the socio-cognitive processes involved in creation of inters group discriminatory behavioral patterns. The research findings have a positive correlation with the aim of the research questioned. These findings are given in the diagram below.

Research Finding as per Conceptual Framework



Recommendations

Pakistani society is in the transitional phase but sometimes it seems that society is in reverse mode since the ideologies of extreme religious groups are prevailing at local and national level harming the social order. Unfortunately, in last few decades, the divides between the two major religious groups (Sunni and Shiites) reached to alarming levels together with increase in soft and hard discriminatory patterns in the society.

A comprehensive and inclusive approach is required to cope with the radical attitude of different groups regardless of their affiliations with peculiar ideology. Structural reforms determine the attitudes and guide the society in a very organized and systematic way. Policies should be formed at micro, meso and macro level to deal with the issues in an effective way. On the basis of the findings of the research study, few suggestions are shared below.

Access to Quality Education

Without any doubt, education is the strongest tool that helps individuals and groups to deal, manage and cope with the different challenges. Access to education is the basic right of every citizen and providing the quality education to the citizens is the fundamental duty of the state. In a society like Pakistan, where individuals are attached to their social identities to extreme levels, are badly in need of effective formal education system. The quality education is the best weapon that may eliminate the extreme behaviors of different religious groups. The more society is educated; the more tolerant behavior will prevail. Hence, government must come ahead to introduce reforms in the education system and implement it on prior basis to deal with the extremism.

Curriculum Reforms

Another important point is to bring reforms in the typical education system through consensual approach of educationists and policy makers. Therefore, launching the innovative curriculum country wide, based in ethics and civility to produce pluralistic mind set across the society is essential for creating harmony in the masses. An intensive research study is to be carried out by policy makers for creation of a diversified type of curriculum, accommodating all segments present within and without the society.

Madrassa Reforms

One of the significant points is to revisit the role of madrassa education system in the country. A comprehensive strategy that covers the multiple aspects like structure of madrassas, funding system and curriculum must be adopted. In addition, the subjects like science and technology must be incorporated along with the traditional moral literature; such reforms definitely would guide the students in modern global affairs as well. All the relevant stakeholders including government, religious scholars and politicians must communicate and develop a formal Erudite Forum for regular discussion, where all the stakeholders may share their reservations and suggestions to amend and improve the madrassa education system. Government should come up with organized plan for check and balance like it does in formal education system.

Inter-Sect Harmony

Since Pakistan is a multicultural and multi sect society, promoting social solidarity is the top challenge in such societies. The ethnocentric approaches prevailing within different religious groups resulted in escalation of tensions on the basis of identity. Therefore, the interfaith (sects) harmony is of utmost importance in this context as it creates balance and support

cohesion among different religious groups claiming different identities. To establish the pattern of inter sect harmony, there is need to develop a multi-dimensional common platform on local and national levels.

Provision of Security to Citizens

The provision of security to the public is the prime responsibility of the state. The secure feeling as a society enhances the feeling of trust and confidence. Pakistani society is tragically affected by the catastrophe of terrorism and it has seriously damaged the sense of security and self-esteem as a nation. Recently, Government has launched a National Action Plan to eliminate terrorism; however, there is also need to incorporate the socio-cultural aspects in the plan for effective outcome.

State Writ

The writ of the state is a serious challenge to the country since sectarianism is causing deterioration in social order not only in the far areas from the centre but also within the established urban areas. The effective governance is the key to impose the writ of the state on peculiar areas through fair and just legislation and their subsequent implementation. All the state organs like Parliament, Executive and Judiciary must be on the same page with the same level of understanding regarding the intensity of the issue.

Political Participation

Political participation and representation at the local and national level of all the sects on the basis of their strength and capacity must be encouraged. This will ensure that individuals in the religious groups instead of other means will use the political framework to solve their problems. Government must win their confidence by giving them their deserved representation and implement development plans above the sight of sect and ethnicity.

Sovereign State Policies

The policies that have been adopted by the State of Pakistan were not said to be independent and according to the cultural and religious dynamics of the society throughout the history. Such policies have hampered the situation in inter-group religious settings and divides between the Shiite and Sunni went on high. The sovereign and independent policies should be developed by excluding the vested interests of the international states and collaborating with the specific and relevant local and national actors.

Long-Term Counter Terrorism Strategies

Pakistan is facing the challenge of religious extremism since long but still no decisive plan is devised. The current situation of religious divides is very alarming with respect to the peace and stability in the state. Hence a very calculated, intensive and long term approach including preemptive and proactive strategy need to be introduced to eliminate the extreme factors.

Role of the Media

No one can deny the significant role of media in disseminating the messages in a short time to the wider audience. Government should effectively engage the media and promote the inter faith harmony while diminishing the misconceptions between religious groups at a broader level to create harmonious identities in the society. It is significant to mention that media needs to avoid presenting the extremist elements as a role model. Religious scholars need to participate in the media forum to raise voice for unity.

De-weaponization and Private Security

Extreme religious identities become lethal by the availability of bulk of weapons. Pakistani society is facing a chaotic situation due to the violent activities inflicting serious material and non-material losses. De-weaponization and private security practice abolishing is indispensable across the country especially in the FATA, as armed people in both religious groups are victimizing each other on the basis of religious divides. But it is also pertinent to mention here that before the process of de-weaponization, the state must ensure the masses for provision of security, as there is intensive feeling of threat in the society.

Reliable Justice System

Weak justice system is one of the reasons of extremism in Pakistan, as a basic trust of masses on state is deteriorated over the passage of time. A fundamental element for building sense of security and self-esteem as a Pakistani nation is by creating an environment in society where there is an effective rule of law, including respect for property rights. Efficient, strong and reliable justice system is a key to bring betterment in the situation. Criminal justice system not only needs reforms but also the implementation of the laws on equality basis.

