

ASSOCIATIONS OF RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION, SECULAR
IDENTIFICATION, PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION, AND POLITICAL TRUST
WITH ETHNIC AND SOCIETAL (NATIONAL) IDENTIFICATION

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ABSTRACT

ASSOCIATION OF RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION, SECULAR IDENTIFICATION,
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SOCIETAL (NATIONAL) IDENTIFICATION

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The current thesis extends research in the area of multiple social identities and identity conflict by focusing on both intergroup and intraindividual process underlying structures of identities, namely, religious, ethnic, and societal (national) identifications. In addition, it examined the influence of political trust, and perceived discrimination the relationship between ethnic and societal identification for disadvantaged ethnic groups in Turkey. Two studies were conducted to evaluate the process of identity organization both inter group and in group. While, the first study addresses intergroup differentiations of these identities, second study focused on intraindividual process of these identities' structure. Supporting hypotheses stemming from Social Identity Theory and Optimal Distinctiveness Theory, political trust and perceived discrimination have roles of mediation in the relationship ethnic and societal identification, by contrast with secular and religious identities in the relationship. Results were discussed for their implications to politic context of the Turkey.

Keywords: multiple identities, self, social identity, intergroup relation, political trust, perceived discrimination.

ÖZ

DINI KIMLIK, LAİK KIMLIK, ALGILANAN AYRIMCILIK, VE POLİTİK GÜVENLE ETNİK VE TOPLUMSAL (ULUSAL) KİMLİKLE İLİŞKİLERİ

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Bu çalışma çoklu sosyal kimlikler ve kimlik çatışmaları üzerine yapılan çalışmaları; dini, laik, etnik ve toplumsal (ulusal) kimlik süreçlerinin yapısını hem gruplar arası hem de bireyin içsel süreçlerine odaklanarak genişletmektedir. Aynı zamanda bu çalışma Türkiye'deki dezavantajlı gruplar da politik güven ve algılanan ayrımcılığın, etnik ve toplumsal kimlik arasındaki ilişkiye olan etkileri incelemektedir. Hem gruplar arası hem de iç-grup da kimlik düzenleme süreçlerini değerlendirmek için iki çalışma gerçekleştirilmiştir. İlk çalışma bu kimliklerin gruplar arasındaki farklılaşmalarını konu alırken, ikinci çalışma bu kimliklerin yapılaşma süreçlerini bireylerin içsel düzenlemelerine odaklanarak anlamaya çalışmaktadır. Sosyal Kimlik Teorisi ve Optimum Ayrışma Kuramı'ndan yola çıkarak öne sürülen politik güven ve algılanan ayrımcılığın; etnik ve toplumsal kimlikler arası ilişki de aracı role sahip olduğu ön görüşleri; laik ve dini kimliklerin bu ilişkideki etkileriyle karşılaştırılarak desteklenmiştir. Sonuçlar ve bu sonuçların politik uygulamaları Türkiye bağlamında tartışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çoklu kimlikler, benlik, sosyal kimlik, gruplar arası ilişkiler, politik güven, algılanan ayrımcılık.

Jo

*War children and
Peace all around the world*

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CHAPTER 1

1 INTRODUCTION

From the 20th century, many social issues have emerged as a consequence of changes in the political culture throughout the world. For example, the last 50 years or more have seen the escalation as well as the conciliation of the conflict between the Catholic and Protestant communities in Northern Ireland, the fall of colonialism in Africa, the emergence of atrocious inter-ethnic conflicts in Rwanda, Bosnia, and Kosovo the intensification of an antagonistic relationship between Muslims and Jews in the Middle East, as well as the problematization of multiculturalism in North America and Europe, in particular with reference to Muslim migrants. All these have led to a rising interest in the concept of *identity* not only in psychology but also in all social sciences and literature.

As antecedents and consequences of the continuous globalization movement, ethnic based protest campaigns and rebellions have risen in the nation states. Identity problems on political right and duties have been pronounced more and more for the members of disadvantaged social groups. Hence, for both nation state and identity groups, social scientists have felt the responsibility to produce morally and politically applicable solutions concerning identity problems to achieve a democratic society and social cohesion. Related with this responsibility, I aimed to understand the association of religious and secular identification, perceived discrimination, and political trust with ethnic and societal (national) identification in the Republic of

Turkey. Understanding these relationships may serve as a contribution to achieve democracy in the society with producing morally appropriate identity politics in the nation states.

In the 21st century, investigating individuals' sense of belonging to society is more crucial than in past centuries given the continuing globalization movement and the ensuing need to reconsider the meaning of the nation-state. However, there has not been consensus on the definition of the society. Society has been considered to refer to a community with many interrelated institutions constructed formally or informally by individuals. Without doubt, individuals do not have a sense of belonging to a society or nation as a whole, but more likely social groups or categories, such as race, citizenship, religion, language, culture, or gender.

One of the aims of the current thesis was to illustrate how individuals organize their multiple identities in national context and how they identify themselves as 'us' and belong to a particular society (it mostly refers to a nation state in contemporary world) in accordance with social psychological theories. Furthermore, understanding the impact of identification with ethnically disadvantaged groups on the societal identification and factors affecting the strength of this impact, (e.g., political trust and perceived discrimination) are the aims of the present thesis. The purpose of the current thesis is also to investigate whether or not religious and secular identification affects the relationship between ethnic and societal identification.

In order to fulfill aforementioned aims, two studies were conducted. Study 1 aimed at developing two new scales, namely Societal Identification Scale and Political Trust

Scale. Examined differences and similarities with respect to endorsement of identities and role of political trusts and perceived discrimination across ethnically majority and disadvantaged groups. Study 1 included evaluating societal and ethnic identification deeply and their relationship with other variables in terms of compared majority and disadvantaged groups with each other. On the other hand, Study 2 investigated the relationships among variables mentioned above based on two theoretical models. The models carried out impact on societal identification with setting religious and secular (laik) identity, political trust, and perceived discrimination with ethnic identification. The first model concerned whether or not perceived collective discrimination and political trust have mediational roles in the relationship between ethnic and societal identification, while the second model took into account mediational roles of religious and secular identification in this relationship

The present thesis consisted of three chapters. First of all, a theoretical framework was presented in the light of Social Identity Theory (SIT) (Tajfel & Turner, An integrative theory of intergroup conflict, 1979) and Optimal Distinctiveness Theory (Brewer, 1999). Secondly, based on the literature review, the two studies were introduced separately. In the second chapter, Study 1 including its aims, hypotheses, method, result, and discussions were given. As chapter 3, study 2 covered two separate models, which pertain to the impingement of strength of identification with ethnically disadvantaged groups on societal identification. Lastly, the strengths, implications, and limitations of the current thesis were presented.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

2.1 Social Identity Theory (SIT)

Social Identity Theory provides us with theoretical explanation for the minimal group phenomena and explains the social psychological process leading to intergroup discrimination and prejudice (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). The term ‘social identity’ means that when individuals belong to certain groups, group memberships become internalized as their self-concepts. People often view themselves and others via group memberships. According to SIT view, people want to maintain a positive social identity, which in turn leads to positive self evaluation. Hence, individuals achieve great benefits from their membership in the group such as status (Nezlek & Smith, 2005).

Group behavior and in-group identity are category-based intergroup-oriented phenomena in SIT (Hymans, 2002; Pfeifer, Ruble, Bachman, Alvarez, Cameron, & Fuligni, 2007). The theory pays attention to the intergroup processes rather than intra-group dynamics. Therefore, in-group-representation is discussed as a shared social category, or a depersonalized whole, which helps define the self-concept depersonalized in terms of how typical one is in the group. Therefore, the members of in-group are thought to share prototypical features with each other (Yuki 2003). Although SIT provides information about fragments of the social system and intergroup relationship, categorical distinction has been the focal point in the theory. Thus, social identity has been constructed as a result of a process of identification with other members of a certain group rather than a process of differentiation in individuals’ self-representations from the other (Brewer, 2001).

The individual's self-representations promote individuation and differentiation of the self from other people. Individuation and differentiation promote assimilation and unit formation in terms of various group memberships. Therefore, the importance of the recognition of the personal, individuated self is broadened by collective identities; enabling people to make it more elaborate the other individuals when the personal self is salient in an individual. On the other hand, when collective identities are salient, people evaluate others in terms of in-group-out-group categorization (Brewer & Gardner, 1996).

According to Brewer (2001), SIT can establish a link between individual level and group level analyses in social identity phenomena. Therefore, psychologists could investigate both the structure and process of social groups and representation of self within the groups. Although social identity is the central notion in order to understand intergroup relation and a key element to relation the individual to her/his social group, more recently, theorists have seen social identities as one specific type of self-component composing the global self (e.g., Amiot, Sablonniere, Terry, & Smith, 2007; Brewer, 1999; Deaux, 1991). Because the individual can identify with various groups, her/his overall self-concept is conceived as comprising multiple social identities (Amiot, Sablonniere, Terry, & Smith, 2007). As a matter of fact, individuals engage in multiple social identities within their overall self-concepts, since they are simultaneously members of multiple social groups and categories, such as race, religion, gender, nationality, political parties, and their world view (Freeman, 2003; Roccas, 2003).

2.2 Multiple social identities

According to Brewer (2001), in social science literature, there are four social identity themes, such as person-based social identities, relational identities, group-based identities, and collective identities. Person based social identity is defined by individual traits that it is based on how individual differentiates their self from the others. Relational self is defined as individual embedded self to significant other persons in dyadic relationships. Contrary to these definitions, Hogg (2003) suggested that relational and individual self should not be defined as parts of social identity, although meanings of relational and individual self may be based on the parameters of the collective self. They should be seen as personal identity rather than collective identity. For this reasons, the current study focused only on group-based and collective social identities taking multiple social identities into account.

According to Brewer (2001), the difference between role identity theories and social identity theories is the influence of social context in which activating individuals select from alternative identities. Furthermore, since most research employing the social identity construct has examined a single social identity at a time, many questions about how individuals organize their multiple identities remains unanswered in the literature (Freeman, 2003). Many researchers have claimed various vantage points on multiple identities. Some studies emphasize the conflict in multiple identity process (e.g. Freeman, 2003; Poynter & Washington, 2005); others investigate the integration of those identities in both adaptive and maladaptive processes (e.g. Gresky, Ten Eyck, Lord, & McIntyre, 2005; Pittinsky, Shih, & Ambady, 1999). The present thesis's aim was also to investigate individuals'

adaptive strategies within their self-concept which are conflicting among social groups in the national context.

Because people belong to various groups, they have different loyalties and allegiances to these groups. Thus individuals cannot redefine their social identity to fit better with other identities at the same time (Brewer 2001). For example, Poynter and Washington (2005) showed that Christian LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender) people have to be in conflict with the various homosexual minorities and religious communities regarding their orientations in religion and sexuality. Regardless of a specific topic, in terms of people's multiple social identity constructs, to my knowledge, there has been relatively little research on multiple identities unfolding whether one of the identities affect other social identities that the individuals owns. Therefore, people may use their social identities to facilitate associations of other related identities.

Optimal Distinctiveness Theory (ODT) suggests that when people identify themselves with groups, they select group identities with not only inclusive enough for a sense of belonging to a part of a larger collective but also exclusive enough for a sense of distinctiveness from the others (Brewer, 1999). There is an optimal equilibrium between inclusiveness and distinctiveness. Thus, if this equilibrium changes to benefit one of the sides, individuals will make an effort to restore the equilibrium with organizing their own social identities (Brewer, 1999). For this reason, investigating the structure of multiple social identities might provide meaningful information about how individuals negotiate among their multiple social identities which may be conflictual in different political context.

2.2.1 Structure of multiple social identities

There are various alternative forms of identity structure which may affect the relationships among subjectively represented multiple identities (Brewer, 1999; Roccas & Brewer, 2002). When individuals engage with their multiple group membership simultaneously, they might need to organize their group identities accordingly. One way is that an individual may commit to a group identification which is a dominant one compared to all other affiliations. Another possibility for the individual is to differentiate group identities with different domains, preventing all of them from being activated at the same time (Brewer, 2001). The last way is that the individual holds one identity as superordinate while other identities are held as subparts or subgroup identities. In this way, on the one hand, individuals may satisfy their security need by belonging to superordinate group identity, on the other hand, they may satisfy their need for uniqueness via subparts or subgroup identities (Brewer, 1999). For example, although a Turkish citizen of Arab origin can define his/her self as a Turk to satisfy his/her security need in the Turkish national context, he/she can define his/her self as an Arabic-Turk to satisfy need for distinctiveness in the same context.

When an individual's social identities overlap with each other, it does not necessarily mean that these identities are salient at the same time or under the same conditions. Two separate strategies may be used to manage them: Inclusive and conjunctive strategies (Brewer, 2001). In such a manner, inclusive strategy is defined as in-group identity is shared with all members of such groups simultaneously. For instance, in Turkey, while Kurdish people can identify themselves with all citizens in Turkey,

they can also identify themselves with all Kurds as common in-group memberships. On the other hand, conjunctive strategy is defined as individuals identify themselves only with the respective multiple categories simultaneously, e.g. Kurdish people in Turkey may identify themselves as Kurdish citizens of the Republic of Turkey.

Individuals may not be able to successfully manage their dual identities under every circumstance. For instance, if two groups involve a competition or a discrepancy about their agendas, managing identities requires more effort in order to reduce conflict among them (Brewer, 2001). If these conflictual set of identities fall under the same domain, the structure of multiple identities would need reorganization to reduce conflict. However, if dimensions of meaning of these identities are not shared by the individual, he/she holds these identities independently (Burke, 2006).

2.2.2 Changing among multiple social identities

Turner (2006) pointed out in his commentary that individuals have an ability to change their identities. He said: 'Human psychology does not make us prisoners of social structure. It makes us capable of collective action to change social structures and in turn re-fashion our identities, roles, personalities and beliefs'. Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, and Rust (1993) revealed that salience of the two group representation of identification can decrease intergroup bias. They suggested that besides, de-categorization approach which has been a common approach in social psychology, re-categorization also reduces intergroup bias and conflict. People who employ re-categorization can conceive themselves as a single group. Parallel to this point, dual identity should also reduce intergroup bias in relevant contexts via re-categorization of identities. Besides, Brewer (2001) revealed that if groups are in

competition and have discrepant agendas, re-categorization or managing dual identities requires more effort. According to Brewer (2001), if people strongly identify with each group which conflict with each other, they are more likely to make an effort to reduce and negotiate the conflict among groups. On the other hand, s/he may shift efforts towards enlarging out-group and establishing group boundaries to protect themselves from the effects of conflicting demands.

Individuals perceive their multiple identities in a subjective manner and these identities may be non-overlapping memberships of their multiple in-groups in different contexts (Brewer, 1999). As a *system*, the self is organized by individuals in across social circumstances. The structure of self is determined by relationships among different identities which are appealing because of their relative salience and importance at particular time and social circumstances (Brewer, 2001; Stryker, 2000). In some contexts, the individual perceives people as in-group members, whereas in other contexts the individual perceives the same people as out-group members because of the complexity of multiple identities. For example, a person under some circumstances, such as Ramadan Feast is likely to perceive Muslims as in-group members; however, in different circumstances in which secular identification is more likely to be emphasized, s/he might perceive the same people as out-group member.

The individual (either consciously or non-consciously) weighs and assesses available aspects of the self to determine which identities are activated as a guide to behavior in any given situation. Individuals' multiple social identities may lead to conflicting implication for self-expression and they may be aware of that conflict. In this

condition, an individual may have to make a choice and negotiate among different aspects of the self-concept. Under the circumstance that people meet the demands of the social context, they have to realize their different identities by selecting of one of them (Brewer 2001, p 122). Furthermore, Allport (1954; as cited in Pittinsky, Shih, & Ambady, 1999) claimed that many times, individual's multiple identities can be salient in different situations simultaneously. Salience of different identities in different contexts has a deep effect on one's thoughts, feelings, and behaviors. Hence, Pittinsky et al. (1999) stated that individuals cannot simply demonstrate their identities along a single dimension of identity against the stereotypes in their identities through "identification" or "disidentification". Instead, stereotype relevant contexts motivate an implicit reorientation of the individual's effects on his or her many identities. Individuals in certain context reconcile their irrelevant social identity and they affectively favor another more adaptive or context-relevant social identity. For example, Gresky, Eyck, Lord, and McIntyre's (2005) experimental study showed that under stereotyped threat on performance, making multiple identities salient can improve performance. In such a way, the result of their study indicated that women who were under the mathematics stereotype threat performance deficits alleviated their stereotype of Japanese identity about being superior on mathematics. Moreover, Forehand, Deshpande, and Reed (2002) indicated that identity salience affects development of judgments toward identity-related stimuli. However, the bulk of this research on multiple identities is laboratory based and much of it relies on the salience of one identity. Virtually, no studies have explored how members organize their identification with conflicting multiple-identities. Hence, the present thesis explored the relations among various multiple identities together and investigates

how multiple identities are structured within the individual knowledge on real groups. The purpose was to clarify how individuals organize their identities to reduce assimilation threat towards their multiple identities in the escalating politically divided context of Turkey.

Rothgerber (1997) indicated that with internal threat, identification is an important moderator of group perception presumably because in-group shortcomings lead low identifiers to dissociate from the group and perceive in-group heterogeneity and perceive the self as less similar to the in-group. Therefore, Brewer (1999) claimed that when two group identities are both salient simultaneously, the individual has to hold some form of their dual identification that take into consideration how inclusively those identities are defined for that individual. Hence, Tajfel and Turner (1986) revealed that when an individual's social identity is threatened, the individual will act to reduce the threat and restore a positive and distinct social identity. Although these threat-reducing actions have generally been approached from the perspective of intergroup differentiation, how the individuals restore their positive and distinct social identity feeling threat which comes from their different identities remains an unanswered question.

Although researchers have not clearly demonstrated a hierarchy of multiple identities, Kantner (2006) intrinsically refers to societal identification as a central identity by stating that 'Identity tends to be a catch-all phase for presumably needed thick moral underpinnings of social and political order. It is considered to be something that makes thing easier because everybody who belongs to the community believes in the same set of values'.

Individuals' motives and situational affordances in congruent contexts lead to more cognitive productivity than other contexts including regular life situations. Hence, people get more and more elaborate in their forms of cognitive complexity in relevant contexts such as conflicting or demanding situations. This also signifies that people in different contexts (relevant or irrelevant) may elaborate their own complex social cognition (Woike & Aronoff, 1992). When people perceive a threat towards their multiple identity groups, they may elaborate more and more on their own forms of multiple identities. Thus, in pluralistic societies, managing competing identities can lead to either increasing fractionation or improving stability in the society (Brewer, 2001). Turkey has been a pluralistic society in which there are various ethnic and religious groups since Ottoman times, although there have been various problems about being a civil society (for a detailed discussion, see Karaman & Aras, 2000; Onis, 1997; Toprak, 1996). Researchers and philosophers claim that establishing civic society in the pluralistic society is the most important requirement to achieve a deliberative and dialogical democracy (see for details, Giddens, 2007). After establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, politics on ethnic and religious groups were influenced by the French nationalism experience. To reduce threat to the secular and unitary state in early 1920s and 1930s, rebellions identity groups were suppressed. These policies pushed ethnic and religious groups to become disadvantaged in both state and social institutions. In the later history of the Republic, especially after 1960s, social unrest stemming from polarization in society led to social division and contradictory conceptions of social and political order about identity groups such as the Islamist versus Secularist, and recently Kurds versus Turks (Toprak, 1996; Smith, 2005; Onis, 1997). In the context of Turkey, by

affecting the history of republican politics and by new social movements in the world, members of disadvantaged ethnic groups may elaborate on their forms of multiple identities. Individuals may have to elaborate on forms of societal, religious and ethnic identities in Turkey through effortful cognitive processing.

2.3 Ethnic disadvantaged (minority) group identification and societal bond as multiple social identities

As mentioned above, since post-cold war times around the world, many disadvantaged groups have raised protest campaigns about extending their political rights and duties, and increasing their autonomy in the state. Parallel to this contemporary fashion, in Turkey, some disadvantaged identity groups such as Islamist, homosexual, ethnic, or gender groups had protest campaigns. Recently Kurds versus Turks and Islamists versus Seculars division in Turkish political context have become an increasingly salient issue. The current thesis focuses on individuals' cognitive representation of these multiple identities by clarifying the relationship between societal identification and ethnic identification as well as effects of secular and religious identification on this relationship.

2.3.1 Societal identification

Although from the ancient history to present; philosophers, politicians, and scientists have a concern with society, there has not been consensus on the definition of it since it is a higher order construct. According to Sarason (1974), a community refers to more than political and geographical area and it includes various characteristics such as economy, religion, or politics. Hence, society has been defined in terms of its' particular form such as information society (e.g. Stephanidis, et al., 1999), modern

society (e.g. Lee & Newby, 1983), civil society (e.g. Kumar, 1993), and so on by different perspectives and disciplines (e.g. anthropological, philosophical, psychological, and sociological). In general, in all perspectives, society refers to a community in which there are many interrelated institutions to be constructed formally or informally by people who have lived in from past to present.

In order to understand a concept of the society and its relations from psychology, community psychology provides a conceptual framework to define society as the biggest community for building a bridge between the notion of the community and psychological sense of community with other relevant concepts, e.g. participation, community identity, empowerment, and social cohesion (Colombo, Mosso, & De Piccoli, 2001). Sarason (1974, p.157) conceptualized sense of the community and identification with the community to show their importance on the group and individual levels, as follows:

“The perception of similarity to others, an acknowledged interdependence with others, a willingness to maintain this interdependence by giving to or doing for others what one expects from them, the feeling that one is part of a larger dependable and stable structure –these are some of the ingredients of the psychological sense of community...”

In the beginning of the 20th century, the effects of the French nationalism determined the idea of citizen, which refers to the aim of creating an identity through the republican idea of constitutional patriotism in the Turkish nation state. From at least the time of the first half of the century, citizenship was centered on the myth of national homogeneity and cultural community. An assimilationist philosophy developed around the myth that a political community in which members of the nation melts their identities in the concept of the citizenship. According to Wenden

(1994), citizenship has been a debatable concept from the 18th century to present in not only France but also all of the modern republican countries which integrated the idea of constitutional patriotism.

According to Dwyer (2004), there are definitions of citizenship from different vantage points and perspectives in the literature. The legal definition of citizenship is viewed interchangeable with nationality because a legal citizen of a particular country is defined as a member in society/country with international law and it is strongly related with duties to that state and rights. Although socio-political definitions of citizenship is related to political, economic and cultural change in the context of power relationships, from the philosophical perspective, the citizen is defined with deep normative questions about individuals' roles, duties, and rights and role of state.

Researchers mostly differentiated between nationality and citizenship (e.g. Callan, 1997; Dwyer, 2004; Yeğen, 2002; Wenden, 1994). They revealed that citizenship means to be a member of a state and it refers to individuals' political rights and duties. On the other hand, nationality has been defined as a category of a collective will to live together in national borders even it is strongly related with the notion of the citizenship (Wenden, 1994).

For societal bond, classical citizenship takes references to the nation-state by setting universalism, individualism, equality, assimilation, and secularism. On the other hand, the concept of citizenship has begun to expand with contrary values with reference to localism and citizenship of residence and proximity by taking in to

account their communities, collective identities, ethnicity, and networks (Wenden, 1994). Isin and Wood (1999) claimed that new social movements lead to creating new meaning of citizenship and new forms of identities and group rights. They suggested that identities have begun to be defined based on differences from general categories such as race, gender, or nationality. People have categorized themselves differently such general categories in different societies, for example as Kurd, as Arabic, as female, as Muslim, as secular, as gay, as Afro-American, as Native American, as Latino etc. Moreover, for hegemonic groups, this categorization led to the awareness of their position in social space as well, for example, as white, as male, as straight, and so forth.

In the literature, there are different definitions of societal identification. Most researchers use the concept of societal identification as a notion of national identification. Smith (1991) conceptualized national identity as civic and territorial and as ethnic and genealogical in a particular nation-state. In a later study, Jones and Smith (2001) defined two general dimensions of identification with society. One of them is ascriptive dimension, which relates to the concept of ethnic identity that comes from its historical and theoretical literature. For the ascriptive dimension, people identify with society because of the elements of an alternative ethnic conception of the nation such as genealogy, descent ties, popular mobilization, vernacular languages, customs and traditions. Other dimension of societal identification is voluntarist, which relates to a sense of political community, the notion of civic identity, common institutions, and a single code of rights and duties. According to Shulman (2002), societal identification includes three components.

These are civic, cultural, and ethnic identifications. People are attached to not only nation-state but also their society for different reasons. While one reason can be citizenship of nation-state, other reasons can be identification with the culture, and territory. For this reason in the present study it is preferred to use the concept of societal identification rather than the concept of national identification, although these two concepts are strongly related with each other.

In a nation-state, nation-building and the growth of a strong national identity are inhibited due to internal cultural differentiation and polyethnicity's arising visibility of different language groups and regional divisions (Jones & Smith, 2001). Jones and Smith (2001) claimed that changing degrees of globalization, internal cultural differentiation, post-industrialism, and militarism determine the importance of commitment to the ascribed form of societal identity or voluntarist form.

2.3.2 Disadvantaged ethnic group identification

In such a national context, strong ethnic in-group identification is more likely than a dual identity in which there is also a sense of commitment to the nation-state. From social identity perspective, it can be argued that an emphasis on assimilation or national commitment creates a distinctiveness threat to which ethnic minority members respond by reasserting their threatened minority identity (Brewer, 1991).

According to Vignoles and Moncaster (2007), threat is a useful construct to predict intergroup discrimination. When the groups receive threat from out-group, the members of in-group will increase perceptions of the self as similar to the in-group and dissimilar to the out-group (e.g., Pickett & Brewer, 2001; Simon, 1992; Tajfel &

Turner, 1979). Rothgerber (1997) emphasized that interpersonal and intergroup threats have been differentiated in social psychology. Interpersonal threat had been once defined generally in terms of situation or entities that threaten an individual because of his or her personal properties. In contrast, the latter threat has been defined as directed at an individual's identity because of his or her group membership. Early studies that investigated personal and social identity did not make this distinction (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Taylor & Dube, 1986; Taylor & Moghaddam, 1987). Terry and Hogg (1996) found that personal factors were more effective for low identifiers, whereas group fact did not. Smith, Terry, and Hogg (2007) demonstrated that high identifiers were more engaged with in-group-mediated behaviors and norms than low identifiers whereas low identifiers were more engaged with in-group-mediated behaviors and norms only in the presence of external pressures.

Verkuyten and Yıldız's (2007) study among Turkish minorities in the Netherland revealed that strong ethnic in-group identification is negatively related with nation-state identification. In national-state context, it is commonly observed that, the minority groups identify more strongly with their ethnic identity rather than with a dual identity which includes the sense of commitment to the nation-state. Brewer (1991) suggested that focusing on assimilation or national commitment by institutions or government invokes the perception of distinctiveness threat. Parallel to this perspective, ethnic in-group identification may be more likely stronger identification than a dual identity in the Turkey for members of the disadvantaged groups. However, in the Turkish national context, reasons for ethnic diversity have

not been migration from different countries or places. All ethnic groups have lived for more than one thousand years in the same territory and most of them have the same religion with the majority groups. Hence, different from immigrant groups' identity dynamics, it is expected that ethnically disadvantaged (minority) identifications such as Kurdish or Arabic are not negatively related to civic domains of identification of national-state in Turkey. Verkuyten and Yıldız's study (2007) claimed that religion has a meditational role on national disidentification. Contrary to this approach, in our study, we expected that religion has a positive effect on societal identification because most of the members of disadvantaged ethnic groups identify with Islam, which is the most common religion in Turkey. Accordingly, individuals in ethnically disadvantaged groups that do share with majority religion may increase their collective self-esteem via religious membership in Turkey.

2.4 Religious identification in a civic nation-state

Mostly, religion is more important to people's identity than other identities which effect individuals' believe, thought, and behaviors. In literature, religion is a more likely topic in Ethnic studies, if ethnic minorities have a different religion than the majority. However, in Turkey, members of majority ethnic groups and disadvantaged ethnic groups are Muslim. In Turkey, definition of minority has been limited to non-Muslim community based on Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 (Toprak, 1996).

The First Pillar of Islam is the Shadada, which is the declaration of faith and which has a central importance in the lives of Muslim. When a person becomes a Muslim by the declaration of the Shadada, the decision of whether or not s/he chooses to be a Muslim who is committed to Islam will confront her/him. In Turkish-Dutch sample,

minorities' religious and ethnic identities, which are strongly related with each other, show strong negative relationship with societal identity in which there is a sense of commitment to the nation-state. Yıldız and Verkuyten (2007) found that among Turkish minorities in the Netherlands, identification as a Muslim has a strong positive relation with identification as a Turk. Therefore, these identities have a strong negative relation with Dutch identification. The authors found also that religious identification mediates the relationship between perceived discrimination and Dutch identification. A high level of religious identification considers a decrease in Dutch identification through a high level of perceived discrimination in the Netherlands. However, as mentioned above, in Turkey, the majority of members of disadvantaged ethnic groups such as Kurds and Arabs, and members of the ethnically advantaged groups such as Turks and Turcoman are Muslim. Hence, it is expected that the religious identification mediate the relationship between ethnic in-group identification and national identification in Turkish context. It is expected that a high level of ethnic and religious identity cause increment in societal identification. Besides, religious identification may lead to increased in perceived discrimination in Turkey. However, developing secular identity has been one of the major projects of the Republican elite in Turkey even though it does not reflect realities (Gurbey, 2006; Karaman & Aras, 2000; Smith, 1991). For this reason, laicism can be an important factor for how individuals organize their aforementioned identities in the Turkish national context.

2.4.1 Secularism and Islam as a multiple social identity

Some Islamic thinkers (e.g., Kolluri & Mir, 2002; Masud, 2005, Yılmaz, 2005) claimed that the term of secularism in Turkey used only as laicism. The authority has shifted to the common man. These reforms have been reacted very strongly by Muslims in other parts of the world. Therefore, these thinkers do not consider Ataturk and colleagues' reforms to have been realized in society. Similarly, the recent past has witnessed the re-establishment of Islam in the political and social affairs of the nation. Furthermore, these Islamic thinkers suggested that opposition to secularism in Turkey was weak and became weaker with the growing demand to become a part of the European Union (Kolluri & Mir, 2002; Masud, 2005; Yılmaz, 2005). Contrary to the idea of fundamental Islamist groups, individuals have both secular and Muslim identities in Turkey (Çoyamak & Dogruyol, 2007).

