THE FUSION OF INDIVIDUAL AND GROUP LEVELS: THE CASE OF
POLITICAL PARTY SUPPORTERS WITHIN EXTREME PRO-GROUP
ACTION PROCESS

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ABSTRACT

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ACTION PROCESS

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The current research aimed to rationalize the relations of opposition political parties' supporters with local in-group (supporters of the supported political party), extended in-group (T.C citizens) and three local out-groups (supporters of ruling party and other two opposition parties) in both individual and group levels using identity and deprivation theories, and answer the question of why people indicate extreme self-sacrificing behaviors for the sake of in-group members. To be more precise, this study (i) synthesized the literature on extreme pro-group actions, (ii) tested the fundamental assumptions of identity fusion theory in multi-political party context of Turkey for the first time, (iii) investigated the distinctiveness of identity fusion concept (connectedness and oneness of personal identity with group-based identity) from in-group identification (identification with group-based identity), and (iv) explored the indirect effects of identification and identity fusion with local in-group on the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors for the sake of local in-group and extended in-group members using the relative deprivation fusion, the familial ties with local in-group, the individual agency for local in-group, the perceived invulnerability of local in-group, and the identification and the identity

fusion with extended in-group variables as mediators. In accordance with these purposes, the data were collected from three opposition parties' supporters as Republican People's Party (CHP; $N = 320$), Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP; $N = 215$) and Nationalist Movement Party (MHP; $N = 150$) which were represented in the parliament of Turkey via November-2015 parliamentary elections. The findings and mediational models supported the theoretical expectations of the study and reflected the perceived reality of the current political structure of Turkey and intra- / inter-political party relations. The fusion of individual and group levels (including the oneness of individual-based and group-based identities and deprivation processes) provided a better prediction to rationalize intra- / inter-group relations in comparison to separate levels. Literature and society need new and comprehensive perspectives in order to rationalize extreme self-sacrificing behaviors on the behalf of in-groups. In addition, the current relations between political parties in Turkey do not only influence the lives of people who live in Turkey but also shape the conditions and collaborations at the world stage. Therefore, the underlying process of extreme pro-group actions and identity and deprivation theories on the multi-political party context deserve further researches.

Keywords: extreme pro-group action, identity fusion, in-group identification, relative deprivation, opposition political parties' supporters

ÖZ

BİREY VE GRUP SEVİYELERİNİN KAYNAŞIMI: AŞIRI GRUP-YANLISI DAVRANIŞ SÜRECİNDE SİYASİ PARTİ DESTEKÇİLERİ ÖRNEĞİ

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Mevcut araştırma kimlik ve yoksunluk kuramlarını kullanarak muhalif siyasi partilerin destekçilerinin yerel iç-grup (desteklenen siyasi partinin destekçileri), geniş iç-grup (T.C vatandaşları) ve üç yerel dış-grupla (iktidar partinin ve diğer iki muhalefet partisinin destekçileri) olan ilişkilerini birey ve grup seviyelerinde rasyonelleştirmeyi ve kişilerin neden iç-grup üyeleri uğruna aşırı fedakâr davranışlarda bulunduğu sorusunu cevaplamayı amaçlamıştır. Daha açık olmak gerekirse, bu çalışma (i) aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış literatürünü sentezlemiş, (ii) kimlik kaynaşımı kuramının temel varsayımlarını ilk defa Türkiye'nin çoklu-siyasi parti düzleminde test etmiş, (iii) kimlik kaynaşımı kavramının (bireysel kimliğin grup-temelli kimlikle bağlantılılığı ve birliği) iç-grup özdeşleşmesinden (grup-temelli kimlikle özdeşleşme) farklılığını incelemiş ve (iv) göreli yoksunluk kaynaşımı, yerel iç-grup ile ailevi bağlar, yerel iç-grup için bireysel etkinlik, yerel iç-grubun algılanan sağlamlığı ve geniş iç-grup ile özdeşleşme ve kimlik kaynaşımı değişkenlerini aracı değişken olarak kullanarak yerel iç-grup ile özdeşleşme ve kimlik kaynaşımının yerel iç-grup ve geniş iç-grup üyeleri uğruna aşırı grup-yanlısı davranışları onaylama üzerindeki dolaylı ilişkisini araştırmıştır. Bu amaçlar doğrultusunda, Kasım-2015 parlamento seçimleriyle Türkiye meclisinde temsil

edilen Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP; $N = 320$), Halkların Demokratik Partisi (HDP; $N = 215$) ve Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (MHP; $N = 150$) olmak üzere üç muhalefet partisinin destekçilerinden veri toplanmıştır. Bulgular ve aracılı modeller çalışmanın kuramsal beklentilerini desteklemiş ve Türkiye'nin mevcut siyasi yapısının ve siyasi parti içi / partiler arası ilişkilerin algılanan gerçekliğini yansıtmıştır. Birey ve grup seviyelerinin kaynaşımı (birey-temelli ve grup-temelli kimlikler ve yoksunluk süreçlerinin birliğini içerir) ayrı seviyelere kıyasla grup içi / gruplar arası ilişkileri rasyonelleştirmede daha iyi bir öngörü sağlamıştır. Literatür ve toplum iç-grup uğruna aşırı fedakâr davranışları rasyonelleştirmek için yeni ve kapsamlı yaklaşımlara ihtiyaç duymaktadır. Ek olarak, Türkiye'deki siyasi partiler arası mevcut ilişkiler sadece Türkiye'de yaşayan insanların hayatını etkilememekte, aynı zamanda dünya sahnesindeki durumları ve işbirliklerini de şekillendirmektedir. Bu nedenle, aşırı grup-yanlısı davranışların altında yatan süreç ve çoklu-siyasi parti düzleminde kimlik ve yoksunluk kuramları daha fazla araştırmayı hak etmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış, kimlik kaynaşımı, iç-grup özdeşleşmesi, göreli yoksunluk, muhalif siyasi partilerin destekçileri

To anyone who has emotionally

and/or financially supported me

throughout my education life

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKP: Justice and Development Party

AP: Justice Party

BDP: Peace and Democracy Party

CHP: Republican People's Party

CKMP: Republican Villagers Nation Party

DP: Democrat Party

ERD: Egoistic (Individual-based) Relative Deprivation

FP: Virtue Party

FRD: Fraternal (Group-based) Relative Deprivation

HDP: Peoples' Democratic Party

IDP: Reformist Democracy Party

KHK: Delegated Legislation

LGBTQ: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer

MÇP: Nationalist Working Party

MHP: Nationalist Movement Party

PKK: Kurdistan Workers' Party

RP: Welfare Party

TBMM: Grand National Assembly of Turkey

T.C: The Republic of Turkey

YSK: Supreme Election Committee

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

During the operation of Russian police department, Oleg Ivanovich Okhrimenko sacrificed own life to save the lives of his team members and Russian citizens. While Oleg and his team were trying to subdue an armed criminal on the purpose of saving a female hostage, the criminal left the grenade to break police barricade. Oleg realized the danger, threw himself toward the grenade, and used his body to decrease the effect of the blast; but he lost his life. Another example is Dr. Liviu Librescu who was a professor at Virginia Tech in 2007. During the armed attack on a teenager who had a mental disorder, the professor used his body to close the door of the classroom with the intent of stop bullets. In other words, he sacrificed own life with five bullets to save the lives of his students.

The present thesis has focused on the question of why some individuals make extreme actions and extraordinary sacrifices (e.g., the willingness to fight or sacrifice own life, etc.) for the sake of in-group members in the multi-political party context of Turkey. In other words, the main purposes of the present research were to (i) synthesize the literature on extreme pro-group actions, (ii) test the fundamental assumptions of identity fusion theory in multi-political party context of Turkey to predict extreme pro-group behaviors (the willingness to fight and die on the behalf of in-group), (iii) investigate the distinctiveness of identity fusion concept (identity fusion theory: connectedness and oneness of personal identity with group-based identity) from in-group identification (social identity theory: identification with group-based identity), and (iv) explore the indirect effects of identification and identity fusion with local in-group on the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors for the sake of local in-group and extended in-group members using the relative deprivation fusion, the familial ties with local in-group, the individual

agency for local in-group, the perceived invulnerability of local in-group, and the identification and the identity fusion with extended in-group as mediators.

More particularly, this research was conducted with the participation of group members of opposition parties which were represented in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM, Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi) through November-2015 parliamentary elections such as Republican People's Party (CHP, Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi), Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP, Halkların Demokratik Partisi) and Nationalist Movement Party (MHP, Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi). We investigated the relations of party supporters with members of local in-group (supporters of own political party), extended in-group (citizens of the Republic of Turkey - T.C citizens, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti vatandaşları) and three local out-groups (supporters of ruling party that is Justice and Development Party - AKP, Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, and two other opposition parties) within the framework of identity and relative deprivation theories, and tested their extreme behaviors on the behalf of local and extended in-groups. That is why this study also reflects intra- / inter-political party relations and the current political atmosphere in Turkey.

The thesis consisted of four main chapters. The first chapter, namely introduction, aimed to explain the study question, clarify the theoretical background, introduce participant groups, and specify the proposed associations among variables of the research. The present study tended to understand the underlying process of extreme pro-group behaviors. As the first purpose of the introduction section, the meaning of pro-group action was described, and the importance of the research question was underlined. In the literature, social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; 1986) and in-group identification concept are mainly used to rationalize intergroup relations, and explain pro-group behaviors; but we also focused on a new approach which is called as identity fusion theory (e.g., Swann, Gomez, Seyle, Morales, & Huici, 2009). In order to strengthen the theoretical background (as the second purpose), we aimed to focus on identity theories, present the differences between identity fusion and social identity theories, and highlight the distinctiveness of identity fusion concept from the in-group identification within the pro-group behavior process. Secondly, besides identity theories, the relative deprivation theory was also considered to explain interpersonal and intergroup relationships. That is why the introduction section evaluated possible

associations between identity theories and relative deprivation theory to clarify extreme pro-group behavior process. As stated previously, supporters of opposition parties were used as participant groups in the study, and research was conducted in the political context of Turkey. The relations of participants with local in-group (supporters of own political party), extended in-group (T.C citizens) and three local out-groups (supporters of ruling party and two other opposition parties) were explored. Therefore, as the third purpose of the introduction section, in order to see the meaning of being a member of T.C citizen, national identity formation process in Turkey from the last years of the Ottoman Empire to present time was specified, and main characteristics of national identity in Turkey (including both ethnocultural and civic identities) were identified. In addition, the brief history of ruling party AKP and three opposition parties (including CHP, HDP, and MHP), the meaning of being a member of these parties (identity of political parties), the current political conditions and inter-party relations were introduced to inform readers about the political atmosphere in Turkey. As the last purpose of the introduction section, the proposed associations among study variables and the proposed hypotheses of the research were presented.

The second chapter, namely method, introduced the participant profile, the measures and the procedural part of the current research. The first purpose of the method section was to specify the demographic characteristics of participants such as sex, age, occupation, education, income, perceived socio-economic status, growth place, political party identity, relations with own political party and perceived closeness to other political parties. Secondly most of the measures, for the first time, were translated into Turkish, tested in a Turkish sample, and used in the context of political party supporters. In addition, some measures were newly derived to test study variables. That is why the factor analysis and reliability and validity scores of measures constituted an important part of this chapter. In this way, the second purpose was to present statistics-based quality of measures and contribute to literature with newly adapted or derived scales which test the motivation behind the relations of individuals with in-group and out-group members. Lastly, because of three different participant groups and their different questionnaire packages, we aimed to clarify the response order of surveys based on the political party identity of participants.

The third chapter, namely results, indicated the findings of the research which CHP ($N = 320$), HDP ($N = 215$) and MHP ($N = 150$) supporters participated. Descriptive study findings, between-political parties and within-political party comparisons, correlations between study variables for each political party group, dominance analysis results to predict the extreme behavior tendency on the behalf of local in-group (supporters of own political party) and extended in-group (T.C citizens) members, hierarchical regression analysis findings, and the proposed models to explore the indirect effects of identification and identity fusion with local in-group on the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors for the sake of local in-group and extended in-group members were presented. Lastly, the extreme self-sacrificing behavior tendencies of participants on the behalf of local in-group, extended ingroup, and local out-group members in multi-group context were explored using the created vignette, and the findings were reported.

In the last chapter, namely discussion, after a general overview, the findings of the study were discussed depending on the related literature. The purposes of this chapter were to make a brief summary, discuss the study findings, specify theoretical contributions and implications of the current research on the issue of intra- / inter-group (political party) relations, highlight the study limitations, and make some suggestions for the further studies.

In the next first part, the concepts of pro-group behaviors and identity will be defined, and main theoretical perspectives on related literature (including identity and deprivation theories) to explain pro-group behaviors will be introduced. While different theoretical approaches are presenting, we will try to highlight the possible connection among them within a complementary view. In other words, we will aim to indicate the possibility of a new approach that independently proposed theoretical perspectives may complement each other, and both individual-based and group-based variables may explain the pro-group behaviors of individuals.

1.1 Pro-Group Behaviors and Identity

The underlying motivation of pro-group actions has been an ongoing interest in social sciences. The concept of pro-group action is a comprehensive term and includes different types of behavior based on different purposes. For example, pro-group action is mostly named as collective action that is defined as "a group member engages in collective action any time that he or she is acting as a

representative of the group and where the action is directed at improving the conditions of the group as a whole " (Wright, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1990, p. 995). The pro-group action is identified with intergroup acts and collective purpose such as improving the current conditions of in-group or resistance to perceived group-based disadvantage. In order to protect the interests of in-group, the group members may indicate normative or nonnormative pro-group actions. In other words, group members may engage in pro-group actions that are acceptable by the norms of society (including normative pro-group actions such as signing petitions, donating money, nonviolent demonstrations, etc.); but also they may indicate pro-group behaviors that break the social norms and are not accepted by the society (including nonnormative pro-group actions such as sabotage, terrorist activities, etc.) (e.g., Wright et al., 1990). However, in the present research, we did not label pro-group actions as normative or nonnormative. Basically, we have focused on extreme pro-group behaviors of individuals (e.g., the willingness to fight or sacrifice own life) to save or protect in-group members within multi-group context.

In order to answer the question of why group members express a behavior on the behalf of their in-group and understand intergroup relations, social scientists have mostly used the concept of social identity and social identity-based theories since the late 1970s. Identity is basically defined as "people's concepts of who they are, of what sort of people they are, and how they relate to others" (Hogg & Abrams, 1988, p. 2), and is differentiated as personal identity and social identity. The current research proposes that in order to rationalize extreme pro-group behaviors of people, the important question is how personal and social identities interact with each other when people assign themselves as a member of the particular social group. Social identity and identity fusion theories have different approaches to explain this association. In the next part of the thesis, we will focus on the differences between identity-based theories and the interaction of personal and social identities.

1.2 Social Identity Theory

During the 1970s, the mainstream perspectives of American and European social psychologists which aimed to understand human relations were different from each other. While Americans were preferring an individualistic and reductionist approach, European researchers such as Tajfel and Turner focused on

social aspects of human behaviors. They investigated how people perceive the social world, define themselves, and regulate own daily interpersonal and intergroup behaviors based on the social group membership. Because of this social and context-based perspective, Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and the concept of social identity that is "the part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1978, p. 63) became popular to explain the individual's sense of "who I am" and rationalize human relations.

Social categorizations, social comparisons, and the need for group distinctiveness facilitate the formation of social groups and social identities (e.g., Tajfel, 1982; Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994). Individuals are in a tendency to classify other people, things, and situations based on shared attributes, and create particular categories in order to simplify perceived reality and minimize cognitive effort while they are making sense of the world (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). Categories provide prior knowledge and a mental map that is used to interpret the world, conceptualize one's place in social context and decrease uncertainty - the needs for meaningfulness, rationalizing the environment, prediction and control the future actions, and looking for consistency can be defined as intrinsic motivations which are positively related to subjective well-being (Baumeister & Vohs, 2002). In social categorization process, people categorize other individuals based on prototypical and shared characteristics, and these features define the identity of category (group) that answers the questions of "who they (group members) are" and "how they (group members) should behave". Based on the study of Tajfel and his colleagues, even if people do not make any contact with in-group or out-group members, the awareness for categories and group membership causes the formation of the sense of "we" and tendency to differentiate in-group from out-group members (Tajfel, Billig, Bundy & Flament, 1971)

Besides prior needs and intrinsic motivations, individuals also tend to satisfy the need for belongingness and desire to remove the gap between self and society (Baumeister, 1991) and want to receive social support from in-group members. They identify themselves with a particular group, internalize its beliefs, values, and norms and evaluate the social world from the perspective of in-group to be a real in-

group member (Özdemir, 2016, Özdemir & Sakallı-Uğurlu, 2018; Sakallı-Uğurlu & Özdemir, 2017); when the identification level of people with in-group increases, they accept in-group features as self-concepts and an important part of their own identity. Identification with a particular group and acceptance of its prototypical characteristics may strengthen the concept of depersonalization (Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995) that "people perceive and act in line with their in-group prototypes not as unique individuals" (Okuyan, 2012, p. 10). We should also consider that the internal structure of groups may be more complex and fluid than assumptions of prototype-based classical view. The fuzzy set centering can be possible around the prototype, and group members may indicate some different features, but super-ordinate goals may keep them together. For example, in the study of Breakwell (1996), the meaning of being British varied for members of different sub-groups in Britain and also for individuals of the same sub-group.

People compare themselves and own groups with other groups and their members to conceptualize their own place in social context, and understand "who we are (not)", "what we have (not)", and "where we are positioned in social hierarchy". These social comparisons may be made from an in-group centered perspective to indicate the superiority of in-group and protect the positive social identity. In other words, because of high in-group identification and in-group favoritism tendency - "us" vs. "them" - , individuals may evaluate their groups and its members more positive than out-group members (Brewer & Kramer, 1985; Ferguson & Kelly, 1964; Tajfel, 1982; Turner, 1999; Wilder, 1986). People also focus on within-group similarities and between-group differences to strengthen in-group coherence and out-group distinctiveness. These all needs and situations bring in-group members together, motivate people to protect the group interests, and support pro-group behaviors, but also may increase group-based prejudices toward out-group members, and may enhance the perceived distance among different groups.

In the next part of the current research, the literature on identity fusion theory will be reviewed. The differences between social identity theory (including in-group identification concept) and identity fusion theory (including identity fusion concept) will be highlighted. In addition, the role of both individual and group-based identities on extreme pro-group action process will be clarified.

1.3 Identity Fusion Theory as a New Approach: The Fusion of Personal and Social Identities

As stated previously, since the late 1970s, Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and the concept of social or collective identity mostly have been used to explain the individual's sense of "who I am" and why people participate in pro-group actions (e.g., Jasper, 2014; van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013; van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008). Although the social identity of individuals, which derives from perceived social group membership-based knowledge and emotional attachment, becomes an important part of the question "who I am" (Tajfel, 1978), a few people tend to make extreme pro-group sacrifices. The survival and self-protection instincts decrease the willingness to perform self-sacrificing behaviors. If so, in spite of strong intrinsic instincts, why do some people volunteer to engage in extreme pro-group actions? In recent researches, the concept of identity fusion, which includes the overlap and union of functionally equal, agentic and permeable personal and group-based identities and increases the sense of fusion and oneness with in-group, is used to explain underlying mechanism of participation in extreme pro-group actions (e.g., Hatvany, Burkley, & Curtis, 2018; Swann et al., 2009; Swann, Jetten, Gomez, Whitehouse, & Bastian, 2012). In other words, the identity fusion means "feelings of inseparable connection between self and group" (Gomez et al., 2017, p. 673).

In spite of identity fusion may be defined as the conceptual cousin of in-group identification which is investigated within the theoretical framework of social identity (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1999), there are fundamental differences between identity fusion and in-group identification based on how personal identity (including idiosyncratic characteristics of person) and social identity (including self-concepts of person that is derived from social group membership) interact with pro-group behaviors (Swann et al., 2012). Firstly, social identity theory proposes the distinction between individual and group-based identities, and evaluates social behaviors within an interpersonal-intergroup continuum with a zero-sum association; for example, group-based actions increase with salient social identity and deactivation of personal identity which is called as functional antagonism principle (e.g., Levine & Crowther, 2008; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1999; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). Secondly,

in-group identification develops with abstract categorical ties and prototypical characteristics of the identified group rather than individual qualities of in-group members and unique/personal relationships with these members (depersonalization hypothesis); this is why individuals perceive themselves and others as categorically interchangeable with other in-group members (e.g., Hogg, 1993; Hogg & Hardie, 1991). Also, the membership-based (category-based) attraction provides in-group identification even if individuals do not interact with group members (Stets & Burke, 2000). Thirdly, within the perspective of social identity theory, in-group identification is considered as a context-depended variable (salience hypothesis); the changes in social context influence the identification level with in-group (Turner, 1999).

On the other hand, identity fusion theory (Swann et al., 2012) proposes that both personal and group-based identities can be salient at the same time and functionally equal to one another. In other words, personal and social identities may be complementary rather than competing with each other. The permeable and blurred boundaries between salient personal and group-based identities create synergy (identity synergy principle) which strengthens the motivation behind pro-group actions. Moreover, because of this created synergy, when identity-fused individuals perceive challenge toward either personal or group-based identities, it may spark and amplify the intention to perform the pro-group behavior (e.g., Swann et al., 2009; Swann, Wenzlaff, & Tafarodi, 1992). Secondly, relational ties principle of identity fusion theory emphasizes that not only membership-based (category-based) attraction and categorical ties but also the uniqueness-based attraction (including unique personal characteristics of in-group members and personal relations with these members) provides deep relational ties with in-group members. This is why individuals do not perceive themselves and other members as categorically interchangeable. Thirdly, according to agentic personal self-principle, extreme pro-group behaviors of identity-fused people may be evaluated as the expression of personal identity. Personal agency (including competence for initiating and controlling the intended action) strengthens the tendency to take personal responsibility on the behalf of their in-group; this is why after the control of in-group identification, identity fusion predicts extreme pro-group behaviors of members (Swann et al., 2009). Lastly, identity fusion is not presented as a social

context-depended variable, and the level of fusion has high stability (irrevocability principle). Especially, deep relational ties with in-group members protect the stability of identity fusion level. Even if identity-fused individuals are ostracized by their in-group members, they may continue to endorse extreme pro-group actions to reaffirm their attachment to in-group (Gomez, Morales, Hart, Vazquez, & Swann, 2011).

The difference between the concepts of identity fusion and in-group identification and their associations with a tendency to perform extreme pro-group behaviors have been tested in a series of different studies. For example, in the article of Gomez, Brooks et al., (2011) the distinctiveness of identity fusion and in-group identification was indicated via confirmatory and explanatory factor analyses. Secondly, when the associations between individuals' perceived quality of life and the victory or defeat of their political parties in American and Spanish parliamentary elections were tested, strongly identity-fused individuals internalized the group-based victory and defeat more than non-identity-fused, low identified and high identified group members (Buhrmester, Gomez, Brooks, Morales, Fernandez, & Swann, 2012); because the group membership and its positive and negative outcomes were perceived as intensely personal by strongly identity-fused people. However, high identified (not identity-fused) members internalized the victory of the group, but not its defeat.

Besides that, identity-fused individuals endorsed extreme pro-group actions (e.g., the willingness to die in order to save in-group members) more than non-fused and weakly fused group members in different versions of trolley dilemma (e.g., Gomez, Brooks et al., 2011; Swann, Gomez, Dovidio, Hart, & Jetten, 2010; Swann, Gomez, Huici, Morales, & Hixon, 2010). For example, in a version of the trolley scenario (Swann, Gomez, Dovidio et al., 2010), a group of participants imagined that "a runaway trolley was about to crash and kill five in-group members (i.e., Spaniards) unless the participant jumped from a bridge into the trolley's path" (p. 1178). Then, participants made a decision between two options as "doing nothing" or "sacrificing themselves to save others". Highly identity-fused individuals chose self-sacrificing behavior for group members' lives more than non identity-fused individuals, and they evaluated this option as a morally superior behavior. Moreover, in other versions of trolley dilemma, strongly identity-fused participants

endorsed self-sacrificing behaviors to save the lives of local and extended in-group members, but not out-group members; non-identity-fused members preferred to do nothing or sacrifice out-group members rather than themselves and local in-group members; and strongly identity-fused members had greater willingness to sacrifice their own life for killing people who damage in-group members (Swann, Gomez, Dovidio et al., 2010).

In order to investigate the connectedness of personal and social identities, the predictive power of identity activation on extreme pro-group behaviors was tested. In strongly identity-fused sample, the activation of either personal identity or social identity amplified extreme pro-group actions, whereas only the activation of social identity predicted pro-group behaviors in highly identified (non identity-fused) samples (e.g., Swann et al., 2009; Swann & Buhrmester, 2015; Swann, Gomez, Buhrmester, Rodriguez, Jimenez, & Vazquez, 2014; Swann, Gomez, Dovidio et al., 2010). In other words, because of permeable boundaries between personal and group-based identities, the activation flow can be from personal identity to social identity or vice versa and supports the willingness to perform extreme pro-group behaviors.

As stated before, uniqueness-based (relational) attraction can be evaluated as one of the main underlying factors of extreme pro-group behaviors; individuals perceive their group as a family rather than a social category based on prototypic characteristics. This orientation increases family-like ties, perceived connectedness, shared strength, and reciprocal obligations, as well as collective ties among group members (Gomez, Brooks et al., 2011; Swann, Buhrmester et al., 2014). This is why individuals who had higher level of fusion with Spanish identity donated more money for needy Spanish people than non-fused and weakly fused group members (Swann, Gomez, Huici et al., 2010); or strongly identity-fused individuals indicated greater willingness to fight and die for protecting their country (Gomez, Brooks et al., 2011; Swann et al., 2009); or although strongly identity-fused individuals felt greater stress and anxiety when group members were in danger, non identity-fused participants supported the self-preservation motives (Swann, Gomez et al., 2014).

In most of the fusion studies, the identity fusion of individuals toward their country (e.g., Spanish or American people as a group) has been investigated; but the question of how individuals establish strong familial and reciprocal ties with all

group members in larger groups is also critical. These people have a chance to develop personal relationships or direct contacts with a small portion of the whole group. This is why researchers emphasize two types of fusion such as local fusion (including small groups such as tribal units, families, friend groups, small military units) and extended fusion (including larger groups such as countries, gender groups, religious groups). The shared important characteristics such as genes or values keep members together as a family in small groups, whereas these primed core characteristics are projected to all members and strengthen familial ties even though individuals do not have any direct relationship with all members in larger groups. For example, priming the shared biological qualities (in Chinese and Indian samples) and shared social values (in American and Spanish samples) supported the association between identity fusion and willingness to fight and die for in-group members, and familial ties mediated the relationship between identity fusion and extreme pro-group behaviors; in addition, the awareness toward shared core characteristics was more important than the perceived positivity or negativity of these characteristics for identity-fused people (Swann, Buhrmester et al., 2014).

In larger or multi-ethnic groups, the shared core characteristics mostly may be socio-culturally constructed concepts such as national identity, group-based values or ideology, episodic memories and history of suffering rather than biological relatedness, and they strengthen the similarity of group members, and collective and familial ties (Swann et al., 2012). Especially, the shared negative and challenging experiences get individuals closer more than the shared positive experiences (Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Finkenouer, & Vohs, 2001). This is why we propose that besides the shared core values, bonding experiences such as awareness for perceived common disadvantage and the sense of perceived (relative) deprivation may keep individuals together like familial ties, and may strengthen the endorsement of extreme pro-group actions.

In the following part of the thesis, the social psychology literature on relative deprivation issue will be reviewed; and the concept of relative deprivation fusion will be proposed within the theoretical framework of identity fusion. The present study proposed that the relative deprivation of person may be differently related to the in-group identification and identity fusion concepts within extreme pro-group behavior process. This possible differentiated association may provide

important information to explain the willingness to perform the extreme pro-group action.

1.4 Theory of Relative Deprivation

In spite of the negative effects of objective socio-economic deprivation and inequality (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2010), subjective interpersonal and intergroup comparisons and interpretations define individuals' awareness and social responses to perceived inequality (e.g., Osborne & Sibley, 2013; Stouffer, Suchman, DeVinney, Star, & Williams, 1949). Relative deprivation theory (e.g., Crosby, 1976; Davis, 1959; Gurr, 1970; Runciman, 1966) has proposed that people subjectively compare themselves with other individual(s), groups or own past position, and these subjective comparisons lead to the cognitive appraisal which individual perceives own or his in-group's disadvantaged position (e.g., Smith, Pettigrew, Pippin, & Biolasiewicz, 2012).

The awareness for one's disadvantaged position can be assumed as the first step of deprivation. For example, the socio-culturally embedded structural disadvantage may be internalized and perceived as natural by socially devalued groups (e.g., Schmitt, Branscombe, & Postmes, 2003; van Zomeren et al., 2008), and devalued groups such as women, ethnic or religious minorities, and homosexuals may not be aware of an alternative system to the current structural system.

Runciman (1966) emphasized the levels of subjective comparisons and differentiated relative deprivation including egoistic deprivation (individual-based) and fraternal deprivation (group-based); individuals tend to make interpersonal or intergroup comparisons whereby they realize personal disadvantage in comparison to other people or they perceive disadvantage of his/her in-group relative to another group. In relative deprivation literature, interpersonal and intergroup comparisons are associated with distinct outcomes; interpersonal comparisons and individual-based relative deprivation are related to individual-based outcomes including subjective well-being, life satisfaction, self-esteem, depressive symptoms, stress, shame, and anxiety (e.g., Osborne & Sibley, 2013; Smith et al., 2012; Smith & Ortiz, 2002; Walker, 1999; Walker & Mann, 1987), whereas intergroup comparisons and group-based relative deprivation predict group-based outcomes

such as pro-group protest, collective action, and social change (e.g., Abrams & Grant, 2012; Walker & Man, 1987).

Researchers emphasize the importance of same level analysis (e.g., Smith et al., 2012; Walker & Mann, 1987; Walker & Pettigrew, 1984), and propose that individual-based outcomes should be tested with interpersonal comparisons and individual-based relative deprivation, whereas group-based responses should be investigated using intergroup comparisons and group-based relative deprivation. Individual-based and group-based deprivations are supposed as almost independent states with each other, and pro-group actions mostly have been associated with group-based identity salience, intergroup comparisons and group-based relative deprivation (e.g., Smith et al., 2012; Walker, 1999; Walker & Mann, 1987). This perspective reminds the differentiation-based approach toward personal and social identities which is mentioned in the article of Hogg (1987, 1991, 1993), and underestimates the role of personal identity salience, interpersonal comparisons and individual-based relative deprivation on group-based responses. In the literature, individual-based relative deprivation was not found associated with individual-based outcomes in each study (Olson, Roese, Meen, & Robertson, 1995), or group-based relative deprivation did not always predict group-based responses to perceived disadvantage (Birt & Dion, 1987; Schmitt, Maes, & Widaman, 2010). In addition, some studies have indicated the relatedness between individual and group level deprivations. For example, in the study of Pettigrew and colleagues (2008), group-based relative deprivation significantly mediated the association between individual-based relative deprivation and prejudice toward out-group. The limited number of study also suggested that group-based relative deprivation can predict the participation in pro-group actions; but when individuals also recognize the high level of individual-based relative deprivation, the motivation behind the pro-group action and the cognitive allegiance to in-group strengthen (Foster & Matheson, 1995; Tougas & Beaton, 2002). These findings have shown that both interpersonal and intergroup comparisons may be associated with the same outcome as the pro-group response. The proposed distinct outcomes can be explained by the point of comparison rather than the level of comparison. The previous studies have proposed that individual-based comparisons with a member of out-group may strengthen the intention to participate in pro-group actions more than individual-based

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comparisons with a member of in-group (Hafer & Olson, 1993); but both individual-based comparisons with a member of in-group or out-group may increase the awareness toward shared core bonding conditions or disadvantage.

The present paper proposes that interpersonal and intergroup comparisons may not be independent concepts. Because of different levels in the comparison processes, they may be distinct but also complementary in the pro-group action process. As far as we concerned, we propose a new concept - Relative Deprivation Fusion - which is the unique form of deprivation, and interpersonal comparisons and individual-based relative deprivation become fused and overlap with intergroup comparisons and group-based relative deprivation.

The literature has indicated that even though individuals are aware of the disadvantaged position of in-group, they may not perceive themselves as a target exposed to discriminative approach (Taylor, Wright, Moghaddam, & Lalonde, 1990), and it may not predict or may weakly estimate group-based responses (Taylor, Moghaddam, Gamble, & Zellerer, 1987). However, in the present paper, the identity fusion may strengthen the fusion of individual and group level relative deprivations; it means that individual-based perceived unfair disadvantage may become relevant with group experiences, and individuals may perceive the group-based disadvantage as personal. In addition to the proposed mediating variables by the literature (including the familial ties with local in-group, the individual agency for local in-group, and the perceived invulnerability of local in-group), the relative deprivation fusion may mediate the relationship between identity fusion and the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors, and deprivation-fused individuals may indicate greater willingness to perform extreme self-sacrificing behaviors for the sake of their in-group members.