Identity Crisis

Pakistani nation is facing serious identity crisis right from its existence. The society became so polarized on socio-religious basis that it has harmed the statehood. In a vacuum like situation, the individual's gets refuge in different socio-religious identities to get the socio-psychological support. To get the nation out of identity crisis is one of the significant factors in countering the discriminatory social identities, to create a sense of security and self-esteem as a nation. The conflicting orientations are to be reconciled in efficient ways in order to get harmonious nationalistic identity across the board.

Conclusion

Social identity through the socio-cognitive processes of social categorization, social identification and social comparison with respect to the religious groups of either Shiite or Sunni played a significant role in the inter-group discriminatory behavioral patterns in the inter-group relations. In first stage, the individuals from both religious groups classify themselves as belonging to in-group different from the out-group creating binaries as "us" and "them", which enhances the perception of attachment in the members of the in-group and detachment with the out-group. The socio-cognitive processes of social categorization, gives rise to drawing of imaginary lines between in-group and out-group by the factors of perception of belongingness to the in-group with respect to true representation of Islam, utilization of efforts to attach to the righteous path, distinctiveness from others, self-recognition with the in-group, involvement, commitment, reflection of group ideology by personal appearance and recognition of attachment by others. These perceived factors result in categorization of individuals to the in-group with respect to their religious groups by classifying themselves from the individuals of the out-group.

In the second stage of social identification, individuals from both religious groups internalized the identity of associated group by showing conformity to the prevailing behavioral patterns in the in-group. The conformity to the prevailing patterns in the in-group results in the sense of self-esteem in the individuals with respect to belongingness to the respective religious group arousing the emotional attachment levels. The patterns of identification like group ideology as source of satisfaction and pride, connectedness with

divine forces, universalism of values and morals, linkage of worldly and spiritual life with the group beliefs, perception of appealing Ideology, sensation of perfection and sense of pleasure due to the in-group attachment leads to emotional attachment to the specific group resulting in egoistic patterns of perceiving oneself better than others by indulging in judgmental and stereotype approach. The individuals perceive themselves with positive distinctiveness to the in-group and negative distinctiveness with the out-group. The feeling of positive distinctiveness acts as a foundation for the adaption of bias and stereotype approach in the socio-cognitive setting against others.

In the exploration of the third socio-cognitive process, the results of the study are in positive correlation with the assumption of social identity theory that members in the in-group are involved in positive evaluation with respect to their in-group and negative evaluation with respect to out-group. The individual do comparisons with the out-group, in a way to enhance their self-esteem indulging in favoritism with the in-group and discrimination with the out-group. The aspects like teaching mechanism, interpretation of religious teachings, experience of prejudice and discrimination, others involvement in losing of original message, structural exploitation, our ideology ensure peace and theirs internalize hatred, acceptance and support for the in-group, in-group capability and group ideology is everything results in positive evaluation by indulging in favoritism to the in-group and discrimination against the out-group. The sense of superiority in the individuals over the others gives rise to judgmental and bias approach towards them. These patterns directly contribute in strong affiliation to the in-group and also create antagonistic behavioral patterns with respect to the out-group. Almost all the individuals in the study were doing evaluation of in-group and out-group by non-adaptability of reasoning approach in the inter-group setting. The socio-cognitive processes of social categorization, social identification and social comparison in the individuals results in discriminatory and antagonistic behavioral patterns in the inter-group relations.

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Appendix I

Interview Guide

The interview guide covers the three socio-cognitive processes of social categorization, social identification and social comparison.

Social Categorization

1. Do you associate yourself to a particular religious group?
2. Do you think your religious group is real/ true sect of Islam?
3. Do you think special efforts need to be made to get attached to a righteous religious group?
4. Do you think that members of other religious group are different than yours?
5. Do you think that it is necessary to get recognition of attachment to a particular religious group in social life?
6. Do you spend enough time with the members or in activities of your belonging group?
7. Do you think that all members of your group have strong religious ideology?
8. Do you think that your personal appearance should show your religious group's identity in social life?
9. Do you think it is favorable to be categorized by others in accordance with your religious group identity?

Social Identification

10. Do you think that attachment to your religious group is a source of satisfaction and pride to you?
11. Do you think sense of belonging to your religious group is natural or divine forces driven?
12. Do you think membership to your religious group is a source of trust and security?

13. Do you think that your values and moral standards practiced in your religious group are universal standards?
14. Do you think that worldly and spiritual life is linked with your group beliefs?
15. Do you think that your group has a wider appeal or has appealing ideology?
16. Do you feel that your group religious interpretation leads to perfect life in society?
17. Do you think your group religious scholars are inspirational and role models?
18. Do you feel happy to see your religious group members?

Social Comparison

20. Do you think that teachings mechanism of your religious group is sounder than others?
21. Do you think your group religious teachings are more real than others?
22. Do you think members of other group are involved in discriminatory behavioral patterns?
23. Have you or your religious group members ever experienced discrimination from members of other group?
24. Do you think that other group has lost the original message of Islam?
25. Do you think that your group is systematically victimized by others group?
26. Do you think your group religious teaching can ensure peace in society?
27. Do you think that other group religious teachings are internalizing hatred against you?
28. Do you think that main stream media and social media are utilized by other group to construct negative portrayals of your group?
29. Do you socialize more with your group members in comparison to others?
30. Do you believe in supporting members of your sect in social life?
31. Do you think that your group members are more capable than others?
32. Do you think that your group ideology matters a lot than other affairs in life?