Secularism in Turkey began during Ottoman times with reforms on the Ottoman military, educational, legal, and political institutions. However, although the state wanted acceptance of Western technology and institutional forms, they did not produce any solution as to how Western technology and institutions would be adapted to an Islamic society without accepting Western civilization itself. With the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, this duality was resolved by completely accepting Western civilization. The Republic changed the ancient regime and the old way of life through modernization (Yılmaz, 2005). The secular-rational state model has been considered to be liberal and progressive in many variants of modernization discourse, and religion has been seen as illiberal and retrogressive in Turkey. Therefore, Kosebalaban (2005) revealed that 'religiously observant members

of society were described as conservative forces of resistance, and it has been asserted that economic development is only possible if such forces were defeated' (p. 30). Furthermore, Schubert (2006) demonstrated that although religious radicalism throughout the world seems more common today than ever, and the radicalists make an effort to distinguish between religion and secular identity. Hence, the Turkish approach to secularity advocates the management and control of private religion (Tank, 2005).

Although Muslims make the decision to commit to Islam by declaring the Shadada, which is the first pillar of Islam and means that one has to be totally engaged in Islam, secular-Muslims manage their dual identities separately in private and public settings. Although, a person, who has dual identity of being Muslim and secular, may regulate his/her their daily life via religion in private setting, s/he may regulate public topics via secular norms in public setting.

2.4.2 Conflict between religious and secular identities

Allport (as cited in Pittinsky, Shih, & Ambady, 1999) revealed that Jews as a group were more tolerant than Christians, but still less tolerant than those professing no affiliation at all. Furthermore, when Protestants and Catholics are compared, sometimes Protestants and sometimes Catholics show higher scores in bigot. Consequently, he suggested that only theological belief is not enough to understand prejudice. All religious groups have some degree of prejudice. Allport arrived at this conclusion: while intrinsic faith brings about low prejudice, an extrinsic religious orientation, be it orthodox or unorthodox, bring about high prejudice. On the other hand Saroglou, Delpierre, and Dernelle (2004) in meta-analytic study found a

negative association between religiosity and universalism, and this association was driven by Mediterranean countries, including Israel and Turkey. They claimed that contrary to unsecularized societies, in secularized societies (e.g. European and USA) the modern theological discourses in many religions tend to hedonistic values (e.g. risk, body, sexuality, satisfaction in life, and autonomy) in the personal appropriation of religious faith.

Although the idea of laicism* includes religion and secularism existing together harmoniously, each of the socially divided groups as seculars and Muslims produces arguments and counter-arguments which threaten the idea of Islam and secularism in Turkey. Not only these two groups conflict with each other but also it seems like two multiple identities for individuals who are secular and Muslim have feel discomfort for their multiple identities. Furthermore, in Turkey, the threatening arguments, which come from individual's different in-group identities, may result in increased polarization to these identities in the individual's own knowledge even the individual has the two identities harmoniously in the Turkish context (Çoymak & Dogruyol, 2007).

Religiosity and laicism have been debatable issues in Turkey. Possible structures are discussed below for the case of secular and Muslim identities. Firstly, each identity provides relevant basis for self-categorization in different contexts and identities

* In Turkey, laicism means that a political identity associated with Kemalist ideology which refers to individuals can separate concepts of religion and national institutions for public sphere in their mind (see, for detail discussion, .Hortaçsu & Cem-Ersoy, 2005).

separately fulfill the need for belonging to a positive identity with in-group within its own context. This is termed as “compartmentalization” by Roccas and Brewer (2002). For example when secular identity is engaged, all members of the secular group are classified as in-group members, and membership of the Muslims group is irrelevant. Secondly, each identity is limited to perceive both groups’ memberships as in-group separately. Individuals who have multiple identities do not define themselves as in-group for members of only one in-group, in this structure termed as “intersection”. For example, individuals can define their primary identifications as both secular and Muslim. Third structure of multiple identities is that when one identity is the superordinate group identity, the other is the subordinate group identity. Relative importance of these group identities may shift from one occasion to another in different contexts. For example, in a business place, while a person’s secular identification, which is the superordinate identity, is prominent, Muslim identification, which is the subordinate identity, can be secondary. On the other hand, on days of religious feast, while the person’s Muslim identification which is the subordinate identity becomes figure, his/her secular identification, which is superordinate identity, remains in the turns to be the background.

Providing social trust among disadvantaged groups in the society can yielded to reduce conflict among groups and these groups’ disidentification with the nation state. Hence, interest in political participation and political trust of ethnic groups have raised since it is supposed to the social cohesion and societal identification can achieve generate social trust in terms of that ethnically groups have a right to keep their own ethnic institutions and legitimately defend their cultural identities (see the

detailed discussions, Fennema & Tillie, 2001; Giddens, 2007; Kumar, 1993). Fennema and Tillie's (2001) study demonstrated that political trust have a spill over effect on the relationship between voluntary association and social trust.

2.5 Political Trust

In general, political trust is defined as a positive idea about the political system and its institutions in the society (Shi, 2001). Specifically, political trust is defined here as a good will towards the all members of the parliament, the political system, law and order. According to Assche and Dierickx (2007), a political subsystem, a politician, a party, or an institution are the independent variables that might explain political trust in political science literature. They added social trust, general satisfaction, and economic confidence as exogenous variables to explain political trust.

Many studies about multicultural society are related to ethnically different groups' political trust and how they build up attachment with society (Fennema & Tillie, 2001). Recent research in this field has pointed to increasing interest as to whether ethnic minorities keep their own ethnic institutions and their cultural identities (Cole, 1973; Kukathas, 1992; Kymlicka, 1995; Kymlicka & Norman, 2000; Shi, 2001). Political trust has remained indispensable to establishing democracy in the society in this century. According to Fennema and Tillie (2001), in order to understand trust in political institutions, researchers should focus on the concept of civic community. According to Cook (2001), trust can be placed in individuals, in turn crude affinities; i.e., shared religion, ethnic background etc. Individuals can perceive a stranger as trustworthy in terms of these crude affinities. Consequently, political trust may have a role in organizing multiple identities in individuals because it can reduce the

perceived discrimination among individuals who belong to ethnically disadvantaged group. Hence, individuals can increase their level of identification with the society, in turn their level of politic trust that individuals may establish an emotional bond to the societal institutions.

2.6 From multiple social identities to societal identification

Freeman (2003) showed that some identities are more salient than others in certain contexts. According to him, conflictual identities (religion, race, nation, or caste) and demographic identity clusters (age and gender) are more salient than geographic identity clusters (town of residence and political party) and socioeconomic identity clusters (class, education, and occupation) in Sri Lanka. Although Hortaçsu and Cem-Ersoy (2005) expected nationalist and religious identities to be different identities in Turkey, their study showed that these identities merged. On the other hand, in their study, the Kemalist identity, which includes being Kemalist, Turk, and citizen of the Turkish Republic, was distinguished from both nationalist and religious identities. Although the authors' study was based on intergroup processes, they demonstrated that religious identity and Kemalist identity (including laicism) are different identities in Turkey. Even though these identities are different, some individuals might adopt them equally. Although, Republic of Turkey was established based on the ideology of a secular state, ethnically disadvantaged and majority groups have differentiated in terms of secular identity.

The effect of aforementioned factors on the relationship among multiple social identities is a general aim of the current thesis. Identity processes were investigated intergroup context with a single identity rather than a focus on intra-individual

multiple identities process approach. Multiple social identities literature has focused on their forms to individuals regardless of the factors that influence them. Current thesis contributed to the social psychology and political psychology literature via two ways. Investigating the relationships among social identities in both intragroup and intergroup context for member of both advantaged (majority) and disadvantaged (minority) ethnic groups is first way of the contribution of the present thesis on the literature. Focusing on structures of multiple social identities for members of disadvantaged group and investigating respective factors to influences on these structures is the second contribution of the current thesis. As a whole, investigating the relationships aforementioned variables for ethnically disadvantaged groups' members in Turkish national context can also provide to useful information to policy makers for reducing current and future conflict between ethnic groups and state. I believed that reducing conflict among groups or between groups and state can serve a meaningful step to establish social cohesion and dialogical democracy in society. For investigating these relationships and providing these potential contributions, two studies were conducted as mentioned below.

CHAPTER 3

3 STUDY 1

3.1 Aim of the study

As explained earlier, in ethnic groups, the political trust is believed to be important variable to understand the relationship between ethnic and societal identities. However, virtually, there has not been developed a scale to measure political trust and societal identification in related literature. Hence, developing valid and reliable measurements for societal identity and political trust is the one of concerns of the study.

The main aim of this study were to investigate relations among individuals' multiple identities, especially, relations among ethnic, societal, religious, and secular identifications of members of the ethnically disadvantages groups in Turkish national context. First, aspects of different multiple identities and their relations to political trust and perceived discrimination were examined within individuals own groups. Second, the differences between privileged (majority) and the disadvantaged (minority) groups in terms of endorsement of different identities were examined in the Study 1.

Understanding the notion of societal identification in a more depth was another main concern of the study. Beside, examining the relationship between multiple identities

and societal identification within disadvantaged and privileged groups was also of the Study 1. Rising questions related with these aims stemming from the line with theoretical framework were introduced in the following pages.

3.2 Hypotheses

Differences between Ethnically Advantaged and Disadvantaged Groups:

Hypothesis 1: Disadvantaged ethnic group will stronger identify with their ethnic identity compare to majority ethnic group in Turkish national context.

Hypothesis 1a: Majority ethnic group's score will have higher on the degree of public collective self-esteem as an indicator of ethnic identity compare to disadvantaged ethnic groups in Turkish national context.

Hypothesis 1b: Disadvantaged ethnic group's scores will be higher on indicators of ethnic identity such as importance to identity, exploration of identity, commitment to identity than ethnic majority group.

Hypothesis 2: Disadvantaged ethnic group will perceive more collective and individual discrimination than does the majority group.

Hypothesis 3: There not a difference between disadvantaged ethnic group and majority ethnic group on religious identity in Turkish national context.

Hypothesis 3a: Majority ethnic group has higher endorsement of the secular identity than disadvantaged ethnic group has in Turkish national context.

Hypothesis 4: I hypothesized that the disadvantaged ethnic group will identify less with their societal (national) identity compare to majority ethnic group in Turkish national context.

Hypothesis 4a: Members of majority ethnic group will have higher score on patriotism than civic responsibility, civic solidarity, and cultural identification.

Hypothesis 4b: Members of majority ethnic group will have higher endorsement of civic solidarity than civic responsibility and cultural identification.

Hypothesis 4c: Members of disadvantaged ethnic group will have less degree of the patriotism than civic responsibility, civic solidarity and cultural identity.

Hypothesis 4d: Members of disadvantaged ethnic group will have a higher degree of the civic solidarity and of the cultural identification than civic responsibility.

Hypothesis 5: Majority ethnic group's score will be higher on degree of political trust than disadvantaged ethnic group has.

Relations among ethnic identification, societal identification, religious and secular identification, perceived discrimination, and political trust:

Hypothesis 6: All indicators of ethnic identification will predict all indicators of societal identification for both member of majority and disadvantaged ethnic groups

Hypothesis 6a: While importance to ethnic identity and exploration of ethnic identity positively predict the level of patriotism for the majority group, they will negatively predict the level of patriotism for the members of disadvantaged ethnic group.

Hypothesis 6b: While public self esteem positively predicts level of patriotism for members of disadvantaged ethnic group, it is not related with level of patriotism for members of majority ethnic group.

Hypothesis 7: All indicators of political trust predict all indicators of societal identification for both member of majority and disadvantaged ethnic groups

3.3 Method

3.3.1 Participants and Procedure

All scales were administered on two samples and in two different ways. One sample consisted of 67 students from five universities in Ankara: Ankara University, Atılım University, Baskent University, Hacettepe University, and Middle East Technical University. These students filled out questionnaires in hard copy. The second group of participants, which consisted of 172 people from different locations in Turkey and other countries, filled out online questionnaires. Fifteen of these participants were dropped from the analysis because they live abroad. Therefore, 157 people participated in the study from 29 different cities of 7 regions in Turkey (see Appendix B). Consequently, Study 1 consisted of 224 people from various cities in Turkey. Among this sample, there were 111 men and 113 women. The mean age of participants was 24.55 (SD = 5.80).

The participants of the second sample of the Study1 were invited to take part online through announcements on various web-sites such as siyah-kahve.com, f28.parsimony.net. It was also announced to groups in Facebook, a popular website used as social utility for people to connect with friends and others who work, study,

and live around them. After finding groups in this website by using the names of cities, a note was sent to group creators to announce the study to all members of their groups. These groups with city names were established to connect people who were born in these cities and some of these groups even had the same ethnic origins. The names of these groups are Adıyaman (442 members), Ardahan (24 members), Dersim (792 members), Diyarbakır (345 members), Diyarbakır Mehmetçik İlkokulu (722 members), Diyarbekir (468 members), Elazığ (1080 members), Facebook Batman (20 members), Kars (251 members), Kürtler (168 members), Malatya (242 members), Mardin (150 members), Milletim (1009 members) ODTU THBT (41 members), Ovacık Tunceli (318 members), and Tatvan Tatvanlılar (tabiki gurbettekiler) (60 members). The response rate from the group moderators was 31.25%. These groups are Ardahan, Batman, Dersim, Diyarbakır, and Diyarbakır Mehmetçik İlkokulu. As a result, total number of group members who received the announcement was 1883. The response rate was 4.25‰ (N = 80).

The researches, the participants and the purpose of the research, the assurance of confidentiality and anonymity are important ethical issues for the research in science. To satisfy these ethical issues, Ethics Committee Approval had been obtained from Middle East Technical University in order to conduct ethical data gathering. Hence, the link (<http://www.papayapolls.com/x/zd98ji>), which describes this process and illustrates the whole survey to the participants was announced to these groups. The web-link for the survey was activated for the study 1 on the 15th April, 2008 and deactivated on the 25th April, 2008.

Sixty seven of the all participants filled in the hard copy questionnaires placed in various frequently used places such as dormitory, cafeteria, library, and campus at their university. The rest of the students filled in these scales wherever they could access internet. All of the participants voluntarily participated in the present study.

In addition, broad demographic information was questioned to participant, e.g. age, sex, ethnicity, and level of education (see Appendix B)

3.3.2 *Measurements*

Societal Identification Scale (SIS), Political Trust Scale (PTS), Ethnic Identity Scale, Religious Identity Scale, Secular Identity Scale, and Perceived Discrimination Scale (PDS) had been prepared in the same booklet as both hardcopy and softcopy before they administrated to participants. Counter-balancing was ensured to avoid ordering effect of the measurements.

All scales were administered to participants as a 7-point scale how strongly they agree with the given statements (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree) except for Perceived Discrimination Scale, which was administrated as a 5 point scale how often they think they come across with the situations stated in the scale.

3.3.2.1 Societal Identification Scale (SIS)

The scale was developed by Çoymak and Gheorghiu (2007) as a part of Cultural Role of the Political Trust and Political Power on National Identification Project (CRPTP) to measure domains of societal identification: patriotism with 7 items, civic responsibility with 9 items, civic solidarity with 5 items, and cultural identification with 4 items. Patriotism subscale measured the extent to which people purely love

and/or devotion to their country (e.g., “I sacrifice everything that I have for Turkey”). Civic responsibility subscale measured peoples’ attachment to their county taking roles of the citizen, interests, and fellowship of responsibilities in to account (e.g., “Promoting the interests of my society is as important as promoting my own”). Next, civic solidarity measured how people solidarize around a union of interests, purposes, or sympathies as members of their country (e.g., “I show solidarity with all people who live in Turkey”). Finally cultural identification measures also how people like or identify Anatolian culture, especially life styles; e.g., traditional cloths, food etc, (e.g., “I like to be wearing traditional cloths in different parts of Anatolia”).

SIS consists of 25 items. Sixteen items were developed in English and translated to Turkish. Nine items were culture specification, developed in Turkish and used only in Turkish version of the scale. For the 16 items originally written in English, a series of translation-back-translation was done, as described by Van de Vijver and Hambleton (1996). Some modifications were made in English and Turkish version of the scale in order to make these two versions conceptually-equivalent. Two bilingual speakers and readers, with expertise in psychology rated each item whether or not they were conceptually equivalent to both versions. Inter-rater reliability was substantial agreement (Cohen’s Kappa coefficient = .76) for the conceptually-equivalent of two versions (Cohen, 1968; Landis & Koch, 1977). In addition, Turkish speaker and readers, including bilingual speakers and readers, with expertise in social psychology and scale construction evaluated the face validity of the items and the dimensions in general. Higher scores indicated strong identification with the Republic of Turkey.

Completing validity and reliability process of the scale (see all process in Appendix A, included face validity, exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis, construct validity, item-total correlation, split half reliability), consequently, patriotism with 7 items (sid[†] 7, 8, 19, 18, 21, 3, 17) explained 29.16 % of total variance, civic responsibility with 5 items (resp 14, 15, 12, 11, 1) explained 13.63 % of total variance, civic solidarity with 4 items (soli 6, 5, 4, 10) explained 6.79 % of total variance, and cultural identity with 3 items (cul 23,24,25) also explained 5.43 % of the variance. The domains of the societal identification have sufficient internal consistency by criterion (Schmitt, 1996); patriotism (Cronbach alpha = .90), civic responsibility (Cronbach alpha = .81), civic solidarity (Cronbach alpha = .64), cultural identification (Cronbach alpha = .73).

3.3.2.2 Political Trust Scale (PTS)

The scale was developed in the same manner as Societal Identification Scale. All PTS items were originally written in English by Çoymak and Gheorghiu (2007) as a part of aforementioned project. In general, the scale was developed to measure peoples' general political trust in the members of parliament in Turkey. Specifically the scale measured domains of political trust; fiduciary expectation subscale with 9 items, honesty subscale with 5 items, and competence subscale with 5 items. Fiduciary expectation measured the extent of satisfaction regarding the members of the parliament to work for all groups of the country and their moral expectations

[†] Code of each item of factors for collected data in SPSS 15 statistical software was shown in parenthesis and “_r” refers to reversed items.

from parliament (e.g., “They are fair in their treatment of different social, cultural and political groups”). Honesty consists of completely reversed items and extent to which people perceive whether or not members of the parliament have trustful personality and loyalty of their promise (e.g., They never tell the whole truth to us about their intentions.). Finally, competence measures how people perceive members of parliament as competent about their intellectual capacity, decisions, and diplomatic skills (e.g., “They have taken good and well-informed decisions when necessary”). Higher scores indicate that greater trust towards the members of the parliament.

The complete PTS consists of 19 items. A series of translation-back translation for 19 items were performed by the criteria as mentioned above. Each item was rated whether or not they would be conceptually equivalent in both versions. Inter-rater reliability was substantial agreement (Cohen’s Kappa coefficient = .80) for the conceptually-equivalent two versions (Cohen, 1968; Landis & Koch, 1977).

All validity and reliability process presented in Appendix A. the final form of the scale consisted of three domains, fiduciary expectation with 9 items (fidu 16, 18, 15, 24, 14, 22, 20, 26, 11) explained 36.99 % of total variance, honesty with 5 items (hons 4_r, 5_r, 1_r, 2_r, 10_r) explained 8.54 % of total variance, competence with five items (comp 8, 23_r, 19_r, 21_r, 6) explained 3.76 of total variance. Besides the domains of the political trust have sufficient internal consistency; fiduciary expectation (Cronbach alpha = .88), honesty (Cronbach alpha = .88), and competence (Cronbach alpha = .72).

3.3.2.3 Ethnic Identification Scale

Ethnic identification was measured based on the 2 indicators with 5 subscales, one of the indicators was cognitive component of ethnic identification, and the other indicator was affective components of ethnic identity. For components of ethnic identity, two scales were adapted. One of them was revised version of Phinney and Ong's (2007) Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM_R). The other was Turkish form of Luhtanen and Crocker's Collective Self-Esteem Scale (CSE) (1992). Originally the MEIM_R is composed of two subscales as exploration with 3 items and commitment with 3 items. First, while exploration subscale was used to measure cognitive component of ethnic identity, commitment subscale was used affective component of ethnic identity. Next, CSE is originally based on combinations of four subscales; membership esteem measured with 4 items, public collective self-esteem measured with 5 items, private collective self-esteem measured with 4 items, and importance to identity measured with 4 items. Except membership esteem subscale, the scale had been translated and adapted to measure Turkish identification, yielded reliable measurement with .74, .73, and .82 alpha rates respectively, in Dutch study by Baysu (2007). To measure cognitive component of ethnic identity, importance to identity and exploration subscales were used. Sample items for cognitive component are "I am proud of my own ethnic identity" for importance to identity and "I have often talked to other people in order to learn more about my ethnic group" for exploration subscales of ethnic identification. For affective component of ethnic identity, commitment, public collective self-esteem subscales were used. Sample items for affective component are "I have strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group" for commitment and "others lean to my ethnic group in general".

Seven-point-Likert scale, ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree was used to measure ethnic identity.

In order to examine whether or not each scale would confirm to theoretical distinction among subscales, principle component with oblimin rotation based on covariance matrix was performed for exploratory factor analysis. For MEIM_R, the investigation of the two factor solution provided evidence theoretical distinction between commitment and exploration subscales with loading of items in respective factors. The two factors explained 89% of the total variance. Likewise the original study, commitment and exploration subscales of MEIM_R were highly correlated, $r = .74$. Although in Baysu's study (2007), private and public collective self-esteem subscales of the CSE had been used to measure Turkish identification, items of private self-esteem yielded problematic result to valid and reliable measure. Similar to this result, three factor solution of principle factor analysis with promax rotation yielded problematic result to interpretation and confirming theoretical distinction among subscales. Since 2 items of private collective self esteem subscale were cross loaded two factors, third factor pointed out unreliable items and dropped from further analysis. Two-factor solution of principle factor analysis with promax rotation confirmed theoretical distinction between subscales of CSE. The two factors explained 54% of the total variance. The factors were relatively orthogonal with each other, $r = .10$.

For the reliability, alpha score of exploration, importance to identity, commitment, and public collective self-esteem subscales were .93, .84, .93, and .79 respectively. Consequently, taking validity and reliability of the scales into account, while 2

subscales, namely, exploration with 3 items and importance to identity with 5 items were retained as cognitive component of ethnic identity, 2 subscales, namely commitment with 3 items and public collective self-esteem with 4 items were retained as affective component of ethnic identity in further analysis.

3.3.2.4 Religious Identification Scale

Religious identification was measured based on the 2 indicators with 3 subscales in terms of adapted and extended Luhtanen and Crocker's (1992) Collective Self-Esteem Scale (CSE). Cognitive components of the scale were extended by adopting cognitive items of Phinney and Ong's (2007) multigroup ethnic identity measure (MEIM_R). It composed of 9 items, samples are "I am proud of own religious identity" and "I see myself as a typical example person of own ethnic group". Second one is affective component of religious identity. It composed of private and public collective self-esteem subscales of CSE. Each of them measured with 4 items, samples are "generally, I am glad about my religious identity" and "other people see my religion well" respectively. For conveying whether or not religious identity scale would confirm to theoretical distinction among subscales, principle axis factoring with promax (kappa 4) rotation was performed. Three factor solution yielded problematic result to interpretation and confirming theoretical distinction among subscales. Since 2 items of private collective self esteem subscale were cross loaded two factors, third factor pointed out unreliable items. Therefore, private collective self-esteem subscale of religious identity was dropped from further analysis. Besides, performing two-factor solution also yielded problematic result to interpretation theoretical distinction between importance of identity and public collective self-

esteem subscales. One item of public collective self-esteem subscale, “the others show respect my religious identity”, loaded irrelevant factor. Similar to this finding, Leach and William (1999) found low level reliability of public subscale of CSE (alpha .48) for religious identity in the Northern Ireland study. Hence, public collective self-esteem subscale of religious identity was also dropped to further analysis. Consequently one factor, namely importance to religious identity, with 9 items (rid 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11) explained 71% of total variance with high internal consistency (Cronbach alpha = .96) was retained further analysis. For the reliability of other subscales, alpha score of public collective self-esteem and private collective self-esteem subscales were .69 and .81 respectively.

3.3.2.5 Secular Identification Scale

Laic (laik) identity was measured with adopted importance of identity subscale of Luhtanen and Crocker’s Collective Self-Esteem Scale (1992). Seven-point-Likert scale with 5 items (lid 6, 7, 8, 11, 16_r) ranging from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree” was used to measure the secular identity. An example item “I am proud of my laic identity”. Principal factor analysis with promax (kappa 4) rotation was performed for exploratory factor analysis. It produced one factor. The factor explained 65% of the total variance and it has highly internal consistency (Cronbach alpha = .89).

3.3.2.6 Perceived Discrimination Scale (PDS)

Perceived discrimination was measured based on its 2 domains, one of the domains was perceived group discrimination with 5 items and other was perceived individual discrimination with 4 items. While perceived collective discrimination measured how

often people perceive discrimination about their ethnic group in some situations, perceived individual discrimination measured how often the individuals are faced with discrimination. Both domains of perceived discrimination were translated and adopted from Ruggiero and Taylor's (1995) Perceived Group Discrimination Scale by Baysu (2007). She stated that the scale had yielded reliable measurement for each subscales with .73 and .85 alpha rates respectively, in Dutch study. While "Are people from your ethnic group ever discriminated against in neighborhood unit?" is an example of perceived community discrimination, "I felt disapproved because my ethnic identity" is an example of individual discrimination. In order to see whether or not each scale would confirm to theoretical distinction, principle factor analysis with promax rotation (kappa 4) was performed for exploratory factor analysis, yielded two factors. All items clearly loaded respective factors. The two factors explained 74% of the total variance. The factors had highly correlation with each other, $r = .71$. Perceived group discrimination and individual discrimination have high internal consistency, Cronbach alphas were .94 and .90 respectively.

3.4 Results

Before proceeding with results of the analysis, first, descriptive statistics of the observed variables taking into account demographic variable will be presented. Details of data cleaning and central tendency measure of the variables in question will be explained for each analysis separately. Secondly intercorrelations among observed variables will be discussed. Thirdly, differences or similarity between ethnically advantaged and disadvantaged groups will be introduced. For comparing majority ethnic groups with disadvantaged (minority) ethnic groups in terms of

ethnic identification in Turkish national context, while participants who have Turk and Turcoman ethnic origin was grouped as majority ethnic group, Arabian, Circassian, Armenian, Kurd, Laz, Nusayri, and Zaza participants was grouped as ethnically disadvantaged group. Finally, the relations among observed variable will be discussed for both disadvantaged ethnic group and all participant regardless of ethnically advantages or disadvantages. This will give general opinions for possible statistical models and possible differences to organization of multiple identities within individuals mind for diverse groups.

3.4.1 Descriptive statistics of the observed variables

Prior to analysis, gender, ethnic membership, religious membership, education, importance to ethnic identity, exploration to ethnic identity, collective ethnic self-esteem, commitment to ethnicity, religious identity, secular identity, fiduciary expectation from the parliament, sense of dishonest to the parliament, competence for members of parliament, patriotism, civic solidarity, civic responsibility and sensitiveness, cultural identification were examined via various SPSS programs for accuracy of data entry. The next step of data cleaning was missing values. Firstly number of missing cases per variable was checked and no value was found over 5 %. For this reason, missing values in quantitative variables were replaced by the mean value of the distribution.

After handling this problem, frequencies for these variables were checked in terms of their ranges, means and standard deviations. If means and standard deviations for a variable are very close that may signal the existence of a problem. Fortunately, no problem was detected in this respect. Next step, each level of demographic

properties, namely, sex, religion, ethnicity, native languages, level of graduation were examined taking into account their mean and standard deviation as shown in the Table 3-1. This will further support the result of differences or similarity among groups and provide the exploration of potential statistical questions about the issue.

Table 3.1.Descriptive Properties of Observed Variables Based on Demographic Properties

	Fr	Per (%)	Public self esteem		Importance to identity		Exploration		Commitment		Religious identity		Secular identity		Collective discrimination		Individual discrimination	
			M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Sex																		
Men	118	49.8	4.35	1.45	5.19	1.53	5.18	1.70	5.20	1.78	3.74	1.81	4.92	1.64	2.78	1.25	2.29	1.20
Women	119	50.2	4.45	1.44	5.03	1.43	4.81	1.65	5.05	1.71	3.53	1.89	5.52	1.37	2.42	1.24	1.82	.94
Religion																		
Muslim	92	39.5	4.95	1.37	5.19	1.44	4.80	1.69	5.23	1.57	4.44	1.52	5.27	1.43	1.87	.98	1.58	.86
Sunni																		
Muslim	66	28.3	4.29	1.29	5.74	1.12	5.78	1.07	5.83	1.32	3.97	1.72	5.54	1.40	3.38	.90	2.62	1.05
Alewi																		
Deist	21	9	4.04	1.11	4.23	1.25	3.84	1.76	3.89	1.82	2.43	1.24	5.30	1.22	2.47	1.35	1.96	1.13
Atheist	41	17.6	3.96	1.51	4.36	1.64	4.75	1.89	4.33	1.92	1.65	1.06	5.11	1.78	2.70	1.37	2.10	1.17
Ethnicity																		
Kurdish	43	18.5	3.05	1.08	5.59	1.15	5.50	1.33	5.57	1.53	3.51	1.87	4.30	1.72	3.67	0.84	3.04	0.99
Turk	103	44.2	4.93	1.15	4.54	1.60	4.23	1.71	4.49	1.84	3.67	1.85	5.54	1.32	1.79	1.02	1.36	0.63
Zaza	56	24	4.23	1.44	5.85	1.04	6.15	0.91	6.05	1.10	3.50	1.91	5.26	1.62	3.41	0.84	2.80	0.96
Native language																		
Kurdish	33	14.9	3.12	1.09	5.88	0.87	5.91	0.89	5.87	1.34	3.78	1.59	4.66	1.59	3.69	0.83	3.25	0.94
Turkish	157	70.7	4.73	1.32	4.72	1.53	4.45	1.66	4.70	1.78	3.68	1.85	5.50	1.36	2.15	1.17	1.59	0.83
Zazaish	27	12.2	4.36	1.57	5.96	0.89	6.26	0.82	6.14	1.08	3.35	1.88	4.83	1.65	3.52	0.90	2.89	0.91
Level of education																		
High school	53	22.4	4.37	1.33	5.42	1.38	5.46	1.51	5.56	1.51	3.62	1.96	5.29	1.70	2.89	1.22	2.26	1.28
University	146	61.6	4.33	1.44	5.20	1.43	5.01	1.65	5.20	1.70	3.77	1.82	5.26	1.48	2.58	1.24	2.07	1.06
Master	27	11.4	4.43	1.72	4.21	1.61	4.27	1.82	4.17	1.97	2.98	1.79	4.70	1.60	2.39	1.35	1.75	0.83

Note: Fewer than 20 participants per a group were not included.