In the light of literature on identity fusion (e.g., Stets & Burke, 2000; Swann et al., 2009; Swann et al., 2012; Swann, Gomez, Huici et al., 2010), we propose that in the case of high deprivation fusion, the boundaries between salient interpersonal and intergroup deprivations may be highly permeable, and this may strengthen individual's cognitive allegiance to in-group. Because of this permeability, the activation of either individual-based or group-based relative deprivations may activate the motivation behind group-based responses as well as the activation of fused personal and social identities of the person in identity fusion theory.

1.4.1 Perceived unfairness and emotional part of relative deprivation

Researchers have mostly investigated the cognitive magnitude of deprivation (including the perceived discrepancy between the having position of individual and other(s)) to predict individual or group-based responses and have ignored the affective component of relative deprivation. Awareness and cognitive appraisal for individual's or his/her in-groups' perceived disadvantaged position may not be sufficient to explain in-group cohesiveness and pro-group actions. For example, if there is not a direct and influential challenge for existing beliefs and system, disadvantaged individuals (e.g., women, homosexuals, ethnic or religious minorities) may have a motivation to justify the current status quo (e.g., Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004; Jost, Pelham, Sheldon, & Sullivan, 2003). In other words, because of existential and ideological justification impulses (including belief in a just world, social dominance orientation, system justification orientation and conservatism), even if individuals realize their disadvantaged position, they may evaluate social inequality as fair and natural (e.g., Göregenli, 2015; Hafer & Olson, 1989; Jost & Thompson, 2000). This situation decreases the intensity of deprivation (including the affective part of deprivation such as anger and resentment) which may support allegiance to in-group and speed up the pro-group action process. That is why the perceived fairness toward disadvantaged conditions and individual and group-based deservingness for the desired outcome also should be taken into consideration.

Cognitive appraisals about the position of the individual and his in-group are highly related to group-based emotions (Mackie, Devos, & Smith, 2000; Smith, Cronin, & Kessler, 2008). The awareness for subjectively unfair and illegitimate inequality, and not having what person wants and deserves increase negative emotions (e.g., anger, outrage, resentment, etc.) and blaming toward the source of perceived disadvantage (e.g., van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013; van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004; Weiss, Suckow, & Cropanzano, 1999). When individual-based perceived unfair and illegitimate disadvantage is relevant with group experiences and vice versa which is called as relative deprivation fusion, individuals may feel greater deprivation.

Individual and group-based cognitive and affective components of deprivation have been evaluated as distinct processes in the literature (e.g., Olson &

Hafer, 1996; van Zomeren et al., 2008; Walker & Smith, 2002); but these levels and processes may be more related (fused) than the assumptions of literature. In sum, according to theory of relative deprivation (Runciman, 1966), if (i) individual sees that other person, people or himself/herself at different point in time have X, (ii) individual does not have X, (iii) individual wants X and (iv) individual feels that I deserve X, person can be defined as deprived. When interpersonal comparisons and individual level deprivation become relevant with intergroup comparisons and group-based deprivation, thus may be identified as deprivation fusion.

In order to investigate the extreme pro-group behaviors of individuals within the framework of theories for identity fusion (in comparison to social identity theory) and relative deprivation, we have focused on both individual and group level relations of individuals with members of local in-group (supporters of own political party), extended in-group (T.C citizens) and local out-groups (supporters of ruling party and two other opposition parties). The concept of national identity and the meaning of being a T.C citizen will be introduced in the next part of the paper. Political party identities were evaluated as sub-identities of the national identity. That is why the current conditions in Turkish political atmosphere and identities of political parties also will be presented.

1.5 National Identity

National identity is evaluated as a larger and complex form of social identity (Cingöz-Ulu, 2008), and we can see main processes of social identity formation (including social categorization, social identification, social comparison and group-based distinctiveness) on the definition of national identity concept that is "a collective sentiment based upon the belief of belonging to the same nation, and of sharing most of attributes that make it distinct from other nations" (Guibernau, 2007, p. 11). Smith (1991) proposes shared territory, historical memories, public culture, legal rights, legal duties, and the economy as basic dimensions of national identity. Through the features of national identity, members make sense of "who they are", "how they relate to other nations", "what is important for their nation" in wider social context. For example, in some studies (Billiet, Maddens, & Beerten, 2003; Pehrson, Vignoles, & Brown, 2009), national identification and out-group prejudice are greater in communities which have the ethnocultural-based national identity rather than civic-based national identity.

Although the relationship between nationalism and nation is similar to chicken-egg paradox, historical developments such as equality and freedom thoughts, capitalism, modernization, and industrialization have triggered the social transformation of societies, and people were in search of modern types of political authority. Secondly, from the view of instrumentalists, national identity also has a political aspect; that is why international factors, domestic conflict, and the leaders and elites of the community may influence the national identity formation (Saideman, 2002). In the late-18th century, French and American revolutions influenced the political structure of the world and initiated the formation of modern nation-states. The concepts of nation, state and nation-state also gained popularity. In order to clarify these concepts, as stated in the study of Ergül (2009), the nation is mostly described as a human population that people reside in the same territory, share same social, cultural and historical characteristics, use same linguistic features, and define themselves as a member of this community. In addition, some nations use ethnic, religious and geographical dimensions to define themselves. The state is defined as the administrative body of community in which a group of individuals is selected by members to represent all nation and its interests. The approval of people through elections is one of the main differences of modern nation-states from dictatorships and monarchies. That is why state means both a body of government and selected a group of people. Thirdly, the nation-state can be identified as the politically organized form of the nation that is an independent political unit with a sovereign state in a particular territory. Members behave based on their citizenship rights and duties. In addition, the unified characteristics of nation-state define national identity.

There are different nationalism approaches (including "German or Italian type" and "British or French type") to define the structure of the nation and influence the content of national identity (Kadıoğlu, 1996). The discussion between the concepts of Turk and Turkiyeli (citizen of the Republic of Turkey) can be evaluated using these approaches. German/Italian type nationalism emphasizes the importance of organic nation, and homogeneity of individuals based on racial, ethnic, and religious characteristics. This situation strengthens ethnocultural-based national identities. German Romantics define members of the nation as an organic

family which are connected with ethnicity, religion, blood, common language, traditions, cultural history, and geography.

On the other hand, British/French nationalism explains the term of belonging to a nation with desires and feelings rather than racial, ethnic, religious or cultural characteristics of people. In other words, attachment of the person to his/her nation, desire to live together, collective solidarity, present will to protect national interests, tendency to make pro-nation sacrifices, and feeling of being at home are enough to be a member of a nation. It focuses on the relationships (including duties and rights of both citizens and state) between citizens and state and emphasizes the importance of individual for the sovereignty and unity of the nation. This perspective creates civic-based national identities.

National identity is a dynamically constructed concept, and it can be (re)structured in accordance with the needs of the time (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001). Its main characteristics may change based on the type of nation-state and unification strategy to keep members together. That is why the nature of the Republic of Turkey as a nation-state (Saklı, 2011) should be clarified. In the case of the Republic of Turkey, ethno-cultural and civic national approaches/identities cannot be evaluated in a continuum with a zero-sum association. Although Turkish citizenship is defined with civic terms based on the official declarations, both ethno-cultural and civic characteristics of Turkish nationalism still can be realized. In order to understand the national identity formation of the Republic of Turkey, we should take into consideration the historical background and the process from the Ottoman Empire to today.

1.6 The Formation of National Identity of the Republic of Turkey

1.6.1 The last years of the Ottoman Empire and identity

In the 19th century, nationalist ideas negatively affected the authority of the Ottoman Empire which dominated numerous different ethnic, religious, and cultural groups within its borders and autonomy, freedom, and liberation thoughts became salient among these groups. Existing unified identities could not be enough to protect the attachment of minorities to the Empire. Particularly ethnic nationalisms (e.g., Bulgarians, Serbians, Greeks, Albanians, Arabs, etc.), Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and World War I (1914-1918) indicated that din-ü devlet insight (all people, including Sultans, should behave on the behalf of religion and state) and "Millet"

system (ethnic groups of the Empire were positioned based on their religious identities) lost its upper unified identity function (Altınay, 2004; Ergül, 2009). In order to improve the collective consciousness and prevent the diffuse of the Empire, different identity perspectives (including Ottomanism, Islamism, and Turkism) were used by elites and some diverse groups.

Firstly, Ottomanism was added into the agenda with the Tanzimat, and tended to create a multi-ethnic and multi-religious nation state that all ethnic and religious groups have the same rights and duties (Akçura, 1991), and the will of nation, equality, and freedom concepts were emphasized rather than ethnic or religious features of groups. However, because of the independency desire of ethnic minorities, liberation movements, and the dominant effect of German-type nationalism (that emphasizes the political significance of ethnicity and religion) in Europe, Ottomanism lost its legitimacy to save the Empire (Akçura, 1991).

Islamism was also one of these approaches. Especially, Young Ottomans such as Namık Kemal, Ali Suavi, Şinasi, and Ziya Paşa supported that Islam and Muslim community may bring the survival of the Ottoman Empire; because French-type nationalism of the West may not be appropriate for the East (Akçura, 1991). However, during the World War I, Muslim societies did not fight with the Ottoman Empire against non-Muslim enemies in spite of the Cihad (holy war) declaration of the Ottomans. Quite the contrary, Arabs supported Britain against the Ottomans to gain their own independence. These cases indicated the inefficiency of Islamists' thoughts toward Islam-based identity, and modern Islamic state desire to stop the collapse of the Empire. Nevertheless, Islamic beliefs and religious affiliation did not lose its effect on the formation of the present national identity of Turkey. Although the Republic of Turkey defines itself as a secular nation-state through the constitution in 1937, Islam is still used to answer the question of "who Anatolian people are" by the majority of Turkish citizens, and political leaders at the present time. Islam is accepted by major society as one of the cornerstones of Turkish identity (Özdemir, 2013).

After the failure of Islamists, nationalist ideas were associated with ethnicity to save the Ottoman Empire; but, the important effect of religion was not ignored. Especially in the last years of the Empire, ethnicity and religion were two important dimensions which were mostly preferred to define the identity of Ottomans. The

Turkish language also was suggested as a unifying factor. That is why the concepts of "Muslim Turks" and "Muslim people who speak Turkish" were used in identity formation process. Especially, Ömer Seyfettin who is one of the well-known Turkish writers emphasized the importance of ethnicity- and religion-based identity rather than the Ottomanism as a unifying factor.

Because of the loss of big territories, Turkish elites such as Ziya Gökalp, and Yusuf Akçura turned their focus from protecting the territories of the Empire to establishing a new Turkish nation. That is why they concentrated on Anatolian Turks more than whole Muslims and Ottomans. Turkism became a crucial reference point. Especially, Akçura (1991) highlighted the importance of ethnicity in the Turkish nation and defined Islam as a secondary factor to keep Turks together. Akçura also added that religion cannot maintain its social and political effect without ethnicity.

This brief introduction indicated that different approaches were used to unify members and construct national identity by elites during the Ottoman Empire, and the meaning of national identity has changed over the time. As stated previously, the Republic of Turkey left ethnic and religious characteristics to define its national identity through the 1937-Turkish constitution. Because of modernization, civilization and secularization desire civic, linguistic, and political features were preferred to unify the society, and civic-based national identity was supported through official records. In spite of the official declaration of the state, the dilemma between ethnocultural-based and civic-based national identities still is a question of debate. That is why will specify the national identity of the Republic of Turkey and its ethnocultural-based and civic-based characteristics in the following part of the research.

1.6.2 National identity of the Republic of Turkey: Ethnocultural-based or civic-based

Previous approaches to unify the nation during the Ottoman Empire provide some clues about the national identity content of the Republic of Turkey; because current national identity is not completely independent from these approaches. In the current constitution of Turkey (1982, see article 10), the equality of citizenship rights for all members regardless of their race, ethnicity, religion, language, gender, and political view is emphasized and supports civic-based national structure. Also,

other main characteristics of civic-based national identity (French type) (including the attachment of the person to his/her nation, and the importance of each member on unity and continuity of nation, etc.) are highlighted and the rights and duties of both citizens and state are clarified. However, features of ethnocultural-based identity (German type) also can be realized on some articles of the constitution. For example, article 3 defines the official language of the state as Turkish, and the national anthem as "İstiklal Marşı" which includes ethnic and religious discourses. In addition, some articles use the word of "Turk" rather than "Türkiyeli" (citizen of the Republic of Turkey). In sum, the constitution of Turkey and its national identity contain both French type and German type identities which are called as double-faceted formulation. This duality may make national identity as fragile and may cause some problems in social and political areas.

Turkish nationalism includes both ethno-cultural and civic characteristics. During the Independence War of Turkey, Mustafa Kemal mostly used the term of "nation of Turkey" rather than Turks, and aimed to include all ethnic groups (e.g., Kurd, Laz, Cherkess etc.) in Turkey. However, this approach changed in the official declarations of the state after 1923 (Oran, 1993). Especially, during the first years of the Republic, the issue of ethnic and religious minorities was complicated (Yeğen, 2007). Although Islamic discourses and beliefs were mostly used to motivate people for fighting with enemies during the years of Independent War, the founders of the Republic tended to eliminate the effect of religion on secularization desire. However, this time, they focused on ethnic and linguistic features. State-led ethnic Turkish nationalism increased its effect (Altınay, 2004).

During the first years of the Republic, in order to improve racial aspects of Turkish culture, to glorify Turkish race and language in the stage of world civilization history, and to strengthen the connection between Turks and Anatolian lands, Turkish history was rewritten in the 1930s (Altınay, 2004). Textbooks, namely The Main Tenets of Turkish History, Turkish History Thesis, Sun-Language Thesis, and History, were published with the support of Atatürk to highlight the superior position of the Turkish race in the world arena. For example, Turks are identified as "members of a great race that has brought into being different states, civilizations, and societies in the historical period and in pre-historical times" in

Tarih [History] textbook (as cited in Altınay, 2004). These textbooks were taught at the schools for many years.

The duality in Turkish nationalism and national identity also can be explained through primordial and instrumentalist views. Primordials see the national identity as a natural, fixed, cultural, and shared history-based construct, whereas instrumentalists evaluate the national identity as a created cluster by leaders or elites to unify members together, and manipulate their social behaviors (Saideman, 2002). In Turkey, national identity falls somewhere between these concepts. In other words, the national identity of the Republic of Turkey includes both natural components and leaders' manipulations. In addition to Turkish history rewriting studies, the manipulation of the Kemalist regime on national identity of Turkey between the 1920s and 1930s is a good example for instrumentalists' views; National identity of Turkey was manipulated for disassociating the Republic from the Ottoman Empire, eluding the perceived image of the Ottomans as "sick man of Europe", and unifying people under difficult conditions of time for a common purpose that is independence.

Ethnic and religious features still hide at the behind of civic-based national identity. Because of this duality, people may perceive strict boundaries between being a citizen of Turkey and being a member of the Turkish nation. Majority of people still support the superiority and domination of Turkish identity over other ethnic groups who live in Turkey, and tend to glorify Turkishness and perceived national characteristics of Turkish identity such as militaristic skills, religious beliefs, and conservative norms, (Özdemir, 2013). Turkishness also is protected by the state as a sacred component of Turkey. For example, the public denifation toward Turkishness and the Republic is defined as a crime in the Penal Code of Turkey. Turkishness subjectively is not assumed equal to being the citizen of Turkey, and superior Turkishness-based discourses can be realized from the military to national education system in Turkey.

In the next part of the thesis, we will focus on political party identities (sub-social identities) within the national identity of Turkey. As stated before, supporters of opposition parties (including CHP, HDP or MHP supporters), which were represented in TBMM through November-2015 parliamentary elections, were defined as participant groups of the present research. We tended to investigate both

individual and group level relations of people with local in-group (supporters of own political party), extended in-group (T.C citizens) and three local out-groups (supporters of ruling party and two other opposition parties) within the framework of identity and relative deprivation theories, and aimed to test their extreme pro-group behaviors. In the line with these purposes, we will explain the meaning of being a supporter of AKP, CHP, HDP or MHP, and clarify their political party identities in the following section of the thesis. In addition, we will explain the current political atmosphere in Turkey, and describe relations among these political parties to provide a better perspective for readers who are not familiar with Turkey.

1.7 Political Party Identities (Sub-Social Identities) within the National Identity of Turkey

The social categories and social identities do not only reflect the present characteristics of the larger social group. People also come together, create sub-categories within the larger group and constitute alternative values, and norms to achieve collective mobilization and to have a better future (Reicher, 2004; Reicher & Hopkins, 2001). For example, different political party identities within a national identity may be indicated as an example of this situation.

Political party leaders tend to construct categories and create a salient group identity based on values, and objectives of the party and they try to improve the current conditions of the population. However, mostly, party leaders construct their group identity over out-groups (other parties) through "we" and "others" discourses, subjectively highlight anti-normative actions of out-group members, and marginalize them. Leaders propose that they will achieve the upward mobilization of the population in spite of out-group's negative effect. This tendency will be discussed while the identities of political parties in Turkey are introducing in detail.

Leaders can be defined as identity entrepreneurs who indicate themselves and their party members as representatives of the nation and reflect the identity of the party (including values, norms, objectives, and program of the party) in phase with national identity. That is why we can claim that all parties perceive the identity of the nation from their own perspective, and define national identity based on their political party values. In the present study, larger group (T.C citizens) and sub-group (political parties) memberships of person are named as extended in-group and local in-group memberships, respectively. Before understanding the meaning of

being a supporter of AKP, CHP, HDP or MHP (respectively), the vote percentage and number of seats of each political party were presented based on the results of last six parliamentary elections (see Table 1.1).

Table 1.1
Represented Parties in TBMM based on the Results of the Last Six Parliamentary Elections

Political Parties	24 June 2018	1 November 2015	7 June 2015	12 June 2011	22 July 2007	3 November 2002
	a (b)	a (b)	a (b)	a (b)	a (b)	a (b)
AKP	42.56 (295)	49.5 (317)	40.8 (258)	49.8 (327)	46.7 (341)	34.3 (365)
CHP	22.65 (146)	25.3 (134)	24.9 (132)	25.9 (135)	20.8 (112)	19.4 (177)
HDP	11.70 (67)	10.7 (59)	13.1 (80)	----------	----------	----------
MHP	11.10 (49)	11.9 (40)	16.2 (80)	13 (53)	14.3 (71)	----------
Independents	----------	----------	----------	6.6 (35)	5.2 (26)	1 (8)
Total	88.01% (557)*	97.4% (550)	95% (550)	95.3% (550)	87% (550)	54.7% (550)

Note. a = vote percentage in parliamentary elections; b = number of seats held in national parliament. 10% is the election threshold to be represented in the parliament as a party. Data were received from the database of the Supreme Election Committee (YSK, 2017; 2018).

*The number of seats held in national parliament was increased as 600 on 24th June 2018. Good Party (İYİ Parti) had 43 seats via 2018 parliamentary elections; but, the present study focused on the situation after 2015 parliamentary elections (1st November) due to the data collection time period between 10-May-2016 and 15-April-2017.

1.7.1 Political party identity of AKP: Being an AKP supporter

Most of AKP founders have an organic bond with conservative and pro-Islamist parties of Turkey; whereas the party defines itself as the conservative democrat. AKP represents right-wing political view, but it also supports modern democratic values (e.g., the secularization of the state; the sense of the social state; the equality of all citizens regardless of their ethnicity, sex, beliefs, and political view; the civic-based nationalism; the respect for basic human rights, and freedoms; defining the policies of the state based on democracy) due to its party program. In other words, AKP tends to perform democratic practices within the limitation of Islamic and traditional norms, and values. The party positions itself as the guard of unity and solidarity of Turkey and ends the party program with the words of "everything will be better with us, with the help of Allah" (Party Program of AKP, n.d.).

According to the party program, the will of the nation should be valued above all else, and democratic values (including human rights and freedoms of both majority and minority groups; pluralism; and respect for all religious, and ethnic groups) should be protected. However, when the actions of the party are evaluated, we can say that majority determines the future of all citizens, and the decision of majority dominates society such as referendums for the constitutional amendments in 2007 (68.95% said Yes; 31.05% said No), 2010 (57.88% said Yes; 42.12% said No), and 2017 (51.41% said Yes; 48.59% said No) (YSK, 2017).

In recent years, conservative and religious aspects of Turkish nation gradually increased its effect on society. Based on the thesis study of Karakaş-Kökce (2010), the reasons for the current increasing conservatism can be seen in the modernization process that was conducted during the early decades of the Republic of Turkey. Because of the imposed modernization in Turkey from elites or intellectuals to ordinary people via top-down mechanisms, there was a huge gap between center and periphery. The center tried to dominate the periphery, and some religious, ethnic, and economic groups of people were excluded from the political and social decision mechanisms. For example, during the first years of the Republic, the state tended to replace Islamism with Turkish nationalism, (Bruinessen, 1992). Kemalist system and its civilizing project aimed to create a new Western value system in Turkish society, but profoundly internalized Islamic beliefs were in conflict with this purpose. Because of secularism, modernization and westernization desires, religious groups were perceived as a threat toward the secular and Kemalist regime, and they were kept under control and marginalized. Even so, the Kemalist regime could not decrease the effect of the Islamic and traditional value system on society.

Internalized Islamic beliefs and traditional values strengthened the effect of pro-Islamist parties on the Turkish policy. Especially, Necmettin Erbakan played an important role in the future of the religious movement. He identified himself with the traditional values of Turkey, and the periphery rather than the center. In spite of military coups and closure of pro-Islamist parties, the rising vote rates of Islamist movement can be realized from the 1991 election until today. Erbakan and Sunni-Islamist and conservative Welfare Party (RP, Refah Partisi) increased the voting rate in 1995 elections as the winning party of the parliament, and this result

strengthened the conflict between secularist and pro-Islamist ideologies. RP tended to apply Islamist economy, objected Westernization desire, and supported Islamist discourses (Yıldız, 2003). Pro-Islamist discourses generated the main part of Erbakan's speeches, and he defined most of Western political and economic organizations as Christian formations against Islam. This tendency and dependence on traditional values increased the support of public on the behalf of RP. However, both RP and its inheritor, Virtue Party (FP, Fazilet Partisi) were closed by the Constitutional Court of Turkey because of their perceived actions against secularism and laicism principle which separates the state from religion.

After that, AKP was established in 2001 by reformist supporters of FP and received the biggest share of votes (34.6%) in 2002 elections. AKP mostly avoided to make same mistakes with previous conservative parties (e.g., representing themselves as anti-Western, strongly Islamist or highly conservative), and tried to use moderate discourses and protect the balance between Islamism and secularism. While Erdoğan, who is the former leader of AKP and the present president of the Republic of Turkey, is using the "we and others" metaphor, he defines others as the enemy of democracy and supporters of Old Turkey (Güneş, 2014). Old Turkey includes one party period of CHP, military coups and disconnectedness between elites and public. Even if AKP leaders highlight the importance of laicism and democracy, secularists perceive AKP as a threat for the future of the Republic (Hale & Özbudun, 2010).

AKP defines itself via conservative democratic political identity. Because of the conservative feature of AKP, the meaning of modernization, universalism, and change may be different. The modernist understanding of AKP does not externalize traditional values, its universalism approach gives importance to local whereas the change means a progressive and reformist process rather than revolutionist (Akdoğan, 2004). AKP evaluates religion as the vital part of life and important value of humanity, whereas it supports secularism and democracy more than other previous Islamist parties. Even so, Erdoğan and AKP mostly legitimize their policies with pro-Islamist discourses (Yeni Şafak, 2014). In addition, the debates on abortion; the position of women in the family, work, and society; the mixed-sex student houses; the use of alcohol; and the domestic violence and femicides indicate the approach of AKP that is based on traditional gender norms and pro-Islamic

tendency. Turkey is governed by AKP since 2002 elections (see Table 1.1), and it won 6 parliamentary elections, 3 presidential elections, and 3 referendums within 16 years.

1.7.2 Political party identity of CHP: Being a CHP supporter

CHP represents the left-wing of the political spectrum, and is defined as a social democratic party which behaves with democratic values such as secularism, pluralism, equality, and protecting human rights and freedoms, and the party positions itself against all types of discrimination (Party Program of CHP, n.d.). CHP also shapes its identity and party program based on Atatürk's reforms (Kemalist ideology; six arrows), namely, republicanism, nationalism, populism, statism, laicism, and revolutionism. Republicanism associates the source of sovereignty with the national will which includes all people regardless of their origins. The Republic takes its power from the equality, unity, and solidarity of all citizens. Nationalism of CHP is based on political consciousness, pluralism, ideal solidarity, and citizenship bonds rather than linguistic, ethnic, racial, religious, sectarian, and regionalist features. Also because of its social democrat aspect, the party refuses the dominance of any group over economically or politically disadvantaged groups and tends to highlight the civic-based nationalism. Populism principle removes the priorities of dominant groups and specifies the source of political legitimacy as the will of the nation. Statism principle proposes democratic constitutional state structure and equal distribution of the services of state for all citizens; these services should be on the behalf of all people. Laicism separates the state from religion and highlights the importance of secularism. The freedom of belief and respect for all religious groups are perceived as main necessities to maintain the unity and continuity of nation. Lastly, based on the revolutionism principle of CHP, the state should follow the necessities of the time, be open to new ideas, and solve problems with modern values to catch the era.

CHP was established in 1923 by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as the first political party of the Republic and ruled Turkey from 1923 to 1950. CHP aimed to establish a secular and modern nation based on the Kemalist ideology and its six arrows. Especially during the first decades of the Republic, Turkish nationalism was used to unify people. Islam and religious beliefs were under the control of secularism and modernization desires; because elites and mostly CHP supporters perceived Islam

as a threat to modernist reforms (Gürsoy, 2012). That is why the traces of Islam on social and cultural life were tended to be eliminated. For example, firstly, Caliphate was removed in 1924. In addition, the education system was separated from the effect of religion through the law of Tevhid-i Tedrisat, and all educational institutions were unified under the Ministry of National Education. At the same year, also, Directorate of Religious Affairs was founded to control the actions of religious institutions. Civil Code, as an adaptation of the Swiss Civil Code, was accepted to replace Islam and sharia-based laws in 1926. In addition, Penal and Commercial Codes of Italians and Germans were adapted to be used in Turkey. The statement of "Islam is the religion of state" was taken out from the Constitution in 1928. After that, the state was clearly defined as secular in 1937. These changes inhibited the role of religion in family, politics, economy, and society.

Beside secularism tendency, Turkish nationalism (including both ethno-cultural and civic features) was dominant in the ruling single-party period of CHP. In other words, while the party was emphasizing the importance of civic nationalism and civic-based national identity, it also tended to glorify racial characteristics of Turks. This approach created a duality for the national identity of Turkey and strengthened the pressure on other ethnic groups (Yeğen, 2007).

In 1950, Democratic Party and its leader Adnan Menderes (DP, Demokrat Parti) ended the single-party rule of CHP and ruled Turkey until 1960. DP indicated greater tolerance to Islamic practices and gained the support of the opponents of CHP. Especially, in the years between 1945 and 1970, pro-Islamist discourses and religious movements occupied Turkish politics. In 1960, the conflict between CHP and DP became stronger, and the ruling of DP turned to a repressive regime. Because of increased conflict and repressive regime of DP, the military seized power via the military coup, and DP was closed.

In 1961 elections, CHP received the biggest part of the votes by a narrow margin, and Justice Party (AP, Adalet Partisi) was the second. AP (established in 1961 to support the center-right and conservative political view) can be defined as a continuation of DP; because most of DP members participated in AP. AP was the strongest party with CHP in 1965, 1969, 1973 and 1977 elections. However, because of increasing terrorist activities, political instability, economic problems, and conflict between rightist and leftist groups, the military took the control again in

1980. Both AP and CHP were closed with the 1980 military coup. CHP had to stop its political activities until the political parties law in 1992 that allows the reopening of closed parties by the military coup. CHP is the main opposition party against AKP since 2002 elections, and still tends to be dependent on the reforms of the Republic (see Table 1.1).

1.7.3 Political party identity of HDP: Being a HDP supporter

HDP is related to left-wing political values and emphasizes the importance of egalitarianism, socialism, and participatory democracy (Party Program of HDP, n.d.). When we consider its party program, the party mainly uses freedom, equality, honest politics, democratic party, pro-peace party, pro-labor party, pro-self government party, pro-gender equality party and green party discourses. To be more precise, HDP highlights the importance of equal citizenship and the respect for native linguistic, ethnic, religious, and cultural backgrounds and sexual orientations of each individual. Based on the party program, in order to support humane living conditions, HDP underlines the rights of minorities or/and disadvantaged groups such as Kurdish people, Alawite groups, women, LGBTQ individuals, labors, etc.

HDP can be defined as the continuation of left-wing parties that represent the rights of Kurdish people in Turkey. Minority parties have to deal with different barriers in the political system of Turkey. For example, firstly, in order to prevent Kurdish and religious movements, 1980-83 military regime brought the rule of 10% election threshold to be represented in TBMM as a political party (Grigoriadis, 2016). Pro-Islamist parties achieved to pass election threshold, but especially pro-Kurdish parties repeatedly failed to pass 10% voting rate. That is why pro-Kurdish parties mostly participated in elections with independent candidates. In 2011 parliamentary elections, 36 independent candidates entered into TBMM. Secondly, lots of pro-Kurdish parties were banned and closed by the Constitutional Court because of their proposed connections with the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK, Partiya Karkeren Kurdistane) and its terrorist activities.

HDP was founded in 2012, but the party increased its power in 2014 with the participation of pro-Kurdish Peace and Democracy Party (BDP, Barış ve Demokrasi Partisi) supporters. Most of the people defined HPD as the political wing of PKK (Celep, 2014; Grigoriadis, 2016), and this approach was the main barrier for HDP to receive the support of Turkish people. Nevertheless, HDP took a

big risk and decided to participate in 2015 parliamentary elections as a political party rather than independent candidates. HDP tended to reposition itself as representative of all ethnic groups of Turkey (including Turks), highlight the importance of the democratic system, secular values, human rights and peace process, and establish a left-center political profile. The party objected to authoritarian policies and presidential system desires of AKP. HDP achieved to get into TBMM in 2015 parliamentary elections as the third opposition party with 13.1% voting rate (see Table 1.1). Especially, the passing of election threshold by HDP was perceived as a turning point in pro-Kurdish movement and left-wing politics history (Grigoriadis, 2016), and Selahattin Demirtaş was also defined as a new charismatic leader in politics. HDP did not only received the votes of Kurdish people but also Turkish seculars (who want to stop the authoritarian policies, aim to prevent presidential system desires of AKP, perceive HDP as a chance for democracy and do not identify themselves with mainstream political parties) supported HDP.

Getting into TBMM of HDP in June 2015 elections can be defined as the first failure of AKP since 2002 because AKP could not provide the parliamentary majority to have the single-party government. This situation strengthened the coalition government (CHP-HDP-MHP) idea, but far-right MHP rejected to participate in any coalition with HDP because of Turkish-Kurdish nationalism conflict. AKP and pro-AKP media channels emphasized the importance of single-party government for stability and economic growth. In addition, the proposed association between HDP and PKK was underlined, and HDP could not be successful to convince ordinary party supporters and separate itself from PKK, and its terrorist activities. Moreover, ethnic polarization and the conflict between PKK and Turkish state increasingly continued. Terrorist activities in Diyarbakır (June, 2015), Suruç (July, 2015) and Ankara (October, 2015) polarized the political atmosphere in Turkey. These negative situations strengthened the desire of people toward a strong single-party government, and parliamentary elections were repeated in October, 2015. HDP again passed 10% election threshold and got into TBMM, but the party decreased its voting rate from 13.1% to 10.7%, and AKP received sufficient voting rate to establish the single-party government. HDP still has an important role as an opposition party in TBMM.

1.7.4 Political party identity of MHP: Being a MHP supporter

MHP is associated with far-right nationalistic values and primarily tends to protect the unity and continuity of nation and state, strengthen the national solidarity, and maintain the basic national characteristics of Turkish nation (Party Program of MHP, n.d.). MHP does not explicitly highlight the superiority of any group based on their ethnic or religious features in its current party program. However, it tends to raise young generations who are attached to the moral and Islam-based values, and express self-sacrificing and self-devoting behaviors on the behalf of the Turkish nation. In addition, the party emphasizes the necessity of national education with the Turkish language and national economy. In spite of its equality-based party discourses, MHP and its youth branches - namely Ülkücüs - are charged with being extra-nationalist and fascist (Arslan, 1999); but, the party leaders do not accept this type of accusations.