Table 3-1. continued

	Fr	Per (%)	Patriotism		Civic responsibility		Civic solidarity		Cultural identification		Fiduciary expectation		Sense of honesty		Competence	
			M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Sex																
Men	118	49.8	4.11	1.67	5.35	1.25	5.96	.86	5.66	1.17	2.05	1.07	5.84	1.31	2.81	1.22
Women	119	50.2	4.37	1.58	5.44	1.07	6.08	.72	5.50	1.27	1.75	.99	6.23	1.06	2.42	1.29
Religion																
Muslim Sunni	92	39.5	4.95	1.54	5.37	1.06	5.99	.73	5.71	.95	2.23	1.14	5.80	1.23	2.85	1.40
Muslim Alewi	66	28.3	4.20	1.36	5.44	1.13	6.15	.66	5.85	1.02	1.71	1.05	6.30	.94	2.44	1.07
Deist	21	9	3.87	1.44	5.34	.86	5.92	.78	5.09	1.37	1.83	.89	5.94	1.00	2.01	.87
Atheist	41	17.6	3.28	1.67	5.32	1.49	6.03	.95	5.22	1.64	1.46	.61	6.33	1.16	2.53	1.29
46 Ethnicity																
Kurdish	43	18.5	3.23	1.38	5.29	1.33	6.15	0.66	5.88	0.93	1.59	0.77	6.19	1.12	2.40	1.21
Turk	103	44.2	4.89	1.49	5.42	0.91	5.97	0.81	5.34	1.25	2.02	1.16	6.05	1.16	2.53	1.17
Zaza	56	24	3.54	1.40	5.33	1.39	6.12	0.77	5.88	1.14	1.89	1.02	5.89	1.34	3.07	1.50
Native language																
Kurdish	33	14.9	3.22	1.21	5.49	1.21	6.15	0.69	6.02	0.89	1.56	0.63	6.28	1.06	2.49	1.20
Turkish	157	70.7	4.72	1.57	5.41	0.94	5.95	0.80	5.39	1.25	1.96	1.09	6.05	1.18	2.48	1.15
Zazaish	27	12.2	3.30	1.45	5.43	1.32	6.18	0.77	6.01	1.12	2.04	1.03	5.70	1.37	3.38	1.33
Level of education																
High school	53	22.4	4.03	1.68	5.36	1.34	5.99	0.75	5.48	1.36	1.66	0.81	6.39	0.84	2.43	1.00
University	146	61.6	4.32	1.61	5.41	1.06	5.99	0.83	5.69	1.16	1.96	1.08	5.87	1.30	2.67	1.34
Master	27	11.4	4.16	1.62	5.31	1.40	6.06	0.74	5.27	1.24	1.97	1.27	6.14	1.17	2.80	1.35

Note: Fewer than 20 participants per a group were not included.

For multicollinearity, Tabachnick and Fidell (2001) recommend that when the correlations among independent variables are above .80 it is concluded that there is multicollinearity, a strong relationship between independent variables. From the correlation table, it can be seen that all the correlations between independent variables are below .80 except between importance to ethnic identity and commitment ethnicity. Therefore, commitment ethnicity will be dropped out further analysis. Although there are significant correlations with $p < .05$ the highest correlation is .74 between importance to ethnic identity and exploration to ethnic identity which are logically related with each other.

Before dealing with univariate outliers it is preferred to look for multivariate outliers because it will include some of the univariate outliers. With the use of a $p < .001$ criterion for Mahalanobis distance and detected extreme z score, four cases were detected as both multivariate and univariate outlier and they were left out for subsequent analysis.

Univariate normality for each of the nine variables was investigated as another step. According to Curan, West, and Finch (1996), if the skeweness lower than 2 and kurtosis lower than 7, the distribution can be accepted as normal. According to this, it is seen that all quantitative variables met the assumption of normality.

3.4.2 The relations between majority and disadvantaged (minority) ethnic groups

Ethnic identification. A 2(group; majority ethnic group and disadvantaged ethnic group) X 4 (indicators of ethnic identification, exploration, importance to identity, commitment, public collective self-esteem) mixed-design ANOVA with repeated

measure was performed on second factor in order to examine the differences between majority and disadvantaged (minority) ethnic groups in terms of endorsement of dimensions of ethnic identification and also examine differences among dimensions of ethnic identification within groups. The sphericity assumption was not met so the Huynh-Feldt correction was applied (Huynh, 1978; Huynh, & Feldt, 1970). Analysis of simple main effects revealed that in general, there was a significant main effect of ethnic group, $F(1, 227) = 18, p < .001, \eta^2 = .07$ and also a significant main effect of all four indicators of ethnic identity, $F(1.96, 444.69) = 23.21, p < .001$. However, this effect was qualified by a significant group x dimensions of ethnic identity interaction, $F(1.96, 445,692) = 66.41, p < .001$. Post hoc paired comparisons were made using Tukey's HSD test with p set at .05. The Huynh-Felt corrected mean square error and degrees of freedom were used in calculating the HSD critical value. As can be seen in Table 3.2., members of majority group had higher score on public collective self-esteem ($M = 4.94, SD = 1.14$) than exploration ($M = 4.30, SD = 1.71$). On the other hand, members of minority group had lower score on public collective self-esteem ($M = 3.92, SD = 1.53$) than exploration ($M = 5.69, SD = 1.32$) and importance to identity ($M = 5.65, SD = 1.11$).

Table 3.2. Mean and Standard Deviation of Domains of Ethnic Identity for Majority and Disadvantaged Groups.

	Public collective self-esteem		Importance identity		Exploration	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Majority (N=109)	4.94	1.14	4.59	1.59	4.30	1.71
Disadvantaged (N=122)	3.92	1.53	5.65	1.11	5.69	1.32

The majority group ($M = 4.94$, $SD = 1.14$) had higher score on public collective self-esteem than the disadvantaged group ($M = 3.93$, $SD = 1.53$), while the disadvantaged group ($M = 5.69$, $SD = 1.32$) had higher score on exploration than the majority group ($M = 4.30$, $SD = 1.71$). Disadvantaged group ($M = 5.65$, $SD = 1.16$) had also higher score on importance to identity than the majority group ($M = 4.59$, $SD = 1.59$).

Religious and secular identification: One-way ANOVA was conducted to examine whether or not there is a significant difference between majority ethnic group and disadvantaged ethnic group in terms of religious and secular identification. There was not a significant differences between majority ethnic group and disadvantaged ethnic group on religious identity, $F(1,231) = .125$, $p < .72$; while there was a significant difference between groups in terms of secular identification, $F(1,231) = 9.43$, $p < .002$. Compared to disadvantaged ethnic group ($M = 4.95$, $SD = 1.66$), majority group ($M = 5.56$, $SD = 1.29$) identified more strongly as secular (laicist).

Societal (national) identification. To see whether or not there is a significant relationship both between majority ethnic group and disadvantaged ethnic group and members of these groups with each other within the group in terms of their societal (national) identification, a 2(group; disadvantaged ethnic group, majority ethnic group) X 4 (domains of societal identification; patriotism, civic responsibility, civic solidarity, cultural identification) mixed-design ANOVA with repeated measure on second factor was conducted. The sphericity assumption was not met so the Huynh-Feldt correction was applied (Huynh, 1978; Huynh, & Feldt, 1970). Analysis of simple main effects revealed that in general, there was a significant main effect of ethnic group, $F(1,228) = 4.30$, $p < .0391$, $\eta^2 = .02$ and also a significant main effect

of all four indicators of societal identity, $F(2.486, 566.811) = 132.203$, $p < .0001$, $\eta^2 = .37$. Moreover, a significant ethnic groups \times indicators of societal identity interaction, $F(2.486, 566.811) = 32.338$, $p < .0001$, $\eta^2 = .13$, qualified this effect.

Post hoc paired comparisons were made using Tukey's HSD test with p set at .05. The Huynh-Feldt corrected mean square error and degrees of freedom were used in calculating the HSD critical value (Huynh & Feldt, 1980). As can be seen in Table 3.3., Participants had lower score on patriotism ($M = 4.94$, $SD = 1.45$) than civic responsibility ($M = 5.46$, $SD = .87$), civic solidarity ($M = 6.00$, $SD = .75$), and cultural identification ($M = 5.41$, $SD = 1.18$) within member of the majority ethnic group. Besides, participants who categorized themselves as Turk or Turcoman had a higher score on civic solidarity ($M = 6.00$, $SD = .75$) than civic responsibility ($M = 5.46$, $SD = .87$) and cultural identification ($M = 5.41$, $SD = 1.18$). In a similar way, members of the disadvantaged ethnic group had lower score on patriotism ($M = 3.66$, $SD = 1.50$) than civic responsibility ($M = 5.45$, $SD = 1.19$), civic solidarity ($M = 6.00$, $SD = .75$), and cultural identification ($M = 5.80$, $SD = 1.08$) within the group. Therefore, participants who categorized themselves as apart from Turk or Turcoman ethnic origin had a higher score on civic solidarity ($M = 6.07$, $SD = .72$) than civic responsibility ($M = 5.45$, $SD = 1.19$). On the other hand, there was not a significant difference between scores on cultural identification and civic solidarity within the disadvantaged group.

Table 3.3. Means and Standard Deviations of Domains of Societal Identity for Majority and Disadvantaged Groups.

	Patriotism		Civic solidarity		Civic responsibility		Cultural identification	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Majority (N=109)	4.94	1.45	6.07	.72	5.46	.87	5.41	1.18
Disadvantaged (N=122)	3.66	1.50	6.00	.75	5.45	1.19	5.69	1.32

Compare to majority group (M = 4.94, SD = 1.45), disadvantaged group (M = 4.94, SD = 1.45) had low score on patriotism.

Political Trust. Prior to any analysis required assumptions were tested. Both univariate and multivariate outliers were detected since outliers might produce Type I and Type II errors (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). Through an analysis base line Mahalanobis Distance, only 5 cases were detected and dropped out for subsequent analysis.

A 2(group, disadvantaged ethnic group, majority group) X 3 (domains of political trust; fiduciary expectation, honesty, competence) mixed-design ANOVA with repeated measure on second factor was conducted. The sphericity assumption was not met so the Huynh-Feldt correction was applied (Huynh, 1978; Huynh, & Feldt, 1970). Analysis of simple main effects revealed that in general, there was not a significant main effect of ethnic group, $F(1,226) = .008, p < .9297$. However, there is a significant main effect of all three domains of political trust, $F(2, 1.39) = 848.588, p < .0001$.

Perceived Discrimination. To find out whether or not there is a significant differences between majority ethnic groups and disadvantaged (minority) ethnic groups in terms of perceived discrimination in Turkish national context a One-way ANOVA was conducted. Prior to any analysis required assumptions were tested. First, both univariate and multivariate outliers were detected and they were not run into them. According to results, there was a significant difference between majority ethnic group and disadvantaged ethnic group on both perceived collective discrimination, $F(1, 228) = 107.624, p < .0001$ and individual discrimination, $F(1, 228) = 130.078, p < .0001$. Compare to disadvantaged ethnic group ($M = 3.26, SD = 1.05$), majority group ($M = 1.83, SD = 1.03$) had low score on perceived collective discrimination. Besides, members of the disadvantage ethnic group ($M = 2.70, SD = .96$) perceived more individual discrimination than members of the majority ethnic groups ($M = 1.36, SD = .65$).

3.4.3 Relationships among ethnic identity, societal identity, religious and secular identity, perceived discrimination, and political trust

Intercorrelations. To explore whether multiple social identities were associated with each other, intercorrelations were calculated by using Pearson's bivariate correlation as shown in the Table 3.4 for majority group and in the Table 3.5 for disadvantaged ethnic group. These correlations will provide a basis to explore potential statistical models.

Table 3.4 Correlations Coefficients to Observed Variable for Majority Ethnic Groups

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Competence	-													
2. Fiduciary expectation	.70***													
3. Honesty	.66***	.64***												
4. Public self esteem	.25**	.23*	.15											
5. Importance to identity	.16	.20*	.09	.31***										
6. Exploration	.30**	.31***	.12	.22*	.71***									
7. Patriotism	.17	.21*	.06	.28**	.74***	.56***								
8. Civic responsibility	.05	.08	-.09	.23*	.26**	.37***	.32***							
9. Civic solidarity	.02	.01	-.08	.23*	.14	.23*	.25**	.60***						
10. Cultural identity	.08	.13	.02	.17	.48***	.48***	.47***	.39***	.29**					
11. Religious identity	.39***	.44***	.30**	.25**	.57***	.48***	.51***	.02	-.03	.37***				
12. Secular identity	-.24*	-.14	-.37***	.02	.29**	.24*	.41***	.22*	.22*	.27*	.00			
13. Collective discrimination	.04	.02	-.05	-.13	.02	.20*	-.03	-.12	-.17	.07	.03	-.04		
14. Individual discrimination	-.06	-.07	-.04	-.17	.08	.12	-.10	-.04	-.23*	.06	.06	.08	.59***	-

* p < .05, ** p < .01, ***p < .001 for significant correlation coefficients

All indicators of the latent variable correlated with each other consistently. As shown in the Table 3.4., all indicators of societal (national) identification (variables 7-10) were positively correlated with each other, ranging from .25 to .60. Moreover, all indicators of political trust (variables 1-3) were positively correlated with each other, ranging from .64 to .70. Indicators of ethnic identification (variables 4-6) were also positively correlated with each other, ranging from .22 to .71. Lastly, indicators of discrimination (13-14) were positively correlated with each other, $r = .59$.

For the majority ethnic group, all indicators of ethnic identity, namely public collective self-esteem, importance to identity, and exploration (variables 4-6) had positive correlation with the four components of societal (national) identification – namely, patriotism, civic responsibility, civic solidarity, and cultural identification – except for both the relation between civic solidarity and importance to ethnic identity, and cultural identification and public collective self-esteem, ranging from .14 to .74.

Result also showed that indicators of political trust did not have a significant correlation with indicators of societal identity, apart from, there was a correlation between satisfy fiduciary expectation and patriotism ($r = .21, p < .05$). Moreover, as predicted while religious identity was positively correlated with patriotism ($r = .51, p < .001$) and cultural identification ($r = .41, p < .001$), secular identification was correlated with all indicators of societal identification, ranging from .22 to .41.

Besides, importance to ethnic identity was positively correlated with satisfying fiduciary expectation from parliament ($r = .20, p < .05$). Also exploration has positive

correlation with satisfying fiduciary expectation from parliament ($r = .31, p < .001$) and sense of competence to members of parliament ($r = .30, p < .01$).

As predicted in theoretical chapter, religious identity was positively and highly correlated with all indicators of political trust, ranging from .30 to .44, while secular identification was negatively related with competency and honesty subscale of political trust, -.24, -.37 respectively.

For majority group, finally, while perceived group discrimination was positively and low correlated with ethnic identity exploration, ($r = .20, p < .05$), perceived individual discrimination was negatively correlated with civic solidarity, ($r = .23, p < .05$).

Table 3.5 Correlations Coefficients to Observed Variable for Disadvantaged (minority) Ethnic Groups

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Competence	-													
2. Fiduciary expectation	.57***													
3. Honesty	.43***	.59***												
4. Public self esteem	.21*	.19*	.20*											
5. Importance to identity	.23*	.13	.07	.25**										
6. Exploration	.20*	.09	.09	.17	.62***									
7. Patriotism	.15	.25**	.08	.37***	-.02	-.21*								
8. Civic responsibility	.10	-.06	-.11	.26**	.03	-.01	.46***							
9. Civic solidarity	.12	-.09	-.15	.10	.14	.11	.05	.35						
10. Cultural identity	.22**	.06	-.08	.06	.37***	.32***	.00	.17	.32***					
11. Religious identity	.09	.34***	.29**	.13	.22*	-.01	.38***	.07	-.12	-.01				
12. Secular identity	-.12	-.10	-.08	.26**	.15	.18	.44***	.20	-.02	-.08	.02			
13. Collective discrimination	-.05	-.12	-.25**	-.24**	.18	.32***	-.39***	-.06	-.04	.07	-.17	-.13		
14. Individual discrimination	.04	-.02	-.11	-.33***	.24**	.36***	-.27**	.03	-.04	.04	-.01	-.14	.60***	-

* p < .05, ** p < .01, ***p < .001 for significant correlation coefficients

For disadvantaged groups, some indicators of the latent variable had a different correlation pattern from majority group identification, such as indicators of ethnic identity and societal identity. On the other hand, indicators of perceived discrimination and political trust were correlated with each other, similar to the majority groups. As shown in the Table 3.5., patriotism was positive and highly correlated with civic responsibility ($r = .46, p < .001$). Therefore, civic solidarity was correlated with both civic responsibility ($r = .35, p < .001$) and cultural identity ($r = .32, p < .001$). Besides, similar to majority group, for disadvantaged ethnic groups, all indicator of political trust, namely, fiduciary expectation, honesty, and competence (variables 1-3) were positively correlated with each other, ranging from .57 to .59. Furthermore, while importance to ethnic identity were positively correlated with public collective self-esteem ($r = .25, p < .01$) and exploration ($r = .62, p < .001$), there was not a correlation between public collective self-esteem and exploration of ethnic identity ($r = .17, p > .05$). Lastly, similar to the majority group, indicators of discrimination, namely, perceived collective discrimination and individual discrimination (variables 13-14) were positively correlated with each other ($r = .60, p < .001$) for disadvantaged ethnic groups.

For the disadvantaged ethnic group, public collective self-esteem was positively correlated with patriotism ($r = .37, p < .001$) and civic responsibility ($r = .26, p < .01$). On the other hand, exploration of ethnic identity was negatively correlated with patriotism ($r = -.21, p < .05$) and it was positively correlated with cultural identity ($r = .32, p < .001$) as well. Therefore, importance to identity was only correlated with cultural identity ($r = .37, p < .001$).

Therefore, there was also a correlation between satisfy fiduciary expectation and patriotism ($r = .25, p < .01$). Moreover, competence was positively correlated with cultural identity ($r = .22, p < .01$). Besides, religious identity was positively correlated with patriotism ($r = .38, p < .001$) and importance to ethnic identity ($r = .22, p < .05$), sense of honesty to members in the parliament ($r = .29, p < .01$), and satisfy fiduciary expectation of members in the parliament ($r = .34, p < .001$). Secular identification was positively correlated with public collective self-esteem ($r = .26, p < .01$), patriotism ($r = .44, p < .001$), and civic responsibility ($r = .21, p < .05$).

Different from majority ethnic groups, while perceived collective discrimination was negatively correlated with patriotism ($r = -.39, p < .001$), sense of honesty to members in parliament ($r = -.25, p < .01$), and public collective self-esteem ($r = -.24, p < .01$), it was also positively correlated with exploration of ethnic identity ($r = .32, p < .001$). On the one hand, perceived individual discrimination was negatively correlated with patriotism ($r = -.27, p < .01$) and public collective self-esteem ($r = -.33, p < .001$), on the other hand, it was positively correlated with importance to ethnic identity ($r = .24, p < .01$) and exploration of ethnic identity ($r = .36, p < .001$). Finally, for disadvantaged groups, perceived collective discrimination and individual discrimination were correlated with each other ($r = .60, p < .001$), like majority groups.

Path analysis among the variables for privileged (majority) and disadvantaged (minority) groups:

In order to understand predictors of each indicator of societal identification and to examine hypothesized all relationships among variables, namely patriotism, civic responsibility and sensitiveness, civic solidarity, cultural identification, satisfying fiduciary expectation to members of the parliament, sense of competence to members of the parliament, sense of honesty to members of the parliament, public collective self-esteem, importance to ethnic identity, exploration of ethnic identity, religious identification, secular identification, perceived collective discrimination, and perceived individual discrimination, various path analysis were separately employed for majority and disadvantaged ethnic groups. Therefore each variable with its construct was modeled independently. Path models were examined using the AMOS 7.0, a useful statistical tool for analyzing complex model with graphically (Arbuckle, 1989).

Although the relative chi-square have been suggested as a global test for congruence between data and the model by several researchers (e.g. Carmines & McIver, 1981; Marsh & Hocevar, 1985), several fit indices were used to assess the congruence between data and the model. Steiger and Lind's (1980) root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), Bentler and Bonnet's (1980) normative fit index(NFI), Bentler's (1990) comparative fit index(CFI), and Tanaka and Huba's (1985) goodness of fit index (GFI) were used to evaluated the models-data fit. RMSEA

below .10, NFI, CFI, GFI greater than .80, and X^2/df below 5 suggest adequate model fit.

Societal identification.

For both the majority and disadvantaged ethnic groups, as shown in from the Figures 3-1 to the Figure 3-8 while indicators of ethnic identity, indicators of political trust, perceived discrimination, and religious and secular identifications served as exogenous variables in separate model, indicators of societal identification served as endogenous variables in each model. Prior to the analysis, it was assumed that in a model each exogenous variable were interdependent with each other. Therefore, the errors among them were freely correlated. The analyses were conducted with 110 self-identified members of majority groups and 120 self-identified members of disadvantaged ethnic groups.

The relationship between indicators of ethnic identity and societal identity.

For majority ethnic groups, the results of the analysis indicated that while some of fit indices were in acceptable range, relative chi square value ($df = 6$), rule of thumb, greater than acceptable range, $X^2/df = 9.60$ and value of chi square, 57.59 was significant ($p > .001$). RMSEA, NFI, CFI, GFI values were .28, .80, .81, and .86 respectively.

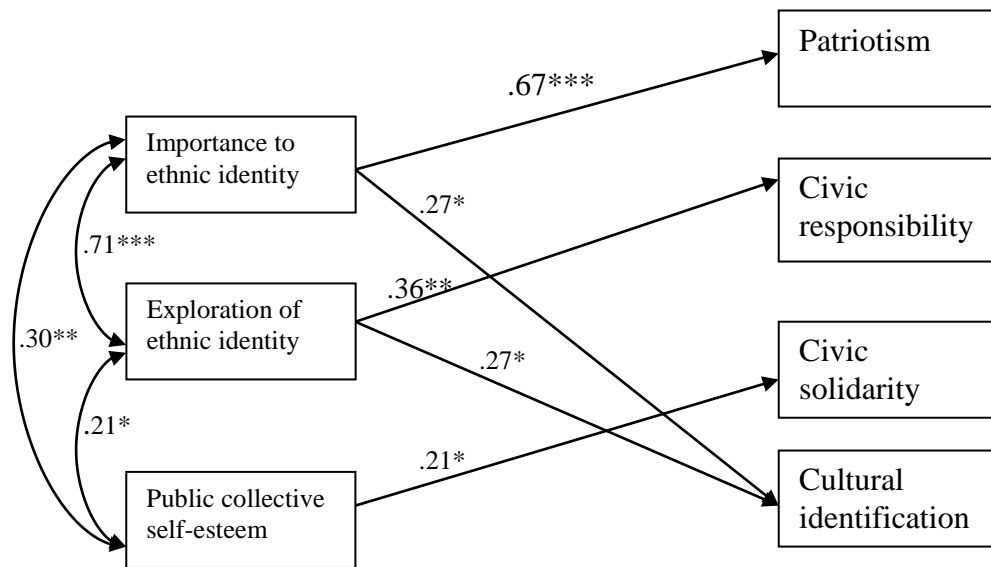


Figure 3-1 The Standardized Coefficient Values for Predicting Societal Identification from Ethnic Identification in Majority Ethnic Groups[‡]

As shown in Figure 3-1, the analysis yielded that there were significant correlations of the errors for between importance to identity and exploration of ethnic identity ($\beta = .71, p < .001$), between importance to identity and public collective self-esteem ($\beta = .30, p < .01$), and between exploration of ethnic identity and public collective self-esteem ($\beta = .21, p < .05$).

Furthermore, when the relationships between the exogenous and endogenous variables were examined, the path analysis examined that importance to ethnic identity ($\beta = .27, p < .05$) and exploration of ethnic identity ($\beta = .27, p < .05$) were

[‡] Note: suggested models were fully saturated; the non-significant paths were not shown in the from Figures 3.1 to 3.8 (* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$)

significant predictors of cultural identification for members of majority ethnic groups. Importance to ethnic identity ($\beta = .67, p < .001$) was a significant predictor of patriotism level of them. Also, public collective self-esteem ($\beta = .21, p < .05$) was a significant predictor of civic solidarity. Exploration of ethnic identity ($\beta = .36, p < .01$) was a significant predictor of civic responsibility. Finally, 77 % of the variance of the societal identification was explained by the model. Moreover 15% of the variance of the cultural identification, 4% of the variance of the civic solidarity, 13% of variance of civic responsibility, and 45% of the variance of the patriotism was explained by the model.

For minority ethnic groups, the results of the analysis indicated that while goodness of the fit index was in acceptable range to good fit, other indices (RMSEA = .25, NFI = .71, CFI = .71) and relative chi square value ($df = 6, X^2/df = 8.34$) was greater than acceptable range. Therefore chi square value, 50.06, was significant ($p > .001$).

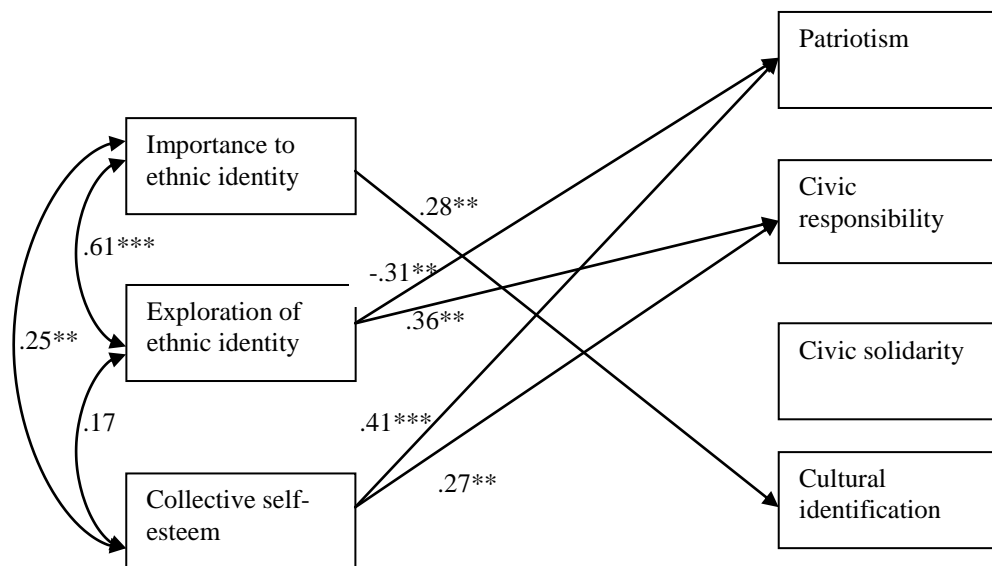


Figure 3-2 The Standardized Coefficient Values for Predicting Societal Identification from Ethnic Identification in Disadvantaged Ethnic Groups

As shown in Figure 3-2, the analysis yielded that there were significant correlations of the errors for both between importance to identity and exploration of ethnic identity ($\beta = .61, p < .001$) and between importance to identity and public collective self-esteem ($\beta = .25, p < .01$).

When the relationships between the exogenous and endogenous variables were examined, the path analysis examined that importance to ethnic identity ($\beta = .28, p < .05$) were significant predictors of cultural identification for members of disadvantaged ethnic groups. Moreover, while public collective self-esteem ($\beta = .41, p < .001$) was a significant and positive predictor of patriotism, exploration of ethnic identity ($\beta = -.31, p < .01$) was a significant and negative predictor of patriotism level. Finally, exploration of ethnic identity ($\beta = .36, p < .01$) and public collective self-esteem ($\beta = .27, p < .01$) were significant predictors of civic responsibility and sensitiveness level of members of disadvantaged ethnic groups. Finally, 42 % of the variance of the societal identification was explained by the model. Moreover 8% of the variance of the cultural identification, 5% of the variance of the civic responsibility and sensitiveness, and 29% of the variance of the patriotism was explained by the model.

The relationship between indicators of political trust and societal identity:

For majority ethnic groups, the results of the analysis yielded that the badness of the fitness index. Relative chi square value ($X^2/df = 15.42, df = 6$), greater than acceptable range, and value of chi square, 92.49 was significant ($p > .001$). RMSEA, NFI, CFI, GFI values were .36, .64, .64, and .79 respectively.

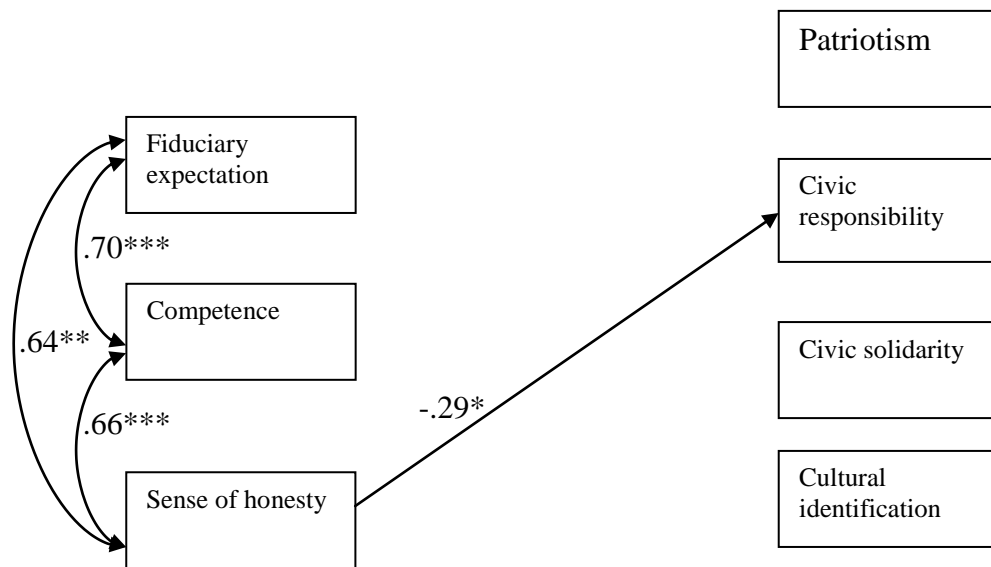


Figure 3-3 The Standardized Coefficient Values for Predicting Societal Identification from Political Trust in Majority Ethnic Groups

As shown in the Figure 3-3, the analysis yielded that there were significant correlations of the errors for between satisfy fiduciary expectation from the parliament and sense of competence to members of the parliament ($\beta = .70, p < .001$), between satisfy fiduciary expectation from the parliament and sense of honesty to members of the parliament ($\beta = .64, p < .001$), and between sense of competence to members of the parliament and sense of honesty to members of the parliament ($\beta = .66, p < .001$).

Furthermore, when the relationships between the exogenous and endogenous variables were examined, the path analysis examined that sense of honesty to members of the parliament were significant and negative predictors of civic responsibility and sensitiveness level of members of majority ethnic groups ($\beta = -.29, p < .05$), while there is not a significant relationship among all other exogenous and endogenous variables. Finally, 8 % of the variance of the societal identification was

explained by the model. Moreover 8% of the variance of the civic responsibility was explained by the model.

For minority ethnic groups, the results of the analysis also yielded that the badness of the fitness index. Relative chi square value ($X^2/df = 9.52, df = 6$), greater than acceptable range, and value of chi square, 57.12 was significant ($p > .001$). RMSEA, NFI, CFI, GFI values were .27, .70, .70, and .89 respectively.