Republican Villagers Nation Party (CKMP, Cumhuriyetçi Köylü Millet Partisi) changed its name as MHP in 1969 under the leadership of Alparslan Türkeş. In the emblem of the party, the "three crescents" was preferred, and a wolf within a crescent was used to define Ülkücü group. Through these symbols, the main ideology of the party can be understood as Turk-Islam synthesis (Öznur, 1999). MHP highlighted that Turkish nationalism should be the main principle; because the Turkish nation has superior features than other nations (Türkeş, 1995). Türkeş defined the Turkish nation as a group of people who shares same historical consciousness, religion, culture, and territory and live under the same flag of the same state (Dalmış, 2003). This definition did not evaluate ethnic or religious minorities of Turkey as Turk.

Türkeş associated Turkish nationalism with deep love and loyalty to the Turkish nation. That is why he changed his perspective to define the Turkish nation and supported that all people who have deep love and loyalty to the Turkish nation, Turkish state, and Turkish homeland, and tend to express self-sacrifices on the behalf of Turkish nation's interests can be defined as Turk. Türkeş also emphasized the main ideals of Turkish nation through Idealism (Ülkücülük) principle that the Turkish nation should protect its high level moral, spiritual and humanistic features, and should be one of the most advanced and economically developed societies.

Moralism principle of the party supports that the Turkish nation should be organized and ruled based on the norms of national morality (including Islamic beliefs, past experiences, and culture). In addition, the party highlights the importance of self-sacrificing actions as behaviors of moral individuals. This is related with the social mindedness principle; because the existence and interests of the nation are more important than personal interests, and all actions should be on the behalf of the nation.

Scientific attitude principle tends to support the relationship between scientific development and the future of the nation, but the party also underlines that national education should strengthen Turkish nationalism and Islam-based morality, and scientific developments should be used to improve the military and its power. Otherwise, personal freedom and populism principle of the party supports freedom and libertarian democracy to protect Turkish nationalism. Besides these, support for villagers (focusing on the problems of rural areas), support for development (development using the past, traditions and previous experiences within an evolutionary perspective rather than discarding them), and support for industry and technology are other main principles of the party.

In the 1970s, there was a big conflict between rightist and leftist political groups, and this conflict ended up with the 1980-83 military regime. MHP was closed in 1981, and some supporters of the party were arrested. Nevertheless, Ülkücüs tended to continue their political actions and established a new party in 1983, namely Conservative Party. Two years later, they changed the name of the party as Nationalist Working Party (MÇP, Milliyetçi Çalışma Partisi). In 1987, after the military regime, Türkeş participated in MÇP and was selected as the leader of the party. However, because of the 10% election threshold, they could not send any representative to the parliament. In order to pass the threshold, the party established an alliance with RP and Reformist Democracy Party (IDP, Islahatçı Demokrasi Partisi) in 1991 parliamentary elections, and entered the parliament with 20 representatives.

In 1992, party members changed the name of MÇP as MHP with the permission of the National Security Council. Because of the died of Turkeş, Bahçeli was selected as the leader of the MHP in 1997, and the party provided its biggest success in 1999 parliamentary elections with 18% vote ratio. It is fact that the

success of the party was related to the increasing terrorist activities of PKK (tends to establish an independent Kurdish state in the Southern East Anatolia), and the highlighted importance of Turkish nationalism (Dalmış, 2003). MHP is represented as one of the main opposition parties in the parliament through last five parliamentary elections (see Table 1.1).

1.8 Political Atmosphere in Turkey

Political party leaders aim to maximize their supporters and minimize members of other parties (Reicher & Hopkins, 1995). In parallel with this tendency, parties tend to create a social perception based on their own political values which marginalize other parties' members and defines others' political arguments as anti-normative. Turkish democracy time to time witnessed intense conflicts between different political groups such as pro-Westernizations vs traditionals; center vs periphery; global vs national vs local; ethnocultural vs civic identities, etc (Keyman, 2008). After the 1950s, the conflict between leftist and rightist groups dominated the politics. In the 1980s, the polarizations between secularist and pro-Islamist groups, and Turkish nationalists and Kurdish nationalists influenced the political agenda (Çarkoğlu & Hinich, 2006; Gürsoy, 2012). All of these conflicts still indicate their effects at different levels.

The political polarization concept can be considered as an inseparable part of party systems, and highly associated with ideological distances of parties. In other words, the existence of extremist parties and their greater conflicting ideologies (including ethnic, religious, economic, social, political, etc approaches) increase the polarization level among groups and strengthen us vs them situation (Kiriş, 2011). High polarization supports party (in-group) identification, party (in-group) favoritism and ideology-based behaviors of group members (Lachat, 2008), because cognitive categories among parties and perceived group distinctiveness may be more salient in highly polarized political systems. That is why party leaders may aim to increase the polarized atmosphere and motivate supporters based on party values. However, this created polarization also may support out-group hostility and prevent coalition-based policies.

In 2002 elections, when AKP was selected as ruling party, CHP was the main opposition. The conflict between secularists and pro-Islamists was represented through CHP and AKP, respectively; because CHP was the protector of secularist

principles in the eye of its supporters. AKP legitimizes its authority through national will and New Turkey discourses, and it blames CHP as the supporter of Old Turkey that promotes one party period, top-down policies, status quo, military coups, and elitist mentality rather than periphery, national will, and democracy (Güneş, 2014). Erdoğan proposes that people could not freely live their religion under the pressure of one party period, and periphery (including ordinary individuals) was dominated based on norms and values of center (including state, elites, and bureaucracy). Center ignored national will, and religious, traditional and cultural needs of the periphery, and tried to impose its own westernization, modernization, and secularization based ideology. The success of AKP in 2002 was perceived as the victory of periphery over the center.

In other respects, Erdoğan (AKP) also criticizes other opposition parties. He evaluates the policy of MHP as useless and not satisfy the expectations of its members after the ruling of Bahçeli (Güneş, 2014). He mostly defines the nationalism approach of MHP as racist (Satana, 2012), and associates the service policy of AKP on the behalf of society with real nationalism. Besides, AKP blames on HDP to destroy the unity of the Turkish nation and its citizens and claims that HDP takes its strength from violence and terrorist groups.

As stated previously, after 1980, the second main conflict was based on the ethnic difference that puts Turkish nationalists against Kurdish nationalists. Actually, the beginning of this polarization traces to the last years of the Ottoman Empire and the first years of the Republic of Turkey that Turkism ideology was salient. Moreover, the duality of national identity in Turkey, which includes both ethnocultural-based and civic-based identities, and Turkification tendencies of government strengthened ethnicity-based conflict. Kurdish separatism tendency in the southeastern region of Anatolia and terrorist actions of PKK still continue to occupy politics. Because of 10% election threshold, Kurdish nationalists tended to enter parliament through independent candidates until HDP (that is the continuation of closed pro-Kurdish parties) and decided to participate in 2015 parliamentary elections as a party. On the other hand, Turkish nationalists mostly voted MHP; because MHP was perceived as the main representative of Turkish nationalism. In addition, some Turkish nationalists also supported AKP due to its conservative and religious aspects (Gürsoy, 2012).

The Kurdish question is an ongoing important issue between AKP and HDP. Kurdish issue may be defined as one of the main ignored topics in Turkey and is associated with economic conditions rather than ethnic features (Satana, 2012). In other words, Kurdish problem is limited in economic problems of Southeastern East with a regional approach, and ethnicity-based disadvantages of people in national level are ignored. For the first time, in order to end the armed clashes between Turkish military and PKK, and normalize the Kurdish issue, AKP (as the ruling party of the Republic of Turkey) initiated a process that is named as the democratic opening in 2009 (Celep, 2014). Kurdish people took different rights within the framework of democratization package (2014). For example, the bans toward the use of Kurdish language in education, media, and political party speeches were lifted. In addition, new political arrangements were made to support small parties financially. However, HDP and pro-Kurdish parties criticized the inefficiency of the peace process and democratization packages and highlighted both socio-economic and ethnicity-based disadvantages of Kurdish population (Celep, 2014). In addition, pro-Kurdish parties criticized the high level of election threshold (10%) to get into TBMM as a political party. Besides the Kurdish issue, HDP also criticizes the policies of AKP toward democracy, human rights, gender equality, environment, and distribution of power. It emphasizes the importance of the decentralization of power and the rights of other disadvantaged groups such as ethnic and/or religious minorities, LGBTQ individuals, labors, women, etc (Celep, 2014).

In order to understand inter-party relations, the research of Okuyan (2012) may provide an important insight. Okuyan (2012) conducted a research to see the effect of political party leaders on the construction of national identity in Turkey based on their own party's values and collective objectives using meeting speeches of AKP, CHP and MHP leaders before 2011 parliamentary elections. Research indicated that territorial integrity, the unity of land, national flag and official Turkish language discourses were used to clarify the national identity of Turkey by all three parties' leaders. However, they indicated some differences while they were emphasizing the bounding factors that keep nation members together. Particularly, Erdoğan (AKP) highlighted the co-religionist feature (Sunni-Islam), Bahçeli (MHP) underlined the shared culture and history concepts, and Kılıçdaroğlu (CHP) emphasized the citizenship bonds to unify members of their own party and Turkey.

Particularly, AKP is the ruling party of Turkey since 2002. In addition to its related discourses about the unity and continuity of state, flag, land, and nation, AKP mostly uses Sunni-Islam and religious features to embrace individuals who have different ethnic origins or political views (Okuyan, 2012). Erdoğan equates AKP with the public and prefers "we and others" metaphor to specify its position in society. "We" refers to government and public whereas "others" means illegal, terrorist and undemocratic groups (Topuz, 2012). Öğünç (2012), is a columnist in newspaper Radikal, proposes that Erdoğan labels all people who criticize policies and practices of AKP as the public enemy, terrorist, elitist, schemer or pro-coup against the will of the nation.

MHP leader Bahçeli mostly criticizes the actions of AKP, and proposes that politicians should behave based on the interests of nation rather than own personal benefits; but AKP tends to increase own power and wealth, and does not care the needs of society (Okuyan, 2012). On the other hand, in the speeches of Kılıçdaroğlu, the concept of citizenship bonds is often highlighted, and religion is treated as a cultural component rather than a dominant binding factor. He criticizes the polarization-based actions of Erdoğan and evaluates the policies of AKP as a threat toward democracy, justice, fairness, freedom, and peace (Okuyan, 2012), and this situation increases inter-group conflict within society and strengthens perceived conservative and anti-democratic image of Turkey by other countries. CHP also supports that AKP focuses on its self-interests rather than national benefits.

In sum, conflicts and polarizations among different groups (including pro-Westernizations vs traditionals; center vs periphery; global vs national vs local; ethnocultural vs civic identities; leftists vs rightists; secularists vs pro-Islamists; Turkish nationalists vs ethnic nationalists, etc.) occupy the political and social agenda of Turkey from late years of the Ottoman Empire and the first years of the Republic to the present. Ruling parties define the main ideology of society based on own political identity. That is why the elected ruling group also influences relatively advantaged and disadvantaged groups of society. In the next part of the paper, we will briefly report important cases in the social and political life of Turkey after November-2015 parliamentary elections to indicate polarizations among political parties.

1.8.1 Important Cases in Social and Political Life of Turkey after November-2015 Parliamentary Elections

Two right-wing (AKP - 49.5%; and MHP - 11.9%), and two left-wing (CHP - 25.3%; and HDP - 10.7%) political parties passed 10% election threshold and got into the TBMM through November-2015 parliamentary elections (see Table 1.1). However, after the November-2015 parliamentary elections, different cases (including military coup attempt, state of emergency) occupied the social and political agenda of the Republic of Turkey. These important cases influenced the intra- / inter-party relations of the opposition parties' supporters.

The first important case is the military coup attempt that a group within the Turkish military performed different operations in the major cities of Turkey, namely Ankara and Istanbul, to overthrow the government of AKP and Erdoğan in the date of 15 July 2016 (e.g., Aljazeera, 2016; Kingsley & Abdul-Ahad, 2016). Coup plotters, namely Peace at Home Council (Yurtta Sulh Konseyi), proposed that in order to protect secularism, democracy and human rights against AKP government and restore the credibility of Turkey in the international arena, the military had to seize power. Soldiers and tanks positioned in the important locations of Ankara and Istanbul. In addition, TBMM was bombed by Turkish fighter jets. In order to stop the coup attempt, thousands of ordinary citizens of the Republic of Turkey took to the streets, and more than 200 citizens sacrificed their lives. Coup plotters could not achieve their purposes due to the strong resistance of loyal soldiers, police, and citizens. Although the AKP government and Erdoğan indicated Fethullah Gülen (who is a powerful businessman, preacher, and the leader of the religious movement) as the responsible person of the military coup attempt, Gülen denied the accusations.

The AKP government declared the state of emergency on the date of 20 July 2016 for three months, and it was extended seven times (Hürriyet, 2018). The decisions of the AKP government toward the state of emergency were supported by MHP, whereas CHP and HDP evaluated the state of emergency declarations as a threat to democracy and human rights, and as a chance for AKP to strengthen its dictatorial regime (Cumhuriyet, 2016; DW, 2017; Milliyet.a, 2017).

During the period of the state of emergency, the AKP government dismissed thousands of people (e.g., academicians, journalists, opinion leaders, soldiers, etc.)

from the profession using delegated legislations (KHKs: Kanun Hükmünde Kararnameler) due to their suspected association with Gülen and the pro-coup structure (Memurlar.Net, 2017). Left-wing opposition parties criticized these decisions as illegitimate. According to CHP and HDP, KHKs were used to repress the dissenter opinions. Lastly, 13 deputies of HDP (including co-leaders of the party Selahattin Demirtaş and Figen Yülsekdağ) and 90 mayors were arrested due to their accused associations with PKK (Diken, 2017). CHP leader evaluated the current investigations and detention of elected HDP representatives as disregard the will of the nation to protect self-interests of AKP (Vatan, 2016). These actions enhanced the polarization among political parties. Besides all these, the citizens of the Republic of Turkey used their votes for the constitutional referendum on the 16th day of April in 2017. The proposed amendments in the constitution were suggested by the AKP government, and opened the doors of the presidential system rather than the existing parliamentary system. The proposed amendments were supported by the leader of MHP (Milliyet.b, 2017); but according to the leaders of CHP and HDP, the proposed constitutional amendment provided necessary conditions for a one-man regime and posed danger for the democracy and future of Turkey (Birgün, 2017; Demirtaş, 2017). The collaboration between AKP and MHP has maintained its efficiency, and the AKP-MHP coalition won the parliamentary elections in 2018.

The important question is whether the supporters of opposition parties share the same view with party leaders. As stated previously, the present research was conducted to rationalize the extreme pro-group behaviors of group members and test their relations with local in-group (supporters of own political party), extended in-group (T.C citizens), and three local out-groups (supporters of ruling party and two other opposition parties) using identity and deprivation theories within the sample of the opposition parties' supporters (including CHP, HDP, and MHP). That is why this research will also provide a chance to understand the intra- / inter-party relations of CHP, HDP and MHP supporters. The data collection process of the research was finished on the date of 15 April 2017 that is the day before the constitutional referendum-2017.

1.9 The Purpose of the Study

The associations between social identity and group membership-based behaviors have been mostly investigated by social scientists. However, the underlying reasons of the participation in extreme pro-group actions and self-sacrificing behaviors on the behalf of in-group members (e.g., the willingness to donate a lot of money, fight, sacrifice own life, etc.) have not been clarified yet in multi-group context. The current research aimed to rationalize the relations of individuals with local in-group (supporters of own political party), extended in-group (T.C citizens) and local out-groups (supporters of ruling party and two other opposition parties) in both individual and group levels using identity and deprivation theories, and understand the question of why people indicate extreme self-sacrificing behaviors for local and extended in-group members. In accordance with this main purpose, the present study (i) synthesized the literature on pro-group behaviors.

More particularly, the research will (ii) test the fundamental assumptions of identity fusion theory in multi-political party context of Turkey to predict extreme pro-group behaviors, (iii) investigate the distinctiveness of identity fusion concept (identity fusion theory; connectedness and oneness of personal identity with group-based identity) from in-group identification (social identity theory; identification with group-based identity), and (iv) explore the indirect effects of identification and identity fusion with local in-group on the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors for the sake of local in-group and extended in-group members using the relative deprivation fusion, the familial ties with local in-group, the individual agency for local in-group, and the perceived invulnerability of local in-group as mediators. In addition, the mediating roles of identification and identity fusion with extended in-group on the relationship between local in-group based identity processes and extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of both local and extended in-groups will be tested.

The assumptions of identity fusion theory, which are used to explain extreme pro-group actions, mostly were tested by same researcher group in particular samples (including mostly American and Spanish people) with the reference to their countries as in-group. The present research will be conducted in multi-political party context in Turkey with the participation of three opposition

parties' supporters as CHP, HDP, and MHP which were represented in the parliament of Turkey via November-2015 parliamentary elections. The findings of the study will not only test the reliability and validity of the identity theories, or not only provide important information about the extreme pro-group behaviors of political party supporters, but also the findings will reflect the current political atmosphere in Turkey (including intra- / inter-party relations, and the association of opposition parties with national identity).

The current research also aims to improve the theoretical framework of identity fusion theory using relative deprivation theory and tends to indicate that as the result of interpersonal and intergroup level relative comparisons, the oneness of perceived individual-based and local in-group based deprivations (the perceived illegitimate and unfair disadvantages) may be related with extreme pro-group behaviors. The relative deprivation fusion concept (that is the unique form of deprivation: interpersonal comparisons and individual-based relative deprivation become fused and overlap with intergroup comparisons and group-based relative deprivation) is proposed by the researchers of the current study. The fusion of bonding perceived illegitimate individual and group-based deprivations may support the willingness to perform extreme pro-group actions as the familial ties with local in-group members, the individual agency for the local in-group and the perceived invulnerability of local in-group. Briefly, the present research proposes a new approach that personal and group-based variables (including personal identity and social identity; relative deprivation in individual and group levels) and independently proposed theoretical approaches (including identity and deprivation theories) may be complementary in extreme pro-group action process.

The present study proposes that the perceived advantaged or disadvantaged position of the person and her/his local in-group in socio-political context may be related to the in-group identification and identity fusion constructs, and this situation may form the relations with local in-group, extended in-group and local out-group members. This is why the same study will be conducted in three different opposition party supporter samples in order to see the differences on identification and identity fusion processes, relations with local in-group, extended in-group and local out-groups, and willingness to perform extreme pro-group actions.

Besides, the willingness to perform extreme pro-group behaviors will be tested using different measures (including the scale and vignettes) in order to understand intra- / inter-political party relations clearly and be sure about the reliability of the findings. The scale will explore the extreme pro-group behavior tendency for local and extended groups separately. On the other hand, the vignettes will test extreme pro-group behaviors when different groups are in danger at the same time.

1. There will be a strong positive association between in-group identification and identity fusion constructs; but the extreme pro-group behavior tendency, the relative deprivation fusion, the familial ties with local in-group, the individual agency for local in-group, and the perceived invulnerability of local in-group will indicate greater positive association with identity fusion in comparison to in-group identification.

2. Fused individual-based and group-based identities and deprivations will be stronger predictors of extreme pro-group behavior tendency in comparison to separate levels.

> **2.1** Identity fusion will be the dominant predictor of the extreme pro-group behavior tendency in comparison to in-group identification.
>
> **2.2** Relative deprivation fusion will be the dominant predictor of the extreme pro-group behavior tendency in comparison to separate individual-based and group-based relative deprivations.

3. Identification and identity fusion with local in-group will positively predict the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of local in-group members, whereas identification and identity fusion with extended in-group will positively predict the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of extended in-group members.

> **3.1** Identification and identity fusion with local in-group will positively predict the extreme behavior tendency on the behalf of extended in-group members.

4. The proposed mediating variables by the literature (including the familial ties with local in-group, the individual agency for local in-group, and the perceived invulnerability of local in-group) will positively predict the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of both local in-group and extended in-group.

5. Identity fusion with local in-group will increase the relative deprivation fusion, the familial ties with local in-group, the individual agency for local in-group, and the perceived invulnerability of local in-group which in turn strengthen the endorsement of extreme pro-group behavior on the behalf of local and extended in-group members.

> **5.1** Identification with local in-group will positively predict the endorsement of extreme pro-group behavior on the behalf of local and extended in-group members, but the role of proposed mediators will be relatively weak or insignificant.

6. Identification with local in-group will increase identification with extended in-group; identity fusion with local in-group will increase identity fusion with extended in-group which in turn strengthen the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors for the sake of extended in-group members.

7. Identity fusion with local in-group or extended in-group will positively predict the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of local in-group members when either personal identity or social identity is activated using a threat.

> **7.1** Identity fusion with local in-group or extended in-group will increase the importance of each local and extended in-group member.

8. Relative deprivation fusion will indicate similar pattern with identity fusion, and positively predict the endorsement of extreme pro-group behavior on the behalf of local in-group when either personal identity or social identity is activated using a threat.

> **8.1** Relative deprivation fusion will increase the importance of each local and extended in-group member.

9. The endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors will be for the sake of extended in-group members rather than local out-group members when both groups are in danger.

10. The proposed associations will indicate differences based on the political party identity of the participant.

> **10.1** Comparisons on between-political parties:

> > **10.1.1** Endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of CHP, HDP, and MHP / identification with CHP,

HDP, and MHP / identity fusion with CHP, HDP, and MHP will be stronger among their supporters (local in-group members).

10.1.2 Endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of T.C citizens / identification with T.C citizens / identity fusion with T.C citizens will be stronger among MHP supporters in comparison to CHP and HDP supporters; stronger among CHP supporters in comparison to HDP supporters.

10.1.3 Endorsement the extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of AKP / identification with AKP / identity fusion with AKP will be stronger among MHP supporters in comparison to CHP and HDP supporters.

10.1.4 Individual-based and group-based relative deprivations will be stronger among HDP supporters in comparison to CHP and MHP supporters; stronger among MHP supporters in comparison to CHP supporters.

10.1.5 Relative deprivation fusion / familial ties with local in-group / individual agency for local in-group / perceived invulnerability of local in-group will be stronger among HDP supporters in comparison to CHP and MHP supporters; stronger among MHP supporters in comparison to CHP supporters.

10.2 Comparisons on within-political party:

10.2.1 In the sample of CHP supporters, the strength of endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors / group identification / identity fusion will change from more to less for T.C citizens, CHP, HDP, MHP, and AKP, respectively.

10.2.2 In the sample of HDP supporters, the strength of endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors / group identification / identity fusion will change from more to less for HDP, T.C citizens, CHP, AKP, and MHP, respectively.

10.2.3 In the sample of MHP supporters, the strength of endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors / group identification / identity fusion will change from more to less for T.C citizens, MHP, AKP, CHP, and HDP, respectively.

10.2.4 In the sample of CHP supporters, the strength of the individual-based and group-based relative deprivations will change from more to less when they make comparisons with AKP, other T.C citizens, MHP, and HDP, respectively.

10.2.5 In the sample of HDP supporters, the strength of the individual-based and group-based relative deprivations will change from more to less when they make comparisons with AKP, other T.C citizens, CHP, and MHP, respectively.

10.2.6 In the sample of MHP supporters, the strength of the individual-based and group-based relative deprivations will change from more to less when they make comparisons with AKP, other T.C citizens, CHP, and HDP, respectively.

10.3 Dominance analysis to predict extreme pro-group behavior tendency:

10.3.1 When the relative contributions of identification with local in-group, identity fusion with local in-group, individual-based and group-based relative deprivations and relative deprivation fusion variables to predict the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of local in-group members are tested, the highest contribution will be provided by identity fusion in the samples of CHP and MHP supporters; by relative deprivation fusion in the sample of HDP supporters.

10.3.2 When the relative contributions of identification with extended in-group, identity fusion with extended in-group, individual-based and group-based relative deprivations and relative deprivation fusion variables to predict the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of extended in-group members are tested, the highest

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contribution will be provided by identity fusion in the sample of HDP supporters; by relative deprivation fusion in the samples of CHP and MHP supporters.

10.3.3 When the relative contributions of identification and identity fusion with both local in-group and extended in-group variables to predict the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of extended in-group members are tested, the highest contribution will be provided by identity fusion with extended in-group in the samples of CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters.

10.4 Hierarchical regression analysis to predict extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of local in-group and entended in-group using the proposed mediating variables by the literature (including familial ties with local in-group, individual agency for the local in-group and perceived invulnerability of the local in-group):

10.4.1 After the control of demographic variables (including sex, age, education level and perceived socio-economic status), the proposed mediating variables by the literature will positively predict extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of local in-group in the samples of CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters.

10.4.2 After the control of demographic variables (including sex, age, education level and perceived socio-economic status), the proposed mediating variables by the literature will positively predict extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of extended in-group in the samples of CHP, and MHP supporters; but these associations will not be significant in the sample of HDP supporters.

10.5 The first mediational models:

10.5.1 In the sample of CHP supporters, identity fusion with CHP will increase the relative deprivation fusion, the familial ties with CHP, the individual agency for CHP, and the perceived invulnerability of CHP which in turn strengthen the

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endorsement of extreme pro-group behavior on the behalf of CHP and T.C citizens. In addition, the associations between identification with CHP and mediating variables will be lower or insignificant in comparison to identity fusion' associations.

10.5.2 In the sample of HDP supporters, identity fusion with HDP will increase the relative deprivation fusion, the familial ties with HDP, the individual agency for HDP, and the perceived invulnerability of HDP which in turn strengthen the endorsement of extreme pro-group behavior on the behalf of HDP (not for T.C citizens). In addition, the associations between identification with HDP and mediating variables will be lower or insignificant in comparison to identity fusion' associations.

10.5.3 In the sample of MHP supporters, identity fusion with MHP will increase the relative deprivation fusion, the familial ties with MHP, the individual agency for MHP, and the perceived invulnerability of MHP which in turn strengthen the endorsement of extreme pro-group behavior on the behalf of MHP and T.C citizens. In addition, the associations between identification with MHP and mediating variables will be lower or insignificant in comparison to identity fusion' associations.

10.6 The second mediational models:

10.6.1 In the sample of CHP supporters, identification with CHP will increase identification with T.C citizens; identity fusion with CHP will increase identity fusion with T.C citizens which in turn strengthen the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of CHP and T.C citizens.

10.6.2 In the sample of HDP supporters, identification with HDP will decrease identification with T.C citizens; identity fusion with HDP will decrease identity fusion with T.C citizens which in turn strengthen the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of HDP; decrease the

endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of T.C citizens.

10.6.3 In the sample of MHP supporters, identification with MHP will increase identification with T.C citizens; identity fusion with MHP will increase identity fusion with T.C citizens which in turn strengthen the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of MHP and T.C citizens.

10.7 Predicting extreme pro-group behavior tendency in multi-group context using the created vignettes:

10.7.1 Identity fusion with local in-group will positively predict extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of local in-group members when either social identity or personal identity is activated in the samples of CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters. Identity fusion with extended in-group also will have the similar function at both conditions in the samples of CHP and MHP supporters.

10.7.2 Identity fusion with local in-group or extended in-group will make each local or extended in-group member valuable / unexpendable in the samples of CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters.

10.7.3 Relative deprivation fusion will positively predict extreme pro-group behavior on the behalf of local in-group in the samples of CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters when either personal identity or social identity is activated.

10.7.4 Relative deprivation fusion will increase the importance of each local in-group member in the samples of CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters, and of each extended in-group member in the samples of CHP, and MHP supporters.

10.7.5 The endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors will be for the sake of extended in-group members rather than local out-group members when both groups are in danger in the samples of CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters.

10.8 The perceived distance/closeness between political parties:

10.8.1 In the sample of CHP supporters, AKP will be the most distant, and HDP will be the closest political party.

10.8.2 In the sample of HDP supporters, MHP will be the most distant, and CHP will be the closest political party.

10.8.3 In the sample of MHP supporters, HDP will be the most distant, and AKP will be the closest political party.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

2.1 Participants

Data of the study were collected with convenience sampling method and snowball technique using the *QUALTRICS* software. We got in contact with related political party branches, civil society organizations, and academicians in order to distribute the study announcements. A total of 981 participants clicked the anonymous link of the research and filled out the online questionnaire package.

The study sample included 320 individuals (N_{female} = 219; N_{male} = 101) who defined own political party identity as CHP, and ages changed between 18 and 37 with a mean age of 24.72 (SD = 4.86). The education level of the sample included undergraduate and graduate degrees ($N_{undergraduate}$ = 234; $N_{graduate}$ = 86). Participants mostly specified their income in middle levels ($N_{1.000TL\ and\ below}$ = 22; $N_{1.001TL-3.000TL}$ = 93; $N_{3.001TL-5.000TL}$ = 100; $N_{5.001TL-7.000TL}$ = 55; $N_{7.001TL\ and\ above}$ = 50), with a mean perceived socio-economic status of 4.24 (SD = .87) in a 7-point scale. 193 (60.3%) participants have mostly grown up in metropolis (including Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir), 30.3% (N = 97) have lived in minor cities, and 9.4% (N = 30) participants have come from towns. Among 320 participants, 117 (36.6%) people had sympathy for CHP; 72.8% (N = 233) usually voted for CHP in elections; and 21.9% (N = 70) tried to participate in groups or activities which organized by CHP. The mean perceived closeness of 322 participants to AKP was 1.25 (SD = .70); to CHP was 5.70 (SD = .97); to HDP was 2.51 (SD = 1.57); and to MHP was 2.33 (SD = 1.33) in a 7-point scale.

There were 215 participants (N_{female} = 119; N_{male} = 96) who specified own political party identity as HDP, and the age range was between 18 and 40 with a mean age of 25.58 (SD = 5.26). Education level contained undergraduate and

graduate degrees ($N_{undergraduate}$ = 148; $N_{graduate}$ = 67). These participants also indicated their income in middle levels ($N_{1.000TL\ and\ below}$ = 30; $N_{1.001TL-3.000TL}$ = 64; $N_{3.001TL-5.000TL}$ = 68; $N_{5.001TL-7.000TL}$ = 31; $N_{7.001TL\ and\ above}$ = 22), with a mean perceived socio-economic status of 3.97 (SD = 1.01) in a 7-point scale. 125 (58.1%) participants have indicated their growth place as metropolis (including Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir), 30.7% (N = 66) have grown up in minor cities, and 11.2% (N = 24) have mostly lived in towns. Among 215 participants, 126 (58.6%) people had sympathy for HDP; 52.6% (N = 113) usually voted for HDP in elections; and 33% (N = 71) tried to participate in groups or activities which organized by HDP. In a 7-point scale, the mean perceived closenesses of 215 participants to AKP, CHP, HDP and MHP were 1.16 (SD = .59), 3.10 (SD = 1.56), 5.89 (SD = .84) and 1.06 (SD = .26), respectively.

The number of individuals who reported own political party identity as MHP were 150 (N_{female} = 85; N_{male} = 65), and the age range changed from 18 to 37 with a mean age of 21.80 (SD = 3.51). Education level of participants were labelled using undergraduate or graduate degrees ($N_{undergraduate}$ = 139; $N_{graduate}$ = 11). Participants mostly reported their income in lower levels ($N_{1.000TL\ and\ below}$ = 16; $N_{1.001TL-3.000TL}$ = 76; $N_{3.001TL-5.000TL}$ = 35; $N_{5.001TL-7.000TL}$ = 12; $N_{7.001TL\ and\ above}$ = 11), with a mean perceived socio-economic status of 3.83 (SD = 1.04) in a 7-point scale. 70 (46.7%) participants have spent most of their life in metropolis (including Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir), 33.3% (N = 50) have grown up in minor cities, and 20% (N = 30) participants have mostly lived in towns. Among 150 participants, 102 (68%) people had sympathy for MHP; 40% (N = 60) usually voted for MHP in elections; and 18.7% (N = 28) tried to participate in groups or activities which organized by MHP. In a 7-point scale, the mean perceived closenesses of 150 participants to AKP, CHP, HDP and MHP were 3.15 (SD = 1.83), 2.91 (SD = 1.55), 1.09 (SD = .42), and 5.74 (SD = 1.09), respectively.