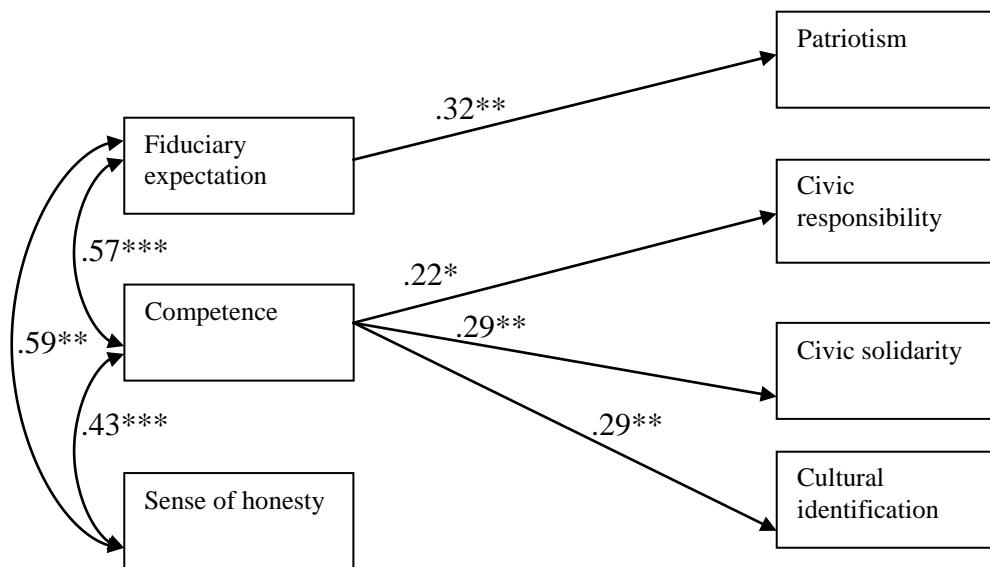


Figure 3-4 The Standardized Coefficient Values for Predicting Societal Identification from Political Trust in Disadvantaged Ethnic Groups

As shown in figure 3-4, the analysis yielded that there were significant correlations of the errors for between satisfy fiduciary expectation from the parliament and sense of competence to members of the parliament ($\beta = .57, p < .001$), between satisfy fiduciary expectation from the parliament and sense of honesty to members of the parliament ($\beta = .59, p < .001$), and between sense of competence to members of the parliament and sense of honesty to members of the parliament ($\beta = .43, p < .001$).

Furthermore, when the relationships between the exogenous and endogenous variables were examined, the path analysis examined that sense of competence to members of the parliament were significant predictors of level of civic solidarity ($\beta = .29, p < .01$), level of cultural identification ($\beta = .29, p < .01$), and level of civic responsibility and sensitiveness ($\beta = .22, p < .05$) for members of disadvantaged ethnic groups. Therefore satisfying fiduciary expectation from members of the parliament was significant predictors of level of patriotism ($\beta = .32, p < .01$). Finally, 32 % of the variance of the societal identification was explained by the model. Moreover 5% of the variance of the civic responsibility, %8 of the variance of the civic solidarity, 8% of the variance of the cultural identification, and 10% of the variance of the patriotism were explained by the model.

The relationship religious identification and secular identification with societal identity:

For majority ethnic groups, the results of the analysis also yielded that the badness of the fitness index. Relative chi square value ($X^2/df = 12.65, df = 6$), greater than acceptable range, and value of chi square, 75.89 was significant ($p > .001$). RMSEA, NFI, CFI, GFI values were .33, .56, .55, and .80 respectively.

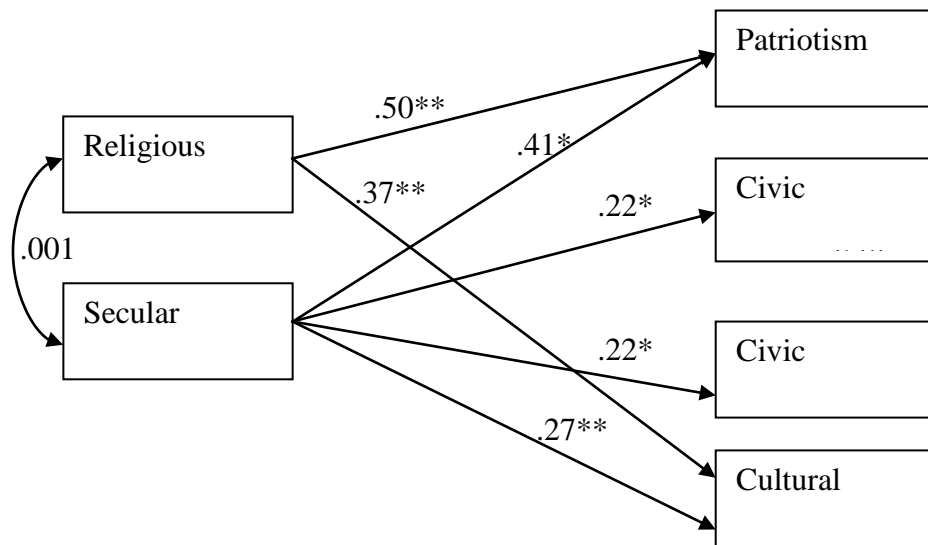


Figure 3-5 The Standardized Coefficient Values for Predicting Societal Identification from Religious and Secular Identifications in Majority Ethnic Groups

As shown in Figure 3-5, results of the analysis yielded that the relationships between the exogenous and endogenous variables were examined, the path analysis examined that religious identification ($\beta = .50, p < .001$) and secular identification ($\beta = .41, p < .001$) were significant predictors of patriotism level of members of majority ethnic groups. Besides, both religious ($\beta = .37, p < .001$) and secular ($\beta = .27, p < .001$) identification were also significant predictor of cultural identification level. Moreover secular identification is significant predictors of both level of civic responsibility ($\beta = .22, p < .05$) and level of civic solidarity ($\beta = .22, p < .05$) for members of majority ethnic groups. Finally, 73 % of the variance of the societal identification was explained by the model. Moreover 21% of the variance of the cultural identification, 5% of the variance of the civic solidarity, 5% of the variance of the civic responsibility, and 42% of the variance of the patriotism were explained by the model.

For the members of disadvantaged ethnic group, the results of the analysis also yielded that the badness of the fitness index. Relative chi square value ($X^2/df = 9.43$, $df = 6$), greater than acceptable range, and value of chi square, 56.60 was significant ($p > .001$). RMSEA, NFI, CFI, GFI values were .27, .49, .49, and .86 respectively.

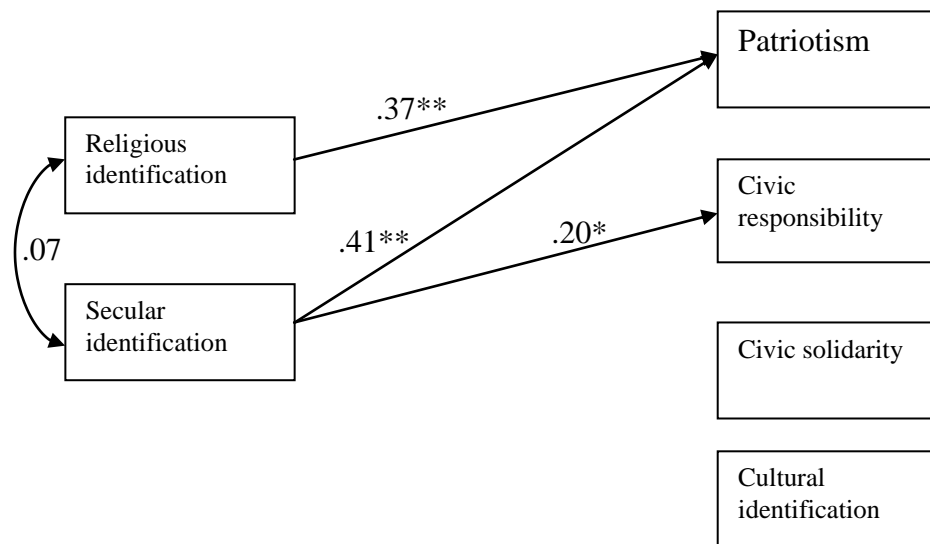


Figure 3-6 The Standardized Coefficient Values for Predicting Societal Identification from Religious and Secular Identification in Disadvantaged Ethnic Groups

As shown in the Figure 3-6, results of the analysis yielded that the relationships between the exogenous and endogenous variables were examined, the path analysis examined that religious identification ($\beta = .37$, $p < .001$) and secular identification ($\beta = .41$, $p < .001$) were significant predictors of patriotism level of members of majority ethnic groups. Besides, secular identification ($\beta = .20$, $p < .001$) was significant predictor of level of civic responsibility and sensitiveness. Finally, 36 % of the variance of the societal identification was explained by the model. Moreover 31% of the variance of the patriotism, and 4% of the variance of the civic responsibility were explained by the model.

The relationship between indicators of perceived discrimination and societal identification:

For majority ethnic groups, the results of the analysis yielded that the badness of the fitness index. Relative chi square value ($X^2/df = 17.15$, $df = 6$), greater than acceptable range, and value of chi square, 102.91 was significant ($p > .001$). RMSEA, NFI, CFI, GFI values were .39, .36, .33, and .75 respectively.

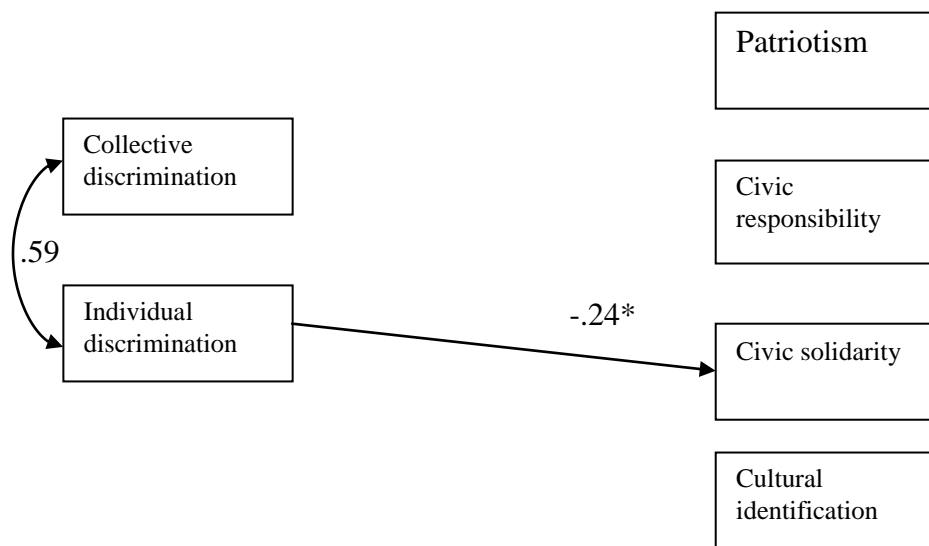


Figure 3-7 The Standardized Coefficient Values for Predicting Societal Identification from Perceived Discrimination in Majority Ethnic Groups

As shown in Figure 3-7, the analysis yielded that there were significant correlations of the errors for between perceived collective discrimination and individual discrimination ($\beta = .59$, $p < .001$).

Furthermore, when the relationships between the exogenous and endogenous variables were examined, the path analysis examined that perceived individual

discrimination was significant and negative predictors of level of civic solidarity ($\beta = -.24, p < .05$). 6 % of the variance of the civic solidarity was explained by the model.

For the members of disadvantaged ethnic group, the results of the analysis also yielded that the badness of the fitness index. Relative chi square value ($X^2/df = 10.57, df = 6$), greater than acceptable range, and value of chi square, 63.42 was significant ($p > .001$). RMSEA, NFI, CFI, GFI values were .28, .53, .52, and .86 respectively.

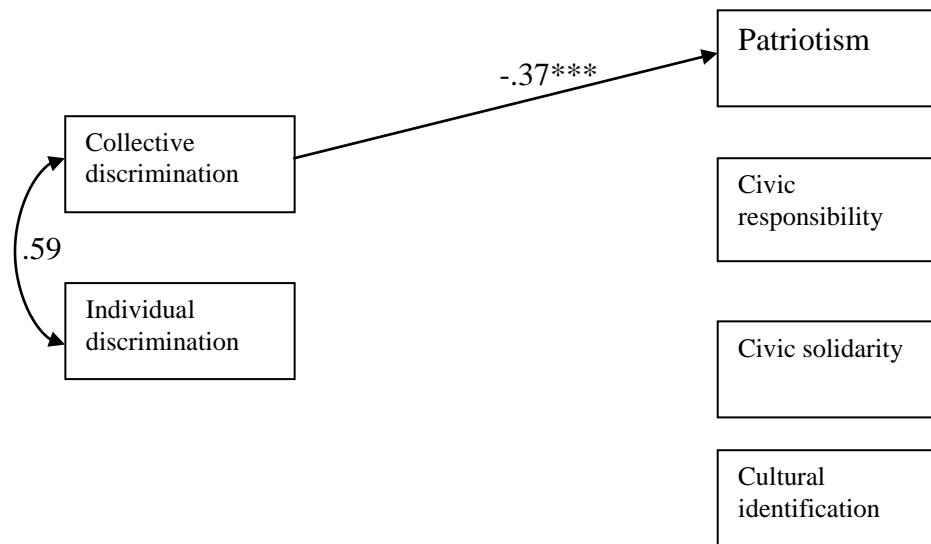


Figure 3-8 The Standardized Coefficient Values for Predicting Societal Identification from Perceived Discrimination in Disadvantaged Ethnic Groups

As shown in Figure 3-8, similar to majority ethnic group, for disadvantaged ethnic group, the analysis yielded that there were significant correlations of the errors for between perceived collective discrimination and individual discrimination ($\beta = .59, p < .001$).

Furthermore, when the relationships between the exogenous and endogenous variables were examined, the path analysis examined that perceived individual discrimination was a significant and negative predictor of patriotism ($\beta = -.37, p < .001$). Furthermore 14 % of the variance of the patriotism was explained by the model.

3.5 Discussion

With regard to the first aim of the Study 1, Societal Identification Scale and Political Trust Scale were developed reliable and valid measurements to examine main concerns of the thesis. The main aim of the study 1 was to examine differential levels of identity salience in various domains of identities for both members of majority and disadvantaged (minority) groups in intergroup context. More specifically, disadvantaged and majority groups were compared in terms of ethnic, religious, secular, and societal identifications, political trust, and perceived discrimination. Additionally, within group comparisons were done for domains of ethnic identification, societal identification, political trust, and perceived discrimination. Furthermore, relations of societal identification with other aforementioned identities, political trust and perceived discrimination were examined.

All of the results supported the hypotheses and supported expectations stemming from SIT and ODT except for the findings related to political trust. The comparisons of domains of ethnic identity may designate that ethnic identification is more salient for disadvantaged groups than majority ethnic groups in Turkey. According to ODT, assimilation or national commitment leads to a distinctiveness threat for disadvantaged groups (Brewer, 2001) and out-group threat leads to an increase in

identity salience (e.g. Pickett & Brewer, 2001; Simon, 1992; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In accordance with hypothesis 1, the results indicated that compared to Turks and Turcomans, the members of disadvantaged groups care more about their ethnic identity and strive for exploring ethnic identity. Political discourses and institutional norms on assimilation or national commitment throughout the history of the Republic of Turkey may lead to an increased perception of threat and this threat may cause an increase in the saliency of ethnic identity for members of disadvantaged ethnic groups. In similar vein, Rejection Identification Model claimed that members of the disadvantaged groups increase their identification with the disadvantaged group in order to deal with the pain of perceived discrimination (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999). Hence, it was also shown that the scores of the endorsement of the ethnic identity were higher on both perceived collective and individual discrimination, as compared to majority groups (Hypothesis 2). Thus, high level of perceived discrimination may have also led to an increase in identity salience for members of disadvantaged ethnic groups.

According to SIT, a disadvantaged or inferior position of individuals' own group was defined as negative social identity (Tajfel & Turner, *An integrative theory of intergroup conflict*, 1979). Moreover, individuals have a tendency to increase their status via management strategies. Our study also indicated that ethnic group members perceived themselves as inferior or as in a disadvantaged status in the public settings. Hence, their lower scores on public collective self-esteem than those of majority ethnic groups (Hypothesis 1) may have been one of the reasons why Kurdish protest campaigns have been increasing in Turkey. On the other hand, there

is not a significant difference in the strength of religious identity between majority and disadvantaged ethnic groups even though the latter have lower scores on secular identity than the former (Hypothesis 3). It can be claimed that the politics of the modernization project of the republican elite on ethnic groups (see detailed discussion, Toprak, 1996; Smith, 2005) may have triggered disidentification from secularism because ethnic groups may satisfy their self-esteem based on their religious identity which involves the majority group as a whole in public sphere.

Keane (1998) claimed that civic solidarity has become the breaking point for the future of the societies. Moreover, according to Habermas (2003), civic solidarity can lead to the improvement of the nation states although consensus on human rights is served as an alternative to the civic solidarity for the post-national world. Although there is no systematic observation and empirical evidence about civic solidarity, claims of Keane (1998) and Habermas (2003) can refer to the importance of civic solidarity as a way of a sense of belonging to the society. Concurrently, the results of the current study showed that in Turkey, the main concern of belonging to the society can be civic solidarity because both members of the disadvantaged and majority ethnic groups had a higher score on civic solidarity than other dimensions of societal identification, namely, civic responsibility, cultural identification, and patriotism (Hypothesis 4). Not surprisingly, the results also indicated that compared to the majority groups; disadvantaged groups had weaker patriotic attachment to the nation. This might imply that in Turkey, the idea of classical national unification may have not been implication for the national attachment. These results are also consistent with Sidanius and Petrocik's (2001), and Verkuyten and Yildiz's (2006) studies,

which show that disadvantaged ethnic groups disidentification with the nation, and with the classical idea of national unification does well not apply to multiethnic states. Surprisingly, our results indicated that there was not a significant difference between the majority and the disadvantaged groups on the level of political trust towards the members of the parliament in Turkey (Hypothesis 5). This result may indicate that recently, there has not been stability in political context in Turkey. Election of president of the republic, the lawsuit known as “Operation Ergenekon”, risks of banned political parties, namely, AKP and Democratic Society Party (DTP) may provoke perceptions of political instability and this instability may have led to an undifferentiated level of political trust for both majority and disadvantaged ethnic groups. However, the findings also showed that there was a different pattern for the relationship among dimensions of political trust and societal identification for these groups. Accordingly, decreased levels of sense of honesty to members of the parliament led to increased civic responsibility for the members of majority groups. However, for the members of disadvantaged groups there was not a relationship between sense of honesty and societal identification. Increased sense of competence to members of the parliament led to increased level of civic solidarity, cultural identification, and civic responsibility. Therefore satisfying fiduciary expectation from the members of the parliament increases the level of patriotism in Turkey for the members of disadvantaged groups.

Concerning hypothesis 6, the results indicated that for Turks and Turcomans as importance of ethnic identity increased, the level of patriotism and cultural identification also increased. Whereas, as high public collective self-esteem might

leads to increased in civic solidarity for them. Therefore, increasing exploration of ethnic identity led to increased civic responsibility. However, these relationships were different for the members of the disadvantaged groups compared to majority groups. Individuals increased exploration of their ethnic identity as the level of patriotism decreased. However, the sense of public collective self-esteem increases at the level of patriotism increase and civic responsibility, e.g. volunteering, feeling responsibility to the society. The results also revealed an important relationship between secular and societal identification for the members of the disadvantaged groups. For the members of majority groups, high level of religious and secular identification led to increased all dimensions of societal identification, while high level of secular identification led to increased only patriotism and civic responsibility dimensions of societal identification for the disadvantaged groups. It can be claimed that politics of modernization project after the establishment of the republic may have provoked an identity threat for the disadvantaged ethnic groups (see, Çolak, 2006; Smith, 2005; Onis, 1997) in Turkey. Hence, the secular and religious identifications may have a role of mediation in the relationship between ethnic and societal identification, as noted before in the theoretical framework of the thesis.

Although study 1 demonstrated group differences on aforementioned variables, namely, ethnic identification, religious identification, secular identification, political trust, perceived discrimination, and societal identification in Turkish political context, I intended design the second study for some reasons. First, half of the participants of the study 1 were students from Ankara. Mostly they had middle class family background and highly educated parents. The other half of the participants

accessed our survey via internet. They also had similar socio economic status and family background to the student participants. Although definition of disadvantaged group is not based on economic level, collecting data from ethnically diverse places in Turkey may be more representative of the disadvantaged groups in Turkey. Second, according to data of National Statistical Institution (TUIK, 2008), 24.47 % of households in Turkey can access the Internet. Hence, the rate of accessing the Internet makes generalization of these finding for Turkey difficult. Finally, how members of disadvantaged groups organize their multiple social identities remain unanswered even though the study 1 showed the relationship of secular, religious, and ethnic identification with societal identification in Turkey. Hence the second Study 2 was conducted in order to explore the questions.

CHAPTER 4

4 STUDY2

4.1 Aim of Study 2

There were three main concerns of the study. First, relationships among individuals' multiple identities and their relation to political trust and perceived discrimination for ethnically disadvantaged groups in Turkey were investigated. Second, mediational role of political trust and perceived discrimination on the relationship between ethnic identification and societal identification was tested (Model 1, see the Figure 4-1). Finally, the role of religious and secular identification on the strength of relationship between ethnic and societal identification (Model 2, see the Figure 4-2) were tested.

To fulfill these aims, two models that arise from theoretical framework were used to evaluate the relationship between the latent and observed variables. For each model, a measurement model was suggested as a first step to evaluate the relationship between latent and observed variables for disadvantaged ethnic groups in Turkish context. After evaluation of measurement model, the full models were tested..

Note: Latent variables were shown by rounded rectangles, while observed variables were shown by traditional rectangles.

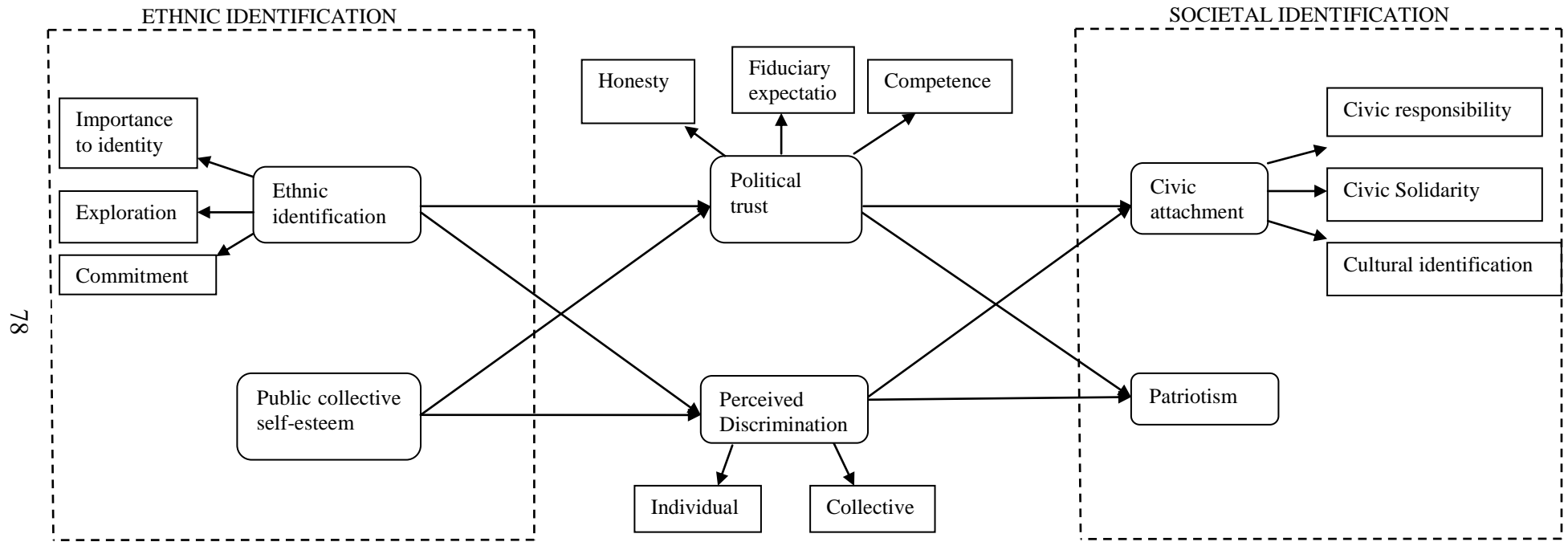


Figure 4-1 Conceptual Diagram of Model 1

Note: latent variables were shown by rounded rectangles, while observed variables were shown by traditional rectangles.

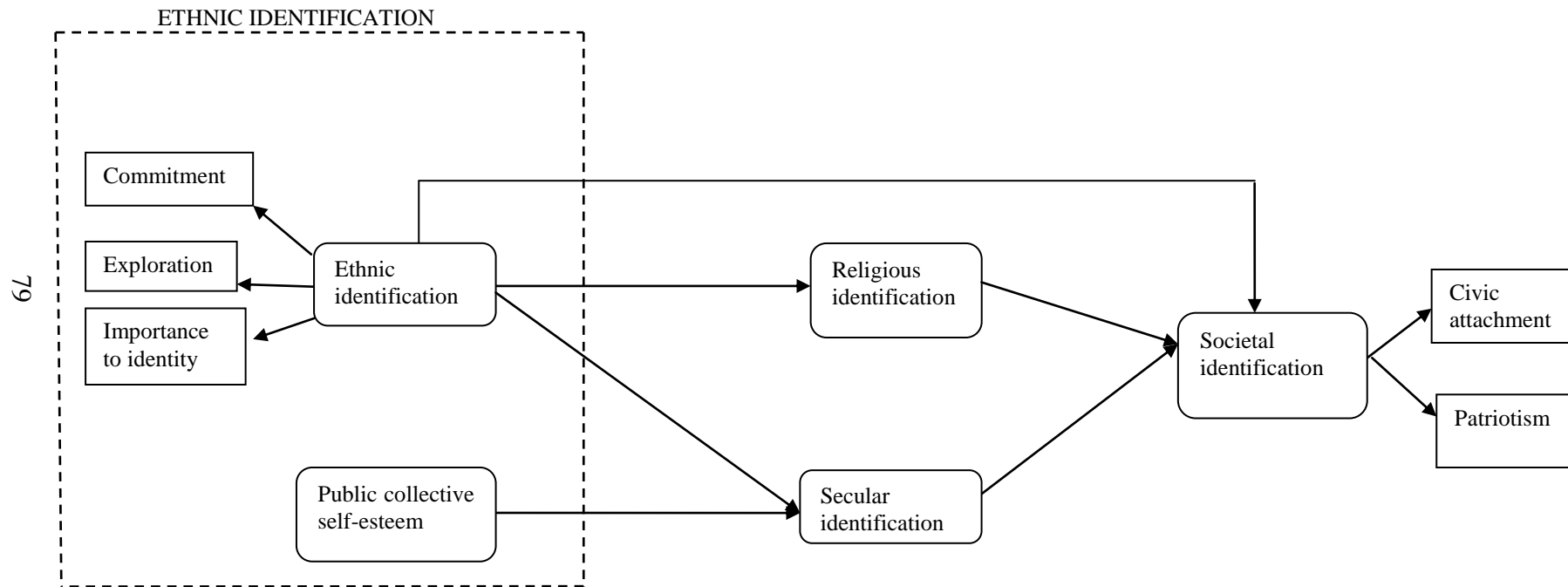


Figure 4-2 Conceptual Diagram of Model 2

4.2 Hypotheses based on Model 1

This study concern two identification process for members of disadvantaged group

- 1- The association between ethnic identification and political trust:
High level of ethnic identification predicts low level of political trust.
- 2- The association between ethnic identification and perceived discrimination:
High level of ethnic identification predicts high level of perceived discrimination.
- 3- The association between public collective self-esteem and political trust:
High level of public collective self-esteem predicts high level of political trust.
- 4- The association between public collective self-esteem and perceived discrimination:
High level of public collective self-esteem predicts low level of perceived discrimination.
- 5- The association between political trust and civic attachment:
High level of political trust predicts low level of identification with the society in terms of civic way.
- 6- The association between political trust and patriotism:
High level of political trust predicts high level of identification with the society in terms of patriotic way.
- 7- The association between perceived discrimination and civic attachment:
High level of perceived discrimination predicts high level of identification with the society in terms of civic way.

- 8- The association between perceived discrimination and patriotism:
High level of perceived discrimination predicts low level of identification with the society in terms of patriotic way.
- 9- The indirect effect of ethnic identification on civic attachment of the society:
Members of ethnically disadvantaged groups who have weak identification with their ethnic groups would report high level of political trust, which would lead decreasing their societal identification in terms of civic attachment. Besides, the ones who have strong identification with their ethnic groups would report high level of perceived discrimination, which would lead increasing their civic attachment with the society.
- 10- The indirect effect of public collective self-esteem on patriotic way of societal identification:
Members of ethnically disadvantaged groups who perceived that other groups value their ethnic group would report high level of political trust, which would lead increasing level of patriotic attachment with the society. However, the ones who perceived that other groups do not value their ethnic group would report high level of perceived discrimination, which would lead decreased levels of patriotism.

4.3 Hypotheses based on Model 2

- 1- The direct effect of ethnic identification on societal identification:
Individuals who are strong ethnic identification are more likely to decrease level of societal identification.
- 2- The association between ethnic identification and religious identification:

High level of ethnic identification predicts high level of religious identification.

3- The association between ethnic identification and secular identification:

High level of ethnic identification predicts low level of secular identification.

4- The association between public collective self-esteem and religious identification:

High level of public collective self-esteem predicts high level of religious identification.

5- The association between public collective self-esteem and secular identification:

High level of public collective self-esteem predicts high level of secular identification.

6- The association between religious identification and societal identification:

High level of religious identification predicts high level of societal identification.

7- The association between secular identification and societal identification:

High level of secular identification predicts high level of societal identification.

8- The indirect effect of ethnic identification on societal identification:

Members of ethnically disadvantaged groups who have strong identification with their ethnic groups would report high level of religious identification, which would lead increasing their societal identification. Besides, the ones who have strong identification with their ethnic groups would report high

level of secular identification, which would lead increasing their level of societal identification.

- 9- The indirect effect of public collective self-esteem on societal identification:
Members of ethnically disadvantaged groups who perceived that other groups value their ethnic group would report high level of religious identification, which would lead increasing level of societal identification. The ones who perceived that other groups value their ethnic group would report high level secular identification, which would also lead increasing their level of societal identification.

4.4 Method

4.4.1 Participants and Procedure

Sample consisted of 324 individuals from Diyarbakır, Mardin, and Mersin, where most of the population is more ethnically diverse than other cities in Turkey (see Appendix C). These participants filled out questionnaires as hard copies. A group of psychologists invited them to participate in the study in various locations, which had been defined randomly to provide random selection procedures from the city map, in the cities on the street, cafeteria, house, or wherever they were available.

While seventy four of these participants were dropped from the analysis because they identify with being member of the majority ethnic groups, 7 people were also dropped due to insufficient response. Therefore, 243 people remained in the study from 3 cities of 2 regions in Turkey. Among this sample, there were 154 men and 89 women. The mean age and range for participants were 28.85 (SD = 8.96) and 47 respectively. Participants defined themselves as Arab (N= 49) and Kurd (N= 194) ethnic background. All participants defined themselves as Muslims (see detailed demographic properties in Appendix C)

Furthermore for providing ethical concern, Ethic Committee Approval had been obtained from Middle East Technical University in order to conduct morally appropriate data gathering. All of the participants voluntarily participated in this study.

4.4.2 Measurements

The same measurements were used with Study 1, see above “3.3.2. Measurements”.

4.5 Results for study 2

For the study 2, the same measurements were used with Study1. Before conducted to test research hypothesis, the results of confirmatory factor analyses will be presented whether or not each measurement is reliable and valid. After that descriptive statistics of the observed variables will be presented. The details of data cleaning and central tendency measure of the variables in question will be explained for analysis. Finally model 1 and model 2 were tested separately to evaluate the proposed models.

4.6 Confirmatory factor analyses (CFA)

To verify the factor structure and to test the construct validity of the measurements, confirmatory factor analysis of the covariance matrix was conducted. Through maximum likelihood solutions by using LISREL 8 (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1998) to verify the relationship between observable variables and latent constructs. Before the estimation of LISREL model, each independent model was tested to see whether or not variables may be uncorrelated that the model was not sufficient to test structural equation model (Jöreskog, 2004). Therefore, although the relative chi-square have been suggested as a global test for congruence between data and the model by several researchers (e.g. Carmines & McIver, 1981; Marsh & Hocevar, 1985), several fit indices were used to assess the congruence between data and the model. Steiger and Lind’s (1980) root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), Bentler and Bonnet’s (1980) normative fit index(NFI), Bentler’s (1990) comparative fit

index(CFI), and Tanaka and Huba's (1985) goodness of fit index (GFI) were used to evaluate the models-data fit. RMSEA below .10, NFI, CFI, GFI greater than .80, and X^2/df below 5 suggest adequate model fit. According to researchers (e.g. Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1998; Schreiber, Nora, Stage, Barlow, & King, 2006), the consensus on the well value for model evaluation is that each index should close to .95 for GFI, AGFI, CFI, NNFI, and lower than .10 for RMSEA.

4.6.1 CFA of societal identification

To verify the factor structure and to test the construct validity of four factor solution with 20 items of SIS, the process determined a smaller set of underlying latent factors from the 20 items of the SIS and from the secondary latent factor from component of SIS, such as civic responsibility, civic solidarity, and cultural identification. The four subscales of the SIS are patriotism, civic responsibility, civic solidarity, and cultural identification. Secondary factor of the SIS were patriotism and civic attachment, which composed of civic responsibility, civic solidarity, and cultural identification.

Independence model testing indicated that there were significant relationship between indicators and latent variables that shows proposed model can be tested, $X^2(171, N = 243) = 1845.66, p < .001$.

Although hypothesized four factor measurement model did not fit the data well, it had an acceptable value of goodness of fit indexes, $X^2(147, N = 243) = 396.05, p < .001$, RMSEA = .08, GFI = .86, AGFI = .81, CFI = .85, NFI = .79. To reduce specification errors and improve the model, some of modification indices were employed (see discussion about modification indices in Appendix A at the section of

confirmatory factor analysis). Therefore, to current study, small modification indicated that the largest error term was among items of patriotism. Finally the last form of the SIS includes 19 items and 2 main subfactors and 4 minor subfactors. After modifications, the model fit improved and two main latent factor and 4 minor latent factors of SIS fitted the data closely, $X^2(140, N = 243) = 334.44, p < .001$, RMSEA = .08, GFI = .88, AGFI = .84, CFI = .89, NFI = .82 (the Figure 4-3).

Correlations between latent variables show whether or not the latent variables' discriminant validity, in case, correlation between civic attachment and patriotism is low ($r = .36$).

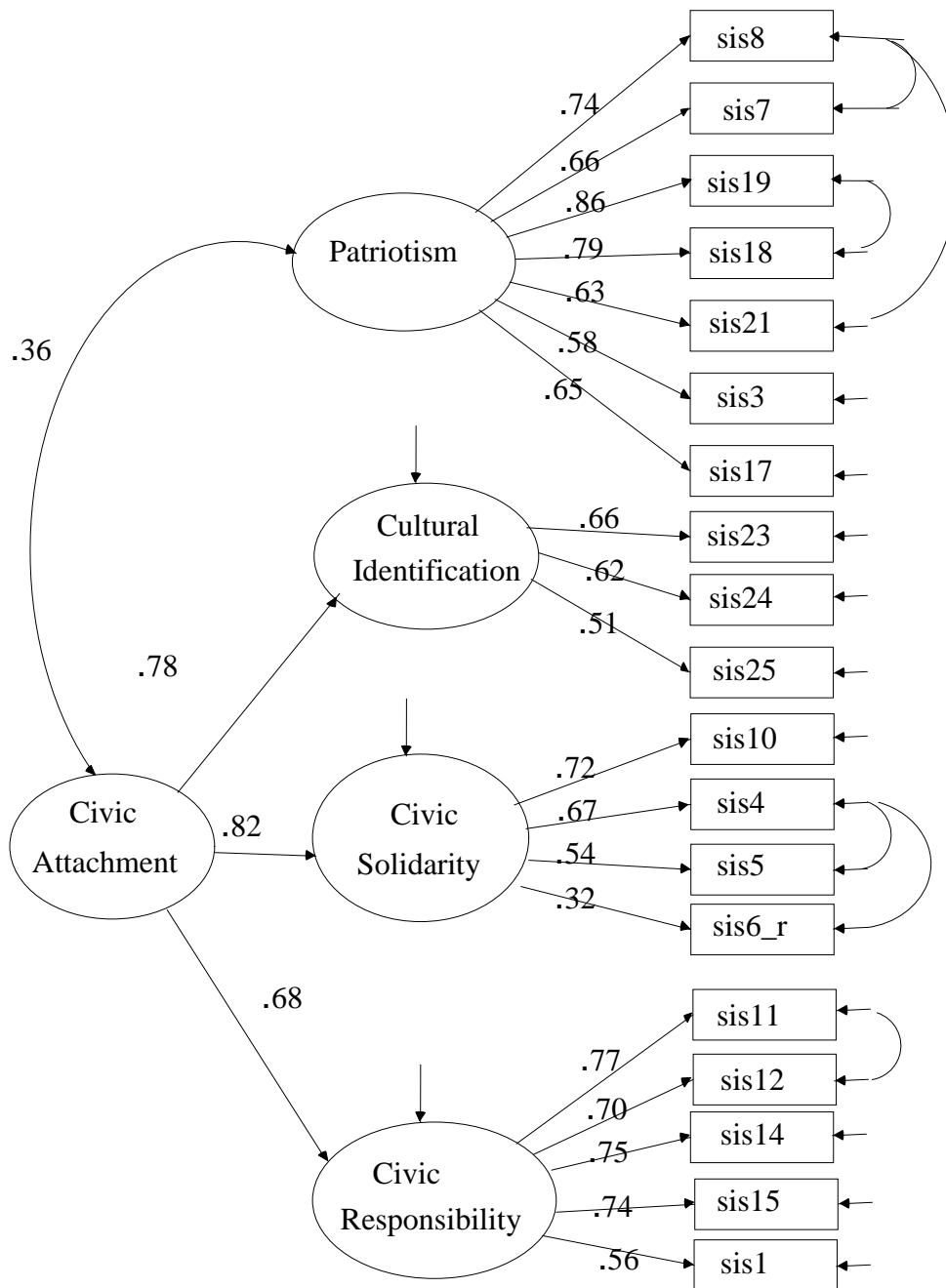


Figure 4-3 the Model of SIS with Standardized Regression coefficients

4.6.2 CFA of political trust

To verify the factor structure and to test the construct validity of the three factor solution with 19 items of PTS, confirmatory factor analysis of the covariance matrix was conducted. Independence model testing indicated that there were significant relationship between indicators and latent variables that shows proposed model can be tested, $X^2 (171, N = 243) = 1701.051, p < .001$. Despite the fact that the data did not fit hypothesized three factor measurement model well, the value of goodness of fit indexes was acceptable, $X^2 (149, N = 243) = 407.697, p < .001$, RMSEA = .08, GFI = .84, AGFI = .79, CFI = .83, NFI = .76. The same reasons as aforementioned in beginning confirmatory factor analysis, modifications were made based on modification indices that they were theoretically correct meaningful among largest error terms. Modification indices indicated that the largest error term was between items 16 and 17, items 15 and 17, items 11 and 14, items 4; and 6 items 2 and 5 because all of these item pairs touch each other in terms of included the highly similar notion (as seen the Factor Structure Table in Appendix A). Although the hypothesized model fit, low factor loaded item, item 21 (.09) from the value of cutoff (.40) were dropped from the analysis to improve value of model fit indexes. Finally the last form of the PTS includes 19 items and 3 subfactors. Improved model and three factor PTS fitted the data closely, $X^2 (146, N = 243) = 359.851, p < .001$, RMSEA = .07, GFI = .86, AGFI = .82, CFI = .86, NFI = .80. Analysis of the standardized regression weights of individual items showed highly loadings on related factors (the Table 4-1). Although the correlation of satisfying fiduciary

expectation with sense of honesty ($r = .40$) and competence ($r = .83$), these latent variables were theoretically distinct from each other as was discussed in scale development process, as can be seen in Appendix A. Therefore the correlation between competence and sense of honesty is also high ($r = .75$) as expected.

Table 4.1 Standardized Regression Weights for Political Trust Scale

items		factors	Estimate
pts16	<---	Fiduciary expectation	.78
pts14	<---	Fiduciary expectation	.65
pts18	<---	Fiduciary expectation	.68
pts22	<---	Fiduciary expectation	.56
pts15	<---	Fiduciary expectation	.68
pts20	<---	Fiduciary expectation	.59
pts24	<---	Fiduciary expectation	.60
pts26	<---	Fiduciary expectation	.61
pts11	<---	Fiduciary expectation	.48
pts4_r	<---	Sense of Honesty	.69
pts5_r	<---	Sense of Honesty	.65
pts1_r	<---	Sense of Honesty	.78
pts2_r	<---	Sense of Honesty	.84
pts10_r	<---	Sense of Honesty	.59
pts23_r	<---	Competence	.36
pts19_r	<---	Competence	.27
pts8	<---	Competence	.44
pts6	<---	Competence	.44
pts21_r	<---	Competence	.37

4.6.3 CFA of ethnic identification

CFA involved exploration about ethnic identity with 3 items, importance to identity with 5 items, and commitment with 3 items for respecting latent variable, namely, ethnic identification and public collective self-esteem with 4 items as distinct variable of them. Independence model testing indicated that there were significant relationship between indicators and latent variables that point to proposed model can be tested, $X^2 (105, N = 231) = 1620.77, p < .001$. The value of goodness of fit indices

was show the data fit with the data, X^2 (86, N = 231) = 220.93, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .08, GFI = .90, AGFI = .85, CFI = .91, NFI = .86. After small modification indices was conducted on the error terms that they are theoretically correct meaning among largest error terms (correlated error terms between items 20 and 21, and items 3 and 6 correlate), the value of goodness of fit indices improved and the model fit to the data well, X^2 (84, N = 231) = 157.127, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .06, GFI = .93, AGFI = .89, CFI = .95, NFI = .90. Furthermore, analysis of the standardized regression weights of individual items showed highly loadings on related factors (the Table 4-2).

Table 4.2 Standardized Regression Weights for Ethnic Identification Scale

Items		factors	Estimate
Exploration	<---	Ethnic identification	.905
Importance to identity	<---	Ethnic identification	.951
Commitment	<---	Ethnic identification	.839
eid2	<---	Exploration	.802
eid4	<---	Exploration	.787
eid5	<---	Exploration	.869
eid7	<---	Importance to identity	.681
eid8	<---	Importance to identity	.762
eid9	<---	Importance to identity	.798
eid12	<---	Importance to identity	.508
eid17_r	<---	Importance to identity	.435
eid13	<---	Public collective self-esteem	.809
eid14	<---	Public collective self-esteem	.653
eid20_r	<---	Public collective self-esteem	.274
eid21_r	<---	Public collective self-esteem	.364
eid1	<---	Commitment	.710
eid3	<---	Commitment	.981
eid6	<---	Commitment	.851

The correlation between ethnic identification and public self esteem ($r = .05$) show that apparently these are two distinct factors.

4.6.4 CFA of religious and secular identification

Religious identification with 9 items and secular identification with 5 items were tested with CFA. Independent model testing point to proposed model can be tested, $X^2 (91, N = 220) = 2688.54, p < .001$. The value of goodness of fit indices was show that the indices are in the acceptable range to define as good fit even though the data were not fit with the data very well, $X^2 (76, N = 231) = 246.04, p < .001$, RMSEA = .10, GFI = .85, AGFI = .79, CFI = .94, NFI = .91. Modification indices were conducted among religious identity items' error terms that they have obviously high correlation with each other (error terms between items 1 and 2, items 1 and 7, items 2 and 4, items 7 and 8, and items 8 and 9). Therefore item 16 from the secular identification was dropped the further analysis since insignificant standardized regression weight. After these modifications, the value of goodness of fit indices improved and the model fit to the data very well, $X^2 (57, N = 220) = 119.98, p < .001$, RMSEA = .07, GFI = .92, AGFI = .89, CFI = .98, NFI = .96. Furthermore, analysis of the standardized regression weights of individual items showed highly loadings on related factors (the Table 4-3).

Table 4.3 Standardized Regression Weights for Religious and Secular Identification Scales

			Estimate
rid1	<---	Religious identification	.901
rid2	<---	Religious identification	.883
rid3	<---	Religious identification	.905
rid4	<---	Religious identification	.746
rid5	<---	Religious identification	.936
rid6	<---	Religious identification	.767
rid7	<---	Religious identification	.929
rid8	<---	Religious identification	.796
rid11	<---	Religious identification	.755
lid6	<---	Secular identification	.758
lid7	<---	Secular identification	.881
lid8	<---	Secular identification	.897
lid11	<---	Secular identification	.542

The correlation between religious identification and secular ($r = .04$) show that apparently these are two distinct factors.

4.6.5 CFA of perceived discrimination

Collective discrimination with 5 items and individual discrimination with 4 items were tested with CFA. Independent model testing point to proposed model can be tested, $X^2 (36, N = 229) = 1150.66, p < .001$. The value of goodness of fit indices showed that indices are in acceptable range, $X^2 (26, N = 229) = 126.77, p < .001$, GFI = .88, AGFI = .79, CFI = .91, NFI = .90, except index of RMSEA = .13. The same reasons as aforementioned in confirmatory factor analysis of the other measurements, modifications indices were used on the error terms that they are theoretically correct meaning among largest error terms. Modification indices indicated that the largest error term was between items 2 and 4, items 1 and 3, items 1 and 2 for individual

discrimination; and items 1 and 2 for collective discrimination because all of these items pair touches each other in terms of included the highly similar feelings and related situations. After conducting these modifications, the value of goodness of fit indices improved and the model fit to the data very well, $X^2 (22, N = 229) = 63.30, p < .001, RMSEA = .09, GFI = .94, AGFI = .88, CFI = .96, NFI = .95$. Furthermore, analysis of the standardized regression weights of individual items showed highly loadings on related factors (the Table 4-4).

Table 4.4 Standardized Regression Weights for Perceived Discrimination Scale

items	factors	Estimate
coldis1	<--- Collective discrimination	.653
coldis2	<--- Collective discrimination	.782
coldis3	<--- Collective discrimination	.825
coldis4	<--- Collective discrimination	.843
coldis5	<--- Collective discrimination	.675
inddis1	<--- Individual discrimination	.743
inddis2	<--- Individual discrimination	.742
inddis3	<--- Individual discrimination	.801
inddis4	<--- Individual discrimination	.741

4.7 Descriptive statistics of the observed variables

Prior to analysis, observed variables of the current study were examined for accuracy of data entry by SPSS statistical software packet. The next step of data cleaning was handling missing values. Since number of missing cases per variable was checked and no value was found over 5 %, the mean value of the distribution was assigned to missing values in quantitative variables. After handling missing values, ranges, means and standard deviations of the distributions was evaluated to test whether or not means and standard deviations of the variables was too close. Fortunately, no problem was detected in this respect. Highly correlated independent (endogenous)

variables may have led to multicollinearity, so correlation among independent variables were computed and all values of the correlation among them were less than .80 by the criteria of the Tabachnick and Fidell (2001). According to Curan, West, and Finch (1996), if the skeweness lower than 2 and kurtosis lower than 7, the distribution can be accepted as normal. According to this, variables met the assumption of normality

Finally, before dealing with univariate outliers, multivariate outliers were detected because it would include some of the univariate outliers. With the use of $p < .001$ criterion for Mahalanobis distance and detected extreme z score and they would have been left out for each subsequent model analysis. Univariate normality for each variable in models was examined before to test the model. There were not detected any non-normal distributions in data set. Intercorrelation among ethnic identity, societal identity, religious and secular identity, perceived discrimination, and political trust

To see the relationship among observed variables in the models, intercorrelations were calculated by using Pearson's bivariate correlation as shown in the Table 4-5 for member of ethnically disadvantages groups. These correlations will provide a base to explore potential statistical models both defined and undefined in theoretical chapter above.

Table 4.5 Correlation Matrix of the Observed and Composite Variables

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1Civic	-											
2Collective	.12	-										
3Individual	.13	.61	-									
4Fiduciary	-.28	-.27	-.14	-								
5Competence	-.18	-.16	-.11	.42	-							
6Patriotism	.22	-.36	-.28	.41	.20	-						
7Religious	-.08	-.23	-.12	.41	.29	.53	-					
8Secular	.04	.01	-.17	.01	-.13	.17	-.03	-				
9Col_self	.08	-.20	-.33	.09	.05	.22	.16	.15	-			
10Importance	.16	.38	.38	-.23	-.18	-.19	.04	.10	.04	-		
11Exploration	.20	.45	.39	-.24	-.2	-.31	-.13	.09	.05	.71	-	
12Commitment	.23	.31	.25	-.26	-.22	-.13	.06	.03	.07	.71	.67	-
13Honesty	-.15	-.29	-.11	.37	.44	.22	.20	-.10	.18	.37	.36	-.39

Note: correlation coefficients above .13 are significant at $p < .05$, above .18 they are significant at .01

1: civic attachment (civic), 2: collective discrimination (collective), 3: individual discrimination (individual), 4: fiduciary expectation (fiduciary), 5: competence, 6: patriotism, 7: religious identification (religious), 8: secular identification (secular), 9: public collective self-esteem (col-self), 10: importance to ethnic identity (importance), 11: exploration, 12: commitment, 13: sense of honesty (honesty)

Indicators of latent variables had a strong correlation with each other consistently. As show in the Table 4-5 all indicators of political trust (variables 4, 5, and 13) were positively correlated with each other, ranging from .37 to .44. Moreover, all indicators of perceived discrimination (variables 2, 3) were positively correlated with each other, $r = .61$. Indicators of ethnic identification (variables 10-12) were also positively correlated with each other, ranging from .67 to .71. On the other hand, as expected public collective self-esteem to ethnic identity was not significantly correlated with indicators of ethnic identity for members of the ethnic groups.

As regarding societal identity, patriotism had a positive correlation with satisfy fiduciary expectation ($r = .41$), sense of honesty ($r = .22$), competence ($r = .20$), religious identification ($r = .53$), secular identification ($r = .17$), public collective self-

esteem ($r = .22$); while it had a negative correlation with importance to identity ($r = -.19$), exploration of ethnic identity ($r = -.31$), commitment to ethnic identity ($r = -.13$), collective discrimination ($r = -.36$), and individual discrimination ($r = -.28$). On the one hand, civic attachment had a significant positive correlation with indicators of ethnic identity, importance to identity ($r = .16$), exploration ($r = .20$), commitment ($r = .23$), on the other hand, it had a negative correlation with indicators of political trust – sense of honesty ($r = -.15$), fiduciary expectation ($r = -.28$), and competence ($r = -.18$) – and individual discrimination ($r = -.13$). Besides, variables of societal identification, namely, civic attachment and patriotism, were correlated with each other, $r = .22$.

Supporting the hypotheses, religious identity was positively and strongly correlated to all indicators of political trust, ranging from .20 to .41, while secular identification was just negatively related with competence ($r = -.13$).

Finally, while perceived collective discrimination was positively and highly correlated with indicators of ethnic identity, ranging from .31 to .45, it was negatively correlated with all indicator of political trust, ranging from -.29 to -.16, and public collective self-esteem ($r = -.20$). Besides, perceived individual discrimination was also positively related with indicators of the ethnic identity, ranging from .25 and .39, while it was only negatively correlated with fiduciary expectation ($r = -.14$)

4.8 Model 1

In this part, as hypothesized in the theoretical chapter, my aim was to understand the way in which members of ethnically disadvantage groups in Turkey attach to the society via political trust and perceived discrimination.

The analyses were conducted using maximum likelihood solutions by LISREL 8 (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1998) to verify the relationship between observable variables and latent constructs, LISREL syntaxes for measurement and proposed model can be found in Appendix E.

Although the relative chi-square have been suggested as a global test for congruence between data and the model by several researchers (e.g. Carmines & McIver, 1981; Marsh & Hocevar, 1985), several fit indices were used to assess the congruence between data and the model. Steiger and Lind's (1980) root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), Bentler and Bonnet's (1980) normative fit index(NFI), Bentler's (1990) comparative fit index(CFI), and Tanaka and Huba's (1985) goodness of fit index (GFI) were used to evaluated the models-data fit. RMSEA below .10, NFI, CFI, GFI greater than .80, and X^2/df below 5 suggest adequate model fit. According to researchers (e.g. Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1998; Schreiber, Nora, Stage, Barlow, & King, 2006), the consensus on the well value for model evaluation is that each index should close to .95 for GFI, AGFI, CFI, NNFI, and lower than .10 for RMSEA.

Before the estimation of LISREL model, independent model will be tested to see whether or not variables may be uncorrelated that the model is not sufficient to test structural equation modeling (Jöreskog, 2004).

4.8.1 Measurement Model

As illustrated in the Figure 4-4, the measurement model consists of six latent variables. While latent variables were represented in figure by circle, indicators were represented in the figure by traditional rectangles.

On the one hand, patriotism as an outcome latent variable was measured by a single indicator, on the other hand, three indicators measured civic attachment: civic responsibility, civic solidarity, and cultural identification. Civic attachment and patriotism constituted the endogenous (dependent) variables. Political trust latent variable was also measured three indicators, namely, fiduciary expectation, honesty, and competence. Therefore, collective discrimination and individual discrimination formed perceived discrimination latent variable. Hence, political trust and perceived discrimination constituted also endogenous (dependent) variables for Model 1. Moreover, ethnic identification latent variable was measured by three indicators, namely, exploration, commitment, and importance to identity. Public collective self-esteem, which was measured by single indicator as outcome latent variable, and ethnic identification were specified exogenous (dependent) variables in the Model 1.

Although correlations between each pair of variables were presented in the Figure 4-4 with two headed arrow, to provide clear appearance for the model, structural correlation for latent variables were shown in the Table 4-6.

Table 4.6 Structural Correlations between Latent Variables Presented in the Measurement Model (Model1).

Latent variables	1	2	3	4	5
1. Political trust	-				
2. Ethnic identification	-.48***	-			
3. Perceived discrimination	-.35***	.52***	-		
4. Civic attachment	-.29***	.31***	.17	-	
5. Patriotism	.43***	-.22**	-.40***	.36***	-
6. Public collective self-esteem	.16*	.06	-.35***	.14*	.22**

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

Proposed model can be tested taking relationship between indicators and latent variables into account, $X^2 (78, N = 243) = 1593.750, p < .001$. As seen in Figure 4-4, all of the observed variables significantly loaded on the related latent variables, ranging .62 to .87 and modification indices recommended minor modification concerning the original specification of model. The value of goodness of fit indices showed that data well fit with estimated matrices, $X^2 (52, N = 243) = 152.630, p < .001$, GFI = .91, AGFI = .85, CFI = .93, NFI = .90, RMSEA = .09. Although chi square statistic indicated that there is significant difference between data and proposed model, relative chi square (χ^2 : df) was much bellowed the suggested ratio (5:1). Modification indices showed theoretically applicable suggestions that adding an error covariance between pairs of honesty and fiduciary expectation, of honest and competence, of civic solidarity and cultural identification. After conducting suggested minor modifications, the value of goodness of fit indices improved and the

model fit to the data very well, X^2 (49, N = 243) = 126.533, $p < .001$, GFI = .93,
AGFI = .86, CFI = .94, NFI = .92, RMSEA = .08

Note: Standardized of above estimates are all statistically significant at the .05 level except for those designated “ns,” which means not significant

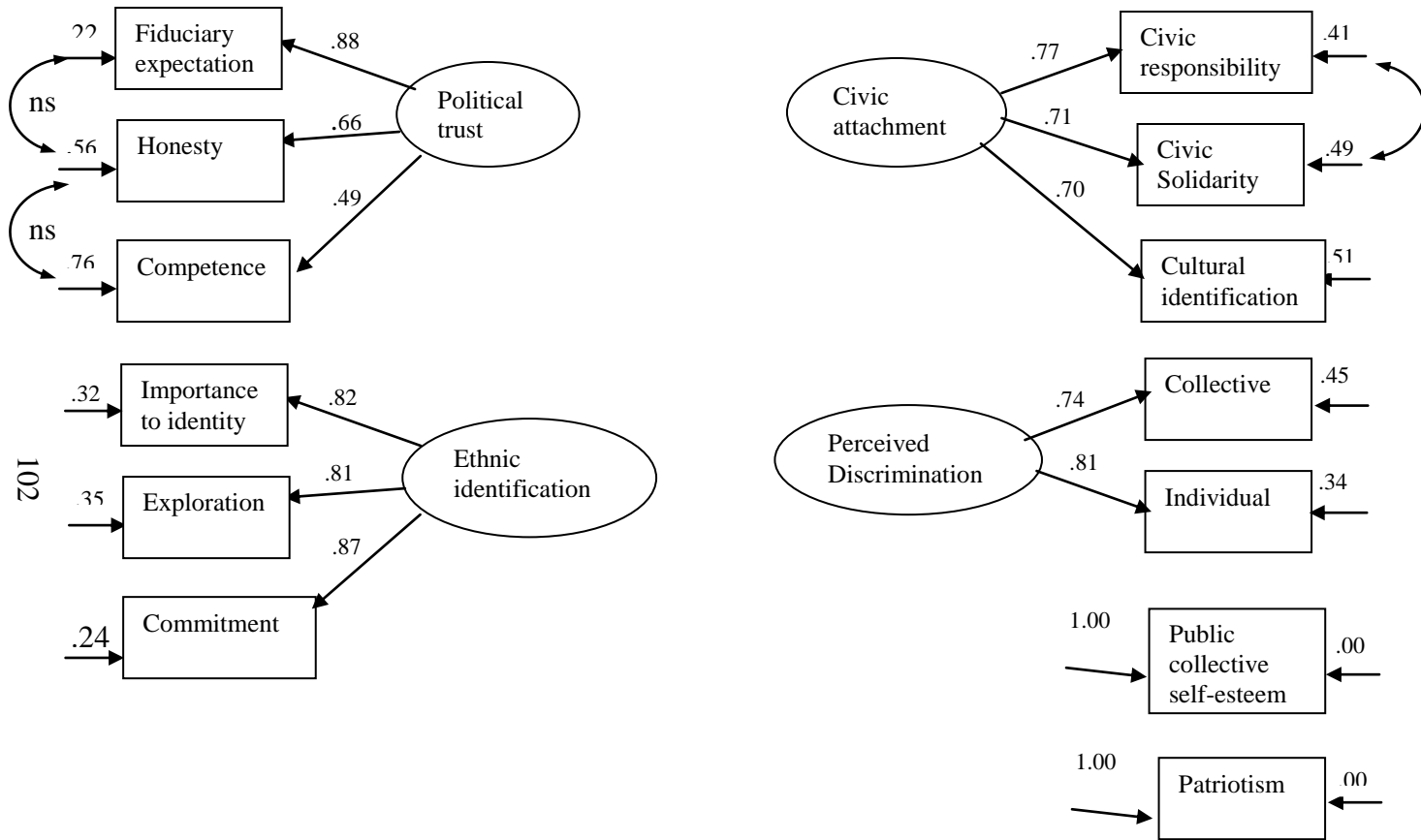


Figure 4-4 A Structural Measurement Model (Model 1)

As seen in the Table 4-6, individuals' ethnic identification and public collective self-esteem correlated with their societal identification. For instance, on the one hand, while ethnic identification negatively and highly correlated with patriotism ($r = -0.22$), it positively and highly correlated with civic attachment ($r = 0.31$). On the other hand, public collective self-esteem positively correlated with both patriotism ($r = 0.14$) and civic attachment ($r = 0.22$). Therefore, ethnic identification and public collective self-esteem also correlated with political trust ($r = -0.48$ and $r = 0.16$, respectively) and perceived discrimination ($r = 0.52$ and $r = -0.35$, respectively).

Besides, while there is a high positive correlation between political trust and patriotism ($r = 0.43$), the correlation between political trust and civic attachment is highly negative ($r = -0.29$). Moreover, the correlation between political trust and perceived discrimination is also highly negative ($r = -0.35$).

4.8.2 Proposed structural model

As suggested by Kline (2006), independence model was estimated before testing the proposed model. The result of independence model indicated that independence model yielded a very poor fit; $X^2 (78, N = 243) = 1593.750$, $p < .001$, which means that proposed model could be tested. The proposed mediation model was tested and it provided reasonable fit to data, $X^2 (59, N = 243) = 207.424$, $p < .001$, GFI = .88, AGFI = .82, CFI = .88, NFI = .85, except RMSEA, which was slightly high from cut of point, RMSEA = .10. Therefore, the chi-square to degrees of freedom ratio for the model, expected ratio (5:1) was less than 4.

To reduce specification errors and improve the model, modification indices were used by MacCallum, Roznowski, & Necowitz's (1992) suggesting criteria. Therefore, in the current study modification indices indicated that the largest error terms were between pairs of honest and fiduciary expectation, and of commitment and of importance to identity. After modifications conducting, the model fit improved and fitted the data closely, $\chi^2 (56, N = 243) = 171.531, p < .001, RMSEA = .08, GFI = .90, AGFI = .84, CFI = .91, NFI = .88$. The estimates for the model were presented in Figure 4-5 and for standardized coefficient were given on related path.

Basically, the mediation model is a causal sequence in which the independent variable (X) causes the mediator (M) which in turn causes the dependent variable (Y), furthermore explaining how X had its effect on Y.

The mediations by political trust and perceived discrimination were proved taking the following criteria into account. Kline (2005) suggested that to test mediation effect, direct path is added on the model and than two models is compared with each other. Hence, if result of chi square difference test is non-significant by taking confidence interval as %99, mediation is suggested to confirm. Secondly, a t test on the indirect effect of the relationship between independent (X) and dependent variable (Y) can prove mediational role mediator variable (M).