Besides, 296 participants (N_{female} = 174; N_{male} = 122) specified their political party identity using other parties rather than CHP, HDP or MHP. These people have just filled out the demographic information form and did not participate in the current research. All demographic information about participants can be considered in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1
Characteristics of the Study Sample

Demographic Variables	*N* (%) or *M* (*SD*)			
	CHP supporters	HDP supporters	MHP supporters	Others
-Participants	320	215	150	296
-Sex				
Female	219 (68.4%)	119 (55.3%)	85 (56.7%)	174 (58.8%)
Male	101 (31.6%)	96 (44.7%)	65 (43.3%)	122 (41.2%)
-Age	24.72	25.58	21.80	24.05
	(*SD* = 4.86)	(*SD* = 5.26)	(*SD* = 3.51)	(*SD* = 5.71)
	from 18 to 37	from 18 to 40	from 18 to 37	from 18 to 41
-Education				
Undergraduate	234 (73.1%)	148 (68.8%)	139 (92.7%)	253 (85.5%)
Graduate	86 (26.9%)	67 (31.2%)	11 (7.3%)	43 (14.5%)
-Income				
1.000 TL and below	22 (6.9%)	30 (14%)	16 (10.7%)	41 (13.9%)
1.001 TL – 3.000 TL	93 (29.1%)	64 (29.8%)	76 (50.7%)	116 (39.2%)
3.001 TL – 5.000 TL	100 (31.3%)	68 (31.6%)	35 (23.3%)	72 (24.3%)
5.001 TL – 7.000 TL	55 (17.2%)	31 (14.4%)	12 (8%)	30 (10.1%)
7.001 TL and above	50 (15.6%)	22 (10.2%)	11 (7.3%)	37 (12.5%)
-Perceived Socio-Economic Status	4.24	3.97	3.83	3.93
	(*SD* = .87)	(*SD* = 1.01)	(*SD* = 1.04)	(*SD* = 1.03)
-Growth Place				
Town	30 (9.4%)	24 (11.2%)	30 (20%)	54 (18.2%)
Minor city	97 (30.3%)	66 (30.7%)	50 (33.3%)	81 (27.4%)
Metropolis	193 (60.3%)	125 (58.1%)	70 (46.7%)	161 (54.4%)
-Relations with Own Party				
I have sympathy for X.	117 (36.6%)	126 (58.6%)	102 (68%)	not available
I usually vote for X in elections.	233 (72.8%)	113 (52.6%)	60 (40%)	not available
I try to participate in groups or activities which are organized by X.	70 (21.9%)	71 (33%)	28 (18.7%)	not available
-Perceived Closeness to Political Parties in the Parliament				
… toward CHP	5.70	3.10	2.91	not available
	(*SD* = .97)	(*SD* = 1.56)	(*SD* = 1.55)	
… toward HDP	2.51	5.89	1.09	not available
	(*SD* = 1.57)	(*SD* = .84)	(*SD* = .42)	
… toward MHP	2.33	1.06	5.74	not available
	(*SD* = 1.33)	(*SD* = .26)	(*SD* = 1.09)	
… toward AKP	1.25	1.16	3.15	not available
	(*SD* = .70)	(*SD* = .59)	(*SD* = 1.83)	

Note. X was defined based on the political party identity of the participant as CHP, HDP or MHP. The perceived socio-economic status was measured using a 7-point scale from "1: the lowest status" to "7: the highest status". In higher scores, participants perceive their socio-economic status at higher levels. The perceived closeness to political parties was tested in a 7-point scale from "1: very distant" to "7: very close" for each party. In higher scores, participants perceive the political party as conceptually closer and more favorable based on their own political ideology.

2.2 Instruments

The link of the online study (including three different questionnaire packages) was prepared to reach opposition party supporters (including CHP, HDP, and MHP) who were defined as participant groups in the present study. Same measures were used in questionnaire packages, but the reference points were different based on the political party identity of the participant. Each package was composed of six sections. Based on the order of sections in the questionnaire, the first section was used to collect demographic information about the participants. In the second section, participants indicated group identification and identity fusion levels with T.C citizens, three opposition parties and ruling party (AKP). The third section measured individual-based and local in-group based relative deprivations and relative deprivation fusion levels when participants compared themselves and their local in-group with other T.C citizens and supporters of other political parties based on the possessed social and political conditions using individual level and group level comparisons. The fourth section tested familial ties of participants with local in-group; measured individual agency for local in-group; and examined perceived local in-group based invulnerability. The fifth part of the questionnaire measured the endorsement of extreme pro-group actions on the behalf of T.C citizens and each political party. The last section tested the willingness of participants to perform extreme pro-group actions for T.C citizens and each political party using eight different vignettes which were adapted from trolley dilemma, and represented hypothetically created different intergroup situations. The response order of scales based on the reference point (political party identity) were figured in the procedure part of the current thesis for each there political party groups and their questionnaire packages (see Table 2.13).

2.2.1 Endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors measure. The scale was developed by Swann et al., (2009) to measure the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors. The 5 items of scale assess the willingness to fight for in-group, and few items are "I would fight someone physically threatening another in-group member," "Hurting other people is acceptable if it means protecting the group", whereas the 2 items of scale measure the willingness to die for in-group, and items are "I would sacrifice my life if it saved another in-group member's life," "I would sacrifice my life if it gave the group status or monetary reward to group". In most

studies, 7 items were accepted as conceptually overlapped and highly correlated; this is why they were combined into a single factor. Internal consistencies changed from .64 to .92.

The scale was translated into Turkish in the present study, and used for the political party context. Three different participant groups, namely CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters, filled out the same measure five times for local in-group (supporters of own political party), extended in-group (T.C citizens) and three local out-groups (supporters of ruling party and two other opposition parties). Participants rated items using a 7-point scale from "1: strongly disagree" to "7: strongly agree". Higher scores indicate a greater willingness to perform extreme pro-group actions, and fight and die on the behalf of the group.

The principal component factor analysis with the data of CHP supporters (N = 320) indicated that single factor (7-item) explained 61.33% of the variance with .88 alpha value when the willingness of participants to perform extreme pro-group actions for local in-group (CHP) was tested. Item loadings changed from .73 to .83, and item-total correlation range was between .65 and .75. When CHP supporters filled out the measure in reference to the group of T.C citizens, 59.09% of the variance was explained with the alpha value of .88, item loading range of [.70, .86], and item-total correlation range of [.60, .78]. The alpha scores of measure in reference to AKP, HDP, and MHP were .71, .76, .77, respectively.

In the sample of HDP supporters (N = 215), the principal component factor analysis demonstrated that single factor (7-item) explained 53.42% of the variance with .85 alpha value when participants responded the measure for local in-group (HDP). Item loadings ranged between .63 and .79, and item-total correlations changed from .55 to .66. When HDP supporters filled out the measure in reference to the group of T.C citizens, 53.27% of the variance was explained with the alpha value of .82, item loading range of [.59, .83], and item-total correlation range of [.52, .70]. The alpha scores of measure in reference to AKP, CHP, and MHP were .74, .78, .76, respectively.

The principal component factor analysis using the data of MHP supporters (N = 150) indicated that single factor (7-item) explained 68.31% of the variance with .92 alpha value when the measure was filled out for local in-group (MHP). Item loadings changed from .78 to .91, and item-total correlation range was

between .69 and .87. When MHP supporters filled out the measure in reference to the group of T.C citizens, 60.63% of variance was explained with the alpha value of .89, item loading range of [.74, .82], and item-total correlation range of [.62, .74]. The alpha scores of measure in reference to AKP, CHP, and HDP were .95, .94, .95, respectively.

In sum, all factor analyses indicated the same factor structure with the original scale, and statistical findings supported the reliability of translated and adapted study measure (see Table 2.2 for detailed information).

Table 2.2
Psychometric Characteristics of the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors Measure

	CHP supporters in reference to group of CHP		HDP supporters in reference to group of HDP		MHP supporters in reference to group of MHP	
	Item loading	Item total r	Item loading	Item total r	Item loading	Item total r
Başka bir CHPli'yi / HDPli'yi / MHPli'yi fiziksel olarak tehdit eden biriyle kavga ederdim.	.73	.66	.63	.55	.82	.75
CHPliler / HDPliler / MHPliler ile dalga geçen ya da onlara hakaret eden biriyle kavga ederdim.	.79	.75	.66	.58	.80	.73
CHPliler'e / HDPliler'e / MHPliler'e kendilerine hakaret eden birinden intikam almaları için yardım ederdim.	.78	.70	.76	.65	.86	.80
CHPliler'i / HDPliler'i / MHPliler'i korumak amacıyla başkalarına zarar vermek kabul edilebilir bir durumdur.	.77	.67	.75	.63	.82	.75
CHPliler'i / HDPliler'i / MHPliler'i korumak için her şeyi yapardım.	.83	.72	.78	.64	.91	.87
Bir başka CHPli'nin / HDPli'nin / MHPli'nin hayatını kurtaracaksa, kendi hayatımı feda ederdim.	.80	.67	.79	.66	.78	.69
CHPliler'e / HDPliler'e / MHPliler'e sosyal ve politik statü ya da önemli bir fayda sağlayacaksa, kendi hayatımı feda ederdim.	.79	.65	.75	.59	.79	.71
	Eigenvalue = 4.29; Explained variance (%) = 61.33; Alpha (α) = .88		Eigenvalue = 3.74; Explained variance (%) = 53.42; Alpha (α) = .85		Eigenvalue = 4.78; Explained variance (%) = 68.31; Alpha (α) = .92	

Table 2.2 (continued). *Psychometric Characteristics of the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors Measure*

	CHP supporters in reference to group of T.C citizens		HDP supporters in reference to group of T.C citizens		MHP supporters in reference to group of T.C citizens	
	Item loading	Item total r	Item loading	Item total r	Item loading	Item total r
Başka bir T.C vatandaşını fiziksel olarak tehdit eden biriyle kavga ederdim.	.72	.63	.59	.54	.78	.68
T.C vatandaşları ile dalga geçen ya da onlara hakaret eden biriyle kavga ederdim.	.77	.69	.66	.62	.74	.62
T.C vatandaşlarına kendilerine hakaret eden birinden intikam almaları için yardım ederdim.	.76	.66	.77	.64	.80	.71
T.C vatandaşlarını korumak amacıyla başkalarına zarar vermek kabul edilebilir bir durumdur.	.70	.60	.79	.63	.77	.67
T.C vatandaşlarını korumak için her şeyi yapardım.	.86	.78	.83	.70	.82	.74
Bir başka T.C vatandaşının hayatını kurtaracaksa, kendi hayatımı feda ederdim.	.79	.69	.74	.55	.79	.71
T.C vatandaşlarına sosyal ve politik statü ya da önemli bir fayda sağlayacaksa, kendi hayatımı feda ederdim.	.77	.66	.70	.52	.76	.68
	Eigenvalue = 4.14; Explained variance (%) = 59.09; Alpha (α) = .88		Eigenvalue = 3.73; Explained variance (%) = 53.27; Alpha (α) = .82		Eigenvalue = 4.24; Explained variance (%) = 60.63; Alpha (α) = .89	

Note. The table indicates the psychometric characteristics of the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors measure when each participant group filled out the measure for local in-group (supporters of own political party) and extended in-group (T.C citizens). Participant groups also rated the measure for three local out-groups (including ruling party and two other opposition parties). The alpha values of CHP supporters in reference to AKP, HDP, and MHP were .71; .76; .77, respectively. The alpha values of HDP supporters in reference to AKP, CHP, and MHP were .74; .78; .76, respectively. The alpha values of MHP supporters in reference to AKP, CHP, and HDP were .95; .94; .95, respectively.

2.2.2 Vignettes. Five different scenarios were created, and used to test the extreme self-sacrificing behavior tendency of participants for saving local in-group, extended in-group and local out-group members by Swann and colleagues (Swann, Gomez, Dovidio et al., 2010; Swann, Gomez et al., 2014).

In the present study, based on the number of local out-group, eight scenarios were adapted, and used within the context of T.C citizens and represented political parties in the parliament of Turkey. In the first two vignettes, the activation order of

social identity (e.g, five local in-group members are in danger: that is a runaway trolley is about to crush and cause the death of five local in-group members) and personal identity (e.g., you are in danger: that is a runaway trolley is about to crush and cause the death of you) was changed, and tested participants' willingness to perform extreme self-sacrificing behaviors to save local in-group members' lives. In the first scenario, participants made a choice between "doing nothing to stop runaway trolley, and letting the death of five local in-group members" or "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five local in-group members". The choices of the second scenario were "calling five local in-group members for help, and cause the death of them to save own life" or "sacrifice own life".

In the third vignette, the extreme self-sacrificing behavior tendency to save the lives of five extended in-group members versus the life of a local in-group member was tested. Based on the scenario, a runaway trolley is about to crush five extended in-group members. Participants made a choice among "doing nothing to stop runaway trolley, and letting the death of five extended in-group members", "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five extended in-group members" or "change the track of trolley, and cause the death of a local in-group member to save the lives of five extended in-group members".

In the fourth, fifth and sixth vignettes, extreme self-sacrificing behaviors on the behalf of extended in-group versus members of three local out-groups were compared. In the scenario, two runaway trolleys are about to crush and cause the death of both five extended in-group members and five local out-group members in two parallel railways. Individuals chose "doing nothing to stop runaway trolleys, and letting the death of both five extended in-group members and five local out-group members (one of the local out-groups)", "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five extended in-group members, and letting the death of local out-group members" or "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five local out-group members, and letting the death of extended in-group members". Same scenario and choices were repeated for each three local out-groups based on the local in-group identity, including ruling party and two other opposition parties.

The seventh vignette tested the extreme self-sacrificing behavior tendency of participants when three local out-groups (based on the political party identity of the participant, including ruling party and two other opposition parties) are in danger at

the same time. Based on the vignette, three runaway trolleys are about to crash and cause the death of local out-group members in three parallel railways. Participants made a choice among " doing nothing to stop runaway trolleys, and letting the death of all three local out-groups' members", "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five local out-group members (one of the local out-groups)", "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five local out-group members (one of the local out-groups)" or "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five local out-group members (one of the local out-groups)".

In the last vignette, the extreme self-sacrificing behavior of participant to save the lives of local in-group members was measured when there are people who are defined as the threat for local in-group. According to the scenario, a bombing attack happens during the demonstration of local in-group. Some members of local in-group are about to jump to the track of a runaway trolley with a panic. At the same time, terrorists are trying to escape from other track. Participants chose "doing nothing, and letting the death of local in-group members" or "sacrifice own life to change the way of the runaway trolley, and trolley crushes terrorists rather than local in-group members".

Table 2.3, Table 2.4, and Table 2.5 indicate both vignettes and answers for these hypothetically created scenarios by participant groups who indicated their political party identity as CHP ($N = 320$), HDP ($N = 215$), and MHP ($N = 150$).

Table 2.3
Vignettes and Answers of CHP Supporters (N = 320)

Vignette 1. Altından trenyolu geçen bir üst geçitte olduğunuzu düşünün. Beş CHPli'nin aşağıdaki raylarda mahsur kaldığını ve kontrolden çıkmış bir tramvayın bu beş CHPli'ye çarpmak üzere hızla yaklaştığını görüyorsunuz. Hiçbir şey yapmayıp tramvayın CHPliler'e çarpmasına izin verebilirsiniz ya da raylara atlayıp kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına tramvayın yavaşlayıp durmasını sağlayarak CHPliler'i kurtarabilirsiniz. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız?

		N (%)
a.	Hiçbir şey yapmayıp tramvayın geçmesine izin veririm ve beş CHPli hayatını kaybeder.	180 (56.2%)
b.	Hayatımı feda etme pahasına, tren yoluna atlayıp tramvayın yavaşlayıp durmasını sağlarım ve beş CHPli'nin hayatını kurtarırım.	140 (43.8%)

Vignette 2. Tren raylarında mahsur kaldığınızı ve kontrolden çıkmış bir tramvayın hızla size doğru yaklaştığını düşünün. 200 metre ileride beş CHPli'nin olduğunu ve eğer onlara seslenirseniz size yardım için geleceklerini fark ediyorsunuz. Bu beş CHPli hızla yaklaşan tramvayın farkında değiller. Yardım için geldiklerinde siz ve tramvay arasındaki raylarda kalacaklar. Böylece beş CHPli kendi hayatlarını kaybederek tramvayın yavaşlayıp durmasını sağlayacak ve siz hayatta kalacaksınız. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız?

		N (%)
a.	Beş CHPli'yi ölüm tuzağına çekerek hayatta kalırım.	133 (41.6%)
b.	Beş CHPli'ye seslenmem ve hayatımı feda ederim.	187 (58.4%)

Vignette 3. Kontrolden çıkmış bir tramvayın, beş T.C vatandaşına doğru hızla yaklaştığını görüyorsunuz. Hiçbir şey yapmazsanız bu kişiler hayatını kaybedecek. T.C vatandaşlarını kurtarmak için ya kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına raylara atlayıp tramvayın yavaşlayarak durmasını sağlayacaksınız ya da rayların makasıyla oynayıp tramvayın yönünü değiştireceksiniz ve diğer rayda olan bir CHPli'nin ölümüne neden olacaksınız. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız?

		N (%)
a.	Hiçbir şey yapmam ve beş T.C vatandaşı hayatını kaybeder.	74 (23.1%)
b.	Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına raylara atlayıp beş T.C vatandaşının hayatını kurtarırım.	106 (33.1%)
c.	Rayların makasıyla oynarım ve tramvayın diğer raya sapmasını sağlayarak bir CHPli'nin ölmesine neden olurken, beş T.C. vatandaşının hayatını kurtarırım.	140 (43.8%)

Vignette 4. Kontrolden çıkmış iki tramvay birbirine paralel iki trenyolunda hızla ilerlemektedir. Tramvaylardan birinin beş T.C vatandaşına, diğer tramvayın ise beş AKPli'ye çarpıp, bu kişileri öldürmek üzere olduğunu görüyorsunuz. Eğer hiçbir şey yapmazsanız, tramvaylar iki grubun da ölümüne sebep olacak. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş T.C vatandaşının hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş AKPli hayatını kaybedecek. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına AKPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş AKPli'nin hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş T.C vatandaşı hayatını kaybedecek. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız?

		N (%)
a.	Hiçbir şey yapmam ve iki grup da hayatını kaybeder.	189 (59.1%)
b.	Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarım.	129 (40.3%)
c.	Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına AKPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.	2 (.6%)

Vignette 5. Kontrolden çıkmış iki tramvay birbirine paralel iki trenyolunda hızla ilerlemektedir. Tramvaylardan birinin beş T.C vatandaşına, diğer tramvayın ise beş HDPli'ye çarpıp, bu kişileri öldürmek üzere olduğunu görüyorsunuz. Eğer hiçbir şey yapmazsanız, tramvaylar iki grubun da ölümüne sebep olacak. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş T.C vatandaşının hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş HDPli hayatını kaybedecek. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına HDPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş HDPli'nin hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş T.C vatandaşı hayatını kaybedecek. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız?

Table 2.3 (continued). Vignettes and Answers of CHP Supporters

	N (%)
a. Hiçbir şey yapmam ve iki grup da hayatını kaybeder.	191 (59.7%)
b. Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarım.	124 (38.8%)
c. Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına HDPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.	5 (1.6%)

Vignette 6. Kontrolden çıkmış iki tramvay birbirine paralel iki trenyolunda hızla ilerlemektedir. Tramvaylardan birinin beş T.C vatandaşına, diğer tramvayın ise beş MHPli'ye çarpıp, bu kişileri öldürmek üzere olduğunu görüyorsunuz. Eğer hiçbir şey yapmazsanız, tramvaylar iki grubun da ölümüne sebep olacak. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş T.C vatandaşının hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş MHPli hayatını kaybedecek. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına MHPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş MHPli'nin hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş T.C vatandaşı hayatını kaybedecek. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız?

	N (%)
a. Hiçbir şey yapmam ve iki grup da hayatını kaybeder.	186 (58.1%)
b. Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarım.	131 (40.9%)
c. Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına MHPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.	3 (.9%)

Vignette 7. Kontrolden çıkmış üç tramvay birbirine paralel üç trenyolunda hızla ilerlemektedir. Tramvaylardan birinin beş HDPli'ye, diğer tramvayın beş MHPli'ye ve diğer tramvayın ise beş AKPli'ye çarpıp, bu kişileri öldürmek üzere olduğunu görüyorsunuz. Eğer hiçbir şey yapmazsanız, tramvaylar üç grubun da ölümüne sebep olacak. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına herhangi bir grubun olduğu raylara atlarsanız, o gruptaki beş kişinin hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat diğer iki grup hayatını kaybedecek. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız?

	N (%)
a. Hiçbir şey yapmam ve üç grup da hayatını kaybeder.	248 (77.5%)
b. Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına HDPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.	28 (8.8%)
c. Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına MHPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.	42 (13.1%)
d. Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına AKPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.	2 (.6%)

Vignette 8. Altından pek çok trenyolunun geçtiği bir üst geçitte olduğunuzu düşünün. CHPliler'in düzenlediği kalabalık bir gösteriye bombalı bir saldırıda bulunulduğuna şahit oluyorsunuz. Patlamanın ardından, aşağıdaki trenyolu üzerinde koşarak uzaklaşmaya çalışan bombacıları görüyorsunuz. Aynı zamanda patlamanın neden olduğu panik ile CHPliler hızla yaklaşan bir tramvayın raylarına farkında olmadan atlamak üzereler. Bu şartlarda, kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına raylara atlarsanız, yaklaşan tramvay yolunu değiştirip bombacıların bulunduğu raya girecek ve CHPliler yerine bombacılara çarpacak. Raylara atlamayıp tramvayın yoluna devam etmesine izin verirseniz, hızla gelen tramvay CHPliler'e çarpacak. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız?

	N (%)
a. Hiçbir şey yapmayıp, tramvayın yoluna devam etmesine ve raylara atlayan CHPliler'e çarpmasına izin veririm.	111 (34.7%)
b. Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına raylara atlayıp, tramvayın yönünü değiştiririm ve CHPliler'i kurtararak tramvayın bombacılara çarpmasını sağlarım.	209 (65.3%)

Note. The table indicates the vignettes and the answers for these hypothetically created scenarios by participant group who indicated the political party identity as CHP.

Table 2.4
Vignettes and Answers of HDP Supporters (N = 215)

Vignette 1. Altından trenyolu geçen bir üst geçitte olduğunuzu düşünün. Beş HDPli'nin aşağıdaki raylarda mahsur kaldığını ve kontrolden çıkmış bir tramvayın bu beş HDPli'ye çarpmak üzere hızla yaklaştığını görüyorsunuz. Hiçbir şey yapmayıp tramvayın HDPliler'e çarpmasına izin verebilirsiniz ya da raylara atlayıp kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına tramvayın yavaşlayıp durmasını sağlayarak HDPliler'i kurtarabilirsiniz. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız?

		N (%)
a.	Hiçbir şey yapmayıp tramvayın geçmesine izin veririm ve beş HDPli hayatını kaybeder.	110 (51.2%)
b.	Hayatımı feda etme pahasına, tren yoluna atlayıp tramvayın yavaşlayıp durmasını sağlarım ve beş HDPli'nin hayatını kurtarırım.	105 (48.8%)

Vignette 2. Tren raylarında mahsur kaldığınızı ve kontrolden çıkmış bir tramvayın hızla size doğru yaklaştığını düşünün. 200 metre ileride beş HDPli'nin olduğunu ve eğer onlara seslenirseniz size yardım için geleceklerini fark ediyorsunuz. Bu beş HDPli hızla yaklaşan tramvayın farkında değiller. Yardım için geldiklerinde siz ve tramvay arasındaki raylarda kalacaklar. Böylece beş HDPli kendi hayatlarını kaybederek tramvayın yavaşlayıp durmasını sağlayacak ve siz hayatta kalacaksınız. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız?

		N (%)
a.	Beş HDPli'yi ölüm tuzağına çekerek hayatta kalırım.	49 (22.8%)
b.	Beş HDPli'ye seslenmem ve hayatımı feda ederim.	166 (77.2%)

Vignette 3. Kontrolden çıkmış bir tramvayın, beş T.C vatandaşına doğru hızla yaklaştığını görüyorsunuz. Hiçbir şey yapmazsanız bu kişiler hayatını kaybedecek. T.C vatandaşlarını kurtarmak için ya kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına raylara atlayıp tramvayın yavaşlayarak durmasını sağlayacaksınız ya da rayların makasıyla oynayıp tramvayın yönünü değiştireceksiniz ve diğer rayda olan bir HDPli'nin ölümüne neden olacaksınız. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız?

		N (%)
a.	Hiçbir şey yapmam ve beş T.C vatandaşı hayatını kaybeder.	82 (38.1%)
b.	Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına raylara atlayıp beş T.C vatandaşının hayatını kurtarırım.	80 (37.2%)
c.	Rayların makasıyla oynarım ve tramvayın diğer raya sapmasını sağlayarak bir HDPli'nin ölmesine neden olurken, beş T.C vatandaşının hayatını kurtarırım.	53 (24.7%)

Vignette 4. Kontrolden çıkmış iki tramvay birbirine paralel iki trenyolunda hızla ilerlemektedir. Tramvaylardan birinin beş T.C vatandaşına, diğer tramvayın ise beş AKPli'ye çarpıp, bu kişileri öldürmek üzere olduğunu görüyorsunuz. Eğer hiçbir şey yapmazsanız, tramvaylar iki grubun da ölümüne sebep olacak. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş T.C vatandaşının hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş AKPli hayatını kaybedecek. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına AKPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş AKPli'nin hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş T.C vatandaşı hayatını kaybedecek. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız?

		N (%)
a.	Hiçbir şey yapmam ve iki grup da hayatını kaybeder.	139 (64.7%)
b.	Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarım.	76 (35.3%)
c.	Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına AKPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.	0 (.0%)

Vignette 5. Kontrolden çıkmış iki tramvay birbirine paralel iki trenyolunda hızla ilerlemektedir. Tramvaylardan birinin beş T.C vatandaşına, diğer tramvayın ise beş CHPli'ye çarpıp, bu kişileri öldürmek üzere olduğunu görüyorsunuz. Eğer hiçbir şey yapmazsanız, tramvaylar iki grubun da ölümüne sebep olacak. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş T.C vatandaşının hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş CHPli hayatını kaybedecek. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına CHPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş CHPli'nin hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş T.C vatandaşı hayatını kaybedecek. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız?

Table 2.4 (continued). Vignettes and Answers of HDP Supporters

		N (%)
a.	Hiçbir şey yapmam ve iki grup da hayatını kaybeder.	138 (64.2%)
b.	Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarım.	48 (22.3%)
c.	Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına CHPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.	29 (13.5%)

Vignette 6. Kontrolden çıkmış iki tramvay birbirine paralel iki trenyolunda hızla ilerlemektedir. Tramvaylardan birinin beş T.C vatandaşına, diğer tramvayın ise beş MHPli'ye çarpıp, bu kişileri öldürmek üzere olduğunu görüyorsunuz. Eğer hiçbir şey yapmazsanız, tramvaylar iki grubun da ölümüne sebep olacak. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş T.C vatandaşının hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş MHPli hayatını kaybedecek. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına MHPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş MHPli'nin hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş T.C vatandaşı hayatını kaybedecek. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız?

		N (%)
a.	Hiçbir şey yapmam ve iki grup da hayatını kaybeder.	143 (66.5%)
b.	Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarım.	72 (33.5%)
c.	Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına MHPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.	0 (.0%)

Vignette 7. Kontrolden çıkmış üç tramvay birbirine paralel üç trenyolunda hızla ilerlemektedir. Tramvaylardan birinin beş CHPli'ye, diğer tramvayın beş MHPli'ye ve diğer tramvayın ise beş AKPli'ye çarpıp, bu kişileri öldürmek üzere olduğunu görüyorsunuz. Eğer hiçbir şey yapmazsanız, tramvaylar üç grubun da ölümüne sebep olacak. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına herhangi bir grubun olduğu raylara atlarsanız, o gruptaki beş kişinin hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat diğer iki grup hayatını kaybedecek. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız?

		N (%)
a.	Hiçbir şey yapmam ve üç grup da hayatını kaybeder.	154 (71.6%)
b.	Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına CHPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.	60 (27.9%)
c.	Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına MHPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.	0 (.0%)
d.	Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına AKPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.	1 (.5%)

Vignette 8. Altından pek çok trenyolunun geçtiği bir üst geçitte olduğunuzu düşünün. HDPliler'in düzenlediği kalabalık bir gösteriye bombalı bir saldırıda bulunulduğuna şahit oluyorsunuz. Patlamanın ardından, aşağıdaki trenyolu üzerinde koşarak uzaklaşmaya çalışan bombacıları görüyorsunuz. Aynı zamanda patlamanın neden olduğu panik ile HDPliler hızla yaklaşan bir tramvayın raylarına farkında olmadan atlamak üzereler. Bu şartlarda, kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına raylara atlarsanız, yaklaşan tramvay yolunu değiştirip bombacıların bulunduğu raya girecek ve HDPliler yerine bombacılara çarpacak. Raylara atlamayıp tramvayın yoluna devam etmesine izin verirseniz, hızla gelen tramvay HDPliler'e çarpacak. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız?

		N (%)
a.	Hiçbir şey yapmayıp, tramvayın yoluna devam etmesine ve raylara atlayan HDPliler'e çarpmasına izin veririm.	49 (22.8%)
b.	Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına raylara atlayıp, tramvayın yönünü değiştiririm ve HDPliler'i kurtararak tramvayın bombacılara çarpmasını sağlarım.	166 (77.2%)

Note. The table indicates the vignettes and the answers for these hypothetically created scenarios by participant group who indicated the political party identity as HDP.

Table 2.5
Vignettes and Answers of MHP Supporters (N = 150)

Vignette 1. Altından trenyolu geçen bir üst geçitte olduğunuzu düşünün. Beş MHPli'nin aşağıdaki raylarda mahsur kaldığını ve kontrolden çıkmış bir tramvayın bu beş MHPli'ye çarpmak üzere hızla yaklaştığını görüyorsunuz. Hiçbir şey yapmayıp tramvayın MHPliler'e çarpmasına izin verebilirsiniz ya da raylara atlayıp kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına tramvayın yavaşlayıp durmasını sağlayarak MHPliler'i kurtarabilirsiniz. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız?

		N (%)
a.	Hiçbir şey yapmayıp tramvayın geçmesine izin veririm ve beş MHPli hayatını kaybeder.	63 (42%)
b.	Hayatımı feda etme pahasına, tren yoluna atlayıp tramvayın yavaşlayıp durmasını sağlarım ve beş MHPli'nin hayatını kurtarırım.	87 (58%)

Vignette 2. Tren raylarında mahsur kaldığınızı ve kontrolden çıkmış bir tramvayın hızla size doğru yaklaştığını düşünün. 200 metre ileride beş MHPli'nin olduğunu ve eğer onlara seslenirseniz size yardım için geleceklerini fark ediyorsunuz. Bu beş MHPli hızla yaklaşan tramvayın farkında değiller. Yardım için geldiklerinde siz ve tramvay arasındaki raylarda kalacaklar. Böylece beş MHPli kendi hayatlarını kaybederek tramvayın yavaşlayıp durmasını sağlayacak ve siz hayatta kalacaksınız. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız?

		N (%)
a.	Beş MHPli'yi ölüm tuzağına çekerek hayatta kalırım.	48 (32%)
b.	Beş MHPli'ye seslenmem ve hayatımı feda ederim.	102 (68%)

Vignette 3. Kontrolden çıkmış bir tramvayın, beş T.C vatandaşına doğru hızla yaklaştığını görüyorsunuz. Hiçbir şey yapmazsanız bu kişiler hayatını kaybedecek. T.C vatandaşlarını kurtarmak için ya kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına raylara atlayıp tramvayın yavaşlayarak durmasını sağlayacaksınız ya da rayların makasıyla oynayıp tramvayın yönünü değiştireceksiniz ve diğer rayda olan bir MHPli'nin ölümüne neden olacaksınız. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız?

		N (%)
a.	Hiçbir şey yapmam ve beş T.C vatandaşı hayatını kaybeder.	17 (11.3%)
b.	Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına raylara atlayıp beş T.C vatandaşının hayatını kurtarırım.	77 (51.3%)
c.	Rayların makasıyla oynarım ve tramvayın diğer raya sapmasını sağlayarak bir MHPli'nin ölmesine neden olurken, beş T.C. vatandaşının hayatını kurtarırım.	56 (37.3%)

Vignette 4. Kontrolden çıkmış iki tramvay birbirine paralel iki trenyolunda hızla ilerlemektedir. Tramvaylardan birinin beş T.C vatandaşına, diğer tramvayın ise beş AKPli'ye çarpıp, bu kişileri öldürmek üzere olduğunu görüyorsunuz. Eğer hiçbir şey yapmazsanız, tramvaylar iki grubun da ölümüne sebep olacak. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş T.C vatandaşının hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş AKPli hayatını kaybedecek. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına AKPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş AKPli'nin hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş T.C vatandaşı hayatını kaybedecek. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız?

		N (%)
a.	Hiçbir şey yapmam ve iki grup da hayatını kaybeder.	52 (34.7%)
b.	Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarım.	96 (64%)
c.	Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına AKPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.	2 (1.3%)

Vignette 5. Kontrolden çıkmış iki tramvay birbirine paralel iki trenyolunda hızla ilerlemektedir. Tramvaylardan birinin beş T.C vatandaşına, diğer tramvayın ise beş CHPli'ye çarpıp, bu kişileri öldürmek üzere olduğunu görüyorsunuz. Eğer hiçbir şey yapmazsanız, tramvaylar iki grubun da ölümüne sebep olacak. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş T.C vatandaşının hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş CHPli hayatını kaybedecek. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına CHPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş CHPli'nin hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş T.C vatandaşı hayatını kaybedecek. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız?