For testing the mediational role of the political trust and perceived discrimination, a direct path was added between ethnic identification and patriotism on the model. After adding the path, the obtained chi square, $\chi^2 = 165.01, df = 55$ was compared with the proposed model's chi square, $\chi^2 = 171.531, df = 56$. Hence, the chi square

difference was not significant, $\chi^2 (1) = 6.52, p > .001$. Mediation role of the political trust and perceived discrimination on relationship between ethnic identification and patriotism was significant, $t = -6.22, p < .05$.

Whether political trust and perceived discrimination are mediators was tested by adding direct path between the relationship between ethnic identification and civic attachment. The chi square difference became marginally significant, $\chi^2 (1) = 11.741, p > .001$ when the path had been added on the relationship that while obtained chi square was 159.79 with $df = 55$, proposed model's chi square was 171.531 with $df = 56$. This showed that the perceived discrimination and political trust were partial mediators for the relationship between ethnic identification and civic attachment because their mediation role was significant, $t = 2.267, p < .05$.

On the other hand, for proving mediation role of the political trust and perceived discrimination, direct path was added between public collective self-esteem and patriotism on the model. After adding the path obtained chi square ($\chi^2 = 167.211, df = 55$) did not significantly differ from the proposed model's chi square ($\chi^2 = 171.531, df = 56$); $\chi^2 (1) = 4.32, ns$. The mediation role of the political trust and perceived discrimination on the relationship between public collective self-esteem and patriotism was significant, $t = 4.846, p < .05$.

Note: latent variables were shown by rounded rectangles, while observed variables were shown by traditional rectangles. Coefficients were unstandardized and non significant paths were shown by broken arrows. Unstandardized coefficients were shown in parentheses. Unexplained variance was also indicated with two headed arrows. ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

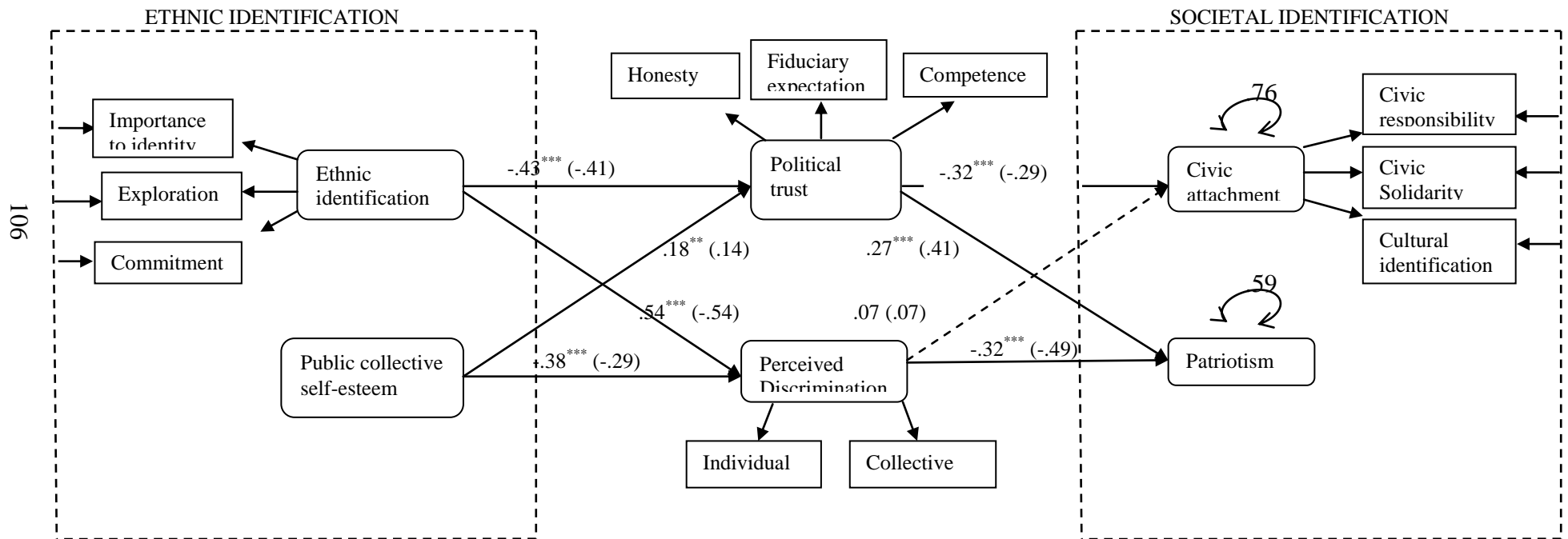


Figure 4-5 Structural Analysis on the Proposed Model (Model 1)

As hypothesized, disadvantaged ethnic identification has negative effect on political trust ($\beta = -.43, p < .001$), and it has positive effect on perceived discrimination ($\beta = .54, p < .001$). Moreover increasing public collective self-esteem led to increased political trust ($\beta = .18, p < .01$), while it led to decreased perceived discrimination ($\beta = -.32, p < .001$). Furthermore, for the members of the disadvantaged groups, increased political trust led to decreased societal identification in terms of civic attachment ($\beta = -.32, p < .001$). However, for the disadvantaged groups, political trust led to increased societal identification for greater through patriotism ($\beta = .27, p < .001$). Besides, for members of the disadvantaged groups, perceived discrimination led to decreased weaker patriotism ($\beta = -.32, p < .001$).

4.8.3 *Alternate model*

To show the suggested model correction is the best model to prefer over the later model, we used the Akaike information criterion (AIC) index which is suggested by Kline (1998) that compares models on the basis of the same data matrix. The lowest value of Akaike information criterion shows superiority of the model among one of compared models. I tested two alternative models in which political trust and perceived discrimination as both independent (exogenous) variables and dependent (endogenous) variables.

As mentioned above, the proposed model yielded following fit statistic; $X^2 (56, N = 243) = 171.531, p < .001, RMSEA = .08, GFI = .90, AGFI = .84, CFI = .91, NFI = .88$. On the other hand, for both alternate models, the result indicated that the fit statistics were very poor for first alternate model, $X^2 (53, N = 243) = 194.576, p < .001, RMSEA = .11, GFI = .89, AGFI = .81, CFI = .88, NFI = .86$, and second

alternate model respectively, χ^2 (58, N = 243) = 249.629, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .11, GFI = .88, AGFI = .81, CFI = .87, NFI = .84.

When the proposed model was compared with alternate models in terms of AIC index, the result showed that the value of AIC index was considerably lower for proposed model (AIC = 232.944) than both for first alternate model (AIC = 270.576) and second alternate model (AIC = 280.845), these results indicates superiority of the main model above the alternative models.

4.9 Model 2

In second model, as hypothesized in the theoretical chapter, I aim at understanding the mediational role that religious and secular identification play on the relationship between ethnic and societal identification of ethnically disadvantaged group in Turkey

In the same manner with model 1, verifying the relationship between observable variable and latent construct was obtained by maximum likelihood solutions via using LISREL 8 (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1998), syntaxes can be seen in the Appendix E for measurement model and suggested model.

Several fit indices were also used to assess the congruence between data and the second model. Criteria of these indices were given in section of Model 1. These indices was excepted values that RMSEA below .10, NFI, CFI, GFI greater than .80, and χ^2/df below 5 suggest adequate model fit.

Independent model will be tested to see whether or not variables may be uncorrelated that the model is not sufficient to test structural equation modeling (Jöreskog, 2004).

4.9.1 Measurement Model

As illustrated in Figure 4-6, the measurement model consists of five latent variables. Latent variables were represented in figure by circle; indicators were represented in the figure by traditional rectangles.

As seen in the previous model, public collective self-esteem, religious identity, and secular identity as outcome latent variables were measured by a single indicator; on the other hand, societal identification was measured by two indicators, namely, civic attachment and patriotism. Therefore, ethnic identification latent variable was measured variable by three indicators, namely, exploration, commitment, and importance to identity. While religious and secular identity constituted the exogenous (independent) variables, societal identification, public collective self-esteem, and ethnic identification constituted the endogenous (dependent) variables for variables in the model 2.

Although correlations between each pair of variables were presented in Figure 4-6 with two headed arrow, to provide clear appearance for the model, structural correlation for latent variables were shown in the Table 4-7.

Table 4.7 Structural Correlations between Latent Variables Presented in the Measurement Model

Latent variables	1	2	3	4
1 Ethnic identification	-			
2 Societal identification	-0.43***	-		
3 Public collective self-esteem	0.06	0.34***	-	
4 Religious identification	0.02	.54***	0.18**	-
5 Secular identification	0.06	0.18**	0.16**	-0.02

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

Suggested measurement model can be tested taking relationship between indicators and latent variables into account, independent models test shown that the model can be tested, $X^2 (28, N = 243) = 556.801, p < .001$. As seen in the Figure 4-6, all of the observed variables significantly loaded on the related latent variables, ranging from .30 to .87 and the original specification of model. The value of goodness of fit indices showed that the data fit very well with estimated matrices, $X^2 (13, N = 243) = 36.280, p < .001, GFI = .97, AGFI = .90, CFI = .96, NFI = .94, RMSEA = .08$.

As can be seen in the Table 4-7, individuals' strength of religious identification positively and highly correlated with their level of social identification ($r = .54$) and their public collective self-esteem ($r = .18$). Therefore, their level of secular identification also correlated with their level of social identification ($r = .18$) and their public collective self-esteem ($r = .16$). On the other hand, there is a negative correlation between the strength of ethnic identification and societal identification ($r =$

-.43) for members of the disadvantaged groups. However, public collective self-esteem positively correlated with societal identification ($r = .34$).

Note: Standardized of above estimates are all statistically significant at the .05 level

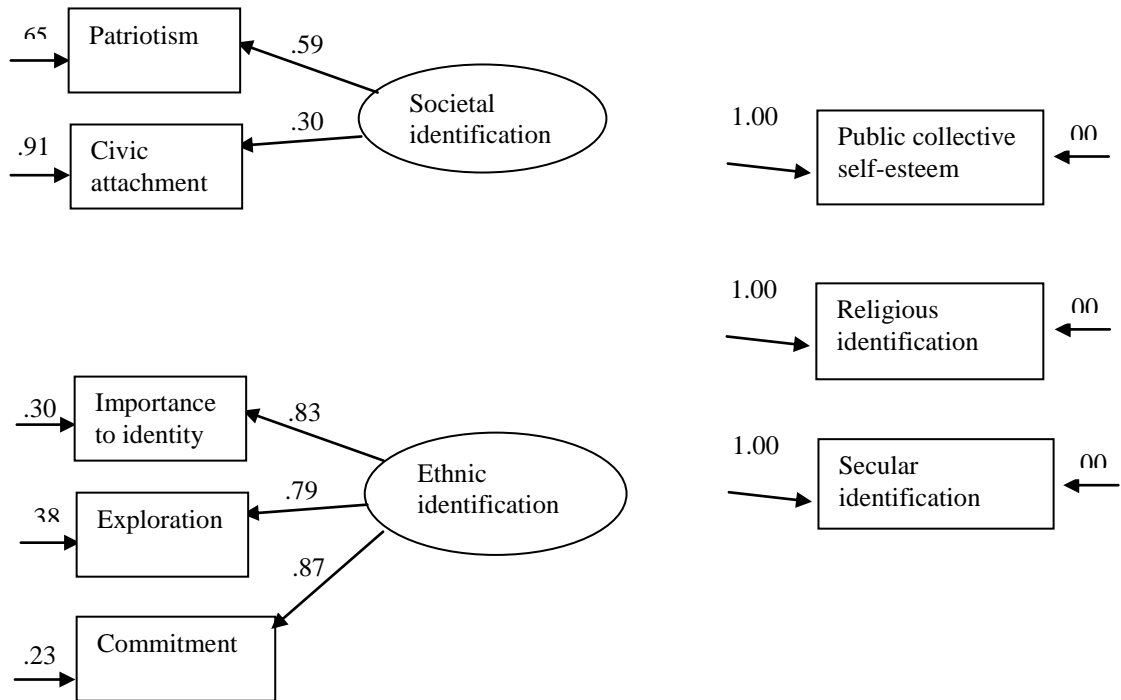


Figure 4-6 A Structural Measurement Model (Model 2)

4.9.2 Proposed structural model

As mentioned in model 1, independent model was tested to could be decided whether or not model would be tested. The result of independent model showed that proposed model could be tested, $X^2 (28, N = 243) = 556.801, p < .001$. The proposed model was tested and it provided good fit to data, $X^2 (17, N = 243) = 61.066, p < .001$, GFI = .94, AGFI = .88, CFI = .92, NFI = .89, except RMSEA, which was slightly high from cut of point, RMSEA = .10. Therefore, the chi-square to degrees of freedom ration for the model, expected ratio (5:1) was less than 3. To improve the model fit

indices, specification errors were reduced by specified largest error term between exploration and commitment (see discussion about modification criteria in Model 1). The model fit improved and fitted the data closely by conducting modification index, X^2 (16, N = 243) = 56.662, $p < .001$, GFI = .95, AGFI = .88, CFI = .93, NFI = .90, and the value of RMSEA, .09, became in acceptable range (0-10). The result showed that ethnic identification does not predict religious identification. In order to improve model and show the relationship between ethnic identification and societal identification, direct path was added on the between ethnic and societal identification. After this modification, the value of fit indices become closer to the data, X^2 (14, N = 243) = 39.981, $p < .001$, GFI = .96, AGFI = .90, CFI = .95, NFI = .93, RMSEA = .08. The estimates for the model were presented in Figure 4-7 and for standardized coefficient were given in nearby unstandardized coefficient in which parentheses.

The meditational roles of secular and religious identification for the relationship between public collective self-esteem and societal identification were proved taking the two criteria into account as discussed in the previous model. After adding direct path between public collective self-esteem and societal identification, the chi square difference between obtained chi square, χ^2 (13) = 35.419 and model chi square, χ^2 (14) = 39.981 was not significant, χ^2 (1) = 4.56, ns. Secondly meditational role of religious and secular identification for the relationship between public collective self-esteem and societal identification was significant, $t = 3.132$, $p < .05$.

The result indicated that public collective self-esteem has positive effect on religious identification ($\beta = .18$, $p < .01$) and secular identification ($\beta = .15$, $p < .01$) in turn

religious ($\beta=.49, p < .001$) and secular ($\beta=.23, p < .01$) identification have a positive effect on societal identification. Therefore, the result also showed that ethnic identification has a direct effect on societal identification ($\beta=-.47, p < .001$).

Note: latent variables were shown by rounded rectangles, while observed variables were shown by traditional rectangles. Coefficients were unstandardized and non significant paths were shown by broken arrows. Unstandardized coefficients were shown in parentheses. Unexplained variance was also indicated with two headed arrows. ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

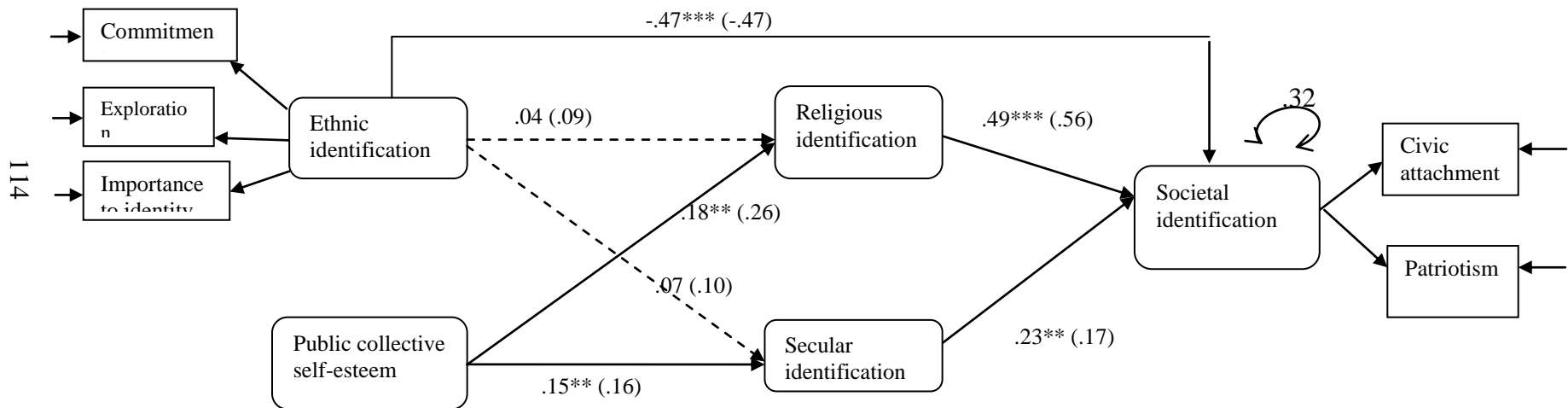


Figure 4-7 Structural Analysis on the Proposed Model (Model 2)

4.9.3 Alternate model

To compare alternate models with proposed model, AIC was used as discussed in Model 1. The lowest value of Akaike information criterion shows superiority of the model among one of compared models. I tested two alternative models in which religious and secular identification as both independent (exogenous) variables and dependent (endogenous) variables.

As can be seen above, the proposed model yielded following fit statistic; $X^2(14, N = 243) = 39.981, p < .001, GFI = .96, AGFI = .90, CFI = .95, NFI = .93, RMSEA = .08$. However, compared to proposed model, first alternate model in which religious and secular identification as exogenous (dependent) variable yielded slightly poor goodness of the fit indices, $X^2(12, N = 243) = 34.231, p < .001, RMSEA = .09, GFI = .95, AGFI = .90, CFI = .94, NFI = .92$, while second alternate model in which religious and secular identification as endogenous (dependent) variable yielded very poor fit statistics, $X^2(15, N = 243) = 125.931, p < .001, RMSEA = .18, GFI = .89, AGFI = .72, CFI = .75, NFI = .73$.

When the proposed model compared with alternate models in terms of AIC index, the result showed that the value of AIC index was considerably lower for proposed model (AIC = 82.400) than both for first alternate model (AIC = 83.32) and second alternate model (AIC = 262.286), these results provided evidence for superiority of the main model above the alternative models.

4.10 Discussion

Generally, the aim of the second study was to demonstrate relationships the individuals' multiple identities that individuals' hold (religious, secular, and societal) and related factors (perceived discrimination and political trust) for ethnically disadvantaged groups in Turkey. The second study also investigated a mediational role of political trust and perceived discrimination on the relationship between ethnic identification and societal identification. Finally, testing the strength of the effect of religious and secular identification on the relationship between ethnic and societal identification was the third purpose of the study.

4.10.1 Model 1

The results supported the hypotheses generated from the SIT and ODT frameworks, except the relationship between perceived discrimination and civic attachment, with respect to hypotheses 7 and 9. Namely, disadvantaged ethnic group members of civic attachment with the society were not affected by their perceived discrimination level (Hypothesis 7). Hence, perceived discrimination of the group members did not played a mediational role in the relationship between the strength of ethnic identity and civic engagement with the society. Although this finding seems to be a surprise taking the initial expectations into account, one explanation can be put forward. According to Schmitt and Branscombe's (2009) review about discrimination, individuals as members of disadvantaged groups develop strategies to avoid the pain of the discrimination because of negative consequences of perceived on psychological well being. Thus, members of disadvantaged ethnic groups may not

establish a relation between perceived discrimination and civic engagement in order to protect their positive self-esteem stemming from societal identification. If they establish this link, they may not find a way to identify with the society. This finding is also consistent with the framework of ODT (Brewer , 2001) because disadvantaged group members may have a tendency to identify themselves with the society in terms of civic engagement for satisfying their sense of belonging to a part of a larger collective. On the other hand, they may have a tendency not to identify with the society in terms of patriotism for satisfying their sense of distinctiveness from the others. This tendency may provide a protection from harmful effects of perceived discrimination because the results demonstrated that increased level of ethnic identification leads to an increase in perceived discrimination (Hypothesis 2). Being distinctive in the society –the individuals identify themselves with the society- may lead to increases in positive esteem stemming from their identities. It might be a possible reason why members of disadvantaged groups who perceived more discrimination also reported low levels of patriotism (Hypotheses 8 and 10). This organization of multiple identities has become also visible in the relationship between public collective self-esteem and societal identification. According to the results of the thesis, higher public collective self-esteem of the members of disadvantaged groups led to an increased in patriotic attachment with the society, in turn a decrease in perceived discrimination (Hypotheses 4 and 10). It may mean that when perceived discrimination decrease in the public context for ethnically disadvantaged group members; they may hold their ethnic and societal identifications as intersect parts of the self to satisfy both similarity and distinctiveness needs in terms of their ethnic identity. Crocker and Major (1989) convincingly argued that

disadvantaged groups develop self-protective strategies to protect their self from harmful effects of low status of the identity, via high level of group identification. This finding is consistent with SIT's main argument that individuals increase their self-esteem by belonging to the own group.

Although effects of public collective self-esteem on individuals' self-esteem were not investigated in the current thesis, individuals who are in disadvantaged ethnic groups might have a source to increase their self-esteem. Increasing their perception of favorability by out-group members who are in-group members for their societal identity may be a way of increasing their self-esteem. This can facilitate the use of collective strategies to change majority groups' stereotypes, for instance, black people's motto is "Black is beautiful", homosexuals' motto is "I am here as the one of you", or motto of Kurdish people in Turkey is "Brotherhood of people". Guimond and Dube-Simard's (1983) study showed that members of disadvantaged groups do not necessarily use the aforementioned strategies consciously; however Simon and Klandermans (2001) argued that to increase societal involvement, individuals should be aware of the power struggle. Being awareness of this struggle, being representatives thereof, and acknowledging about disadvantaged social group as a part of inclusive societal identity lead to politization to the disadvantaged collective identity (Simon & Klandermans, 2001). The results of this thesis are consistent with this argument. According to Simon and Klandermans (2001), high level of ethnic identification leads to a decrease in the trust in the parliament, which leads to an increase in civic engagement for the members of disadvantaged groups (Hypotheses 1, 5, and 9). On the other hand, high public collective self-esteem or low ethnic

identification leads to an increase in political trust, which leads to a increase in patriotism and/or a decrease civic engagement (Hypotheses 3, 5, and 10).

4.10.2 Model 2

The results of the second study indicated that high level of public collective self-esteem led to both high levels of secular and religious identifications, which led to an increase in societal identification for the members of disadvantaged ethnic groups in Turkey (Hypotheses 4, 5, 6, 7, and 9). This result is consistent with Yıldız and Verkuyten's (2007) findings even though direction of effect of religious identity on societal identification in their study was in the opposite direction. Yıldız and Verkuyten (2007) revealed that religious identity had a meditational role in the relationship among minorities' multiple social identities. Two possible explanations can be put forward. First, religious identity may facilitate increasing positive self-esteem in terms of group membership because of the identification of the same religion with the majority groups. Hence, individuals may use it as an inclusive strategy to extend membership in their respective groups for satisfying their need a sense of their self in a larger collective in Turkey. For instance, Kurdish people can identify themselves with both all citizenships in Turkey and all Kurds as common in-group members of Muslim simultaneously in the context in which their ethnic identity are found favorable by others in the society as a whole. Second, as I examined in Study 1, because of the politics of modernization project in history of the republic, the members of disadvantaged groups have significantly lower levels of secular identification compared to the members of majority groups even though their level of religious identification is not different from the members of majority groups.

Hence, members of disadvantaged groups who are perceived favorable by others in the public sphere may facilitate engagement in state ideology. Members of disadvantaged groups may use their respective identity in which they engaged in state ideology for extending intersect part of the self with societal identification (see the details on page 8). Otherwise, the individuals may exert cognitive effort to restore their own social identities in conflicted political sphere (Brewer, 1999). These interpretations may help to explain unexpected findings of the model. The results indicated that ethnic identification was not related to religious and secular identification and these identities did not have a mediational role in the relationship between levels of ethnic identification and societal identification for the members of disadvantaged group (Hypotheses 1, 2, 3, and 8). The results also indicated that on the one hand, high level of ethnic identification led to a decrease in societal identification for the members of disadvantaged ethnic groups, on the other hand, high religious identification led to an increase in societal identification. Hence, since they have the same religion with the members of majority groups in Turkey, the members of disadvantaged groups may experience cognitive dissonance if they associate their ethnic identity with the religious identity. As in the suggestion of Cognitive Dissonance Theory (Festinger, 1957), members of disadvantaged ethnic groups, who are aware of the struggle about their ethnic group in the society, may exert cognitive effort to reduce this cognitive dissonance if they associate their religious and secular identifications with ethnic identification. According to Leach and William (1999), religious identity is an important identity for individuals. Thus, further studies may clarify whether or not a strong identity which is shared with

majority groups produces cognitive dissonance when disadvantaged in-group identity becomes salient for the members of respect groups.

4.11 Contributions, Limitations and future suggestions

Current thesis potentially contributes the social psychology and political psychology literature via three ways. It is the first study investigating empirically multiple social identities. Investigating the relationships among social identities in both intragroup and intergroup context for member of both advantaged (majority) and disadvantaged (minority) ethnic groups is the second way of the contribution of the present thesis. Third, Focusing on structures of multiple social identities for members of disadvantaged group and investigating which respective factors influence these structures may also contribute to produce new politics to reduce recent conflict among ethnic groups in Turkey.

Of course, there are some limitations of the thesis. First there are not equal numbers of ethnic groups representing in the thesis. Hence, further study should investigate differences or similarities of these variables among equal number of representative ethnic groups. Secondly each ethnic group has unique history within the society, so further study can compare all ethnic groups with each other in terms of these variables. Finally, whether cognitive representation of religious identity produces dissonance in the relationship between ethnic and societal identification is needed to be tested empirically.

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APPENDIX A

The validation and reliability process of Societal Identification and Political Trust scales

Validation of SIS

Face validity

McIntire and Miller (2000) revealed that validity indicates the degree to which an instrument measures what it is supposed or intended to measure. Validity is not an all-or-nothing matter. Establishing construct validity should be a continuing process. In addition, face validity is defined that untrained judges evaluate the measurement based on a cursory review of items. It is the least scientific measure of all validity (Mueller, 1986). Face validity is important, for it can influence how test takers approach the test. So in current study, two untrained judges, who are both a teacher in Turkish Literature and a worker in an informal sector, gave a respond about whether or not they understand all items clearly and find the questioner as suitable. In addition 5 psychology students at PhD level also evaluated all items whether or not items have high face validity.

Exploratory Factor Analysis:

Factor Analysis was conducted with the 25 - items Societal Identification Scale, using a direct oblimin rotation. This initial analysis gave a five-factor solution. To determine the number of factors to retain, four approaches were used; parallel

analysis, Guttman-Kaiser criterion, examination of the scree plot, and variances explained by factors (Yeomans & Golder, 1982). With all these criteria, number of factors was limited to four and principal-components extraction with varimax rotation was performed. The four-factor solution accounted for 55 % of the variance. The item factor loadings, eigenvalues, and proportions of variance for individual items are presented in the Table 4.1. As a guideline for considering an item to be part of a factor by described Ford, MacCallaum, and Tait (1986), minimum factor loading of .40 was used. Cross-loaded items (2, 9, 16, 20, and 22) were eliminated and 20 items were retained for the final solution. Final solution was a four-factor solution with 20 items.

The result of principal-components extraction with varimax rotation indicated that factor1 reflected patriotism and included seven items. Factor2 reflected civic responsibility and sensitiveness and were loaded by six items. Factor3 reflected civic solidarity and comprised 3 items. Factor4 reflected cultural identification and comprised 3 items (see the Table below). Following varimax rotation, the four factors explained 29%, 14%, 7%, and 5% of the items variance respectively.

Table: Structure of the Societal Identification Scale

Items	Loadings	Item-Total
Factor 1. Patriotism		
Eigenvalue = 7.289, variance = 29.16%, $\alpha = .90$		
8. Being Turkish citizen makes me proud (TR) Türkiye Cumhuriyeti vatandaşı olmak beni gururlandırır	.881	.563
7 Being Turkish citizen is central to my identity (TR)Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin vatandaşı olmak kimliğimin önemli bir parçasıdır	.874	.641
19 Born in Turkey makes me proud (TR) Türkiye'de doğmuş olmak beni gururlandırır	.872	.624
18 I belief that my motherland is Turkey (TR) Anavatanımın Türkiye olduğuna inanırım	.841	.643
21 I sacrifice everything that I have for Turkey (TR) Türkiye için her şeyimi feda edebilirim	.758	.609
3 I respect the laws and regulations of Turkish society. (TR) Türkiye'deki kanun ve düzenlemelere saygılıyım	.610	.373
17 I have never thought leaving Turkey (TR) Asla Türkiye'yi terk etmeyi düşünmem	.603	.547
Factor 2.Civic Responsibility and Sensitiveness		
Eigenvalue = 3.407, variance = 13.63%, $\alpha = .81$		
14 Promoting the interests of my society is as important as promoting my own. (TR) İçinde yaşadığım toplumun ihtiyaçlarını sağlamak kendi ihtiyaçlarımı sağlamak kadar önemlidir	.755	.472
15 Whatever happens to Turkey as a group affects me personally (TR) Türkiye'de yaşayan insanlar hakkında olan bir olay, beni kendi olayım kadar etkiler	.719	.458
12 I feel committed to people who live in Turkey. (TR) Kendimi Türkiye'de yaşayan insanlar için sorumlu	.622	.616

hissederim		
13 I'm more concerned with what's happening to me than to the society I live in. (TR) Bana neler olduđu topluma neler olduğundan daha önemlidir	-.584	.084
11 I contribute to the common well being of Turkish society (TR) Türkiye'nin genel refahı için katkıda bulunurum	.557	.509
22 I feel committed to cultural life in Turkey (TR) Türkiye'deki kültürel hayata karşı yoğun bir bağlılık hissediyorum	.520	.540
1 I give a lot of my time for voluntary work in the community. (TR) Toplum için gönüllü işlere çok zaman ayırıyorum	.420	.271

Factor 3 Civic solidarity

Eigenvalue = 1.696, variance = 6.79%, $\alpha = .64$

6 Whatever problems the Turkish society is going through have nothing to do with me (TR) Türkiye ile ilgili hiçbir problem beni ilgilendirmez	-.723	.274
5 I take an interest in the Turkey political and economic situation. (TR) Türkiye'deki politik ve ekonomik gelişmelere karşı ilgiliyim	.649	.285
4 I show solidarity with all people who live in Turkey. (TR) Türkiye'deki tüm insanlarla dayanışma içinde olmaya çalışırım	.600	.304
10 I am aware of the social issues faced by Turkish society (TR) Türkiye'nin yüz yüze geldiği sosyal problemlerin farkındayım	.578	.257

Factor 4 Cultural Identification

Eigenvalue = 1.358, variance = 5.43%, $\alpha = .73$

23 I like to be wearing traditional cloths in different parts of Anatolia (TR) Anadolu'nun çeşitli yerlerinde kültürel kıyafetlerinin giyilmesi hoşuma gider	.838	.253
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24 Wearing traditional cloths in special days is important to me (TR) Özel günlerde kültürel kıyafetlerin giyilmesi benim için önemlidir	.810	.315
25 I try to find Anatolian food even wherever I would be (TR) Başka bir yerde olsaydım bile Anadolu'nun yemeklerini bulmaya çalışırdım	.677	.331

Confirmatory Factor Analysis:

To verify the factor structure and to test the construct validity of the four factor solution with 20 items of SIS, obtained from the exploratory analysis, confirmatory factor analysis of the covariance matrix was conducted. It is obtained maximum likelihood solutions by using LISREL 8 (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1998) to verify the relationship between observable variables and latent constructs. This process determined a smaller set of underlying latent factors from the 20 items of the SIS. The four subscales of the SIS are patriotism (items, 7, 8, 19, 18, 21, 3, 17), civic responsibility (items, 14,15,12,11,13,1), civic solidarity (items, 6,5,4,10), and cultural identification (items, 23,24,25).