Table 2.5 (continued). Vignettes and Answers of MHP Supporters

		N (%)
a.	Hiçbir şey yapmam ve iki grup da hayatını kaybeder.	48 (32%)
b.	Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarım.	99 (66%)
c.	Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına CHPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.	3 (2%)

Vignette 6. Kontrolden çıkmış iki tramvay birbirine paralel iki trenyolunda hızla ilerlemektedir. Tramvaylardan birinin beş T.C vatandaşına, diğer tramvayın ise beş HDPli'ye çarpıp, bu kişileri öldürmek üzere olduğunu görüyorsunuz. Eğer hiçbir şey yapmazsanız, tramvaylar iki grubun da ölümüne sebep olacak. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş T.C vatandaşının hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş HDPli hayatını kaybedecek. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına HDPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş HDPli'nin hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş T.C vatandaşı hayatını kaybedecek. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız?

		N (%)
a.	Hiçbir şey yapmam ve iki grup da hayatını kaybeder.	37 (24.7%)
b.	Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarım.	110 (73.3%)
c.	Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına HDPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.	3 (2%)

Vignette 7. Kontrolden çıkmış üç tramvay birbirine paralel üç trenyolunda hızla ilerlemektedir. Tramvaylardan birinin beş CHPli'ye, diğer tramvayın beş HDPli'ye ve diğer tramvayın ise beş AKPli'ye çarpıp, bu kişileri öldürmek üzere olduğunu görüyorsunuz. Eğer hiçbir şey yapmazsanız, tramvaylar üç grubun da ölümüne sebep olacak. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına herhangi bir grubun olduğu raylara atlarsanız, o gruptaki beş kişinin hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat diğer iki grup hayatını kaybedecek. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız?

		N (%)
a.	Hiçbir şey yapmam ve üç grup da hayatını kaybeder.	90 (60%)
b.	Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına CHPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.	24 (16%)
c.	Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına HDPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.	0 (.0%)
d.	Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına AKPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.	36 (24%)

Vignette 8. Altından pek çok trenyolunun geçtiği bir üst geçitte olduğunuzu düşünün. MHPliler'in düzenlediği kalabalık bir gösteriye bombalı bir saldırıda bulunulduğuna şahit oluyorsunuz. Patlamanın ardından, aşağıdaki trenyolu üzerinde koşarak uzaklaşmaya çalışan bombacıları görüyorsunuz. Aynı zamanda patlamanın neden olduğu panik ile MHPliler hızla yaklaşan bir tramvayın raylarına farkında olmadan atlamak üzereler. Bu şartlarda, kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına raylara atlarsanız, yaklaşan tramvay yolunu değiştirip bombacıların bulunduğu raya girecek ve MHPliler yerine bombacılara çarpacak. Raylara atlamayıp tramvayın yoluna devam etmesine izin verirseniz, hızla gelen tramvay MHPliler'e çarpacak. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız?

		N (%)
a.	Hiçbir şey yapmayıp, tramvayın yoluna devam etmesine ve raylara atlayan MHPliler'e çarpmasına izin veririm.	36 (24%)
b.	Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına raylara atlayıp, tramvayın yönünü değiştiririm ve MHPliler'i kurtararak tramvayın bombacılara çarpmasını sağlarım.	114 (76%)

Note. The table indicates the vignettes and the answers for these hypothetically created scenarios by participant group who indicated the political party identity as MHP.

2.2.3 Measure of group identification. The single factor (6-item) scale was developed by Mael and Ashforth (1992) to measure group identification with .83 internal consistency. Few items of the scale are "When someone criticizes my

group, it feels like a personal insult," "I am very interested in what members of other groups think about my group," "When I talk about my group, I usually say we rather than they".

In the present study, items were translated into Turkish, and three different participant groups (supporters of CHP, HDP, and MHP) indicated to what extent they identify themselves with local in-group (supporters of own political party), extended in-group (T.C citizens) and three local out-groups (supporters of ruling party and two other opposition parties). Items were rated on a 7-point scale, from "1: strongly disagree" to "7: strongly agree". Higher scores indicate stronger identification with the group.

Based on the sample of CHP supporters ($N = 320$), the principal component factor analysis demonstrated that single factor (5-item) explained 64.19% of the variance ($\alpha = .86$) when the identification level of participants with the group of CHP was evaluated. Item loadings of the factor changed from .70 to .88, and item-total correlations were between .56 and .78. When CHP supporters responded the measure in reference to the group of T.C citizens, 68.42% of the variance was explained ($\alpha = .88$) with item loading range of [.74, .89], and item-total correlation range of [.62, .80]. The alpha scores of the measure in reference to AKP, HDP, and MHP were .72, .94, .91, respectively.

The principal component factor analysis with HDP supporters ($N = 215$) indicated same single (5-item) factor structure and explained 58.89% of the variance ($\alpha = .82$) when participants responded the measure for the group of HDP. Item loadings ranged between .60 and .88, and item-total correlations changed from .44 to .77. When HDP supporters filled out the measure to indicate their identification with the group of T.C citizens, 66.86% of the variance was explained ($\alpha = .87$) with item loading range of [.76, .88], and item-total correlation range of [.63, .78]. The alpha scores of the measure in reference to AKP, CHP, and MHP were .50, .89, .86, respectively.

When the same analysis was conducted with the participation of MHP supporters ($N = 150$) to test their identification with the group of MHP, single factor (5-item) explained 69.79% of the variance ($\alpha = .89$). Item loadings changed from .79 to .87, and item-total correlation range was between .68 and .78. When MHP supporters filled out the same measure in reference to the group of T.C citizens,

64.96% of the variance was explained ($\alpha = .84$) with item loading range of [.68, .91], and item-total correlation range of [.54, .81]. The alpha scores of measure in reference to AKP, CHP, and HDP were .92, .95, .83, respectively.

In brief, all factor analyses these were conducted with the participation of three participant groups to test their identification with local in-group (supporters of own political party), extended in-group (T.C citizens) and three local out-groups (supporters of ruling party and two other opposition parties) indicated same factor structure with the original measure. Only one item (i.e., "I am very interested in what members of other groups think about my group") was dropped because its item-total correlation score and association with the alpha value of factor were problematic in all participant groups and factor analyses. The removal of this item also increased the explained variance. Statistical findings strengthened the reliability of translated and adapted single factor (5-item) study measure (see Table 2.6 for detailed information).

Table 2.6
Psychometric Characteristics of the Group Identification Measure

	CHP supporters in reference to group of CHP		HDP supporters in reference to group of HDP		MHP supporters in reference to group of MHP	
	Item loading	Item total r	Item loading	Item total r	Item loading	Item total r
Birisi CHPliler'i / HDPliler'i / MHPliler'i eleştirdiğinde, şahsıma hakaret edilmiş gibi hissederim.	.77	.64	.73	.57	.79	.68
CHPliler'den / HDPliler'den / MHPliler'den bahsederken genellikle "onlar" yerine "biz" diye bahsederim.	.80	.67	.78	.62	.84	.75
CHPliler'in / HDPliler'in / MHPliler'in başarıları benim de başarımdır.	.85	.74	.83	.68	.84	.74
Birisi CHPliler'i / HDPliler'i / MHPliler'i yücelttiğinde sanki bana övgüde bulunmuş gibi hissederim.	.88	.78	.88	.77	.87	.78
Medyadaki bir haber CHPliler'in / HDPliler'in / MHPliler'in olumsuz taraflarını eleştirdiğinde kendimi mahçup hissederim.	.70	.56	.60	.44	.83	.73
	Eigenvalue = 3.21; Explained variance (%) = 64.19; Alpha (α) = .86		Eigenvalue = 2.95; Explained variance (%) = 58.89; Alpha (α) = .82		Eigenvalue = 3.49; Explained variance (%) = 69.79; Alpha (α) = .89	

Table 2.6 (continued). *Psychometric Characteristics of the Group Identification Measure*

	CHP supporters in reference to group of T.C citizens		HDP supporters in reference to group of T.C citizens		MHP supporters in reference to group of T.C citizens	
	Item loading	Item total r	Item loading	Item total r	Item loading	Item total r
Birisi T.C vatandaşlarını eleştirdiğinde, şahsıma hakaret edilmiş gibi hissederim.	.82	.72	.81	.70	.84	.74
T.C vatandaşlarından bahsederken genellikle "onlar" yerine "biz" diye bahsederim.	.80	.68	.76	.63	.79	.64
T.C vatandaşlarının başarıları benim de başarımdır.	.87	.78	.85	.75	.80	.64
Birisi T.C vatandaşlarını yücelttiğinde sanki bana övgüde bulunmuş gibi hissederim.	.89	.80	.88	.78	.91	.81
Medyadaki bir haber T.C vatandaşlarının olumsuz taraflarını eleştirdiğinde kendimi mahçup hissederim.	.74	.62	.79	.65	.68	.54
	Eigenvalue = 3.42; Explained variance (%) = 68.42; Alpha (α) = .88		Eigenvalue = 3.34; Explained variance (%) = 66.86; Alpha (α) = .87		Eigenvalue = 3.25; Explained variance (%) = 64.96; Alpha (α) = .84	

Note. The table indicates the psychometric characteristics of the group identification measure when each participant group filled out the measure for local in-group (supporters of own political party) and extended in-group (T.C citizens). The item "Diğer grupların üyelerinin kendi grubum hakkında ne düşündüğüyle çok ilgiliyim" was removed from the measure because of its low item-total correlation score and unfavorable association with the alpha value of the measure. All participant groups also rated the measure for three local out-groups (including ruling party and two other opposition parties). The alpha values of CHP supporters in reference to AKP, HDP, and MHP were .72; .94; .91, respectively. The alpha values of HDP supporters in reference to AKP, CHP, and MHP were .50; 89; 86, respectively. The alpha values of MHP supporters in reference to AKP, CHP, and HDP were .92; .95; .83, respectively.

2.2.4 Verbal identity fusion scale. The measure was developed by Gomez, Brooks et al., (2011), and the single factor (7-item) scale aims to measure the identity fusion level of participants (including the connectedness and oneness of personal identity with group-based identity). Few items of the scale are "I feel immersed in my group," "I have a deep emotional bond with my group," "I make my group strong". Internal consistency scores of the scale changed from .83 to .90.

In the present study, the scale was translated into Turkish and tested in political party context of Turkey. Items were adapted to measure what extent three participant groups (supporters of three opposition parties as CHP, HDP, and MHP) perceive themselves as identity-fused with other T.C citizens and political parties

that were represented in the parliament of Turkey through November-2015 parliamentary elections. The scale required responding on a 7-point scale, from "1: strongly disagree" to "7: strongly agree". Higher scores indicate greater identity fusion with the group.

The principal component factor analysis with the data of CHP supporters (N = 320) indicated that the single factor (7-item) explained 68.03% of the variance (α = .92) when the identity fusion of participants with the group of CHP was tested. Item loadings of single factor varied between .67 and .89, and item-total correlations changed from .58 to .83. When the connectedness and oneness of CHP supporters' personal identity with group-based identity in reference to group of T.C citizens was tested, 68.79% of the variance was explained (α = .92) with item loading range of [.61, .92], and item-total correlation range of [.53, .87]. The alpha scores of the measure in reference to AKP, HDP, and MHP were .87, .93, .92, respectively.

The same factor analysis was performed with the participation of HDP supporters (N = 215). The single (7-item) factor structure explained 71.11% of the variance (α = .93) when participants filled out the measure for the group of HDP. Item loadings were between .68 and .92, and the item-total correlations changed from .60 to .88. When HDP supporters responded the same measure to indicate their identity fusion with the group of T.C citizens, 68.09% of the variance was explained (α = .92) with item loading range of [.68, .91], and item-total correlation range of [.60, .85]. The alpha scores of the measure in reference to AKP, CHP, and MHP were .89, .93, .82, respectively.

When the principal component factor analysis was conducted using the data of MHP supporters (N = 150) to test their identity fusion with the group of MHP, the same single (7-item) factor structure explained 70.12% of the variance (α = .93). Item loadings varied from .67 to .93, and item-total correlations were between .59 and .89. When MHP supporters filled out the same measure to indicate the oneness and connectedness their personal identity with group-based identity in reference to the group of T.C citizens, 59.10% of the variance was explained (α = .87) with item loading range of [.35, .90], and item-total correlation range of [.31, .80]. The internal consistency of the measure in reference to AKP, CHP, and HDP were .96, .94, .98, respectively.

Table 2.7
Psychometric Characteristics of the Verbal Identity Fusion Scale

	CHP supporters in reference to group of CHP		HDP supporters in reference to group of HDP		MHP supporters in reference to group of MHP	
	Item loading	Item total r	Item loading	Item total r	Item loading	Item total r
CHPliler / HDPliler / MHPliler ile bir bütünüm.	.87	.80	.91	.86	.87	.80
Kendimi CHPliler / HDPliler / MHPliler ile bütünleşmiş hissediyorum.	.89	.83	.92	.88	.90	.84
CHPliler / HDPliler / MHPliler ile derin duygusal bir bağım var.	.88	.82	.85	.78	.86	.80
CHPliler / HDPliler / MHPliler demek, ben demektir.	.88	.82	.90	.86	.93	.89
CHPliler / HDPliler / MHPliler için, diğer CHPli / diğer HDPli / diğer MHPli grup üyelerinin yapacağından daha fazla şey yaparım.	.78	.70	.82	.75	.67	.59
CHPliler / HDPliler / MHPliler sayesinde güçlüyüm.	.78	.71	.79	.72	.85	.80
CHPliler'i / HDPliler'i / MHPliler'i güçlü hale getiriyorum.	.67	.58	.68	.60	.75	.67
	Eigenvalue = 4.76; Explained variance (%) = 68.03; Alpha (α) = .92		Eigenvalue = 4.98; Explained variance (%) = 71.11; Alpha (α) = .93		Eigenvalue = 4.91; Explained variance (%) = 70.12; Alpha (α) = .93	

	CHP supporters in reference to group of T.C citizens		HDP supporters in reference to group of T.C citizens		MHP supporters in reference to group of T.C citizens	
	Item loading	Item total r	Item loading	Item total r	Item loading	Item total r
T.C vatandaşları ile bir bütünüm.	.90	.85	.91	.85	.75	.61
Kendimi T.C vatandaşları ile bütünleşmiş hissediyorum.	.91	.85	.89	.82	.89	.79
T.C vatandaşları ile derin duygusal bir bağım var.	.89	.83	.86	.79	.90	.80
T.C vatandaşları demek, ben demektir.	.92	.87	.88	.81	.89	.80
T.C vatandaşları için, diğer T.C vatandaşlarının yapacağından daha fazla şey yaparım.	.75	.67	.74	.67	.69	.60
T.C toplumu sayesinde güçlüyüm.	.79	.72	.80	.72	.76	.69
T.C toplumunu güçlü hale getiriyorum.	.61	.53	.68	.60	.35	.31
	Eigenvalue = 4.82; Explained variance (%) = 68.79; Alpha (α) = .92		Eigenvalue = 4.77; Explained variance (%) = 68.09; Alpha (α) = .92		Eigenvalue = 4.14; Explained variance (%) = 59.10; Alpha (α) = .87	

Table 2.7 (continued). *Psychometric Characteristics of the Verbal Identity Fusion Scale*

In conclusion, all factor analyses (conducted with the participation of three participant groups to test their identity fusion with local in-group (supporters of own political party), extended in-group (T.C citizens) and three local out-groups (supporters of ruling party and two other opposition parties)) indicated the same factor structure with the original measure. Findings supported the reliability of translated and adapted single factor (7-item) verbal identity fusion scale (see Table 2.7 for detailed information).

2.2.5 Individual-based and group-based relative deprivation scales. The 5-item egoistic (individual-based) relative deprivation scale was developed by Özdemir, Tekeş, and Öner-Özkan (in press) to test when the person compares herself / himself with other people in individual level, what extent s/he feels deprived toward the desired outcome. Internal consistency score was .71.

In the present study, individual-based and group-based relative deprivation sub-scales were derived from 5-item egoistic (individual-based) relative deprivation scale of Özdemir and colleagues (in press), and items were revised to measure individual-based deprivation (5-item) and group-based deprivation (5-item) in the socio-political context of Turkey. Few items of individual-based deprivation are "I want to have social and political conditions that the members of other group have" "I deserve social and political conditions that the members of other group have". Few items of group-based deprivation are "I wish members of my group have social and political conditions that the members of other group have," "Members of my group deserve social and political conditions that the members of other group have". In the present study, members of three participant groups compared themselves (individual level) and their local in-group (group level; including supporters of own political party) with member(s) of extended in-group (T.C citizens) and member(s) of three local out-groups (supporters of ruling party and two other opposition parties), and they expressed what extent they perceive individual-based and group-

based relative deprivations based on the possessed social and political conditions. Items were rated using a 7-point scale, from "1: strongly disagree" to "7: strongly agree". Higher scores indicate stronger individual-based and group-based relative deprivations.

The principal component factor analysis with the data of CHP supporters (N = 320) demonstrated that the single factor (5-item) explained 62.71% of the variance (α = .85) when participants compared themselves with other T.C citizens based on the possessed social and political conditions using individual-level comparisons and indicated their individual-based deprivation. Item loadings changed from .62 to .89, and item-total correlations were between .48 and .78. When participants compared their local in-group (supporters of CHP) with other T.C citizens based on the possessed social and political conditions using group level comparisons and expressed the group-based deprivation, the single factor (5-item) explained 66.28% of the variance (α = .87) with item loading range of [.77, .85], and item-total correlation range of [.64, .74]. CHP supporters also compared themselves and their local in-group with three local out-groups (using individual and group level comparisons) to indicate individual-based and group-based deprivations. When CHP supporters compared themselves with AKP, HDP, and MHP using individual-based relative deprivation measure, alpha values were .93; .89; .95, respectively whereas for group-based relative deprivation measure were .95; .90; .94.

The principal component factor analysis with the participation of HDP supporters (N = 215) showed the same single (5-item) factor structure and explained 70.32% of the variance (α = .89) when individual-based deprivation of participants was tested in comparison to other T.C citizens. Item loadings varied from .74 to .90, and item-total correlations were between .62 and .82. When participants indicated their group-based deprivation in comparison to other T.C citizens using group level comparisons, the single factor (5-item) explained 74.08% of the variance (α = .89) with item loading range of [.73, .92], and item-total correlation range of [.62, .83]. HDP supporters also compared themselves and their local in-group with three local out-groups using individual and group level comparisons. When HDP supporters compared themselves with AKP, CHP, and MHP using individual-based relative

deprivation measure, alpha values were .90; .95; .95, respectively whereas for group-based relative deprivation measure were .92; .97; .97.

The factor analysis using the responses of MHP supporters ($N = 150$) indicated that the same single (5-item) factor structure explained 62.37% of the variance ($\alpha = .85$) when individual-based deprivation was investigated in comparison to other T.C citizens. Item loading changed from .71 to .87, and item-total correlations were between .56 and .77. When participants' group-based deprivation in comparison to other T.C citizens was tested, the single factor (5-item) explained 68.44% of the variance ($\alpha = .88$) with item loading range of [.76, .87], and item-total correlation range of [.64, .78]. MHP supporters also compared themselves and their local in-group (using individual and group level comparisons) with three local out-groups to express the individual-based and group-based deprivations. When MHP supporters compared themselves with AKP, CHP, and HDP using individual-based relative deprivation measure, alpha values were .95; .95; .96, respectively whereas for group-based relative deprivation measure were .96; .95; .95.

Table 2.8
Psychometric Characteristics of the Individual-based and Group-based Relative Deprivation Scales

Individual-based relative deprivation	CHP supporters		HDP supporters		MHP supporters	
	Item loading	Item total r	Item loading	Item total r	Item loading	Item total r
Kendimi diğer T.C vatandaşları ile karşılaştırdığımda, diğer T.C vatandaşlarının benden daha iyi sosyal ve politik imkânlara sahip olduğunun farkındayım.	.80	.66	.83	.73	.78	.64
Diğer T.C vatandaşlarının sahip olduğu sosyal ve politik imkânlara sahip olmayı isterim.	.82	.70	.86	.77	.84	.73
Diğer T.C vatandaşlarının sahip olduğu sosyal ve politik imkânları hak ettiğimi düşünürüm.	.62	48	.74	.62	.71	.56
Kendimi diğer T.C vatandaşları ile karşılaştırdığımda, sahip olduğum sosyal ve politik imkânlar beni tatmin etmiyor.	.81	.67	.86	.77	.74	.59
Sosyal ve politik imkânlar konusunda, diğer T.C vatandaşları benden daha iyi durumda.	.89	.78	.90	.82	.87	.77
	Eigenvalue = 3.14; Explained variance (%) = 62.71; Alpha (α) = .85		Eigenvalue = 3.52; Explained variance (%) = 70.32; Alpha (α) = .89		Eigenvalue = 3.12; Explained variance (%) = 62.37; Alpha (α) = .85	

Table 2.8 (continued). *Psychometric Characteristics of the Individual-based and Group-based Relative Deprivation Scales*

Group-based relative Deprivation	CHP supporters		HDP supporters		MHP supporters	
	Item loading	Item total r	Item loading	Item total r	Item loading	Item total r
CHPliler'i / HDPliler'i / MHPliler'i diğer T.C vatandaşları ile karşılaştırdığımda, diğer T.C vatandaşlarının CHPliler'den / HDPliler'den / MHPliler'den daha iyi sosyal ve politik imkânlara sahip olduğunun farkındayım.	.77	.64	.73	.62	.81	.70
Diğer T.C vatandaşlarının sahip olduğu sosyal ve politik imkânlara CHPliler'in / HDPliler'in / MHPliler'in de sahip olmasını isterim.	.85	.74	.91	.81	.83	.73
Diğer T.C vatandaşlarının sahip olduğu sosyal ve politik imkânları CHPliler'in / HDPliler'in / MHPliler'in de hak ettiğini düşünürüm.	.80	.68	.92	.83	.76	.64
CHPliler'i / HDPliler'i / MHPliler'i diğer T.C vatandaşları ile karşılaştırdığımda, CHPliler'in / HDPliler'in / MHPliler'in sahip olduğu sosyal ve politik imkânlar beni tatmin etmiyor.	.82	.70	.84	.75	.86	.76
Sosyal ve politik imkânlar konusunda, diğer T.C vatandaşları CHPliler'den / HDPliler'den / MHPliler'den daha iyi durumda.	.84	.73	.89	.82	.87	.78
	Eigenvalue = 3.31; Explained variance (%) = 66.28; Alpha (α) = .87		Eigenvalue = 3.70; Explained variance (%) = 74.08; Alpha (α) = .89		Eigenvalue = 3.42; Explained variance (%) = 68.44; Alpha (α) = .88	

Note. The table indicates the psychometric characteristics of individual-based and group-based relative deprivation sub-scales when each participant group filled out the measures for themselves and local in-group (supporters of own political party) using the individual level and group level comparisons with other T.C citizens in order to specify their individual-based and group-based relative deprivations. All participant groups also compared themselves and their local in-group with three local out-groups in individual and group levels. When CHP supporters compared themselves with AKP, HDP, and MHP using individual-based relative deprivation measure, alpha values were .93; .89; .95, respectively whereas alpha values were .95; .90; .94 for group-based relative deprivation measure. When HDP supporters compared themselves with AKP, CHP, and MHP using individual-based relative deprivation measure, alpha values were .90; .95; .95, respectively whereas alpha values were .92; .97; .97 for group-based relative deprivation measure. When MHP supporters compared themselves with AKP, CHP, and HDP using individual-based relative deprivation measure, alpha values were .95; .95; .96, respectively whereas alpha values were .96; .95; .95 for group-based relative deprivation measure.

In sum, all conducted factor analyses (using the data of three participant groups to test individual-based and group-based relative deprivations in comparison to extended in-group (T.C citizens) and three local out-groups (supporters of ruling party and two other opposition parties)) demonstrated the same factor structure with the original inspired scale. Statistical findings supported the reliability of 5-item individual-based and 5-item group-based relative deprivation scales (see Table 2.8 for detailed information).

2.2.6 Relative deprivation fusion scale. The 7-item scale was derived from the verbal identity fusion scale (Gomez, Brooks et al., 2011) in the present study to measure the connectedness and oneness of individual-based and group-based relative deprivations. Before the relative deprivation fusion scale, the definitions of relative deprivation, individual-based relative deprivation, and group-based relative deprivation were presented for participants. Few items of the scale are "My individual-based deprivation is one with my local in-group-based deprivation," "I have a deep emotional bond with my local in-group-based deprivation," "When I eliminate my local in-group-based deprivation, my individual-based deprivation also will be eliminated".

Three participant groups (supporters of CHP, HDP, and MHP) indicated what extent their individual-based and local in-group-based relative deprivations are connected and fused using a 7-point scale, from "1: strongly disagree" to "7: strongly agree". Higher scores mean greater levels of relative deprivation fusion which individual-based perceived disadvantage becomes relevant with local in-group-based perceived disadvantage, and people indicate relative deprivation in both individual and group levels.

The principal component factor analysis was performed with the sample of CHP supporters ($N = 320$), and the single (7-item) factor structure explained 74.09% of the variance ($\alpha = .94$). Item loadings of factor changed from .80 to .88, and item-total correlations were between .73 and .83. When HDP supporters filled out the same scale to specify their relative deprivation fusion levels, 69.31% of the variance was explained by the same (7-item) factor structure ($\alpha = .93$) with item loading range of [.71, .87], and item-total correlation range of [.63, .82]. Scale also was responded by MHP supporters, and the same (7-item) factor structure explained

75.64% of the variance ($\alpha = .95$) with item loading range of [.82, .91], and item-total correlation range of [.76, .87].

In conclusion, all conducted factor analyses (using the data of three participant groups to test relative deprivation fusion) demonstrated the same factor structure as the original inspired scale. Statistical findings supported the reliability of single factor (7-item) relative deprivation fusion scale (see Table 2.9 for detailed information).

Table 2.9
Psychometric Characteristics of the Relative Deprivation Fusion Scale

	CHP supporters		HDP supporters		MHP supporters	
	Item loading	Item total r	Item loading	Item total r	Item loading	Item total r
CHPli / HDPli / MHPli grup üyeliğime bağlı grup-temelli yoksunluğum ve birey-temelli yoksunluğum bir bütündür.	.87	.81	.85	.78	.88	.83
CHPli / HDPli / MHPli grup üyeliğime bağlı grup-temelli yoksunluğum ile bütünleşmiş hissediyorum.	.88	.83	.87	.81	.91	.87
CHPli / HDPli / MHPli grup üyeliğime bağlı grup-temelli yoksunluğum ile derin duygusal bir bağım var.	.87	.82	.87	.82	.91	.87
CHPli / HDPli / MHPli grup üyeliğime bağlı grup-temelli yoksunluğum, birey-temelli yoksunluğum ile aynıdır.	.88	.83	.86	.80	.87	.82
CHPli / HDPli / MHPli grup üyeliğime bağlı grup-temelli yoksunluğumu gidermek için, diğer CHPliler'in / diğer HDPliler'in / diğer MHPliler'in yapacağından daha fazla şey yaparım.	.80	.73	.71	.63	.83	.77
CHPli / HDPli / MHPli grup üyeliğime bağlı grup-temelli yoksunluğum beni etkilemektedir.	.85	.79	.82	.75	.82	.76
CHPli / HDPli / MHPli grup üyeliğime bağlı grup temelli yoksunluğumu giderdiğimde, birey-temelli yoksunluğumu da gidermiş olacağım.	.87	.82	.84	.78	.86	.81
	Eigenvalue = 5.19; Explained variance (%) = 74.09; Alpha (α) = .94		Eigenvalue = 4.85; Explained variance (%) = 69.31; Alpha (α) = .93		Eigenvalue = 5.30; Explained variance (%) = 75.64; Alpha (α) = .95	

Note. The table indicates the psychometric characteristics of the relative deprivation fusion scale when each participant group filled out the measure for local in-group (supporters of own political party).

2.2.7 Measure of familial ties. The 3-item scale was developed by Swann, Buhrmester et al., (2014) to assess perceived relational/familial ties with in-group members ($\alpha = .92$). Items of the scale are "Members of my group are like my family to me," "If someone in my group is hurt or in danger, it is like a family member is hurt or in danger," "I see other members of group as brothers and sisters".

In the present study, items were translated into Turkish. Supporters of CHP, HDP, and MHP indicated what extent they perceive the members of own local in-group (supporters of own political party) as a family member using a 7-point scale, from "1: strongly disagree" to "7: strongly agree". Higher scores show stronger familial ties with local in-group members.

The principal component factor analysis was conducted based on the responses of CHP supporters ($N = 320$), and the single (3-item) factor structure explained 85.65% of the variance ($\alpha = .92$) with item loading range of [.91, .94], and item-total correlation range of [.80, .86]. HDP supporters ($N = 215$) also responded the same scale to indicate their relational/familial ties with the group of HDP, and 83.82% of the variance was explained by the same (3-item) factor structure ($\alpha = .90$) with item loading range of [.91, .93], and item-total correlation range of [.80, .83]. When same factor analysis was performed with the data of MHP supporters ($N = 150$), the same (3-item) factor explained 85.21% of the variance ($\alpha = .91$) with item loading range of [.91, .94], and item-total correlation range of [.79, .85].

In sum, all conducted factor analyses (using the data of three participant groups to test relational/familial ties with local in-group) demonstrated the same factor structure with the original scale. Statistical findings supported the reliability of the single factor (3-item) measure of familial ties (see Table 2.10 for detailed information).

Table 2.10
Psychometric Characteristics of the Familial Ties Measure

	CHP supporters		HDP supporters		MHP supporters	
	Item loading	Item total r	Item loading	Item total r	Item loading	Item total r
CHPliler / HDPliler / MHPliler benim için ailem gibidir.	.91	.80	.91	.80	.94	.85
CHPli / HDPli / MHPli birisi incindiğinde veya tehlikede olduğunda, sanki bir aile bireyi incinmiş ya da tehlikedeymiş gibi hissederim.	.94	.86	.91	.80	.93	.83
CHPliler'i / HDPliler'i / MHPliler'i erkek ya da kız kardeşlerim gibi görürüm.	.93	.84	.93	.83	.91	.79
	Eigenvalue = 2.57; Explained variance (%) = 85.65; Alpha (α) = .92		Eigenvalue = 2.52; Explained variance (%) = 83.82; Alpha (α) = .90		Eigenvalue = 2.56; Explained variance (%) = 85.21; Alpha (α) = .91	

Note. The table indicates the psychometric characteristics of the familial ties measure when each participant group filled out the measure for local in-group (supporters of own political party).

2.2.8 Measure of agency for the group. The 3-item scale was developed based on the agency concept discussions of Haggard and Tsakiris (2009) to measure the perceived individual control over group behaviors and was used in the study of Swann, Gomez, Huici et al., (2010) with .85 internal consistency. Items are "I have as much control over my group's outcomes as my own actions," "I feel responsible for what happens to my group," "I feel responsible for what my group does".

In the present study, the measure was translated into Turkish. Participant groups (supporters of CHP, HDP, and MHP) indicated what extent they perceive their individual control over local in-group's actions using a 7-point scale which ranged from "1: strongly disagree" to "7: strongly agree". Higher scores show a stronger perceived individual agency for local in-group, and people perceive greater individual control over own local in-group's actions.

According to the principal component factor analysis with the data of CHP supporters ($N = 320$), the single (3-item) factor explained 78.81% of the variance ($\alpha = .86$) with item loading range of [.85, .91], and item-total correlation range of [.68, .79]. HDP supporters ($N = 215$) also filled out the scale to specify their perceived individual agency for the actions of the group of HDP, and 77.23% of the variance was explained by the same (3-item) factor ($\alpha = .85$) with item loading range of [.83,

.93], and item-total correlation range of [.64, .82]. When factor analysis was conducted with the participation of MHP supporters ($N = 150$), the same (3-item) factor explained 86.75% of the variance ($\alpha = .92$). Item loadings changed from .90 to .95, and item-total correlations were between .79 and .89.

In brief, all conducted factor analyses (using the data of three participant groups to test the perceived individual agency) demonstrated the same factor structure as the original scale. Statistical findings strengthened the reliability of the single factor (3-item) measure of agency for the group (see Table 2.11 for detailed information).

Table 2.11
Psychometric Characteristics of the Agency for the Group Measure

	CHP supporters		HDP supporters		MHP supporters	
	Item loading	Item total r	Item loading	Item total r	Item loading	Item total r
Kendi davranışlarım üzerinde olduğu kadar CHPliler'in / HDPliler'in / MHPliler'in hareketlerinde de söz sahibiyim.	.85	.68	.83	.64	.90	.79
CHPliler'e / HDPliler'e / MHPliler'e olan her şeyden kendimi sorumlu hissederim.	.91	.79	.93	.82	.95	.89
CHPliler'in / HDPliler'in / MHPliler'in yaptığı her şeyden kendimi sorumlu hissederim.	.90	.76	.88	.72	.94	.86
	Eigenvalue = 2.36; Explained variance (%) = 78.81; Alpha (α) = .86		Eigenvalue = 2.32; Explained variance (%) = 77.23; Alpha (α) = .85		Eigenvalue = 2.60; Explained variance (%) = 86.75; Alpha (α) = .92	

Note. The table indicates the psychometric characteristics of the agency for the group measure when each participant group filled out the measure for local in-group (supporters of own political party).

2.2.9 Measure of invulnerability. The 5-item scale was developed by Gomez, Brooks et al., (2011) to measure the perceived invulnerability with .73 internal consistency. Few items are "In the face of danger, I am convinced that my group and I will survive," "Anything could damage me or my group," "My group will be able to cope with any sort of threat".

In the present study, the scale was translated into Turkish. Three participant groups rated what extent they perceive themselves and local in-group as invulnerable using a 7-point scale which ranged from "1: strongly disagree" to "7: strongly agree". Higher scores indicate greater perceived invulnerability, and

individuals believe that they and their own local in-group have the power to cope with any sort of threat and danger.

The principal component factor analysis was performed with the data of CHP supporters ($N = 320$), and the single (5-item) factor explained 71.46% of the variance ($\alpha = .89$) with item loading range of [.80, .88], and item-total correlation range of [.69, .82]. When HDP supporters ($N = 215$) responded the scale to indicate their perceived invulnerability, 59.67% of the variance was explained by the same (5-item) factor ($\alpha = .83$). Item loadings ranged from .76 to .82, and item-total correlations were between .58 and .72. MHP supporters ($N = 150$) also filled out the same measure, and 69.39% of the variance was explained by the same (5-item) factor ($\alpha = .89$) with item loading range of [.79, .85], and item-total correlation range of [.68, .76].

In sum, all conducted factor analyses (using the data of three participant groups to test the perceived invulnerability) indicated the same factor structure as the original measure. Statistical findings supported the reliability of the single factor (5-item) measure of invulnerability (see Table 2.12 for detailed information).

Table 2.12
Psychometric Characteristics of the Invulnerability Measure

	CHP supporters		HDP supporters		MHP supporters	
	Item loading	Item total r	Item loading	Item total r	Item loading	Item total r
Tehlike karşısında CHPliler'in / HDPliler'in / MHPliler'in ve kendimin bu durumu atlatacağına eminim.	.80	.69	.76	.63	.79	.68
Bana ya da CHPliler'e / HDPliler'e / MHPliler'e kötü bir şey olmaz.	.85	.74	.76	.58	.85	.76
Hiçbir şey bana ya da CHPliler'e / HDPliler'e / MHPliler'e zarar veremez.	.85	.74	.77	.59	.83	.72
CHPliler / HDPliler / MHPliler diğer pek çok gruptan daha dayanıklıdır.	.84	.76	.76	.64	.83	.73
CHPliler / HDPliler / MHPliler her türlü tehlike ile baş edebilir.	.88	.82	.82	.72	.85	.76
	Eigenvalue = 3.57; Explained variance (%) = 71.46; Alpha (α) = .89		Eigenvalue = 2.98; Explained variance (%) = 59.67; Alpha (α) = .83		Eigenvalue = 3.47; Explained variance (%) = 69.39; Alpha (α) = .89	

Note. The table indicates the psychometric characteristics of the invulnerability measure when each participant group filled out the measure for local in-group (supporters of own political party).

2.2.10 Demographic information form. At the first part of the questionnaire packages, the personal information of participants was gathered using demographic information form. This section asked questions about sex, age, occupation, city of residence, education level, income, perceived socio-economic status, growth place and political party identity (supported political party which is local in-group). Participants also reported their relations with their own party such as (i) I have sympathy for X, (ii) I usually vote for X in elections, (iii) I try to participate in groups or activities which are organized by X. Lastly, participants rated what extent they feel close each political party that was represented in the parliament of Turkey through November-2015 parliamentary elections.

2.3 Procedure

After the permission of the ethical review board of METU-AERC (Middle East Technical University - Applied Ethics Research Center), we started to collect data - using the *QUALTRICS* software - from the supporters of opposition parties (namely CHP, HDP and MHP) which had the right of representation in the parliament of Turkey through November-2015 parliamentary elections. All measures were prepared in accordance with APA (American Psychological Association, 2010) ethical standards.

There were three different questionnaire packages due to the number of opposition parties which were defined as participant groups in the present research. All three groups answered the same measures, but their reference points were different based on the participant's political party identity. Participants were briefly informed through informed consent form that "the research aims to investigate the roots of pro-group behaviors based on the socio-political identity variable. The study is conducted with supporters of opposition parties which were represented in the parliament of Turkey through November-2015 parliamentary elections. That is why we kindly request the participation of people who define themselves as a supporter of CHP, HDP, and MHP; or feel close themselves one of these parties". In addition, the researchers of the study were introduced, and the contact information was given for further questions of participants. The informed consent form highlighted the participation on a volunteer basis and the importance of honest answers. The form also guaranteed that "there is not any question which indicates

the private identity of participants. All answers will be kept as a secret, and will be used just by researchers for scientific purposes".

In the first part, participants filled out the demographic information form (including sex, age, occupation, city of residence, education level, income, perceived socio-economic status and growth place) and indicated their political party identity which referred to local in-group membership. Also, relations of participants with local in-group and their perceived closeness to all political parties, which were represented in the parliament of Turkey via November-2015 parliamentary elections, were asked. In the second section, based on their political party identity, participants responded to group identification measure and verbal identity fusion scale for local in-group (supporters of own political party), extended in-group (T.C citizens) and three local out-groups (supporters of ruling party and two other opposition parties) in counterbalanced order to minimize the order effect. In the third section, we kindly requested that participants compare themselves and their local in-group with extended in-group and supporters of three local out-groups (including ruling party and two other opposition parties) one by one based on the possessed social and political conditions in individual and group levels. We tested what extent participants feel individual-based and group-based deprivations using relative deprivation scales, and we investigated the connectedness and oneness between individual-based and group-based deprivations through relative deprivation fusion scale. Fourthly, participants filled out familial ties, individual agency for the group, and invulnerability measures in reference to local in-group. In the fifth part, they responded to the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors measure for local in-group, extended in-group and three local out-groups in counterbalanced order. In the last section, participants read eight vignettes which include hypothetically created different intergroup situations to test extreme pro-group behaviors and indicated how they behave in proposed situations. At the end of the research, participants were informed with the debriefing form about the theoretical background and expected findings of the research. In addition, we kindly requested them to not share the provided knowledge with potential participants. The response order of scales based on the political party identity of the participant was presented in Table 2.13.

Table 2.13
Response Order of Scales based on the Political Party Identity of Participant

Informed Consent Form		
Part 1		
Demographic Information Form - sex, age, occupation, city of residence, education level, income, perceived socio-economic status, growth place		

POLITICAL PARTY IDENTITY

Republican People's Party (CHP) Supporters	Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP) Supporters	Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) Supporters
Measures for the relations with CHP; and the perceived closeness to political parties which were represented in the parliament of Turkey via November-2015 parliamentary selections	Measures for the relations with HDP; and the perceived closeness to political parties which were represented in the parliament of Turkey via November-2015 parliamentary selections	Measures for the relations with MHP; and the perceived closeness to political parties which were represented in the parliament of Turkey via November-2015 parliamentary selections
Part 2	**Part 2**	**Part 2**
Group identification; and verbal identity fusion scales in reference to the groups of CHP (local in-group), T.C citizens (extended in-group), and AKP, HDP and MHP (local out-groups), in counterbalanced order	Group identification; and verbal identity fusion scales in reference to the groups of HDP (local in-group), T.C citizens (extended in-group), and AKP, CHP and MHP (local out-groups), in counterbalanced order	Group identification; and verbal identity fusion scales in reference to the groups of MHP (local in-group), T.C citizens (extended in-group), and AKP, CHP and HDP (local out-groups), in counterbalanced order
Part 3	**Part 3**	**Part 3**
Individual-based; and CHP-based (local in-group-based) relative deprivation scales in comparison to the groups of T.C citizens, AKP, HDP, and MHP, in counterbalanced order	Individual-based; and HDP-based (local in-group-based) relative deprivation scales in comparison to the groups of T.C citizens, AKP, CHP, and MHP, in counterbalanced order	Individual-based; and MHP-based (local in-group-based) relative deprivation scales in comparison to the groups of T.C citizens, AKP, CHP, and HDP, in counterbalanced order
Relative deprivation fusion scale in reference to CHP membership	Relative deprivation fusion scale in reference to HDP membership	Relative deprivation fusion scale in reference to MHP membership
Part 4	**Part 4**	**Part 4**
Familial ties; individual agency; and invulnerability measures in reference to the group of CHP	Familial ties; individual agency; and invulnerability measures in reference to the group of HDP	Familial ties; individual agency; and invulnerability measures in reference to the group of MHP
Part 5	**Part 5**	**Part 5**
Endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors measure in reference to the groups of CHP, T.C citizens, AKP, HDP, and MHP, in counterbalanced order	Endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors measure in reference to the groups of HDP, T.C citizens, AKP, CHP, and MHP, in counterbalanced order	Endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors measure in reference to the groups of MHP, T.C citizens, AKP, CHP, and HDP, in counterbalanced order

Table 2.13 (continued). *Response Order of Scales based on the Political Party Identity of Participant*

Part 6	Part 6	Part 6
Vignettes which test extreme pro-group behaviors in created eight intergroup situations about the groups of CHP, T.C citizens, AKP, HDP, and MHP	Vignettes which test extreme pro-group behaviors in created eight intergroup situations about the groups of HDP, T.C citizens, AKP, CHP, and MHP	Vignettes which test extreme pro-group behaviors in created eight intergroup situations about the groups of MHP, T.C citizens, AKP, CHP, and HDP
	Debriefing Form	

Note. T.C citizens = Republic of Turkey citizens; AKP = Justice and Development Party; CHP = Republican People's Party; HDP = Peoples' Democratic Party; MHP = Nationalist Movement Party.

As stated previously, the convenience sampling method with snowball technique was used to reach participant groups, and the data were collected using the online survey program, namely the *QUALTRICS* software, in the internet environment. The announcements and anonymous link of the research were shared through different social media channels or posted to direct e-mail addresses of people who were related to political parties and volunteered to participate in the study. We got in contact with party branches (including youth branches, women's branch) and civil society organizations to use their e-mail groups. In order to reach the supporters of three opposition parties, we also tried to collect data from different universities (e.g., the rightist political view, ülkücüs, MHP supporters and MHP organizations are dominant in Gazi University whereas the leftist political affiliation is mainly effective in Middle East Technical University). Some faculty members shared the link of the study with students. Moreover, Sona-System that was connected with the *QUALTRICS* software, used to reach the students of Middle East Technical University. Participants completed the survey in 25-30 minutes, and the data were collected within 11 months.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

3.1 Descriptive Information about the Study Variables and Between-Political Parties and Within-Political Party Comparisons

A series of one-way MANOVAs (multivariate analysis of variance) and one-way repeated measure ANOVAs (analysis of variance) were conducted to see between-political parties and within-political party differences based on the study variables such as endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors, group identification, identity fusion, individual level and group level relative deprivations, relative deprivation fusion, familial ties with local in-group, agency for local in-group, and perceived invulnerability of local in-group.

3.1.1 Endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors

There were significant differences on the willingness to perform extreme pro-group behaviors based on the political party identity of participant; $F(10, 1356) = 122.12$, $p < .001$, *Wilks' λ* $= .277$, $\eta_p^2 = 47$. Political party identity differentiated the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors in the interest of CHP, $F(2, 682) = 10.18$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$; HDP, $F(2, 682) = 230.13$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .40$; MHP, $F(2, 682) = 141.89$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .29$; T.C citizens, $F(2, 682) = 163.47$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .32$; and AKP, $F(2, 682) = 27.53$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$. When three different political party supporter groups were compared with each other (differences on between-political parties), the willingness to perform extreme pro-group actions on the behalf of CHP, HDP, and MHP was greater among their own supporters. MHP supporters also demonstrated greater willingness to fight and die on the behalf of T.C citizens in comparison to CHP and HDP supporters whereas CHP supporters tended to express extreme pro-group behaviors for T.C citizens more than HDP supporters. Lastly, MHP supporters endorsed the extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of AKP more in comparison to CHP and HDP supporters.

Within-political party differences were explored using repeated measure ANOVAs. There were significant changes on the willingness level to perform extreme pro-group behaviors of CHP supporters based on the reference group, $F_{greenhouse\ geisser}(2.21, 703.78) = 250.80$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .44$, (T.C citizens > CHP > HDP & MHP > AKP). CHP supporters indicated greater willingness to perform extreme pro-group behaviors for T.C citizens than CHP, AKP, HDP, and MHP whereas they expressed stronger tendency to perform extreme pro-group behaviors for CHP than AKP, HDP, and MHP. CHP supporters also endorsed the extreme pro-group behaviors for both HDP and MHP more than AKP.

In the sample of HDP supporters, the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors changed based on the reference group, $F_{greenhouse\ geisser}(2.25, 481.71) = 168.40$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .44$, (HDP > T.C citizens > CHP > AKP & MHP). HDP supporters had a greater tendency to fight and die for HDP than the group of T.C citizens, AKP, CHP, and MHP whereas they tended to express extreme pro-group behaviors for T.C citizens more than AKP, CHP, and MHP. In addition, the willingness of HDP supporters to indicate extreme pro-group behaviors for CHP stronger than AKP and MHP.

Lastly, the within-group comparisons in the sample of MHP supporters were examined, and there were significant differences based on the reference group, $F_{greenhouse\ geisser}(2.80, 416.46) = 256.71$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .63$, (T.C citizens > MHP > AKP & CHP > HDP). MHP supporters indicated greater willingness to perform extreme pro-group behaviors for T.C citizens than MHP, AKP, CHP, and HDP whereas they expressed stronger tendency to perform extreme pro-group behaviors for MHP than AKP, CHP, and HDP. MHP supporters also endorsed the extreme pro-group behaviors for both AKP and CHP more than HDP. All significant between-political parties and within-political party comparisons based on the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors variable can be seen in Table 3.1 with mean, standard deviation, and confidence interval scores.

3.1.2 Group identification

There were significant differences on the identification level of participants with particular groups based on the political party identity of participant; $F(10, 1356) = 204.25$, $p < .001$, $Wilks'\ \lambda = .159$, $\eta_p^2 = 60$. Political party identity

differentiated the group identification with CHP, $F(2, 682) = 117.28$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .26$; HDP, $F(2, 682) = 330.44$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .49$; MHP, $F(2, 682) = 328.68$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .49$; T.C citizens, $F(2, 682) = 308.13$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .48$; and AKP, $F(2, 682) = 65.45$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .16$. When three different political party supporter groups were compared with each other (differences on between-political parties), the group identifications with CHP, HDP, and MHP were stronger among their own supporters (local in-group members). Identification with HDP was stronger among CHP supporters than MHP supporters whereas identification with MHP was greater among CHP supporters than HDP supporters. MHP supporters indicated stronger identification with T.C citizens in comparison to both CHP and HDP supporters whereas CHP supporters demonstrated greater identification with T.C citizens than HDP supporters. In addition, MHP supporters expressed greater identification with AKP in comparison to both CHP and HDP supporters.

Within-political party comparisons were tested using repeated measure ANOVAs. There were significant changes on the group identification level of CHP supporters based on the reference group, $F_{greenhouse\ geisser}(2.83, 903.17) = 850.48$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .73$, (T.C citizens > CHP > HDP & MHP > AKP). CHP supporters identified themselves with T.C citizens more than CHP, AKP, HDP, and MHP whereas they indicated stronger identification with CHP than AKP, HDP, and MHP. They also identified themselves with both HDP and MHP more than AKP.

In the sample of HDP supporters, the identification level with particular groups changed based on the reference group, $F_{greenhouse\ geisser}(2.56, 547.18) = 303.25$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .59$, (HDP > T.C citizens > CHP > AKP & MHP). HDP supporters had a greater identification with HDP than the group of T.C citizens, AKP, CHP, and MHP whereas they tended to indicate stronger group identification with T.C citizens than AKP, CHP, and MHP. Moreover, HDP supporters indicated stronger identification with CHP in comparison to AKP and MHP.

Lastly, the within-group comparisons in the sample of MHP supporters were examined, and there were significant differences on identification level based on reference group, $F_{greenhouse\ geisser}(3.10, 461.22) = 605.29$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .80$, (T.C citizens > MHP > AKP & CHP > HDP). MHP supporters identified themselves with T.C citizens more than MHP, AKP, CHP, and HDP whereas they

demonstrated greater identification with MHP than AKP, CHP, and HDP. MHP supporters also identified themselves with both AKP and CHP more than HDP. All significant comparisons based on the group identification can be seen in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1
Means, and Standard Deviations of the Study Variables and Between-Parties and Within-Party Differences

Participant Groups			
CHP supporters (*N* = 320)	HDP supporters (*N* = 215)	MHP supporters (*N* = 150)	
Endorsement of extreme progroup behaviors for; *M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*between party differences 95% CI*
CHP 1.97cc (1.09)	1.65hc (.77)	1.61mc (1.03)	cc > hc [.113, .531] cc > mc [.131, .600]
HDP 1.28ch (.50)	2.65hh (1.16)	1.19mh (.63)	hh > ch [1.20, 1.53] hh > mh [1.26, 1.66]
MHP 1.27cm (.49)	1.28hm (.56)	2.57mm (1.48)	mm > cm [1.10, 1.49] mm > hm [1.08, 1.50]
T.C citizens 2.63ct (1.33)	1.88ht (.90)	4.28mt (1.52)	mt > ct [1.35, 1.95] mt > ht [2.08, 2.72] ct > ht [.486, 1.02]
AKP 1.19ca (.39)	1.30ha (.56)	1.67ma (1.11)	ma > ca [.326, .641] ma > ha [.202, .540]

	CHP supporters (*N* = 320)	HDP supporters (*N* = 215)	MHP supporters (*N* = 150)
Endorsement of extreme progroup behaviors & *within party differences 95% CI*	cc < ct [-.850, -.469] cc > ca [.626, .943] cc > ch [.530, .851] cc > cm [.541, .854] ct > ca [1.24, 1.64] ct > ch [1.14, 1.56] ct > cm [1.17, 1.55] ca < ch [-.164, -.025] ca < cm [-.154, -.019]	hh > ht [.533, 1.00] hh > ha [1.12, 1.57] hh > hc [.776, 1.22] hh > hm [1.14, 1.60] ht > ha [.436, .721] ht > hc [.080, .378] ht > hm [.450, .754] ha < hc [-.457, -.242] hc > hm [.255, .491]	mm < mt [-2.08, -1.35] mm > ma [.600, 1.19] mm > mc [.643, 1.28] mm > mh [1.05, 1.71] mt > ma [2.23, 2.99] mt > mc [2.30, 3.05] mt > mh [2.72, 3.46] ma > mh [.268, .700] mc > mh [.220, .618]

Participant Groups			
CHP supporters (*N* = 320)	HDP supporters (*N* = 215)	MHP supporters (*N* = 150)	
Group identification with; *M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*between party differences 95% CI*
CHP 2.97cc (1.38)	1.55hc (.88)	1.64mc (1.09)	cc > hc [1.17, 1.67] cc > mc [1.06, 1.62]
HDP 1.40ch (.93)	3.39hh (1.36)	1.05mh (.33)	hh > ch [1.78, 2.20] hh > mh [2.09, 2.60] ch > mh [.113, .590]
MHP 1.28cm (.67)	1.02hm (.17)	3.22mm (1.57)	mm > cm [1.74, 2.15] mm > hm [1.98, 2.42] cm > hm [.070, .439]
T.C citizens 4.80ct (1.46)	2.68ht (1.41)	6.11mt (.98)	mt > ct [.980, 1.62] mt > ht [3.08, 3.77] ct > ht [1.84, 2.41]
AKP 1.10ca (.34)	1.06ha (.23)	1.71ma (1.12)	ma > ca [.465, .744] ma > ha [.492, .792]

Table 3.1 (continued). *Means, and Standard Deviations of the Study Variables and Between-Parties and Within-Party Differences*

	CHP supporters (N = 320)	HDP supporters (N = 215)	MHP supporters (N = 150)
Group identification & *within party differences 95% CI*	cc < ct [-2.09, -1.58] cc > ca [1.65, 2.09] cc > ch [1.33, 1.81] cc > cm [1.48, 1.92] ct > ca [3.48, 3.93] ct > ch [3.12, 3.69] ct > cm [3.31, 3.75] ca < ch [-.453, -.150] ca < cm [-.276, -.073]	hh > ht [.382, 1.05] hh > ha [2.07, 2.59] hh > hc [1.56, 2.12] hh > hm [2.11, 2.63] ht > ha [1.35, 1.88] ht > hc [.884, 1.37] ht > hm [1.38, 1.93] ha < hc [-.651, -.325] hc > hm [.363, .699]	mm < mt [-3.24, -2.53] mm > ma [1.13, 1.90] mm > mc [1.15, 2.01] mm > mh [1.79, 2.55] mt > ma [4.08, 4.72] mt > mc [4.14, 4.80] mt > mh [4.80, 5.31] ma > mh [.396, .913] mc > mh [.344, .827]

Participant Groups				
	CHP supporters (N = 320)	HDP supporters (N = 215)	MHP supporters (N = 150)	
Identity fusion with;	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*between party differences 95% CI*
CHP	2.64cc (1.29)	1.54hc (.90)	1.51mc (.87)	cc > hc [.870, 1.33] cc > mc [.866, 1.39]
HDP	1.30ch (.70)	3.02hh (1.46)	1.02mh (.26)	hh > ch [1.52, 1.93] hh > mh [1.75, 2.24] ch > mh [.045, .500]
MHP	1.25cm (.66)	1.03hm (.21)	3.03mm (1.49)	mm > cm [1.57, 1.97] mm > hm [1.78, 2.21] cm > hm [.043, .397]
T.C citizens	4.18ct (1.50)	2.36ht (1.36)	5.80mt (.98)	mt > ct [1.31, 1.95] mt > ht [3.10, 3.80] ct > ht [1.53, 2.11]
AKP	1.06ca (.26)	1.08ha (.31)	1.57ma (1.08)	ma > ca [.381, .648] ma > ha [.354, .641]

	CHP supporters (N = 320)	HDP supporters (N = 215)	MHP supporters (N = 150)
Identity fusion & *within party differences 95% CI*	cc < ct [-1.78, -1.30] cc > ca [1.38, 1.78] cc > ch [1.13, 1.55] cc > cm [1.18, 1.59] ct > ca [2.88, 3.35] ct > ch [2.61, 3.15] ct > cm [2.70, 3.15] ca < ch [-.353, -.122] ca < cm [-.290, -.098]	hh > ht [.310, 1.03] hh > ha [1.66, 2.23] hh > hc [1.19, 1.78] hh > hm [1.71, 2.27] ht > ha [1.03, 1.53] ht > hc [.583, 1.05] ht > hm [1.06, 1.58] ha < hc [-.636, -.286] hc > hm [.335, .672]	mm < mt [-3.12, -2.44] mm > ma [1.07, 1.84] mm > mc [1.14, 1.88] mm > mh [1.65, 2.36] mt > ma [3.92, 4.54] mt > mc [3.99, 4.59] mt > mh [4.53, 5.03] ma > mh [.306, .793] mc > mh [.297, .680]

Table 3.1 (continued). *Means, and Standard Deviations of the Study Variables and Between-Parties and Within-Party Differences*

	Participant Groups			
	CHP supporters (*N* = 320)	HDP supporters (*N* = 215)	MHP supporters (*N* = 150)	
Individual-level and group-level relative deprivations	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*between party differences 95% CI*
ERD based on interpersonal comparisons with CHP	------------	4.60hci (1.55)	3.49mci (1.77)	hci > mci [.764, 1.45]
FRD based on intergroup comparisons with CHP	------------	5.72hcg (1.31)	3.71mcg (1.74)	hcg > mcg [1.70, 2.32]
ERD based on interpersonal comparisons with HDP	2.09chi (1.18)	------------	2.56mhi (1.97)	mhi > chi [.181, .757]
FRD based on intergroup comparisons with HDP	2.51chg (1.43)	------------	2.90mhg (2.11)	mhg > chg [.062, .714]
ERD based on interpersonal comparisons with MHP	2.82cmi (1.55)	4.57hmi (1.85)	------------	hmi > cmi [1.46, 2.04]
FRD based on intergroup comparisons with MHP	3.18cmg (1.59)	5.70hmg (1.50)	------------	hmg > cmg [2.26, 2.80]
ERD based on interpersonal comparisons with other T.C citizens	3.80cti (1.38)	4.58hti (1.57)	4.22mti (1.41)	hti > cti [.480, 1.09] mti > cti [.077, .766]
FRD based on intergroup comparisons with other T.C citizens	4.32ctg (1.43)	6.17htg (1.07)	4.19mtg (1.42)	htg > ctg [1.57, 2.13] htg > mtg [1.64, 2.32]
ERD based on interpersonal comparisons with AKP	5.22cai (1.72)	5.80hai (1.27)	4.92mai (1.82)	hai > cai [.243, .928] hai > mai [.470, 1.30]
FRD based on intergroup comparisons with AKP	5.68cag (1.49)	6.49hag (.85)	5.20mag (1.69)	hag > cag [.515, 1.10] hag > mag [.942, 1.64] cag > mag [.160, .813]

Table 3.1 (continued). *Means, and Standard Deviations of the Study Variables and Between-Parties and Within-Party Differences*

	CHP supporters (*N* = 320)	HDP supporters (*N* = 215)	MHP supporters (*N* = 150)
Individual level and group level relative deprivations & *within party differences 95% CI*	cti < cai [-1.68, -1.16] cti > chi [1.48, 1.94] cti > cmi [.743, 1.21] cai > chi [2.85, 3.41] cai > cmi [2.13, 2.66] chi < cmi [-.926, -.544] ctg < cag [-1.57, -1.16] ctg > chg [1.55, 2.07] ctg > cmg [.922, 1.36] cag > chg [2.90, 3.45] cag > cmg [2.25, 2.77] chg < cmg [-.886, -.452]	hti < hai [-1.51, -.931] hai > hci [.888, 1.53] hai > hmi [.919, 1.54] htg < hag [-.506, -.134] htg > hcg [.245, .651] htg > hmg [.217, .719] hag > hcg [.553, .984] hag > hmg [.556, 1.02]	mti < mai [-1.08, -.324] mti > mci [.339, 1.13] mti > mhi [1.18, 2.14] mai > mci [1.02, 1.85] mai > mhi [1.86, 2.87] mci > mhi [.480, 1.38] mtg < mag [-1.33, -.674] mtg > mcg [.091, .871] mtg > mhg [.816, 1.78] mag > mcg [1.08, 1.89] mag > mhg [1.82, 2.79] mcg > mhg [.360, 1.28]

	Participant Groups			
	CHP supporters (*N* = 320)	HDP supporters (*N* = 215)	MHP supporters (*N* = 150)	
	M (SD)	*M (SD)*	*M (SD)*	*between party differences 95% CI*
Relative deprivation fusion	2.95cc (1.49)	3.59hh (1.52)	3.24mm (1.48)	hh > cc [.318, .952]
Familial ties with local in-group	2.85cc (1.52)	3.78hh (1.66)	3.58mm (1.66)	hh > cc [.589, 1.27] mm > cc [.352, 1.11]
Agency for local in-group	1.99cc (1.18)	2.65hh (1.41)	2.69mm (1.63)	hh > cc [.375, .952] mm > cc [.372, 1.02]
Perceived invulnerability of local in-group	2.63cc (1.33)	3.32hh (1.27)	3.68mm (1.51)	mm > cc [.724, 1.37] mm > hh [.010, .701] hh > cc [.403, .976]

Note. ERD = egoistic (individual-based) relative deprivation; FRD = fraternal (group-based) relative deprivation. Between political party and within political party comparisons are indicated by subscripts. The first letter of the subscript indicates participant group whereas the second letter means the reference point of the measure. For example, "ch" on the measure of the endorsement of extreme pro-group behavior means the willingness of CHP supporters to perform extreme pro-group actions for HDP; "cm" on the measure of group identification indicates the identification of CHP supporters with MHP; "ct" on the measure of identity fusion means the identity fusion of CHP supporters with T.C citizens; "cai" and "cag" on the measure of individual and group level deprivations indicate egoistic (individual-based) and fraternal (group-based) relative deprivations of CHP supporters when they make interpersonal and intergroup comparisons with AKP based on social and political conditions; and lastly, "cc" on the measures of relative deprivation fusion, familial ties with local in-group, agency for local in-group, and perceived invulnerability of local in-group indicate the scores of CHP supporters in reference to the group of CHP. All variables were tested using a 7-point scale which ranged from "1: strongly disagree" to "7: strongly agree". Higher scores indicate a greater endorsement of extreme pro-group behavior, identification with the group, identity fusion with the group, relative deprivation, familial ties with the local in-group, agency for the local in-group, and perceived invulnerability of the local in-group.

3.1.3 Identity fusion

Significant differences were explored on the identity fusion (including connectedness and oneness of personal identity with group-based identity) with particular groups based on the political party identity of participant; $F(10, 1356) = 180.97$, $p < .001$, *Wilks' λ* $= .183$, $\eta_p^2 = .57$. Political party identity differentiated the identity fusion with CHP, $F(2, 682) = 88.13$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .21$; HDP, $F(2, 682) = 268.68$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .44$; MHP, $F(2, 682) = 294.18$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .46$; T.C citizens, $F(2, 682) = 292.18$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .46$; and AKP, $F(2, 682) = 47.73$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .12$. When CHP, HDP, and MHP supporter groups were compared with each other (differences on between-political parties), the identity fusion with CHP, HDP, and MHP were stronger among their own supporters (local in-group members). Identity fusion with HDP was stronger among CHP supporters than MHP supporters whereas identity fusion with MHP also was greater among CHP supporters than HDP supporters. MHP supporters indicated stronger identity fusion with T.C citizens in comparison to both CHP and HDP supporters whereas CHP supporters demonstrated greater identity fusion with T.C citizens than HDP supporters. Lastly, MHP supporters expressed greater identity fusion with AKP in comparison to both CHP and HDP supporters.

Within-political party comparisons were examined using repeated measure ANOVAs. There were significant changes on the identity fusion level of CHP supporters based on the reference group, $F_{greenhouse\ geisser}(2.61, 832.91) = 683.66$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .68$, (T.C citizens > CHP > HDP & MHP > AKP). CHP supporters indicated greater identity fusion with T.C citizens in comparison to CHP, AKP, HDP, and MHP whereas they indicated stronger identity fusion with CHP than AKP, HDP, and MHP. CHP supporters also demonstrated stronger identity fusion with both HDP and MHP than AKP.

In the sample of HDP supporters, the identity fusion level with particular groups changed based on the reference group, $F_{greenhouse\ geisser}(2.48, 530.08) = 192.89$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .47$, (HDP > T.C citizens > CHP > AKP & MHP). HDP supporters had a greater identity fusion with HDP than the group of T.C citizens, AKP, CHP, and MHP whereas they tended to indicate stronger identity fusion with T.C citizens than AKP, CHP, and MHP. In addition, HDP supporters indicated stronger identity fusion with CHP in comparison to AKP and MHP.

Lastly, the within-group comparisons in the sample of MHP supporters were tested, and there were significant differences on identity fusion level based on reference group, $F_{greenhouse\ geisser}(3.04, 452.82) = 651.45$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .81$, (T.C citizens > MHP > AKP & CHP > HDP). MHP supporters indicated stronger identity fusion with T.C citizens than MHP, AKP, CHP, and HDP whereas they demonstrated greater identity fusion with MHP than AKP, CHP, and HDP. MHP supporters also indicated stronger identity fusion with both AKP and CHP than HDP. All significant between-political parties and within-political party comparisons based on the identity fusion variable and their confidence intervals can be seen in Table 3.1 with mean and standard deviation scores.

3.1.4 Individual-based and group-based relative deprivations

There were significant differences on individual-based and group-based relative deprivations based on the political party identity of participant and political party reference to be used for interpersonal and intergroup comparisons. When individual-based and group-based relative deprivations of HDP and MHP supporters in the comparison with CHP (it means that HDP and MHP supporters compare themselves and their local in-group with CHP members and the group of CHP based on the possessed social and political conditions using interpersonal and intergroup comparisons; as a result of this process, they feel individual-based and/or group-based deprivation) were tested $F(2, 362) = 87.69$, $p < .001$, *Wilks' λ* = .674, $\eta_p^2 = .33$, the political party identity of participant differentiated individual-based deprivation $F(1, 363) = 40.12$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .10$; and group-based deprivation $F(1, 363) = 158.88$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .30$. HDP supporters indicated greater individual-based and group-based deprivations than MHP supporters when both party supporter groups compared themselves with CHP.