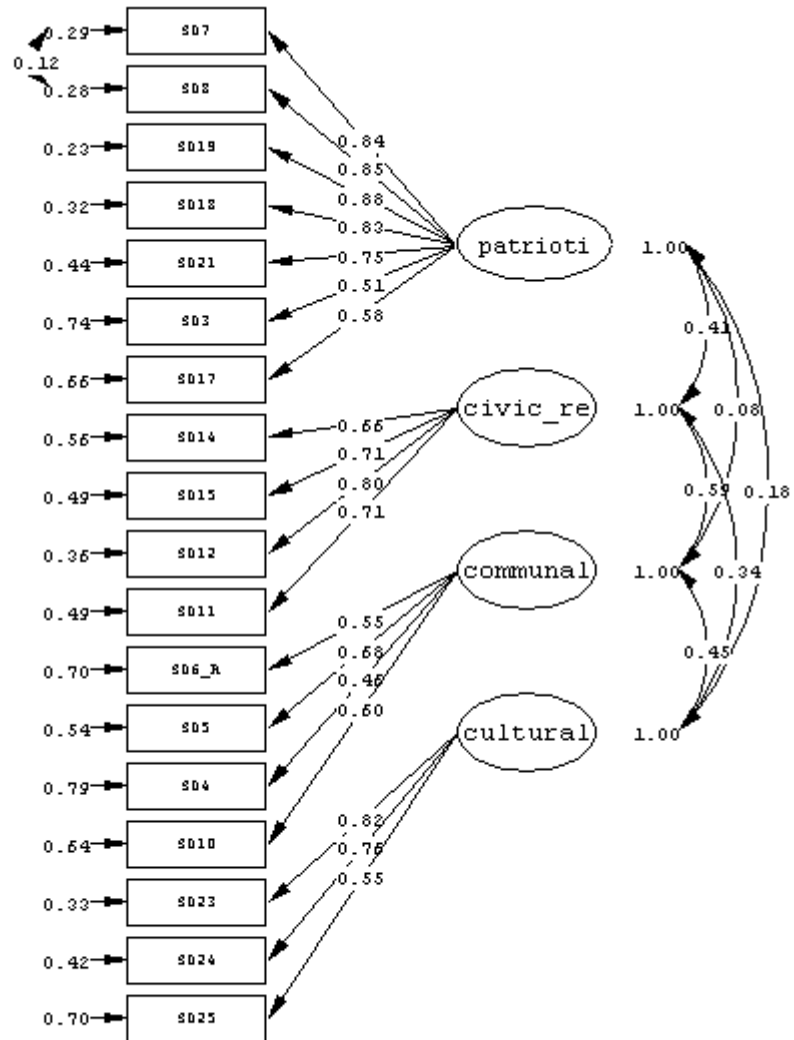
Before the estimation of LISREL model, independent model is tested to see whether or not variables may be uncorrelated that the model is not sufficient to test structural equation modeling (Jöreskog, 2004). Independence model testing indicated that there were significant relationship between indicators and latent variables that shows proposed model can be tested, $X^2 (190, N = 224) = 2060.963, p < .001$. Although there is a specific cutoff value for each fit index, the consensus on the well value for model evaluation is that cutoff value should close to .95 for GFI, AGFI, CFI, NNFI,

and for RMSEA in between .05 and .08 (Jöreskog, 2004; Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1998; Schreiber, Nora, Stage, Barlow, & King, 2006). Although hypothesized four factor measurement model did not fit the data well, it has an acceptable value of goodness of fit indexes, $X^2(164, N = 224) = 406.56, p < .001, RMSEA = .08, GFI = .85, AGFI = .80, CFI = .88, NNFI = .86, NFI = .81$. Researchers indicated that sample size sensitivity and non-normality cause rejection the model, so specification errors in the form of restrictions reduce with modification indices to improve and achievement model (Hu & Bentler, 1999; Kaplan, 2000). Although post hoc power analysis mostly uses as a usefull tool in covariance structure modeling, Steiger (1990) strongly criticized to apply post hoc model modification since modifications indices does not warranty a true model and violates some of the most basic statistical principles. For the solve this problem, MacCallum, Roznowski, and Necowitz (1992) suggested to improve model fit both a few modification based on the ability to clear interpretability and using multiple a priori model. Therefore, to current study, modification indices indicated that the largest error term (standardized residual 5.133) was between items 7 and item 8. since item 7 “Being Turkish citizenship is important part of my identity” and item 8 “Being Turkish citizenship makes me proud” refer to the highly similar notion of the patriotism ($r = .87$) Although the hypothesized model fit, low factor loaded items (see Appendix D.), item 13 (.30) and item 1 (.36) from the value of cutoff (.40) were dropped from the analysis to improve value of model fit indexes. Finally the last form of the SIS includes 18 items and 4 subfactors. Adding error term between item7 and item 8 and dropped items 13 and 1, the model fit improved and four factor SIS fitted the data closely, $X^2(128, N = 224)$

= 295.42, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .07, GFI = .87, AGFI = .82, CFI = .94, NNFI = .93, NFI = .91.

The factor loading of the scale, as seen Figure 4.1., ranged .51 and .88 for patriotism factor, between .60 and .80 for civic responsibility factor; between .46 and .68 for civic solidarity factor; and between .55 and .82 for cultural identification factor and all loadings were significant, $p < .001$. The relationship between latent variables .18 and .59 and indicated that constructs of the SIS are related with each other in expected direction but also distinct from one to another. However, there were not a relationship between patriotism and civic solidarity.

Figure: Coefficients in Standardized values for the Model of Societal Identification Scale



Chi-Square=307.16, df=128, P-value=0.00000, RMSEA=0.079

Construct Validity:

Finally, the construct validity of the SIS was examined by determining whether Turkish and Kurdish that they live in the Republic of Turkey displayed different identities strategies with respect to the four factors. In many societies, minority ethnic groups have struggled with the problem of maintaining its own customs and traditions. Moreover, strong ethnic in-group identification and group cohesion are negatively related with identity of nation-state and differentiate from the majority by enforcement of patriotism in National Politics (Phinney, 1990; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2006). To see ethnicity effect on patriotism, ANOVA was conducted. According to results, ethnicity has significant effect on patriotism, $F(2, 220) = 26.75, p < .001$. Posthoc comparison with Tukey showed that Kurdish ($N = 132, M = 4.13, SD = 1.52$) and Zaza ($N = 29, M = 4.55, SD = 1.61$) participants significantly show less having patriotism toward Republic of Turkey than Turk ($N = 62, M = 1.5.69, SD = 1.26$). Thus, the underlying factors of the SIS were found to be significantly related to ethnicity, providing empirical support for the constructs measured by the SIS (see the Table below).

Table: Analysis of Variance Table: Ethnicity

	Ethnicity	Total
Patriotism		
Sum of squares	113.13	578.20
Df	2	222
Mean square	56.57	
		142

F 26.76*

* $p < .001$

Content validity:

Content validity describes the capacity of a test to represent adequately the concept under investigation (Henerson, Morris, & Fitz-Gibbon, 1987). The content of the scale was compared to published data on citizen-related identities and reasons for formation societal identity, and to statements collected in the qualitative survey (Çoymak & Dogruyol, 2007).

Reliability of SIS:

Internal consistency:

Researcher commonly use Cronbach alpha as an index of reliability or internal consistency of psychological measures (Santos, 1999). According to Schmitt (1996), researchers mostly determine adequate and desired level of alpha as .70. He also emphasized that sometimes low level of the reliability has been adequate because the short length of the measure causes low reliability. Thus, to test the internal consistency of the SIS, the Cronbach alpha value was calculated and found to be at a high reliable level (alpha = .86). In addition, for factors of patriotism, civic responsibility, civic solidarity, and cultural identification the Cronbach alpha was found as .90, .81, .64, and .73 respectively.

Item-total correlation:

Corrected item–total correlation modest SMC, provided some evidence for the internal consistency of the measure. Overall the correlations were ranging from .23

to .80. Moreover, after factor analysis it was found that there are 4 factors and they also should be analyzed as a separate scale. The item-total correlations for factor 1 were ranging from .41 to .74; for factor 2 from .41 to .50; for factor 3, .19 to .30; and for factor 4, it is ranging from .22 to .44. The length of the items pool increases the item total correlation (Wolf, 1967). For this reason, minimum value of the correlation (.19) was seemed to be acceptable since it included just 4 items. So the item- total correlation of the SIS is significant.

Split half reliability:

The reliability analysis with split half method indicated the significant reliability of this scale. The result indicated that for part 1 (9 items) alpha was .87 and for part 2 (9 items) was alpha .75.

Validation of PTS:

Face validity:

As mentioned earlier, the valid instrument should point out the degree to which an instrument measures what it is supposed or intended to measure as possible as the process have never completed (McIntire & Miller, 2000). One part of this process is face validity, which is defined as untrained judges assessing the measurement based on a cursory review of items. Face validity is important; for it can influence how test takers approach the test. Mueller (1986) referred to face validity as having minimal scientific value compared to other kinds of validity. As with SIS, for PTS, three untrained judges - a psychological consultant, a hairdresser, and a housewife- gave their evaluation about whether or not all items are clear and the questionnaire has face validity. In addition, political worldview was taken from untrained judges in order to satisfy to get an evaluation from people who have various political worldview.

Exploratory Factor Analysis:

Factor Analysis was conducted with the 27 – items Political Trust Scale, using a promax with Kaiser Normalization rotation. A five-factor solution was offered by results of this initial analysis. Four approaches were used to determine the number of factors to retain; as with parallel analysis, Guttman-Kaiser criterion, examination of the scree plot, and variances explained by factors (Yeomans & Golder, 1982). With

all these criteria, number of factors was limited to three and principal-axis extraction with promax rotation was performed. The three-factor solution accounted for 49 % of the variance. The item factor loadings, item total correlation, eigenvalues, and proportions of variance for individual items are presented in the Table 4.2. As a guideline for considering an item to be part of a factor by described Ford, MacCallaun, and Tait (1986), minimum factor loading of .40 was used. Cross-loaded items (3, 7, 12, 13, 17, 25, and 27) were eliminated and 20 items were retained for the final solution. A three-factor solution with 20 items was used as final solution.

The result of principal-axis extraction with promax rotation indicated that factor1 reflected satisfaction of fiduciary and moral expectations, and included nine items. Factor2 reflected dishonesty and opportunism, and were loaded by six items. Factor3 reflected competence and comprised 5 items (see the Table below). Following promax rotation, the three factors explained 37%, 9%, and 4% of the item variance respectively.

Table. Factor loadings, item-total correlations and Cronbach alphas for PTS items

Items	Loadings	Item-Total
Factor 1 "Satisfaction of Fiduciary and Moral Expectations"		
Eigenvalue = 7.87, variance = 36.99%, $\alpha = .88$		
pts16 I rely on them to keep their word towards us.		
(TR) Bize karşı verdikleri sözleri yerine getireceklerine güvenirim	.806	.750

pts14 They do everything they can for us to have a better life	.764	.687
(TR) Bizim daha iyi yaşamamız için gerekli her şeyi yaparlar		
pts18 They can be trusted to show moral integrity	.728	.764
(TR) Ahlaki dürüstlük gösterirler		
pts22 They are fair in their treatment of different social, cultural and political groups.	.697	.614
(TR) Farklı politik, kültürel ve sosyal gruplara karşı adil davranırlar		
pts15 They show honest intentions towards us	.689	.696
(TR) Bize karşı dürüst ve art niyetsizdirler		
pts20 They use their power to improve our country's well-being.	.674	.615
(TR) Güçlerini ülkenin refahını geliştirmek için kullanırlar		
pts24 They show respect towards us.	.571	.623
(TR) Bize karşı saygılıdırlar		
pts26 I trust them whatever they do	.555	.448
(TR) Ne yaparlarsa yapsınlar onlara güveniyorum		
pts11 They have kept the promises they made to us before elections	.468	.527
(TR) Secim öncesinde verdikleri sözleri tutarlar		

Factor 2 "Sense of Honesty"

Eigenvalue = 2.14, variance = 8.54%, $\alpha = .88$

pts4 Their main concern is to be re-elected.	.800	.717
(TR) Tek amaçları yeniden seçilmek		
pts5 They are ignorant of our country's history and	.794	.713

culture.

(TR) Ülkenin tarihini ve kültürünü ihmal ediyorlar

pts1 They are not in touch with people's needs. .771 .732

(TR) İnsanların ihtiyaçlarına cevap vermiyorlar

pts2 They are not open in their intentions towards us .752 .675

(TR) Bize karşı niyetleri açık değil

pts10 They never tell the whole truth to us about their intentions. .522 .636

(TR) Niyetleri hakkında bize asla doğru söylemezler

pts9 The public image portrayed by them is deliberately construed to deceive people and gain more popularity. .511 .649

(TR) Bizleri kandırmak için kasten yapay gündem oluşturuyorlar

Facto 3 "Competence"

Eigenvalue = 1.36, variance = 3.76%, $\alpha = .72$

pts8 They have taken good and well-informed decisions when necessary. .590 .532

(TR) Gerektiğinde iyi ve sağlıklı kararlar alıyorlar

pts23 They use the power invested in them only to serve their self-interests. -.533 .515

(TR) Siyasi güçlerini kendileri için kullanırlar

pts19 They are incompetent. -.531 .489

(TR) Hiçbir şekilde yeterli değiller

pts21 They do not consist of adequate people for their job. -.525 .389

(TR) Yaptıkları işlerde yeterli olmayan kişilerle çalışırlar

pts6 They deliver very good speeches to the nation.	.405	.473
(TR) Türkiye için faydalı demeçler veriyorlar		

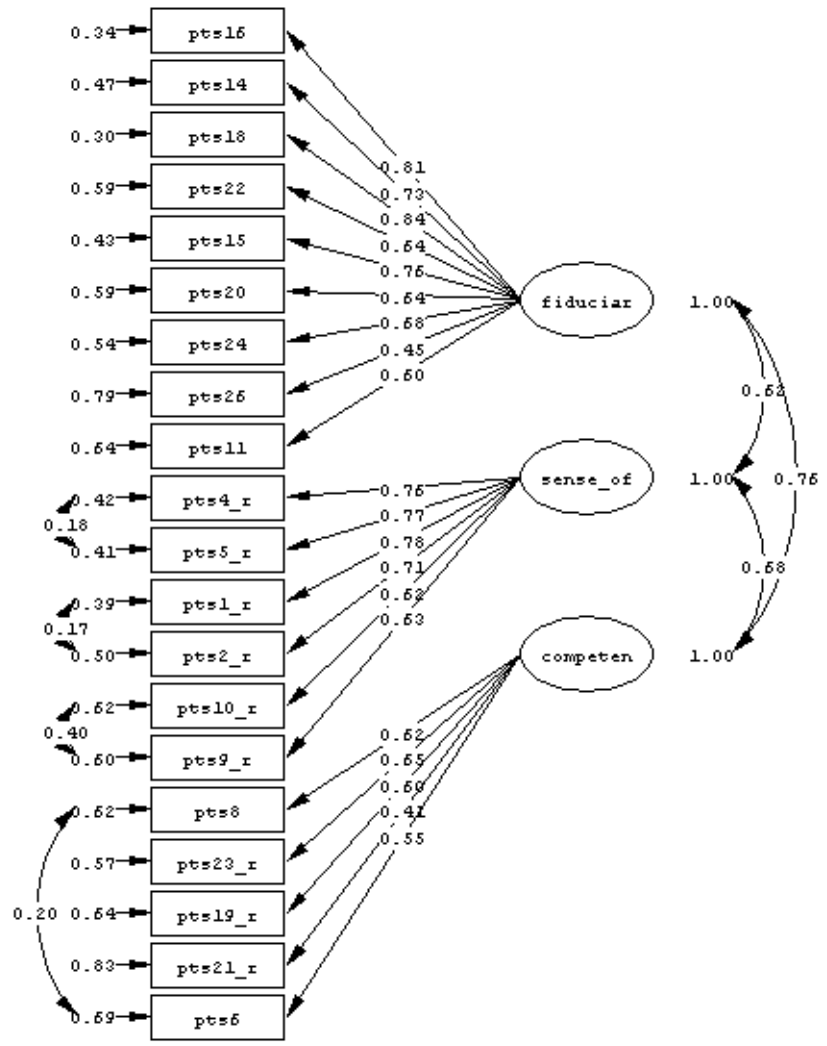
Confirmatory Factor Analysis:

To verify the factor structure and to test the construct validity of the four factor solution with 20 items of PTS, obtained from the exploratory analysis, confirmatory factor analysis of the covariance matrix was conducted. It is obtained maximum likelihood solutions by using LISREL 8 (Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1998) to verify the relationship between observable variables and latent constructs. This process determined a smaller set of underlying latent factors from the 20 items of the PTS. The three subscales of the PTS are satisfying fiduciary and moral expectation (items, 16, 14, 18, 22, 15, 20, 24, 26, and 11), sense of dishonest and opportunism (items, 4, 5, 1, 2, 10, and 9), and competence (items, 8, 23, 19, 21, and 6).

As explained earlier in confirmatory analysis, independent model was tested to see whether or not the model is not sufficient to test structural equation modeling. Independence model testing pointed out that there were significant relationship between indicators and latent variables, $X^2 (167, N = 250) = 2592.379, p < .001$. Despite the fact that the data did not fit hypothesized three factor measurement model well, the value of goodness of fit indexes was acceptable, $X^2 (167, N = 250) = 506.291, p < .001, RMSEA = .09, GFI = .83, AGFI = .79, CFI = .86, NNFI = .84, NFI = .81$. The same reasons as aforementioned in confirmatory factor analysis of SIS, modifications were conducted based on modification indices that they are

theoretically correct meaning among largest error terms. Modification indices indicated that the largest error term (standardized residual 7.916, 11.171, 3.842, and 6.643 respectively) was between items 4 and 5 ($r = .77$), items 9 and 10 ($r = .79$), items 8 and 6 ($r = .54$); and items 2 and 1 ($r = .73$) because all of these items pair touch each other in terms of included the highly similar notion (as seen the factor structures tables in Appendix A). Finally the last form of the PTS includes 20 items and 3 subfactors. Adding error term between items 4 and 5, items 9 and 10, items 8 and 6; and items 2 and 1, the model fit improved and three factor PTS fitted the data closely, $X^2(163, N = 250) = 283.901, p < .001, RMSEA = .05, GFI = .90, AGFI = .87, CFI = .95, NNFI = .94, NFI = .89$.

The factor loading of the scale, as seen Figure 4.1, ranged .30 and .79 for fiduciary and moral expectation factor, between .52 and .78 for sense of dishonest and opportunism factor; between .41 and .65 for competence factor and all loadings were significant, $p < .001$. The relationship between latent variables .62, .68, and .76 indicated that constructs of the PTS are related with each other in expected direction but also distinct from one to another as seen Figure below



Chi-Square=271.34, df=163, P-value=0.00000, RMSEA=0.052

Construct Validity:

In the same manner with SIS, the construct validity of the PTS was examined by hypothesized that different political world views display different political trust in members of the parliament with respect to the three factors. Cleary and Stokes (2006) claimed that contrary to civic cultures theories, citizens are more focus on a smaller version of interest groups politics rather than social and political goods. It is based on this claim, it is assumed that different political world views show different

pattern on trust in parliament. Thus, different political world view were found to be significantly related to political trust factors, supporting empirical evidence for the construct measured by the PTS. For analyzing the relationship between political world views and political trust, all political world views were grouped as lefts, liberals, rights and others (e.g. anarchist, skeptic, so on). To see the relationship among these groups One-way ANOVA was conducted. After the analysis, a significant result was observed between the relationship of political world views and political trust $F(3, 250) = 11.93, p < .05$. According to the post hoc comparisons, people with a left political world view ($M = 2.54, N = 166$) have significantly lower trust to the parliament than both people with a right political view ($M = 3.60, N = 29$) and the liberals ($M = 3.44, N = 29$).

Reliability of PTS

Internal consistency:

As mentioned above, Cronbach alpha is a statistical index commonly use to measure internal consistency among items. Desired level of alpha is determined as .70 (Schmitt, 1996). Hence, calculating .92 the Cronbach alpha value of PTS showed that the measurement is well reliable to measure peoples' general political trust in the members of parliament. In addition, for factors of satisfaction of fiduciary and moral expectation, sense of dishonest and opportunism, and competence the Cronbach alpha was found as .89, .88, and .78 respectively.

Item-total correlation:

Corrected item–total correlation modest SMC, provided some evidence for the internal consistency of the measure. Overall the correlations were ranging from .29 to .75. Moreover, after factor analysis it was found that there are 3 factors and they also should be analyzed as a separate scale. The item-total correlations for factor 1 were ranging from .45 to .76; for factor 2 from .73 to .64; and for factor 3, .39 to .54. So the item- total correlation of the PTS is significant.

Split half reliability:

The reliability analysis with split half method indicated the significant reliability of this scale. The scale was randomly divided two equal parts and reliability analysis was conducted. Therefore, the result indicated that for part 1 (10 items) alpha was .87 and for part 2 (10 items) was alpha .80.

APPENDIX B

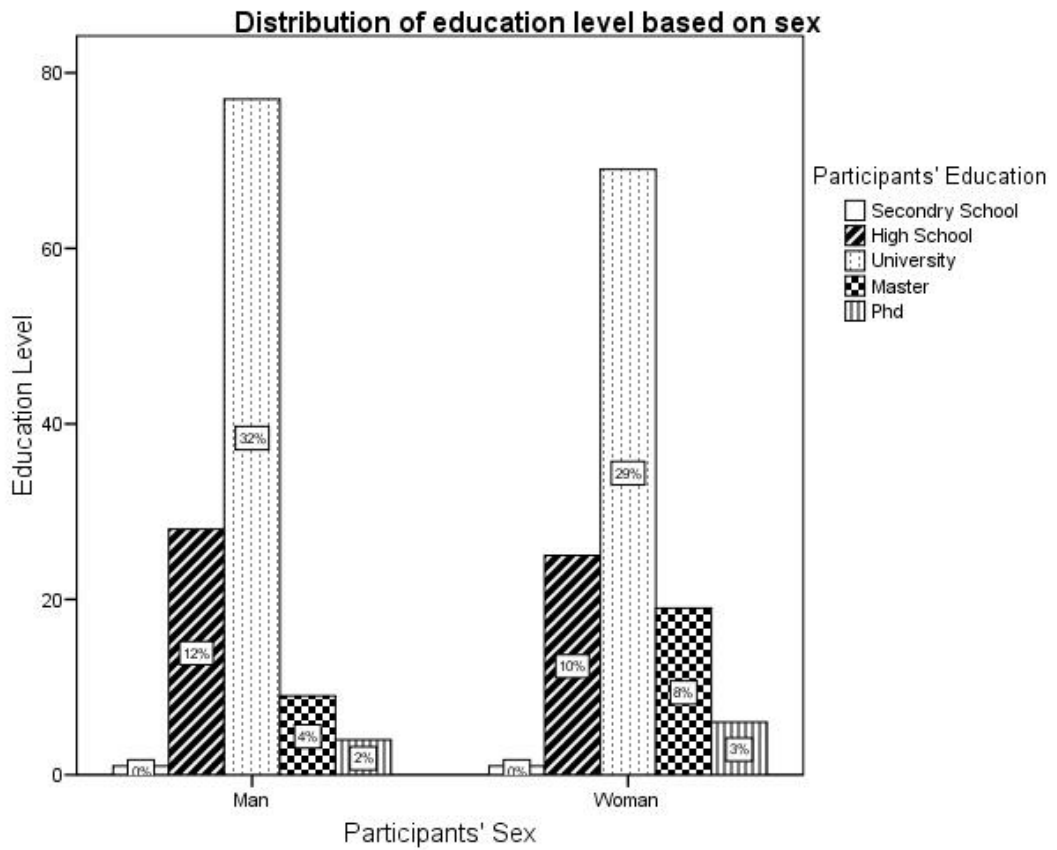
Demographic properties of sample for study 1

Places of the Participations from Internet

	Frequency	Percent		Frequency	Percent
Adana	4	2.2	England	1	0.6
Germany	3	1.7	Isparta	2	1.1
America	1	0.6	Kayseri	1	0.6
Ankara	49	27.5	Kocaeli	3	1.7
Antalya	3	1.7	Konya	2	1.1
Augsburg	1	0.6	Cyprus	2	1.1
Balikesir	1	0.6	Paris	1	0.6
Batman	1	0.6	Malatya	1	0.6
Berlin	1	0.6	Mersin	3	1.7
Bilecik	2	1.1	Mugla	2	1.1
Bulgaria	1	0.6	Mus	2	1.1
Burdur	5	2.8	Norvay	1	0.6
Bursa	3	1.7	Sakarya	1	0.6
Çorum	1	0.6	Samsun	1	0.6
Denizli	2	1.1	Tunceli	2	1.1
Diyarbakir	6	3.4	Unknown	6	3.4
Edirne	1	0.6	Yalova	1	0.6
Eskisehir	1	0.6	Istanbul	43	24.2
Frankfurt	1	0.6	Sweden	1	0.6
France	1	0.6	Izmir	12	6.7
Gaziantep	1	0.6	Total	178	100.0
Netherland	1	0.6			

Distribution of Participants' Education Level for study1

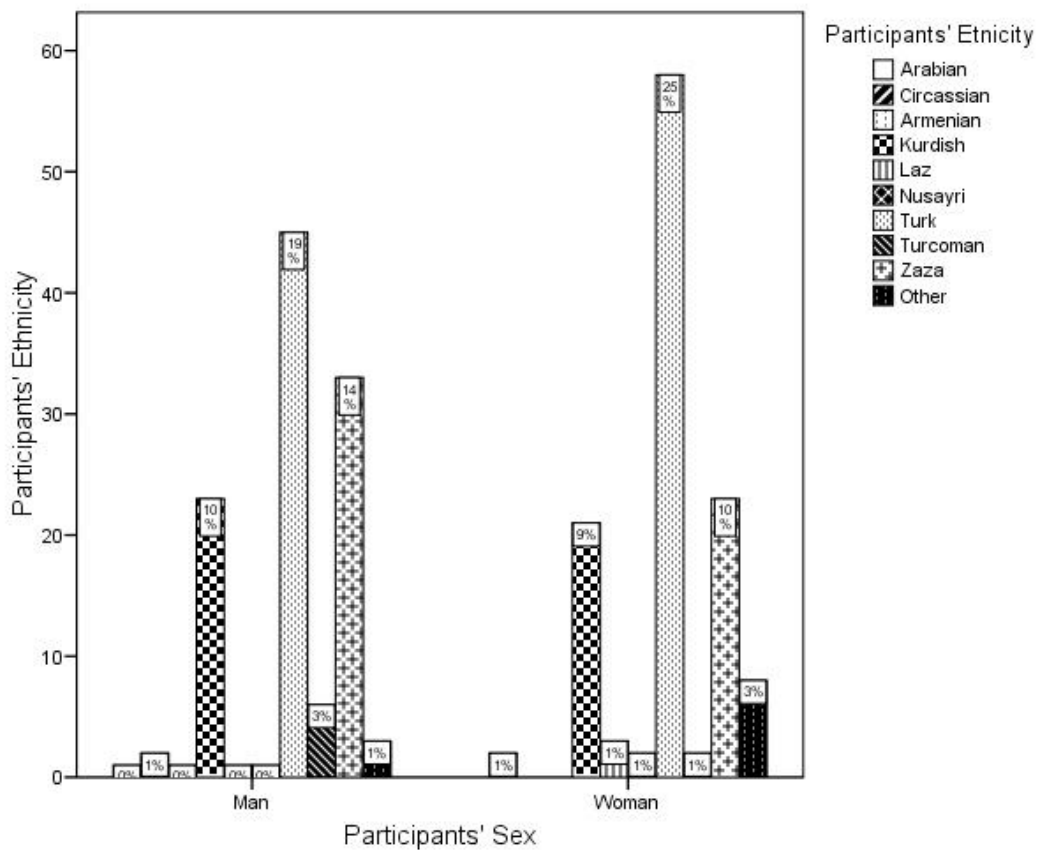
		Frequency	Percentage
V	Secondary School	2	1.0
	High School	53	25.2
	University	84	40.0
	Graduate	28	13.3
	PhD	10	4.8
	Unknown	33	15.7
	Total	210	100.0



Participants' ethnicity

	Frequency	Percent
Arabian	2	0.9
Circassian	3	1.3
Armenian	1	0.4
Kurdish	41	18.3
Laz	4	1.8
Nusayri	4	1.8
Turk	98	43.8
Turcoman	9	4.0
Zaza	46	20.5
Other	15	6.7
Total	223	99.6

Distribution of ethnicity based on sex



Participants' age

	Frequency	Percent
16.00	1	0.4
17.00	2	0.9
18.00	9	4.0
19.00	9	4.0
20.00	24	10.7
21.00	28	12.5
22.00	26	11.6
23.00	23	10.3
24.00	14	6.3
25.00	13	5.8
26.00	11	4.9
27.00	14	6.3
28.00	17	7.6
29.00	9	4.0
30.00	4	1.8
31.00	2	0.9
32.00	4	1.8
33.00	2	0.9
35.00	1	0.4
38.00	2	0.9
42.00	1	0.4
43.00	2	0.9
45.00	1	0.4
46.00	1	0.4
50.00	1	0.4
51.00	1	0.4
53.00	1	0.4
Total	223	99.6