Individual-based and group-based relative deprivations of CHP and MHP supporters in the comparison with HDP were tested $F(2, 467) = 5.26$, $p < .01$, *Wilks' λ* = .978, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, and the political party identity of participant differentiated individual-based deprivation $F(1, 468) = 10.26$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$; and group-based deprivation $F(1, 468) = 5.47$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. MHP supporters indicated greater individual-based and group-based deprivations than CHP supporters when both party supporter groups compared themselves with HDP.

When individual-based and group-based relative deprivations of CHP and HDP supporters in the comparison with MHP were tested $F(2, 532) = 174.35$, $p < .001$, *Wilks' λ* = .604, $\eta_p^2 = .40$, the political party identity of participant differentiated individual-based deprivation $F(1, 533) = 140.22$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .21$; and group-based deprivation $F(1, 533) = 340.38$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .39$. HDP supporters indicated greater individual-based and group-based deprivations than CHP supporters when both party supporter groups compared themselves with MHP.

Three different political party supporter groups also were compared with each other. Individual-based and group-based relative deprivation scores of supporter groups indicated significant differences when they made interpersonal and intergroup comparison with other T.C citizens and AKP, $F(8, 1358) = 40.49$, $p < .001$, *Wilks' λ* = .652, $\eta_p^2 = .19$. In detail, the political party identity of participant differentiated participants' individual-based deprivation $F(2, 682) = 19.21$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$; and group-based deprivation $F(2, 682) = 151.08$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .31$ in the comparison with other T.C citizens; and individual-based deprivation $F(2, 682) = 14.75$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$; and group-based deprivation $F(2, 682) = 42.40$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .11$ in the comparison with AKP. HDP and MHP supporters indicated greater individual-based deprivation than CHP supporters when they compared themselves with other T.C citizens (using interpersonal comparisons) whereas HDP supporters had greater group-based deprivation than both CHP and MHP supporters in the comparison with other T.C citizens (using intergroup comparisons). In addition, HDP supporters demonstrated greater individual-based deprivation than both CHP and MHP supporters in the comparison with AKP. When group-based deprivation was tested in the comparison with AKP, HDP supporters had greater scores than both CHP and MHP supporters, but also CHP supporters indicated greater group-based deprivation than MHP supporters.

Within-political party comparisons were examined using repeated measure ANOVAs. There were significant changes on the individual-based relative deprivation of CHP supporters based on the reference group, $F_{greenhouse\ geisser}(2.70, 860.09) = 435.68$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .58$, (AKP > T.C citizens > MHP > HDP). CHP supporters indicated greater individual-based deprivation when they compared themselves (using interpersonal comparisons) with AKP members in comparison to other T.C citizens, HDP, and MHP. In addition, they

reported greater individual-based deprivation when they made comparisons with other T.C citizens in comparison to HDP, and MHP. Moreover, when they chose MHP as a reference point to define their own individual-based deprivation, they got higher scores in comparison to HDP. Secondly, there were also significant changes on the group-based relative deprivation of CHP supporters based on the reference group that is used to make comparisons, $F_{greenhouse\ geisser}(2.59, 826.44) = 471.19$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .60$, (AKP > T.C citizens > MHP > HDP). The difference pattern of group-based deprivation was similar to individual-based deprivation. CHP supporters indicated greater group-based deprivation when they compared their own group (using intergroup comparisons) with AKP in comparison to other T.C citizens, HDP, and MHP. In addition, they reported greater group-based deprivation when they made comparisons with other T.C citizens in comparison to HDP, and MHP. Moreover, when they chose MHP as a reference point to define their group-based deprivation, they got higher scores in comparison to HDP.

Within-political party comparisons were also tested in the sample of HDP. There were significant changes on the individual-based relative deprivation of HDP supporters based on the reference group that is used to make comparisons, $F(3, 642) = 53.82$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .20$, (AKP > T.C citizens & CHP & MHP). HDP supporters indicated greater individual-based deprivation when they compared themselves (using interpersonal comparisons) with AKP members in comparison to other T.C citizens, CHP, and MHP. Secondly, there were also significant changes on the group-based relative deprivation of HDP supporters based on the reference group, $F_{greenhouse\ geisser}(2.76, 589.72) = 42.03$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .16$, (AKP > T.C citizens > CHP & MHP). HDP supporters indicated greater group-based deprivation when they compared their own group (using intergroup comparisons) with AKP in comparison to other T.C citizens, CHP, and MHP. In addition, they indicated greater group-based deprivation when they made comparisons with other T.C citizens in comparison to CHP, and MHP.

Lastly, within-political party comparisons were explored in the sample of MHP supporters using repeated measure ANOVA. There were significant changes on the individual-based relative deprivation of MHP supporters based on the reference group that is used to make comparisons, $F_{greenhouse\ geisser}(2.73, 406.78)$

$= 76.17$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p{}^2 = .34$, (AKP > T.C citizens > CHP > HDP). MHP supporters demonstrated greater individual-based deprivation when they compared themselves (using interpersonal comparisons) with AKP members in comparison to other T.C citizens, CHP, and HDP. Moreover, they reported greater individual-based deprivation when they made comparisons with other T.C citizens in comparison to CHP, and HDP. In addition, when they chose CHP as a reference point to define their own individual-based deprivation, they got higher scores in comparison to HDP. Secondly, there were also significant changes on the group-based relative deprivation of MHP supporters based on the reference group, $F_{greenhouse\ geisser}(2.62, 390.85) = 71.92$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p{}^2 = .33$, (AKP > T.C citizens > CHP > HDP). The difference pattern of group-based deprivation was similar to individual-based deprivation. MHP supporters indicated greater group-based deprivation when they compared their own group (using intergroup comparisons) with AKP in comparison to other T.C citizens, CHP, and HDP. In addition, they reported greater group-based deprivation when they made comparisons with other T.C citizens in comparison to CHP, and HDP. Lastly, when they chose CHP as a reference point to define their group-based deprivation, they got higher scores in comparison to HDP.

As can be seen in Table 3.1, the means of group-based relative deprivation mostly higher than the means of individual-based relative deprivations. All significant between-political parties and within-political party comparisons based on the individual-based relative deprivation and group-based relative deprivation variables and their confidence intervals can be seen in Table 3.1 with mean and standard deviation scores.

3.1.5 Relative deprivation fusion, familial ties with local in-group, agency for local in-group, and perceived invulnerability of local in-group

There were significant differences based on the political party identity of participant when relative deprivation fusion (including the connectedness and oneness of individual-based and group-based deprivations), familial ties with local in-group, agency for local in-group, and perceived invulnerability of local in-group variables entered into the equation in order to test between-political party differences, $F(8, 1358) = 12.03$, $p < .001$, *Wilks' λ* $= .872$, $\eta_p{}^2 = .07$. Political party identity differentiated the relative deprivation fusion, $F(2, 682) = 11.59$, $p < .001$,

$\eta_p{}^2 = .03$; familial ties with local in-group, $F(2, 682) = 24.58$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p{}^2 = .07$; agency for local in-group, $F(2, 682) = 21.06$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p{}^2 = .06$; and perceived invulnerability of local in-group, $F(2, 682) = 35.60$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p{}^2 = .10$.

HDP supporters indicated greater relative deprivation fusion than CHP supporters. In addition, both HDP and MHP supporters demonstrated stronger familial ties and greater agency for local in-group (supporters of own political party) than CHP supporters. Lastly, MHP supporters expressed greater perceived invulnerability for local in-group than CHP and HDP supporters whereas HDP supporters perceived greater local ingroup-based invulnerability than CHP supporters. Significant between-political party comparisons and confidence intervals can be seen in Table 3.1 with mean and standard deviation scores.

3.2 Correlations between the Study Variables

The associations between the study variables were tested using Pearson bivariate correlations based on the responses of CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters. In the following sections and tables, these associations were presented in detail for each participant sample.

3.2.1 Correlations in the sample of CHP supporters

There were strong correlations between group identification and identity fusion constructs, but the extreme pro-group action tendency on the behalf of CHP was positively correlated with identity fusion with the group of CHP, and this association was stronger in comparison to group identification. The associational difference was smaller, but in the same direction when we considered the correlations among extreme pro-group action tendency on the behalf of T.C citizens and identity fusion, and identification with the group of T.C citizens. Moreover, local in-group (CHP) based identity fusion and group identification was also positively but weakly related with the willingness to perform the extreme pro-group action for extended in-group (T.C citizens).

Besides, familial ties with CHP, individual agency for CHP and perceived invulnerability of CHP were highly related with identity fusion with CHP rather than group identification. Also, these variables were positively related with extreme pro-group action tendency on the behalf of CHP. Same patterns were realized when participants answered extreme pro-group action tendency, identity fusion and group identification measures in reference to T.C citizens.

In addition, the oneness (fusion) of individual and group-based (CHP-based) deprivations was positively related to pro-group actions for both CHP and T.C citizens and indicated a greater positive association with identity fusion rather than group identification. When we evaluate individual and group-based relative deprivation levels separately, positive associations of these separate levels with extreme pro-group actions for both CHP and T.C citizens, identity fusion and group identification with both CHP and T.C citizens, familial ties with CHP, individual agency for CHP, and perceived invulnerability of CHP were weaker in comparison to the associations of these variables with relative deprivation fusion.

In the present research, CHP supporters also filled out the measures to indicate pro-group action tendency, group identification and identity fusion levels with three local out-groups (including AKP, HDP, and MHP). Moreover, they made individual and group-based (CHP-based) comparisons with extended in-group and three local out-groups to specify their deprivations. There were associational differences among variables based on the reference points of measures. All these associations and relations with demographic characteristics of participants (including sex, age, education level and perceived socio-economic status) can be considered in Table 3.2.

3.2.2 Correlations in the sample of HDP supporters

The sample of HDP supporters indicated similar strong correlations between group identification and identity fusion constructs in reference to local in-group (HDP) and extended in-group (T.C citizens), but these correlations a bit stronger in comparison to the CHP sample. The extreme pro-group action tendency on the behalf of HDP was positively correlated with identity fusion with the group of HDP, and this association was a bit stronger in comparison to group identification variable. The associational difference was at the same direction, but weaker than the CHP sample when we considered the associations among extreme pro-group action tendency on the behalf of T.C citizens and identity fusion, and identification with the group of T.C citizens. Moreover, local in-group (HDP) based identity fusion and group identification indicated weaker and positive association with the willingness to perform the extreme pro-group action for extended in-group (T.C citizens).

Besides, familial ties with HDP, individual agency for HDP and perceived invulnerability of HDP were highly related to identity fusion with HDP rather than

group identification. Also, these variables were positively related with extreme pro-group action tendency on the behalf of HDP and indicated same level associations with the CHP sample. Same patterns were realized when participants answered extreme pro-group action tendency, identity fusion and group identification measures on the behalf of T.C citizens, but these associations were weaker than the sample of CHP.

In addition, the oneness (fusion) of individual and group-based (HDP-based) deprivations was positively related to pro-group action tendency for the group of HDP, but not for the group of T.C citizens. Relative deprivation fusion indicated a greater positive association with identity fusion rather than group identification with HDP, but these associations were not significant in reference to T.C citizens. When we evaluate individual and group-based deprivation levels separately, the separate deprivations indicated positively weaker associations with extreme pro-group action tendency on the behalf of HDP or non-significant correlations with pro-group action tendency on the behalf of T.C citizens. In addition, the associations of separate levels with identity fusion and group identification with HDP, familial ties with HDP, individual agency for HDP, and perceived invulnerability of HDP were weaker in comparison to the associations of these variables with relative deprivation fusion.

In the present research, the measures for pro-group action tendency, group identification and identity fusion with three local out-groups (including AKP, CHP, and MHP) were asked. In addition, participants made individual and group-based (HDP-based) comparisons with extended in-group and three local out-groups to indicate their deprivations. There were associational differences among variables based on the reference points of measures like the sample of CHP supporters. All these associations and relations with demographic characteristics of participants (including sex, age, education level and perceived socio-economic status) can be considered using Table 3.3.

Table 3.2
Correlations among the Study Variables based on the Responses of CHP Supporters

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1	CCPGA	----															
2	CTPGA	.52**	----														
3	CAPGA	.40**	.31**	----													
4	CHPGA	.37**	.18**	.54**	----												
5	CMPGA	.42**	.44**	.54**	.50**	----											
6	CCI	.49**	.19**	.20**	.19**	.23**	----										
7	CCIF	.57**	.27**	.19**	.18**	.21**	.75**	----									
8	CTI	.21**	.51**	.14*	-.06	.19**	.36**	.33**	----								
9	CTIF	.23**	.54**	.14*	-.07	.18**	.27**	.41**	.77**	----							
10	CAI	.05	.09	.30**	.14*	.12*	.10	.14*	.16**	.19**	----						
11	CAIF	.06	.04	.25**	.10	.07	.09	.11	.11*	.14*	.71**	----					
12	CHI	.10	-.07	.02	.48**	-.01	.17**	.15**	-.11	-.14*	.09	.03	----				
13	CHIF	.09	-.07	.04	.49**	-.01	.14**	.19**	-.10	-.07	.07	.08	.87**	----			
14	CMI	.23**	.34**	.19**	.03	.35**	.25**	.25**	.33**	.36**	.33**	.30**	-.08	-.05	----		
15	CMIF	.21**	.28**	.25**	.05	.33**	.22**	.24**	.29**	.33**	.35**	.38**	-.08	-.03	.75**	----	
16	CTDI	.18**	.16**	.09	.06	.09	.23**	.20**	.15**	.20**	-.01	.04	-.01	.05	.09	.08	----
17	CTDG	.17**	.13*	.06	.09	.10	.20**	.17**	.06	.03	-.07	-.06	.05	.07	-.03	-.02	.50**
18	CADI	.10	.10	.03	.08	.08	.23**	.16**	.12*	.09	-.07	-.07	.07	.07	-.01	-.03	.40**
19	CADG	.11	.14*	.02	.10	.09	.24**	.19**	.16**	.14*	-.14*	-.12*	.10	.11	-.01	-.06	.31**
20	CHDI	.13*	.08	.05	.07	.03	.05	.07	.05	.04	.05	.02	.04	.03	.06	.03	.25**
21	CHDG	.08	.11	.00	.04	.00	.04	.08	.03	.05	.02	-.03	.05	.06	.04	-.01	.17**
22	CMDI	.20**	.11	.07	.10	.08	.21**	.23**	.13*	.12*	.05	.06	.08	.11*	.10	.09	.44**
23	CMDG	.12*	.09	.03	-.06	.06	.16**	.18**	.04	.08	.05	.01	.12*	.13*	.07	.07	.36**
24	CDF	.44**	.28**	.18**	.21**	.24**	.49**	.59**	.20**	.28**	.05	-.01	.17**	.20**	.20**	.20**	.28**
25	CFT	.57**	.32**	.28**	.29**	.29**	.69**	.75**	.29**	.37**	.05	-.01	.15**	.17**	.16**	.14*	.24**
26	CAgen	.53**	.30**	.22**	.19**	.16**	.51**	.63**	.26**	.29**	.09	.07	.15**	.21**	.22**	.21**	.19**
27	CInv	.51**	.35**	.20**	.13*	.20**	.42**	.51**	.25**	.36**	.03	-.03	.08	.07	.15**	.21**	.10
28	Sex	.02	.03	-.10	-.11	-.12*	-.10	-.02	-.09	-.05	.01	-.01	.02	.05	-.08	-.04	-.11
29	Age	-.02	-.09	.02	.08	-.03	-.01	.15**	-.19**	.02	.04	.00	.10	.14*	-.01	-.05	.01
30	Edu	-.12*	-.17**	-.05	.05	-.05	-.13**	-.09	-.17**	-.10	-.04	-.06	.04	.07	-.09	-.08	-.09
31	SES	-.09	-.15**	-.03	-.02	.10	-.03	-.01	-.08	-.09	-.12*	-.10	-.12*	-.10	-.05	-.01	-.30**

Table 3.2 (continued). *Correlations among the Study Variables based on the Responses of CHP Supporters*

	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
17 CTDG	-----														
18 CADI	.54**	-----													
19 CADG	.56**	.78**	-----												
20 CHDI	.22**	.23**	.20**	-----											
21 CHDG	.23**	.17**	.20**	.78**	-----										
22 CMDI	.47**	.42**	.37**	.59**	.50**	-----									
23 CMDG	.52**	.39**	.36**	.49**	.53**	.82**	-----								
24 CDF	.29**	.25**	.24**	.10	.11*	.26**	.25**	-----							
25 CFT	.22**	.18**	.22**	.09	.08	.19**	.23**	.62**	-----						
26 CAgen	.19**	.12*	.12*	.09	.07	.22**	.21**	.47**	.60**	-----					
27 CInv	.11*	.03	.04	.10	.12*	.12*	.15**	.42**	.54**	.48**	-----				
28 Sex	-.12*	-.15**	-.18**	.00	.06	-.05	-.05	-.03	-.07	-.04	.06	-----			
29 Age	.12*	.06	.13*	.08	.11*	.06	.11*	.23**	.19**	.13*	.11	.04	-----		
30 Edu	.01	.07	.10	.02	.02	.02	.05	-.07	-.10	-.07	-.13*	-.03	.47**	-----	
31 SES	-.09	-.14*	-.01	-.16**	-.12*	-.15**	-.09	-.07	-.05	-.05	-.06	.02	.10	.16**	-----

**p < .01; *p < .05; N = 320

Note. The first letter of the script indicates participant group whereas the second letter means the reference point of the measure. For example, the measure of the endorsement of extreme pro-group behavior shows the willingness of CHP supporters to perform extreme pro-group actions for CHP (CCPGA); for T.C citizens (CTPGA); for AKP (CAPGA); for HDP (CHPGA); and for MHP (CMPGA). The measure of group identification indicates the identification of CHP supporters with CHP (CCI); with T.C citizens (CTI); with AKP (CAI); with HDP (CHI); and with MHP (CMI). The measure of identity fusion means the identity fusion of CHP supporters with CHP (CCIF); with T.C citizens (CTIF); with AKP (CAIF); with HDP (CHIF); and with MHP (CMIF). The measure of individual-based and group-based deprivation indicates the individual-based relative deprivation of CHP supporters when they make interpersonal comparisons with other T.C citizens (CTDI); with AKP (CADI); with HDP (CHDI); and with MHP (CMDI) based on social and political conditions. In addition, the same measure indicates the group-based relative deprivation of CHP supporters when they make intergroup comparisons with other T.C citizens (CTDG); with AKP (CADG); with HDP (CHDG); and with MHP (CMDG) based on social and political conditions. CDF = relative deprivation fusion of CHP supporters; CFT = familial ties of CHP supporters; CAgen = individual agency of CHP supporters for the group of CHP; CInv = perceived invulnerability of the group of CHP by CHP supporters. All variables were tested using a 7-point scale which ranged from "1: strongly disagree" to "7: strongly agree". Higher scores indicate a greater endorsement of extreme pro-group behavior, identification with the group, identity fusion with the group, relative deprivation, familial ties with the local in-group, agency for the local in-group, and perceived invulnerability of the local in-group. The age (Age) range of CHP supporters was between 18 and 37, and they were coded on sex (Sex) variable as 1 = female, 2 = male; on education (Edu) variable as 1 = undergraduate, 2 = graduate. The perceived socio-economic status (SES) was measured using a 7-point scale from "1: the lowest status" to "7: the highest status". In higher scores, participants perceive their socio-economic status at higher levels.

Table 3.3
Correlations among the Study Variables based on the Responses of HDP Supporters

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1	HHPGA	-----															
2	HTPGA	.33**	-----														
3	HAPGA	.26**	.58**	-----													
4	HCPGA	.36**	.59**	.69**	-----												
5	HMPGA	.19**	.50**	.86**	.62**	-----											
6	HHI	.46**	.24**	.13*	.23**	.18**	-----										
7	HHIF	.51**	.18**	.12	.18**	.18**	.77**	-----									
8	HTI	-.16*	.36**	.22**	.20**	.20**	.22**	.07	-----								
9	HTIF	-.12	.41**	.17*	.16*	.20**	.18**	.14*	.79**	-----							
10	HAI	-.04	.13	.18**	.08	.11	.10	.16*	.27**	.35**	-----						
11	HAIF	-.01	.15*	.14*	.01	.08	.07	.09	.26**	.35**	.63**	-----					
12	HCI	-.03	.14*	.19**	.37**	.16*	.23**	.12	.49**	.37**	.29**	.09	-----				
13	HCIF	-.01	.14*	.16*	.35**	.18**	.16*	.21**	.43**	.49**	.26**	.17*	.73**	-----			
14	HMI	-.02	.03	-.02	-.02	.20**	.14*	.16*	.03	.10	.12	-.03	.17*	.18**	-----		
15	HMIF	.06	.01	.01	.02	.17*	.10	.20**	.04	.16*	.25**	.27**	.12	.28**	.60**	-----	
16	HTDI	.20**	.08	.07	.05	.06	.21**	.26**	.03	.03	.21**	.15*	-.03	-.03	-.01	.06	-----
17	HTDG	.24**	-.03	-.01	.06	-.04	.21**	.24**	-.09	-.14*	.01	-.06	-.03	-.03	.01	.01	.37**
18	HADI	.00	-.01	-.05	.06	-.03	-.01	.03	-.03	-.03	.06	.08	.01	.08	-.08	-.06	.40**
19	HADG	.12	-.08	.06	.07	-.02	-.05	.03	-.10	-.17*	-.01	-.05	.04	.04	.04	.07	.20**
20	HCDI	.34**	.09	.08	.08	.03	.24**	.31**	-.12	-.09	.11	.12	-.13	-.06	-.02	.10	.40**
21	HCDG	.24**	.07	.10	.14*	.04	.10	.16*	-.07	-.07	.02	.05	-.02	.03	.02	.05	.22**
22	HMDI	.22**	.13	.12	.14*	.06	.14*	.19**	.02	-.07	.09	.05	.00	-.02	-.07	-.02	.42**
23	HMDG	.20**	.09	.12	.13	.03	.06	.10	.05	-.03	-.01	-.02	.06	.05	-.13	-.11	.23**
24	HDF	.48**	.08	.17*	.21**	.13	.52**	.65**	-.02	-.01	.14*	.07	.14*	.20**	-.03	.05	.26**
25	HFT	.54**	.13	.15*	.16*	.16*	.63**	.74**	.01	.04	.09	-.01	.12	.14*	.06	.12	.35**
26	HAgen	.54**	.18**	.19**	.18**	.20**	.60**	.68**	.02	.07	.11	.05	.20**	.23**	.15*	.25**	.25**
27	HInv	.50**	.14*	.13*	.05	.11	.49**	.55**	-.14*	-.07	-.01	-.02	-.06	-.02	.02	.04	.18**
28	Sex	.11	.01	-.08	-.03	-.13	.07	.07	-.07	-.01	-.06	.06	-.01	.03	.07	.07	.03
29	Age	.04	.01	.03	.05	.03	.06	.10	.02	.02	-.01	-.06	.12	.17*	.10	.08	-.11
30	Edu	-.09	.02	.07	.11	.08	-.01	.00	.10	.07	-.01	-.04	.13	.01	.07	-.01	-.06
31	SES	-.04	.08	.07	.14*	.03	.05	-.03	.19**	.13*	-.15*	-.16*	.14*	.09	.01	-.08	-.28**

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Table 3.3 (continued). *Correlations among the Study Variables based on the Responses of HDP Supporters*

	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
17 HTDG	----														
18 HADI	.29**	----													
19 HADG	.45**	.65**	----												
20 HCDI	.36**	.24**	.28**	----											
21 HCDG	.57**	.26**	.46**	.61**	----										
22 HMDI	.36**	.44**	.34**	.52**	.40**	----									
23 HMDG	.46**	.36**	.52**	.33**	.59**	.66**	----								
24 HDF	.34**	.24**	.27**	.37**	.29**	.38**	.38**	----							
25 HFT	.35**	.13	.12	.36**	.22**	.30**	.22**	.62**	----						
26 HAgen	.24**	.10	.09	.33**	.19**	.28**	.18**	.59**	.72**	----					
27 HInv	.32**	.10	.08	.32**	.21**	.24**	.20**	.42**	.58**	.53**	----				
28 Sex	-.04	-.07	-.10	.08	-.01	.09	.02	.08	.10	.15*	.10	----			
29 Age	.11	.02	.06	-.05	.09	-.01	.14*	.11	.09	.17*	.09	.16*	----		
30 Edu	.03	-.05	-.03	-.12	.03	-.03	.07	-.01	-.05	.01	-.04	-.12	.46**	----	
31 SES	.10	-.08	.10	-.10	.13	-.02	.13	.02	-.04	-.03	.01	-.10	.09	.24**	----

**$p < .01$; *$p < .05$; $N = 215$

Note. The first letter of the script indicates participant group whereas the second letter means the reference point of the measure. For example, the measure of the endorsement of extreme pro-group behavior shows the willingness of HDP supporters to perform extreme pro-group actions for HDP (HHPGA); for T.C citizens (HTPGA); for AKP (HAPGA); for CHP (HCPGA); and for MHP (HMPGA). The measure of group identification indicates the identification of HDP supporters with HDP (HHI); with T.C citizens (HTI); with AKP (HAI); with CHP (HCI); and with MHP (HMI). The measure of identity fusion means the identity fusion of HDP supporters with HDP (HHIF); with T.C citizens (HTIF); with AKP (HAIF); with CHP (HCIF); and with MHP (HMIF). The measure of individual-based and group-based deprivation indicates the individual-based relative deprivation of HDP supporters when they make interpersonal comparisons with other T.C citizens (HTDI); with AKP (HADI); with CHP (HCDI); and with MHP (HMDI) based on social and political conditions. In addition, the same measure indicates the group-based relative deprivation of HDP supporters when they make intergroup comparisons with other T.C citizens (HTDG); with AKP (HADG); with CHP (HCDG); and with MHP (HMDG) based on social and political conditions. HDF = relative deprivation fusion of HDP supporters for the group of HDP; HInv = perceived invulnerability of the group of HDP by HDP supporters. All variables were tested using a 7-point scale which ranged from "1: strongly disagree" to "7: strongly agree". Higher scores indicate a greater endorsement of extreme pro-group behavior, identification with the group, identity fusion with the group, relative deprivation, familial ties with the local in-group, agency for the local in-group, and perceived invulnerability of the local in-group. The age (Age) range of HDP supporters was between 18 and 40, and they were coded on sex (Sex) variable as 1 = female, 2 = male; on education (Edu) variable as 1 = undergraduate, 2 = graduate. The perceived socio-economic status (SES) was measured using a 7-point scale from "1: the lowest status" to "7: the highest status". In higher scores, participants perceive their socio-economic status at higher levels.

Table 3.4
Correlations among the Study Variables based on the Responses of MHP Supporters

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1	MMPGA	----															
2	MTPGA	.47**	----														
3	MAPGA	.55**	.28**	----													
4	MCPGA	.46**	.25**	.72**	----												
5	MHPGA	.33**	.09	.55**	.56**	----											
6	MMI	.58**	.29**	.27**	.13	.10	----										
7	MMIF	.66**	.32**	.29**	.17*	.09	.83**	----									
8	MTI	.15	.39**	.01	-.05	-.08	.35**	.24**	----								
9	MTIF	.22**	.43**	.13	.02	.02	.32**	.36**	.69**	----							
10	MAI	.25**	.16	.51**	.25**	.21**	.27**	.24**	.14	.23**	----						
11	MAIF	.24**	.09	.46**	.24**	.16*	.19*	.20*	.04	.15	.86**	----					
12	MCI	.12	.01	.06	.31**	-.01	.07	.12	.04	.02	.22**	.23**	----				
13	MCIF	.21**	.04	.17*	.43**	.05	.08	.18*	-.04	.01	.21**	.29**	.81**	----			
14	MHI	.14	.03	.29**	.36**	.16*	-.13	-.03	-.25**	-.12	.18**	.22**	.31**	.32**	----		
15	MHIF	.09	.01	.27**	.33**	-.02	-.12	-.03	-.36**	-.21**	.18*	.25**	.20*	.31**	.77**	----	
16	MTDI	.07	.16*	-.08	-.19*	-.13	.19*	.09	.22**	.08	.06	-.04	.01	-.01	-.14	-.10	----
17	MTDG	.42**	.22**	.17*	.19*	.05	.51**	.44**	.23**	.14	.12	.05	.18*	.21*	.01	.01	.55**
18	MADI	.06	.12	.05	.11	.03	.06	.06	.08	.06	-.10	-.13	.07	.09	-.07	.00	.45**
19	MADG	.09	.11	.02	.07	.05	.16	.14	.14	.07	-.10	-.20*	.01	-.01	-.14	-.11	.42**
20	MCDI	.10	.18*	.06	.10	.05	.15	.16*	.12	.17*	-.02	.02	.11	.14	.04	.04	.38**
21	MCDG	-.01	.11	-.05	.01	-.03	.15	.15	.19*	.21*	-.03	-.01	.10	.08	-.01	-.01	.36**
22	MHDI	.23**	.23**	.08	.15	.04	.09	.13	.12	.16*	-.01	-.09	.13	.13	.12	.09	.18*
23	MHDG	.12	.14	.08	.13	.06	.06	.08	.14	.14	.06	-.01	.07	.06	.09	.08	.18*
24	MDF	.53**	.36**	.26**	.25**	.16	.50**	.51**	.28**	.28**	.21**	.26**	.15	.15	.08	.09	.13
25	MFT	.65**	.40**	.32**	.30**	.08	.69**	.77**	.28**	.39**	.15	.15	.12	.21**	.07	.05	.09
26	MAgen	.77**	.32**	.40**	.39**	.23**	.62**	.73**	.13	.20*	.17*	.17*	.20*	.31**	.21**	.16*	.08
27	MInv	.70**	.42**	.30**	.25**	.12	.60**	.62**	.15	.14	.20*	.18*	-.01	.13	.07	.05	.13
28	Sex	.28**	.09	.10	.13	.12	.20*	.17*	-.05	-.15	-.11	-.13	-.15	-.16	-.09	-.08	-.05
29	Age	-.02	.00	.03	.20*	.16	-.13	-.09	-.10	-.15	-.15	-.11	.09	.10	.10	.02	-.14
30	Edu	-.11	-.03	.01	.05	.06	-.13	-.14	-.02	.01	-.10	-.04	-.08	.00	-.04	-.03	-.18*
31	SES	.09	-.09	.15	.17*	.18*	.06	.01	-.12	-.17*	.15	.13	-.01	.08	-.02	.02	-.26**

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Table 3.4 (continued). *Correlations among the Study Variables based on the Responses of MHP Supporters*

	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
17 MTDG	-----														
18 MADI	.46**	-----													
19 MADG	.54**	.72**	-----												
20 MCDI	.36**	.45**	.35**	-----											
21 MCDG	.37**	.32**	.41**	.84**	-----										
22 MHDI	.28**	.27**	.28**	.40**	.31**	-----									
23 MHDG	.27**	.17*	.33**	.39**	.42**	.86**	-----								
24 MDF	.45**	.12	.13	.15	.16	.20*	.16	-----							
25 MFT	.49**	.16*	.21**	.22**	.22**	.25**	.22**	.48**	-----						
26 MAgen	.46**	.06	.07	.18*	.09	.28**	.19*	.51**	.71**	-----					
27 MInv	.45**	.08	.16*	.11	.05	.23**	.16	.51**	.62**	.65**	-----				
28 Sex	.06	.06	.09	-.01	-.07	.13	.11	.15	.16	.15	.26**	-----			
29 Age	-.01	.09	.12	.13	.10	.32**	.24**	-.02	.01	.02	.00	.25**	-----		
30 Edu	-.04	-.03	.06	.09	.07	.16	.15	-.05	-.08	-.09	.00	.06	.50**	-----	
31 SES	-.06	-.16*	-.11	-.25**	-.25**	-.14	-.09	-.07	-.09	.04	.15	.12	-.02	.07	-----

**p < .01; *p < .05; N = 150

Note. The first letter of the script indicates participant group whereas the second letter means the reference point of the measure. For example, the measure of the endorsement of extreme pro-group behavior shows the willingness of MHP supporters to perform extreme pro-group actions for MHP (MMPGA); for T.C citizens (MTPGA); for AKP (MAPGA); for CHP (MCPGA); and for HDP (MHPGA). The measure of group identification indicates the identification of MHP supporters with MHP (MMI); with T.C citizens (MTI); with AKP (MAI); with CHP (MCI); and with HDP (MHI). The measure of identity fusion means the identity fusion of MHP supporters with MHP (MMIF); with T.C citizens (MTIF); with AKP (MAIF); with CHP (MCIF); and with HDP (MHIF). The measure of individual-based and group-based deprivation indicates the individual-based relative deprivation of MHP supporters when they make interpersonal comparisons with other T.C citizens (MTDI); with AKP (MADI); with CHP (MCDI); and with HDP (MHDI) based on social and political conditions. In addition, the same measure indicates the group-based relative deprivation of MHP supporters when they make intergroup comparisons with other T.C citizens (MTDG); with AKP (MADG); with CHP (MCDG); and with HDP (MHDG) based on social and political conditions. MDF = relative deprivation fusion of MHP supporters; MFT = familial ties of MHP supporters with other MHP members; MAgen = individual agency of MHP supporters for the group of MHP; MInv = perceived invulnerability of the group of MHP by MHP supporters. All variables were tested using a 7-point scale which ranged from "1: strongly disagree" to "7: strongly agree". Higher scores indicate a greater endorsement of extreme pro-group behavior, identification with the group, identity fusion with the group, relative deprivation, familial ties with the local in-group, agency for the local in-group, and perceived invulnerability of the local in-group. The age (Age) range of MHP supporters was between 18 and 37, and they were coded on sex (Sex) variable as 1 = female, 2 = male; on education (Edu) variable as 1 = undergraduate, 2 = graduate. The perceived socio-economic status (SES) was measured using a 7-point scale from "1: the lowest status" to "7: the highest status". In higher scores, participants perceive their socio-economic status at higher levels.