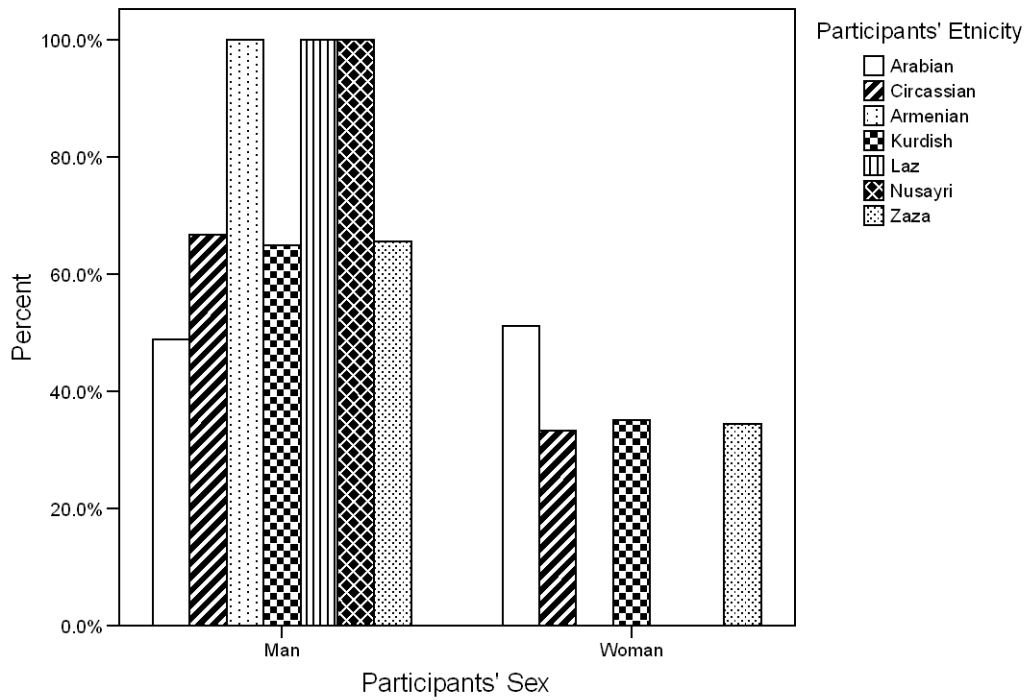
APPENDIX C

Demographic properties of sample for study 2

Distribution of Participants' Ethnicity for Study2

	Frequenc y	Percent
Arabian	43	17.7
Circassian	3	1.2
Armenian	1	.4
Kurdish	164	67.5
Laz	1	.4
Nusayri	1	.4
Zaza	30	12.3
Total	243	100.0

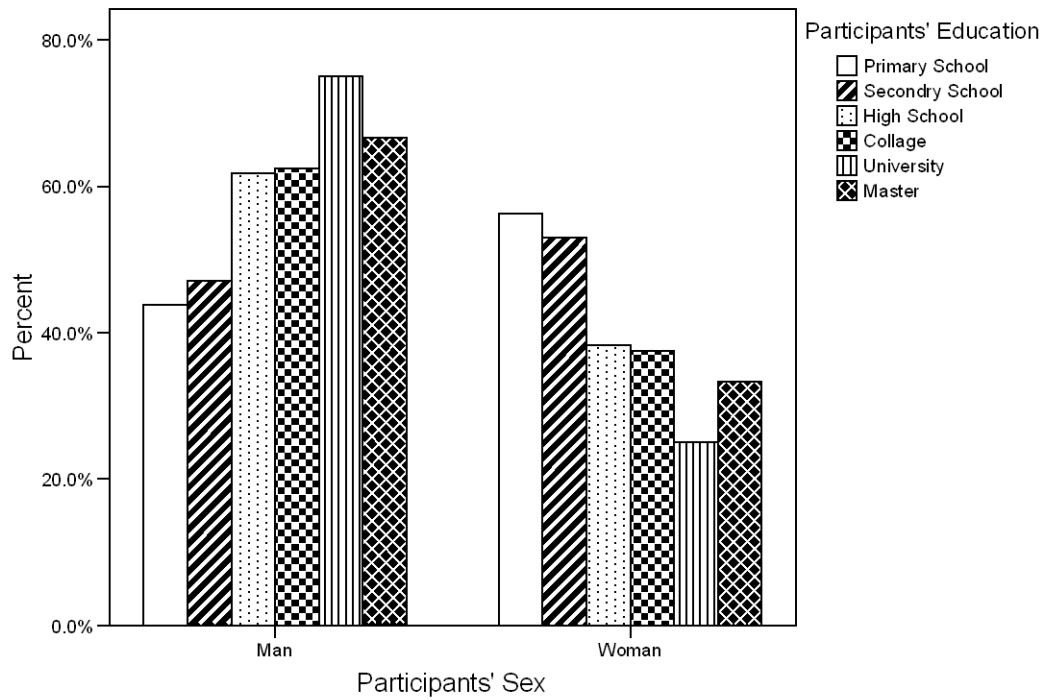
Distribution of ethnicity based on sex



Distribution of Participants' Education for Study2

	Frequency	Percent
Primary School	16	6.6
Secondary School	18	7.4
High School	82	33.7
Collage	8	3.3
University	78	32.1
Master	9	3.7

Distribution of level of education based on sex



Distribution of Participants' Age for Study2

Age	Frequency	Percent
15.00	1	.4
16.00	2	.9
17.00	10	4.3
18.00	12	5.2
19.00	13	5.6
20.00	5	2.2
21.00	7	3.0
22.00	12	5.2
23.00	12	5.2
24.00	10	4.3
25.00	12	5.2
26.00	9	3.9
27.00	9	3.9
28.00	9	3.9
29.00	15	6.5
30.00	13	5.6
31.00	6	2.6
32.00	7	3.0

33.00	7	3.0
34.00	6	2.6
35.00	3	1.3
36.00	7	3.0
37.00	7	3.0
38.00	3	1.3
39.00	7	3.0
40.00	1	.4
41.00	4	1.7
42.00	3	1.3
43.00	4	1.7
44.00	1	.4
45.00	1	.4
46.00	2	.9
47.00	2	.9
48.00	1	.4
49.00	2	.9
51.00	1	.4
53.00	1	.4
55.00	2	.9
56.00	1	.4
62.00	1	.4

APPENDIX D

The survey

INFORM CONSENT

Bu çalışma Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, Psikoloji Bölümü, Sosyal Psikoloji yüksek lisans programına bağlı olarak Prof.Dr. Nuray SAKALLI-UĞURLU danışmanlığında yürütülen, Ahmet ÇOYMAK'ın yüksek lisans tez çalışmasıdır. Soruların doğru ya da yanlış cevapları yoktur. Sizin içten ve gerçek cevaplar vermeniz araştırmada geçerli ve güvenilir sonuçlar elde edilmesini sağlayacaktır.

Çalışmada sizden kimlik belirleyici bilgiler istenmemektedir. Bu yüzden kimliğinizle ilgili hiçbir bilgi vermenize gerek yoktur. Cevaplarınız saklı tutulacak, bütün cevaplar grup olarak araştırma amacıyla değerlendirilecektir.

Her bölümün başlangıcındaki yönergeleri dikkatlice okuyunuz ve hiçbir soruyu boş bırakmayınız. Anketi tamamladıktan sonra son bir defa gözden geçirerek boş kalan sorular varsa lütfen cevaplayınız. Ankete katılım tamamen gönüllülük esasına dayanır, eğer ankete katılmak istemezseniz, anketi doldurmaya başladıktan sonra devam etmek istemezseniz, bu durumda size her hangi bir soru yöneltmeden anketi bırakabilirsiniz. Cevaplamak istemediğiniz sorularla karşılaşırsanız bu soruları boş bırakabilirsiniz. Bu anket formu kapak dahil 10 sayfadan oluşmaktadır. Gösterdiğiniz ilgi, yardım ve işbirliği için şimdiden teşekkür ederim.

Ahmet ÇOYMAK

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Beşeri Bilimler binası, Psikoloji bölümü

06531 ANKARA

Tel : 312-210 59 44

Fax: 312-210 79 75

e-posta: coymak@metu.edu.tr

SOCIO DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

1.Cinsiyetiniz	Erkek <input type="checkbox"/>	Kadın <input type="checkbox"/>
2.Yaşınız		
3.Medeni durumunuz nedir?	Evli <input type="checkbox"/> Bekar <input type="checkbox"/> Boşanmış <input type="checkbox"/> Dul <input type="checkbox"/>	
4.Dini inancınız nedir?	Müslümanım (lütfen mezhebini belirtiniz) Hanefi-Sünni <input type="checkbox"/> Alevi <input type="checkbox"/> Hanefi-Şafi <input type="checkbox"/> Hıristiyanım(lütfen mezhebini belirtiniz) Katolik <input type="checkbox"/> ...Protestan. <input type="checkbox"/> Kimliğim de Müslüman yazıyor ama Ateistim (Allah'a inanmıyorum) <input type="checkbox"/> Kimliğim de Müslüman yazıyor ama Deistim (Allah'a inanıyorum ancak dine inanmıyorum) <input type="checkbox"/> Ateistim <input type="checkbox"/> Deistim <input type="checkbox"/> Diğer (belirtiniz).....	
5.Etnik grubunuzu belirtiniz	Arap <input type="checkbox"/> Çerkez <input type="checkbox"/> Ermeni <input type="checkbox"/> Kürt <input type="checkbox"/> Laz <input type="checkbox"/> Nusayri <input type="checkbox"/> Türk <input type="checkbox"/> Türkmen <input type="checkbox"/> Zaza <input type="checkbox"/> Diğer (lütfen belirtiniz) <input type="checkbox"/>	
6.Eğer evli iseniz eşinizin(Karınızın ya da kocanızın) etnik grubu nedir?	Arap <input type="checkbox"/> Çerkez <input type="checkbox"/> Ermeni <input type="checkbox"/> Kürt <input type="checkbox"/> Laz <input type="checkbox"/> Nusayri <input type="checkbox"/> Türk <input type="checkbox"/> Türkmen <input type="checkbox"/> Zaza <input type="checkbox"/> Diğer (lütfen belirtiniz) <input type="checkbox"/>	
7.Anadiliniz nedir?.....		
8.En sık kullandığınız dil nedir?.....		
9.Vatandaşlık durumunuzu belirtiniz	TC vatandaşıyım <input type="checkbox"/> Çifte vatandaşlığım var (lütfen hangileri olduğunu belirtiniz)..... Başka bir ülkenin vatandaşıyım (lütfen hangisi olduğunu belirtiniz)..... Diğer.....	
10.Siz ve anne-babanızın eğitim durumu için aşağıdaki okul seviyelerini kullanın		

Ben	Annem	Babam
İlk okul mezunu <input type="checkbox"/>	İlk okul mezunu <input type="checkbox"/>	İlk okul mezunu <input type="checkbox"/>
Orta okul mezunu <input type="checkbox"/>	Orta okul mezunu <input type="checkbox"/>	Orta okul mezunu <input type="checkbox"/>
Lise mezunu <input type="checkbox"/>	Lise mezunu <input type="checkbox"/>	Lise mezunu <input type="checkbox"/>
Meslek Lisesi mezunu <input type="checkbox"/>	Meslek Lisesi mezunu <input type="checkbox"/>	Meslek Lisesi mezunu <input type="checkbox"/>
Üniversite mezunu <input type="checkbox"/>	Üniversite mezunu <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yüksek Öğretim mezunu <input type="checkbox"/>	Yüksek Öğretim mezunu <input type="checkbox"/>	Üniversite mezunu <input type="checkbox"/>
.....'dan terk ettim <input type="checkbox"/>'dan terk <input type="checkbox"/>	Yüksek Öğretim mezunu <input type="checkbox"/>
	'dan terk <input type="checkbox"/>
11.Doğum yeriniz		
12.Babanızın doğum yeri		
13.Annenizin doğum yeri.....		
14.Hayatınızı en çok nerede geçirdiğiniz? Köy <input type="checkbox"/> İlçe <input type="checkbox"/> Şehir <input type="checkbox"/> Büyük Şehir (Ankara, İzmir, İstanbul) <input type="checkbox"/>		
15.Buraya göç ederek geldiyse nereden göç ettinizköyündenilçesinden.....ilindenyıl önce göç ettik Göç etmedik <input type="checkbox"/> Diğer (açıklayınız).....		
16. Eğer buraya göç ederek geldiyse nereden göç etme nedeniniz nedir?		
17.Evinizde kimlerle beraber yaşıyorsunuz Eşim ve çocuklarım <input type="checkbox"/> Annem, babam, eşim ve çocuklarım <input type="checkbox"/> Annem, babam ve kardeşlerim <input type="checkbox"/> Diğer (açıklayınız) <input type="checkbox"/>		
18.Eve giren aylık gelir miktarını işaretleyiniz. 500 YTL ve altı <input type="checkbox"/> 500-1000YTL <input type="checkbox"/> 1000-1500YTL <input type="checkbox"/> 1500-2000YTL <input type="checkbox"/> 2000-3000 <input type="checkbox"/> 3000-4000YTL <input type="checkbox"/> 4000YTL ve üzeri <input type="checkbox"/>		
19.Meslek, branş ya da zanaatiniz nedir?		
20.İş durumunuz nedir? Ücretli bir işte çalışıyorum <input type="checkbox"/> Kendi işimde çalışıyorum <input type="checkbox"/> Daha önce hiç çalışmadım ve iş arıyorum <input type="checkbox"/> İşimi kaybettim ve iş arıyorum <input type="checkbox"/> İş aramıyorum <input type="checkbox"/>		

<p>21.Sosyal güvenceniz nedir? Sosyal Güvenceye kimin üzerinden sahipsiniz? Emekli sandığı <input type="checkbox"/> Bağkur <input type="checkbox"/> SSK<input type="checkbox"/> Yeşilkart<input type="checkbox"/> Diğer<input type="checkbox"/>..... Kendimin <input type="checkbox"/> Babam üzerinden<input type="checkbox"/> Annem üzerinden<input type="checkbox"/> Eşim üzerinden<input type="checkbox"/> Hiçbir sosyal güvencem yok <input type="checkbox"/></p>
<p>22.Eğer iş aramıyorsanız nedeni nedir? Tam zamanlı öğrenciyim <input type="checkbox"/> Evi çekip çeviriyorum <input type="checkbox"/> Sağlık nedenlerim el vermiyor <input type="checkbox"/> Uygun iş yok <input type="checkbox"/></p>
<p>23.Üyesi olduğunuz dernek, sendika, oda ya da siyasal parti var mı? Varsa neler olduğunu belirtiniz</p>
<p>24.Kendinizi siyasal açıdan nerede görüyorsunuz? Radikal sol<input type="checkbox"/> sol<input type="checkbox"/> sola yakın<input type="checkbox"/> orta<input type="checkbox"/> sağa yakın<input type="checkbox"/> sağ<input type="checkbox"/> radikal sağ<input type="checkbox"/> Diğer<input type="checkbox"/>.....</p>

POLITICAL TRUST

Değerli katılımcı, bu bölümde **mecliste** halkı temsil eden **milletvekillerini genel olarak düşündüğünüzde**; aşağıdaki düşüncelere **ne ölçüde katıldığınızı** belirtmeniz istenmektedir. İfadelerin doğru veya yanlış cevabı yoktur size en uygun rakamı halka içine alarak belirtiniz. Lütfen ölçekte bulunan **tüm ifadeleri** değerlendiriniz.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Kısmen Katılmıyorum	Kararsızım	Kısmen Katılıyorum	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum

1. İnsanların ihtiyaçlarına cevap veremiyorlar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Bize karşı niyetleri açık değil	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Yeterli eğitim seviyeleri yok	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Tek amaçları yeniden seçilmek	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Ülkenin tarihini ve kültürünü ihmal ediyorlar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Türkiye için faydalı demeçler veriyorlar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Politikada çok az deneyimliler	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Gerekğinde iyi ve sağlıklı kararlar alıyorlar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Bizleri kandırmak için kasten yapay gündem oluşturuyorlar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Niyetleri hakkında bize asla doğruyu söylemiyorlar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. Seçim öncesinde verdikleri sözleri tutarlar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. Bir çok durumda doğru karar alacaklarına güvenirim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. Diploması yetenekleri gelişmiştir	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. Bizim daha iyi yaşamamız için gerekli herşeyi yaparlar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. Bize karşı dürüst ve artniyetsizdirler	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. Bize karşı verdikleri sözleri yerine getireceklerine güvenirim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. Ülkenin mevcut sosyal ve ekonomik durumunu anlarlar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. Ahlaki dürüstlük gösterirler	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

19.Hiçbir şekilde yeterli değiller	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20.Güçlerini ülkenin refahını geliştirmek için kullanırlar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21. Yaptıkları işlerde yeterli olmayan kişilerle çalışırlar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22.Farklı politik, kültürel ve sosyal gruplara karşı adil davranırlar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23.Siyasi güçlerini kendileri için kullanırlar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24.Bize karşı saygılıdırlar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25.Başka ülkelerle sağlıklı ilişki içerisindedirler	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26.Ne yaparlarsa yapsınlar onlara güveniyorum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27. Hepsi sadece makamlarını korumaya çalışıyorlar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION

Değerli katılımcı, bu bölümde sizden **etnik kimliğiniz** (Çerkez, Kürt, Laz, Türk vs.) hakkında bir takım **ifadeleri değerlendirmeniz** istenmektedir.İfadelerin doğru veya yanlış cevabı yoktur etnik kimliğinizi düşünerek size en uygun rakamı halka içine alarak belirtiniz. Lütfen ölçekte bulunan **tüm ifadeleri** değerlendiriniz.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Kısmen Katılmıyorum	Kararsızım	Kısmen Katılıyorum	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum

1.Etnik grubuma kuvvetli bir bağlılık hissederim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.Kendi etnik grubumun tarihini, gelenek ve göreneklerini keşfetmek için zaman harcarım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.Etnik grup üyeliğim benim için iyi anlamlar taşır	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.Etnik grubumun altyapısını daha iyi anlamama yardım eden şeyleri sık sık yaparım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.Etnik grubum hakkında daha çok şey öğrenmek için sık sık başkalarıyla sohbet ederim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

6.Kendi etnik grubuma karşı güçlü bir bağ hissederim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.Kendimi etnik grubumun tipik bir örneği olarak görürüm	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.Etnik kimliğimden gurur duyarım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.Etnik kimliğim kim olduğumun önemli bir parçasıdır	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.Genelde etnik kimliğimden memnunum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.Etnik grubumun bir üyesi olmaktan memnunum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.Eğer birisi etnik grubum hakkında kötü bir söz söylerse benim hakkımda kötü söz söylemiş demektir	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13.Genelde etnik grubum diğer insanlar tarafından iyi/olumlu görülür	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14.Genelde etnik grubumdan olmayanlar etnik grubuma saygı gösterir	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15.Etnik kimliğim hakkında kendimi iyi hissediyorum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16.Etnik kimliğimden rahatsızlık duyduğum zamanlar olur.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17.Bazen etnik kimliğimden hoşlanmıyorum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18.Etnik kimliğimin bana zarar verdiğini düşündüğüm zamanlar olur	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19.Bazen bu etnik kimliğe sahip olmanın faydalı olmadığını düşünüyorum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20.Diğer insanlar, etnik kimliğime sahip insanların kötü olduğunu düşünür	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21.Çoğu insan, etnik grubumdaki insanların genelde diğer gruplardan daha az başarılı olduğunu düşünür	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION

Bu bölümde sizden **dini kimliğiniz** hakkında bir takım **ifadeleri değerlendirmeniz** istenmektedir. **Aynı yönergeyi** kullanarak dini kimliğiniz hakkındaki ifadeleri size en uygun rakamı halka içine alarak değerlendiriniz.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Kısmen Katılmıyorum	Kararsızım	Kısmen Katılıyorum	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum

1.Dinime aidiyetim kuvvetlidir	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.Dini ibadetlerimi elimden geldiğince yerine getiririm	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.Dinimin bir üyesi olmak benim için iyi anlamlar taşır	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.Dinim hakkında daha çok şey öğrenmek için sık sık dini sohbetler ederim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.Dinime karşı güçlü bir bağ hissederim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.Kendimi aynı dinden insanların tipik bir örneği olarak görürüm	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.Dini kimliğimden gurur duyarım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.Dini kimliğim kim olduğumun önemli bir parçasıdır	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.Genelde dini kimliğimden memnunum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.Dini grubumun bir üyesi olmaktan memnunum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.Eğer birisi dinim hakkında kötü bir söz söylerse benim hakkımda kötü söz söylemiş demektir	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.Genelde dinim diğer insanlar tarafından iyi görülür	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13.Genelde tanıdığım tüm insanlar dinime saygı gösterir	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14.Dini kimliğim hakkında kendimi iyi hissediyorum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

15.Bazen dini kimliğimden rahatsız oluyorum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16.Bazen dini kimliğimden hoşlanmıyorum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17.Bazen dini kimliğimin bana zarar verdiğini düşünüyorum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18.Bazen bu dinin bir üyesi olmanın faydalı olmadığını düşünüyorum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19.Diğer insanlar benim dinime mensup insanların kötü olduğunu düşünüyor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20.Çoğu insan benim dinimdeki insanların diğer insanlardan daha az başarılı olduğunu düşünüyor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21.Diğerleri bu dine sahip insanların kötü olduğunu düşünüyor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

SECULAR IDENTIFICATION

Bu bölümde sizden **laiklik** hakkında **ifadeleri değerlendirmeniz** istenmektedir. **Aynı yönergeyi** kullanarak laiklik hakkındaki ifadeleri size en uygun rakamı halka içine alarak değerlendiriniz.

1.Laik biri olduğuma dair inancım kuvvetlidir	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.Laik insanlardan biri olmak benim için iyi anlamlar taşır	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.Laikliğin ne olduğunu anlamama yardım eden şeyleri sık sık yaparım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.Laiklik hakkında daha çok şey öğrenmek için sık sık başkalarıyla sohbet ederim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.Laikliği benimseyenlere karşı güçlü bir bağ hissedirim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.Kendimi tipik bir laik olarak görürüm	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.Laik kimliğimden gurur duyarım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.Laik kimliğim, kim olduğumun önemli bir parçasıdır	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.Genelde laik kimliğimden memnunum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.Genelde laik grubun bir üyesi olmaktan memnunum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.Eğer birisi laikler hakkında kötü bir söz söylese benim hakkımda kötü söz söylemiş demektir	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.Genelde laikliği benimseyenler diğer insanlar tarafından iyi görülür	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

13.Laiklere saygı gösterildiğini düşünüyorum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14.Laik kimliğim hakkında kendimi iyi hissediyorum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15.Bazen laik kimliğimden rahatsız oluyorum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16.Bazen laik kimliğimden hoşlanmıyorum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17.Bazen laik kimliğimin bana zarar verdiğini düşünüyorum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

SOCIETAL IDENTIFICATION

Bu bölümde sizden **Türkiye’de yaşayan biri olarak**, aşağıdaki ifadeleri **değerlendirmeniz** istenmektedir **aynı yönergeyi** kullanarak bu ifadeleri size en uygun rakamı halka içine alarak değerlendiriniz.

1.Toplum için gönüllü işlere çok zaman ayırırım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.Yerel ve genel seçim yapılırsa oy vereceğime eminim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.Türkiye’deki kanun ve düzenlemelere saygılıyım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.Türkiye’deki tüm insanlarla dayanışma içinde olmaya çalışırım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.Türkiye’deki politik ve ekonomik gelişmelere karşı ilgiliyim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.Türkiye ile ilgili hiçbir problem beni ilgilendirmez	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nin bir vatandaşı olmak kimliğimin önemli bir parçasıdır	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.Türkiye Cumhuriyeti vatandaşı olmak beni gururlandırır	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.İçinde yaşadığım toplumu geliştirmek için çaba harcarım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.Türkiye’nin yüz yüze geldiği sosyal problemlerin farkındayım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.Türkiye’nin genel refahı için katkıda bulunurum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.Kendimi Türkiye’de yaşayan insanlar için sorumlu hissedirim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13.Bana neler olduğu topluma neler	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

olduğundan daha önemlidir							
14.İçinde yaşadığım toplumun ihtiyaçlarını sağlamak kendi ihtiyaçlarımı sağlamak kadar önemlidir	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15.Türkiye’de yaşayan insanlar hakkında olan bir olay, beni kendi olayım kadar etkiler	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16.Bu toplumun bir üyesi olma sorumluluğunu duymaya çalışırım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17.Asla Türkiye’yi terk etmeyi düşünmem	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18.Anavatanımın Türkiye olduğuna inanırım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19.Türkiye’de doğmuş olmak beni gururlandırır	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20.Türkiye’de demokrasinin gelişmesi için kendimi sorumlu görüyorum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21. Türkiye için herşeyimi feda edebilirim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22.Türkiye’deki kültürel hayata karşı yoğun bir bağlılık hissediyorum	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23.Anadolu’nun çeşitli yerlerinde kültürel kıyafetlerinin giyilmesi hoşuma gider	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24.Özel günlerde kültürel kıyafetlerin giyilmesi benim için önemlidir	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25.Başka bir yerde olsaydım bile Anadolu’nun yemeklerini bulmaya çalışırdım	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION

Değerli katılımcı, bu bölümde sizden **Türkiye’deki farklı etnik gruplar** (Çerkez, Kürt, Laz, Türk vs.) hakkında bir takım **ifadeleri değerlendirmeniz** istenmektedir. İfadelerin doğru veya yanlış cevabı yoktur **etnik kimliğinizi** düşünerek size en uygun rakamı halka içine alarak belirtiniz. Lütfen ölçekte bulunan **tüm ifadeleri** değerlendiriniz.

1	2	3	4	5
Asla	Arasına/nadiren	Zaman zaman	Sık sık	Daima

COLLECTIVE DISCRIMINATION

1. Türkiye’de etnik grubunuz iş ararken ne sıklıkta ayrımcılık yaşar?	1	2	3	4	5
2. Türkiye’de etnik grubunuz ev ararken ne sıklıkta ayrımcılık yaşar?	1	2	3	4	5
3. Türkiye’de etnik grubunuz sokakta ya da alışveriş yaparken ne sıklıkta ayrımcılık yaşar?	1	2	3	4	5
4. Türkiye’de etnik grubunuz okulda ya da işyerinde ne sıklıkta ayrımcılık yaşar?	1	2	3	4	5
5. Türkiye’de etnik grubunuz oturdukları mahallelerde ne sıklıkta ayrımcılık yaşar?	1	2	3	4	5

INDIVIDUAL DISCRIMINATION

Bu bölümde sizden **etnik kimliğiniz** hakkında bir takım **ifadeleri değerlendirmeniz** istenmektedir **aynı yönergeyi** kullanarak aşağıdaki ifadeleri etnik kimliğinizi düşünerek size en uygun rakamı halka içine alarak değerlendiriniz.

1. Etnik kimliğim yüzünden kabul görmediğimi hissediyorum	1	2	3	4	5
2. Etnik kimliğim yüzünden dalga geçildim ve hakarete uğradığım olmuştur	1	2	3	4	5
3. Etnik kimliğim yüzünden insanların benden uzaklaştı ya da aralarına almadığı olmuştur	1	2	3	4	5
4. Diğer insanların etnik kimliğime karşı olumsuz olduklarını hissediyorum	1	2	3	4	5

Katılımınız için teşekkür ederiz

Anket hakkında varsa değerlendirmeleriniz ve/veya eklemek istediklerinizi aşağıya yazabilirsiniz.

APPENDIX E

LISREL Syntaxes

Title: (Measurement Model 1)Confirmatory Factor Analysis of model 1

Observed Variables: ET_COLLE ET_IMPORT ET_EXPLO ET_COMMI
RID_RELI LID_SECU
SID_PATR SID_CIVI SID_SOLI SID_CULT PTS_FIDU PTS_SENS
PTS_COMP COLLECTI INDIVIDU

Covariance Matrix from file C:\model1.cov

Sample Size: 243

Latent Variables: pts eid disc civic pat col

Relationships:

PTS_SENS PTS_FIDU PTS_COMP = pts
ET_IMPORT ET_COMMI ET_EXPLO = eid
COLLECTI INDIVIDU = disc
SID_CIVI SID_SOLI SID_CULT = civic
SID_PATR = 1* pat

ET_COLLE = 1* col

let the error variance of ET_COLLE to 0

let the error variance of SID_PATR to 0

Set the Errors Covariance between PTS_FIDU and PTS_SENS Free

Set the Errors Covariance between PTS_COMP and PTS_SENS Free

Set the Errors Covariance between SID_SOLI and SID_CULT Free

Admissibility Check = Off

Number of Decimals = 3

Wide Print

Print Residuals

Path Diagram

LISREL Output: SC ND = 3 EF
End of Problem

Title: Proposed Model 1

Observed Variables: ET_COLLE ET_IMPOR ET_EXPLO ET_COMMI
RID_RELI LID_SECU SID_PATR SID_CIVI SID_SOLI SID_CULT
PTS_FIDU PTS_SENS PTS_COMP COLLECTI INDIVIDU
Covariance Matrix from file C:\model1.cov
Sample Size: 243
Latent Variables: pts eid disc civic pat col

equations:

PTS_SENS PTS_FIDU PTS_COMP = pts
ET_IMPOR ET_COMMI ET_EXPLO = eid
COLLECTI INDIVIDU = disc
SID_CIVI SID_SOLI SID_CULT = civic
SID_PATR = 1* pat
ET_COLLE = 1* col
civic pts disc = eid
pts disc = col
civic pat = pts
civic pat = disc

let the error variance of ET_COLLE to 0
let the error variance of SID_PATR to 0

set the error covariance between PTS_SENS and PTS_FIDU free
set the error covariance between SID_SOLI and SID_CULT
set the error covariance between SID_CULT and SID_CIVI

LISREL OUTPUT: EF SS
Admissibility Check = Off
Number of Decimals = 3
Wide Print
Print Residuals

Title: (Measurement Model 2) Confirmatory Factor Analysis of model 2

Observed Variables: ET_COLLE ET_IMPORT ET_EXPLO ET_COMM
RID_RELI LID_SECU
SID_PATR PTS_FIDU PTS_SENS PTS_COMP COLLECTI INDIVIDU
CIVIC

Covariance Matrix from file C:\model2.cov

Sample Size: 243

Latent Variables: eid soci col rid lid

Relationships:

ET_IMPORT ET_COMM ET_EXPLO = eid

SID_PATR CIVIC = soci

ET_COLLE = 1* col

RID_RELI = 1*rid

LID_SECU = 1*lid

let the error variance of ET_COLLE to 0

let the error variance of RID_RELI to 0

let the error variance of LID_SECU to 0

Admissibility Check = Off

Number of Decimals = 3

Wide Print

Print Residuals

Path Diagram

LISREL Output: SC ND = 3 EF

End of Problem

Title: Proposed Model 2

Observed Variables: ET_COLLE ET_IMPOR ET_EXPLO ET_COMMI
RID_RELI LID_SECU
SID_PATR PTS_FIDU PTS_SENS PTS_COMP COLLECTI INDIVIDU
CIVIC

Covariance Matrix from file C:\model2.cov

Sample Size: 243

Latent Variables: eid soci col rid lid

equations:

ET_IMPOR ET_COMMI ET_EXPLO = eid

SID_PATR CIVIC = soci

ET_COLLE = 1* col

RID_RELI = 1* rid

LID_SECU = 1*lid

soci=rid

soci= lid

rid lid soci =eid

rid lid =col

let the error variance of RID_RELI to 0

let the error variance of LID_SECU to 0

let the error variance of ET_COLLE to 0

LISREL OUTPUT: EF SS

Iterations = 300

Admissibility Check = Off

Number of Decimals = 3

Wide Print

Print Residuals

Path Diagram

End of Problem

APPENDIX F

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