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3.2.3 Correlations in the sample of MHP supporters

The sample of MHP supporters indicated similar strong correlations between group identification and identity fusion constructs for local in-group (MHP) and extended in-group (T.C citizens). These correlations were a bit stronger than both CHP and HDP samples for local in-group whereas a bit weaker than both CHP and HDP samples for extended in-group. The extreme pro-group action tendency on the behalf of MHP was positively correlated with identity fusion with the group of MHP, and this association was stronger in comparison to group identification. These associations were at the same direction, but weaker than CHP sample and stronger than HDP sample when we considered the associations among extreme pro-group action tendency on the behalf of T.C citizens and identity fusion, and identification with the group of T.C citizens. In addition, local in-group (MHP) based identity fusion and group identification indicated a moderate and positive association with the willingness to perform extreme pro-group actions for extended in-group (T.C citizens). These associations were relatively stronger in the MHP sample in comparison to both CHP and HDP samples.

Besides, familial ties with MHP, individual agency for MHP and perceived invulnerability of MHP were highly related with identity fusion with MHP rather than group identification variable. These variables also were positively related to the willingness to perform extreme pro-group actions on the behalf of MHP and indicated stronger associations in comparison to CHP and HDP samples. Same patterns were realized when participants answered extreme pro-group action tendency, identity fusion, and group identification measures in reference to T.C citizens; these associations were also stronger in the sample of MHP in comparison to CHP and HDP samples.

In addition, the oneness (fusion) of individual and group-based (MHP-based) deprivations was positively related to pro-group action tendency on the behalf of both MHP supporters and T.C citizens. These associations were stronger in comparison to samples of CHP and HDP supporters. Deprivation fusion indicated a greater positive association with identity fusion with the group of MHP in comparison to group identification. These associations were in the same direction but weaker when the measures were filled out in reference to T.C citizens. When we evaluate individual and group-based deprivation levels separately, the associations

of these separate levels with extreme pro-group actions for both MHP and T.C citizens, identity fusion and group identification with both MHP and T.C citizens, familial ties with MHP, individual agency for MHP, and perceived invulnerability of MHP were weaker or insignificant in comparison to the associations of these variables with relative deprivation fusion.

The measures for pro-group action tendency, group identification and identity fusion with three local out-groups (including AKP, CHP, and HDP) were requested to answer. In addition, participants made individual and group-based (MHP-based) comparisons with extended in-group and three local out-groups to indicate their deprivations. There were associational differences among variables based on reference points of measures like the samples of CHP and HDP supporters. All these associations and relations with demographic characteristics of participants (including sex, age, education level, and perceived socio-economic status) can be considered using Table 3.4.

3.3 Dominance Analysis to Predict the Extreme Pro-Group Behavior Tendency using the Study Scales

In order to see the relative importance of the main study variables (namely, identification with local in-group and extended in-group, identity fusion with local in-group and extended in-group, individual-based and group-based relative deprivations, and relative deprivation fusion) on the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of local in-group and extended in-group, dominance analyses were conducted using the samples of CHP ($N = 320$), HDP ($N = 215$), and MHP ($N = 150$) supporters. In the following sections and tables, dominance analysis findings were presented in detail for each participant groups, and then, these findings were compared.

3.3.1 Dominance analysis in the sample of CHP supporters

Dominance analysis was conducted to test the relative importance of local in-group identity (including identification, and identity fusion with the group of CHP) and relative deprivation variables on the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of CHP using the sample of CHP supporters. The group identification with CHP shared 9%; the identity fusion with CHP shared 18%, the individual-based relative deprivation shared 4%; the group-based relative deprivation shared 5%; and the relative deprivation fusion shared 16% of variance

with the willingness to perform extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of CHP (see Table 3.5/A). The local in-group identification contributed to %18; the identity fusion with local in-group contributed to 35%; the individual-based relative deprivation contributed to 7%; the group-based relative deprivation contributed to 10%; and the relative deprivation fusion contributed to 30% of the total shared variance. The identity fusion with local in-group had the highest relative contribution and globally dominated the group identification. In addition, the relative deprivation fusion had the second highest contribution to the prediction of the extreme pro-group action tendency for local in-group, whereas the contributions of separate individual-based and group-based deprivations were relatively lower.

When the extended in-group identity (including identification, and identity fusion with the group of T.C citizens) and relative deprivation variables were tested, the group identification with T.C citizens shared 13%; the identity fusion with T.C citizens shared 17%, the individual-based relative deprivation shared 3%; the group-based relative deprivation shared 3%; and the relative deprivation fusion shared 20% of variance with the willingness to perform extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of T.C citizens (see Table 3.5/B). The extended in-group identification contributed to 23%; the identity fusion with extended in-group contributed to 31%; the individual-based relative deprivation contributed to 6%; the group-based relative deprivation contributed to 5%; and the relative deprivation fusion contributed to 35% of the total shared variance. The relative deprivation fusion had the highest relative contribution, and there was a big contributional difference in comparison to separate individual-based and group-based relative deprivations. The identity fusion with extended in-group had the second highest contribution to the prediction of the extreme pro-group action tendency on the behalf of extended in-group, and its contribution was stronger than the group identification.

Lastly, the contributions of local in-group and extended in-group identities on the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of T.C citizens were compared. The group identification with CHP shared 1%; the identity fusion with CHP shared 3%, the group identification with T.C citizens shared 13%; and the identity fusion with T.C citizens shared 15% of variance with the willingness to perform extreme pro-group behaviors for the sake of T.C citizens (see Table 3.5/C).

Table 3.5

Dominance Analysis: Variable Intercorrelations and Shared Variance using the Sample of CHP Supporters

A. *Dominance Analysis for the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of CHP in order to Test Local In-Group Identity and Relative Deprivation*

	Correlations					Shared Variance				
	CCI	CCIF	CTDI	CTDG	CDF	CCI	CCIF	CTDI	CTDG	CDF
CCI	-----									
CCIF	.75**	-----								
CTDI	.23**	.20**	-----							
CTDG	.20**	.17**	.50**	-----						
CDF	.49**	.59**	.28**	.29**	-----					
CCPGA	.49**	.57**	.18**	.17**	.44**	.092 (18%)	.184 (35%)	.035 (7%)	.052 (10%)	.159 (30%)

B. *Dominance Analysis for the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of T.C Citizens in order to Test Extended In-Group Identity and Relative Deprivation*

	Correlations					Shared Variance				
	CTI	CTIF	CTDI	CTDG	CDF	CTI	CTIF	CTDI	CTDG	CDF
CTI	-----									
CTIF	.77**	-----								
CTDI	.15**	.20**	-----							
CTDG	.06	.03	.50**	-----						
CDF	.20**	.28**	.28**	.29**	-----					
CTPGA	.51**	.54**	.16**	.13*	.28**	.129 (23%)	.174 (31%)	.032 (6%)	.026 (5%)	.196 (35%)

C. *Dominance Analysis for the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of T.C Citizens in order to Test Local In-Group and Extended In-Group Identities*

	Correlations				Shared Variance			
	CCI	CCIF	CTI	CTIF	CCI	CCIF	CTI	CTIF
CCI	-----							
CCIF	.75**	-----						
CTI	.36**	.33**	-----					
CTIF	.27**	.41**	.77**	-----				
CTPGA	.19**	.27**	.51**	.54**	.011 (3%)	.025 (8%)	.131 (41%)	.151 (47%)

p < .01; *p < .05; CHP supporters (N = 320) were used as participant group **(see Appendix N)
Note. Total shared variance with dependent variable is 52% for Table A, 56% for Table B, and 32% for Table C. The measure of the endorsement of extreme pro-group behavior shows the willingness of CHP supporters to perform extreme pro-group actions for CHP (CCPGA); and for T.C citizens (CTPGA). The measure of group identification indicates the identification of CHP supporters with CHP (CCI); and with T.C citizens (CTI). The measure of identity fusion means the identity fusion of CHP supporters with CHP (CCIF); and with T.C citizens (CTIF). The measure of individual-based and group-based deprivation indicates the individual-based relative deprivation of CHP supporters when they make interpersonal comparisons with other T.C citizens (CTDI) based on social-political conditions. In addition, the same measure indicates the group-based relative deprivation of CHP supporters when they make intergroup comparisons with other T.C citizens (CTDG) based on social-political conditions. CDF = relative deprivation fusion of CHP supporters.

The local in-group identification contributed to 3%; the identity fusion with local in-group contributed to 8%; the extended in-group identification contributed to 41%; and the identity fusion with extended in-group contributed to 47% of the total shared variance. Identity fusion variables provided greater contribution than group identification variables to predict the willingness to perform extreme pro-group behaviors for T.C citizens. The identity fusion with extended in-group had the highest, the group identification with the extended in-group had the second highest relative contribution to explain pro-group behaviors for extended in-group (see Appendix N for all subset regression models).

3.3.2 Dominance analysis in the sample of HDP supporters

Dominance analysis was conducted using the sample of HDP supporters (N = 215) to test the relative importance of local in-group identity (including identification, and identity fusion with the group of HDP) and relative deprivation variables on the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of HDP. The group identification with HDP shared 7%; the identity fusion with HDP shared 12%, the individual-based relative deprivation shared 3%; the group-based relative deprivation shared 7%, and the relative deprivation fusion shared 15% of variance with the willingness to perform extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of HDP (see Table 3.6/A). The local in-group identification contributed to %16; the identity fusion with local in-group contributed to 28%; the individual-based relative deprivation contributed to 7%; the group-based relative deprivation contributed to 16%; and the relative deprivation fusion contributed to 34% of the total shared variance. The relative deprivation fusion had the highest relative contribution, and the contributions of separate individual-based and group-based deprivations were lower. The identity fusion had the second highest contribution to the prediction of the extreme pro-group action tendency for local in-group, whereas the contribution of group identification was relatively lower.

When the extended in-group identity (including identification, and identity fusion with the group of T.C citizens) and relative deprivation variables were tested, the group identification with T.C citizens shared 7%; the identity fusion with T.C citizens shared 11%, the individual-based relative deprivation shared 2%; the group-based relative deprivation shared 0.2%; and the relative deprivation fusion shared 2% of variance with the willingness to perform extreme pro-group behaviors

Table 3.6
Dominance Analysis: Variable Intercorrelations and Shared Variance using the Sample of HDP Supporters

A. *Dominance Analysis for the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of HDP in order to Test Local In-Group Identity and Relative Deprivation*

	Correlations					Shared Variance				
	HHI	HHIF	HTDI	HTDG	HDF	HHI	HHIF	HTDI	HTDG	HDF
HHI	-----									
HHIF	.77**	-----								
HTDI	.21**	.26**	-----							
HTDG	.21**	.24**	.37**	-----						
HDF	.52**	.65**	.26**	.34**	-----					
HHPGA	.46**	.51**	.20**	.24**	.48**	.067 (16%)	.121 (28%)	.030 (7%)	.068 (16%)	.146 (34%)

B. *Dominance Analysis for the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of T.C Citizens in order to Test Extended In-Group Identity and Relative Deprivation*

	Correlations					Shared Variance				
	HTI	HTIF	HTDI	HTDG	HDF	HTI	HTIF	HTDI	HTDG	HDF
HTI	-----									
HTIF	.79**	-----								
HTDI	.03	.03	-----							
HTDG	-.09	-.14*	.37**	-----						
HDF	-.02	-.01	.26**	.34**	-----					
HTPGA	.36**	.41**	.08	-.03	.08	.068 (31%)	.111 (51%)	.018 (8%)	.002 (1%)	.020 (9%)

C. *Dominance Analysis for the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of T.C Citizens in order to Test Local In-Group and Extended In-Group Identities*

	Correlations				Shared Variance			
	HHI	HHIF	HTI	HTIF	HHI	HHIF	HTI	HTIF
HHI	-----							
HHIF	.77**	-----						
HTI	.22**	.07	-----					
HTIF	.18**	.14*	.79**	-----				
HTPGA	.24**	.18**	.36**	.41**	.026 (13%)	.013 (6%)	.062 (31%)	.097 (49%)

p < .01; *p < .05; HDP supporters (N = 215) were used as the participant group **(see Appendix O)
Note. Total shared variance with dependent variable is 43% for Table A, 22% for Table B, and 20% for Table C. The measure of the endorsement of extreme pro-group behavior shows the willingness of HDP supporters to perform extreme pro-group actions for HDP (HHPGA); and for T.C citizens (HTPGA). The measure of group identification indicates the identification of HDP supporters with HDP (HHI); and with T.C citizens (HTI). The measure of identity fusion means the identity fusion of HDP supporters with HDP (HHIF); and with T.C citizens (HTIF). The measure of individual-based and group-based deprivation indicates individual-based relative deprivation of HDP supporters when they make interpersonal comparisons with other T.C citizens (HTDI) based on social-political conditions. In addition, the same measure indicates group-based relative deprivation of HDP supporters when they make intergroup comparisons with other T.C citizens (HTDG) based on social-political conditions. HDF = relative deprivation fusion of HDP supporters.

on the behalf of T.C citizens (see Table 3.6/B). The extended in-group identification contributed to 31%; the identity fusion with extended in-group contributed to 51%; the individual-based relative deprivation contributed to 8%; the group-based relative deprivation contributed to 1%; and the relative deprivation fusion contributed to 9% of the total shared variance. The identity fusion with the extended in-group had the highest contribution to the prediction of the extreme pro-group action tendency for them, and its contribution dominated the contribution of extended in-group identification. The relative deprivation fusion and individual-based, and group-based deprivations did not have a significant contribution to predict the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors for T.C citizens in the sample of HDP supporters.

Thirdly, the contributions of local in-group and extended in-group identities on the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of T.C citizens were compared using the sample of HDP supporters. The group identification with HDP shared 3%; the identity fusion with HDP shared 1%, the group identification with T.C citizens shared 6%; and the identity fusion with T.C citizens shared 10% of variance with the willingness to perform extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of T.C citizens (see Table 3.6/C). The local in-group identification contributed to 13%; the identity fusion with local in-group contributed to 6%; the extended in-group identification contributed to 31%; and the identity fusion with extended in-group contributed to 49% of the total shared variance. The identity fusion with extended in-group had the highest, the group identification with the extended in-group had the second highest relative contribution to explain pro-group behaviors for extended in-group (see Appendix O for all subset regression models).

3.3.3 Dominance analysis in the sample of MHP supporters

Dominance analysis was also conducted using the sample of MHP supporters ($N = 150$) to test the relative importance of local in-group identity (including identification, and identity fusion with the group of MHP) and relative deprivation variables on the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of MHP. The group identification with MHP shared 11%; the identity fusion with MHP shared 22%, the individual-based relative deprivation shared 3%; the group-based relative deprivation shared 9%; and the relative deprivation fusion

shared 17% of variance with the willingness to perform extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of MHP (see Table 3.7/A). The local in-group identification contributed to %17; the identity fusion with local in-group contributed to 36%; the individual-based relative deprivation contributed to 5%; the group-based relative deprivation contributed to 15%; and the relative deprivation fusion contributed to 27% of the total shared variance. The identity fusion with local in-group had the highest relative contribution and globally dominated the group identification. In addition, the relative deprivation fusion had the second highest contribution to the prediction of the extreme pro-group action tendency for local in-group, whereas the contributions of separate individual-based and group-based deprivations were lower.

When the extended in-group identity (including identification, and identity fusion with the group of T.C citizens) and relative deprivation variables were tested, the group identification with T.C citizens shared 6%; the identity fusion with T.C citizens shared 10%, the individual-based relative deprivation shared 2%; the group-based relative deprivation shared 4%; and the relative deprivation fusion shared 16% of variance with the willingness to perform extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of T.C citizens (see Table 3.7/B). The extended in-group identification contributed to 15%; the identity fusion with extended in-group contributed to 27%; the individual-based relative deprivation contributed to 6%; the group-based relative deprivation contributed to 11%; and the relative deprivation fusion contributed to 41% of the total shared variance. The relative deprivation fusion had the highest relative contribution and there was a big contributional difference in comparison to separate individual-based and group-based relative deprivations. The identity fusion had the second highest contribution to the prediction of the extreme pro-group action tendency for extended in-group, and its contribution was stronger than the group identification.

Lastly, the contributions of local in-group and extended in-group identities on the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of T.C citizens were tested. The group identification with MHP shared 3%; the identity fusion with MHP shared 4%, the group identification with T.C citizens shared 7%; and the identity fusion with T.C citizens shared 9% of variance with the willingness to perform extreme pro-group behaviors for the sake of T.C citizens (see Table 3.7/C).

Table 3.7
Dominance Analysis: Variable Intercorrelations and Shared Variance using the Sample of MHP Supporters

A. *Dominance Analysis for the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of MHP in order to Test Local In-Group Identity and Relative Deprivation*

	Correlations					Shared Variance				
	MMI	MMIF	MTDI	MTDG	MDF	MMI	MMIF	MTDI	MTDG	MDF
MMI	-----									
MMIF	.83**	-----								
MTDI	.19*	.09	-----							
MTDG	.51**	.44**	.55**	-----						
MDF	.50**	.51**	.13	.45**	-----					
MMPGA	.58**	.66**	.07	.42**	.53**	.108 (17%)	.223 (36%)	.029 (5%)	.091 (15%)	.165 (27%)

B. *Dominance Analysis for the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of T.C Citizens in order to Test Extended In-Group Identity and Relative Deprivation*

	Correlations					Shared Variance				
	MTI	MTIF	MTDI	MTDG	MDF	MTI	MTIF	MTDI	MTDG	MDF
MTI	-----									
MTIF	.69**	-----								
MTDI	.22**	.08	-----							
MTDG	.23**	.14	.55**	-----						
MDF	.28**	.28**	.13	.45**	-----					
MTPGA	.39**	.43**	.16*	.22**	.36**	.057 (15%)	.101 (27%)	.023 (6%)	.043 (11%)	.155 (41%)

C. *Dominance Analysis for the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of T.C Citizens in order to Test Local In-Group and Extended In-Group Identities*

	Correlations				Shared Variance			
	MMI	MMIF	MTI	MTIF	MMI	MMIF	MTI	MTIF
MMI	-----							
MMIF	.83**	-----						
MTI	.35**	.24**	-----					
MTIF	.32**	.36**	.69**	-----				
MTPGA	.29**	.32**	.39**	.43**	.028 (12%)	.044 (19%)	.071 (31%)	.090 (38%)

*$**p < .01$; $*p < .05$; MHP supporters ($N = 150$) were used as participant group **(see Appendix P)***
Note. Total shared variance with dependent variable is 62% for Table A, 38% for Table B, and 23% for Table C. The measure of the endorsement of extreme pro-group behavior shows the willingness of MHP supporters to perform extreme pro-group actions for MHP (MMPGA); and for T.C citizens (MTPGA). The measure of group identification indicates the identification of MHP supporters with MHP (MMI); and with T.C citizens (MTI). The measure of identity fusion means the identity fusion of MHP supporters with MHP (MMIF); and with T.C citizens (MTIF). The measure of individual-based and group-based deprivation indicates the individual-based relative deprivation of MHP supporters when they make interpersonal comparisons with other T.C citizens (MTDI) based on social-political conditions. In addition, the same measure indicates the group-based relative deprivation of MHP supporters when they make intergroup comparisons with other T.C citizens (MTDG) based on social-political conditions. MDF = relative deprivation fusion of MHP supporters.

The local in-group identification contributed to 12%; the identity fusion with local in-group contributed to 19%; the extended in-group identification contributed to 31%; and the identity fusion with extended in-group contributed to 38% of the total shared variance. The identity fusion with extended in-group had the highest, the group identification with the extended in-group had the second highest relative contribution to explain pro-group behaviors for extended in-group (see Appendix P for all subset regression models).

3.3.4 Comparison of three samples due to dominance analysis findings

The shared variances on the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors for local in-group by the variable set (including local in-group identification, identity fusion with local in-group, and relative deprivation types) were 52%, 43%, and 62% at the samples of CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters, respectively. The highest relative contribution among tested variables to predict the willingness to perform extreme pro-group behaviors for local in-group was provided by the identity fusion in the samples of CHP, and MHP; by the relative deprivation fusion in the sample of HDP. The highest prediction of the group identification and the identity fusion on the endorsement of the extreme pro-group behaviors variable were among MHP supporters whereas the identity fusion with local in-group dominated the local in-group identification at all samples. In addition, the relative deprivation fusion shared a greater amount of variance with extreme pro-group action tendency for local in-group in comparison to individual-based and group-based relative deprivations.

When the variable set includes identification, and identity fusion with T.C citizens and relative deprivation types, the shared variances on the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of T.C citizens were 56%, 22%, and 38% at the samples of CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters, respectively. The highest relative contribution among tested variables to predict the willingness to perform extreme pro-group behaviors for T.C citizens was provided by the identity fusion with T.C citizens in the sample of HDP; by the relative deprivation fusion in the samples of CHP, and MHP. The identity fusion with extended in-group dominated the extended in-group identification at all samples. In addition, the relative deprivation types did not make a significant contribution to predict extreme pro-group behaviors for T.C citizens at the sample of HDP supporters, whereas the

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relative deprivation fusion shared a greater amount of variance with extreme pro-group action tendency for T.C citizens in comparison to individual-based and group-based relative deprivations at the samples of CHP, and MHP supporters.

Thirdly when local and extended in-group based identification and identity fusion variables were tested within the variable set, the shared variances on the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors for T.C citizens were 32%, 20%, and 23% at the samples of CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters, respectively. The extended in-group based identities predicted the extreme pro-group behaviors for extended in-group better than local ingroup-based identities at all samples. The identity fusion with extended in-group dominated the extended in-group identification.

3.4 The Predictive Power of Demographics, and Proposed Mediating Variables

Hierarchical regression analyses were conducted to test the predictive power of the familial ties with the local in-group, the individual agency for the local in-group and the perceived invulnerability of the local in-group on the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of local in-group (supporters of own political party) and extended in-group (T.C citizens) using the samples of CHP ($N = $ 320), HDP ($N = $ 215), and MHP ($N = $ 150) supporters. In these analysis, demographic variables as sex, age, education level and perceived socio-economic status were controlled at the first step.

3.4.1 Hierarchical regression analysis in the sample of CHP supporters

After demographic variables (including sex, age, education level, and perceived socio-economic status) were controlled at the first step ($F(4, 315) = 1.69$, $p = .152$), the proposed mediating variables explained a significant amount of variance on the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of CHP ($\varDelta R^2 = .42$, $F(7, 312) = 34.47$, $p < .001$). Familial ties with other CHP members ($\beta = .33$; $p < .001$), individual agency for the group of CHP ($\beta = .25$; $p < .001$), and perceived invulnerability of the group of CHP ($\beta = .23$; $p < .001$) were positively associated with the endorsement of the extreme behaviors on the behalf of CHP (see Table 3.8).

In the second analysis, after demographic variables were controlled at the first step ($\varDelta R^2 = .04$; $F(4, 315) = 3.65$, $p < .05$), the proposed mediating variables explained a significant amount of variance on the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of T.C citizens ($\varDelta R^2 = .15$, $F(7, 312) = 10.71$, $p < $

.001). Familial ties with other CHP members ($\beta = .14$; $p < .05$), and perceived invulnerability of the group of CHP ($\beta = .22$; $p < .05$) were positively associated with the endorsement of the extreme behaviors on the behalf of T.C citizens (see Table 3.8).

Table 3.8
Hierarchical Regression Predicting the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of CHP and T.C Citizens using Demographics and Proposed Mediating Variables

Variables	The endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of CHP				The endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of T.C citizens			
	B	*SE B*	*β*	*95% CI*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*95% CI*
Sex	.03	.13	.02	[-.223, .292]	.09	.16	.03	[-.219, .402]
Age	.01	.01	.04	[-.018, .038]	-.01	.02	-.02	[-.038, .029]
Edu	-.32	.16	-.13*	[-.624, -.007]	-.43	.19	-.14*	[-.798, -.055]
SES	-.09	.07	-.07	[-.231, .049]	-.19	.09	-.12*	[-.354, -.017]
	$F(4, 315) = 1.69$ $\Delta R^2 = .02$				$F(4, 315) = 3.65$ $\Delta R^2 = .04*$			
Variables	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*95% CI*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*95% CI*
Sex	.11	.10	.05	[-.085, .312]	.12	.15	.04	[-.168, .412]
Age	-.04	.01	-.16*	[-.058, -.013]	-.04	.02	-.13*	[-.069, -.004]
Edu	.10	.12	.04	[-.146, .337]	-.13	.18	-.04	[-.478, .227]
SES	-.05	.05	-.04	[-.152, .061]	-.15	.08	-.10	[-.307, .004]
CFT	.24	.04	.33**	[.156, .320]	.13	.06	.14*	[.006, .244]
CAgen	.23	.05	.25**	[.129, .328]	.14	.07	.12	[-.005, .284]
CInv	.18	.04	.23**	[.099, .270]	.22	.06	.22*	[.092, .340]
	$F(7, 312) = 34.47$ $\Delta R^2 = .42**$				$F(7, 312) = 10.71$ $\Delta R^2 = .15**$			

*$**p < .01$; *$p < .05$; $N = 320$
Note. Sex = sex; Age = age; Edu = education level; SES = perceived socio-economic status; CFT = familial ties of CHP supporters with other CHP members; CAgen = individual agency of CHP supporters for the group of CHP; CInv = perceived invulnerability of the group of CHP by CHP supporters.

3.4.2 Hierarchical regression analysis in the sample of HDP supporters

After demographic variables (including sex, age, education level, and perceived socio-economic status) were tested at the first step ($F(4, 210) = 1.20$, $p = .311$), the proposed mediating variables explained a significant amount of variance on the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of HDP ($\Delta R^2 = .36$, $F(7, 207) = 18.03$, $p < .001$). Familial ties with other HDP members ($\beta = .20$; $p < .05$), individual agency for the group of HDP ($\beta = .27$; $p < .05$), and perceived invulnerability of the group of HDP ($\beta = .24$; $p < .05$) were positively associated

with the endorsement of the extreme behaviors on the behalf of HDP (see Table 3.9).

In the second analysis, after demographic variables were controlled at the first step ($F(4, 210) = 389$, $p = .817$), the proposed mediating variables did not explain a significant amount of variance on the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of T.C citizens ($F(7, 207) = 1.40$, $p = .206$). (see Table 3.9).

Table 3.9
Hierarchical Regression Predicting the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of HDP and T.C Citizens using Demographics and Proposed Mediating Variables

Variables	The endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of HDP				The endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of T.C citizens			
	B	*SE B*	*β*	*95% CI*	*B*	*SE B*	*B*	*95% CI*
Sex	.20	.17	.08	[-.130, .522]	.04	.13	.02	[-.218, .292]
Age	.02	.02	.08	[-.018, .051]	-.01	.01	-.01	[-.027, .026]
Edu	-.27	.20	-.11	[-.666, .124]	.01	.16	.01	[-.300, .318]
SES	-.02	.08	-.02	[-.178, .143]	.08	.06	.09	[-.050, .201]
	$F(4, 210) = 1.20$				$F(4, 210) = .389$			
	$\varDelta R^2 = .02$				$\varDelta R^2 = .01$			
Variables	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*95% CI*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*95% CI*
Sex	.05	.13	.02	[-.210, .317]	-.01	.13	-.01	[-.257, .250]
Age	-.01	.01	-.03	[-.034, .022]	-.01	.01	-.04	[-.034, .020]
Edu	-.13	.16	-.05	[-.450, .187]	.04	.16	.02	[-.272, .342]
SES	-.01	.07	-.01	[-.138, .120]	.08	.06	.09	[-.046, .202]
HFT	.14	.06	.20*	[.025, .258]	-.02	.06	-.03	[-.127, .096]
HAgen	.22	.07	.27*	[.090, .357]	.11	.07	.17	[-.018, .238]
HInv	.21	.06	.24*	[.091, .337]	.05	.06	.07	[-.066, .171]
	$F(7, 207) = 18.03$				$F(7, 207) = 1.40$			
	$\varDelta R^2 = .36**$				$\varDelta R^2 = .04$			

**p < .01; *p < .05; N = 215
Note. Sex = sex; Age = age; Edu = education level; SES = perceived socio-economic status; HFT = familial ties of HDP supporters with other HDP members; HAgen = individual agency of HDP supporters for the group of HDP; HInv = perceived invulnerability of the group of HDP by HDP supporters.

3.4.3 Hierarchical regression analysis in the sample of MHP supporters

After demographic variables (including sex, age, education level and perceived socio-economic status) were controlled at the first step ($\varDelta R^2 = .10$; $F(4, 145) = 3.99$, $p < .05$), the proposed mediating variables explained a significant amount of variance on the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of MHP ($\varDelta R^2 = .59$, $F(7, 142) = 44.31$, $p < .001$). Individual agency for the

group of MHP ($\beta = .50$; $p < .001$), and perceived invulnerability of the group of MHP ($\beta = .28$; $p < .001$) were positively associated with the endorsement of the extreme behaviors on the behalf of MHP (see Table 3.10).

In the second analysis, after demographic variables were controlled at the first step ($F(4, 145) = .691$, $p = .599$), the proposed mediating variables explained a significant amount of variance on the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of T.C citizens ($\Delta R^2 = .21$, $F(7, 142) = 5.86$, $p < .001$). Familial ties with other MHP members ($\beta = .23$; $p < .05$), and perceived invulnerability of the group of MHP ($\beta = .34$; $p < .05$) were positively associated with the endorsement of the extreme behaviors on the behalf of T.C citizens (see Table 3.10).

Table 3.10
Hierarchical Regression Predicting the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of MHP and T.C Citizens using Demographics and Proposed Mediating Variables

Variables	The endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of MHP				The endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of T.C citizens			
	B	*SE B*	*β*	*95% CI*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*95% CI*
Sex	.87	.25	.29*	[.380, 1.35]	.33	.26	.11	[-.187, .852]
Age	-.02	.04	-.04	[-.095, .062]	-.01	.04	-.02	[-.093, .076]
Edu	-.63	.52	-.11	[-1.66, .396]	-.10	.56	-.02	[-1.20, .995]
SES	.08	.12	.06	[-.143, 309]	-.14	.12	-.10	[-.386, .099]
	$F(4, 145) = 3.99$ $\Delta R^2 = .10*$				$F(4, 145) = .691$ $\Delta R^2 = .02$			
Variables	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*95% CI*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*	*95% CI*
Sex	.39	.15	.13*	[.086, .686]	-.04	.25	-.01	[-.521, .446]
Age	-.02	.02	-.05	[-.066, .028]	.01	.04	.01	[-.073, .079]
Edu	-.25	.31	-.04	[-.868, .370]	-.06	.51	-.01	[-1.05, .943]
SES	.03	.07	.02	[-.114, .166]	-.16	.11	-.11	[-.390, .061]
MFT	.09	.06	.10	[-.042, .211]	.21	.10	.23*	[.001, .410]
MAgen	.45	.07	.50**	[.320, .582]	-.05	.11	-.06	[-.265, .156]
MInv	.28	.07	.28**	[.146, .411]	.34	.11	.34*	[.130, .556]
	$F(7, 142) = 44.31$ $\Delta R^2 = .59**$				$F(7, 142) = 5.86$ $\Delta R^2 = .21**$			

*$**p < .01$; *$p < .05$; $N = 150$
Note. Sex = sex; Age = age; Edu = education level; SES = perceived socio-economic status; MFT = familial ties of MHP supporters with other MHP members; MAgen = individual agency of MHP supporters for the group of MHP; MInv = perceived invulnerability of the group of MHP by MHP supporters.

3.4.4 Comparison of three samples due to hierarchical regression analysis findings

After controlling demographic variables, the proposed mediating variables by the literature (including the familial ties with the local in-group, the individual agency for the local in-group, and the perceived invulnerability of the local in-group) significantly predicted the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of local in-group in all three samples (excluding the insignificant predictive power of familial ties in the sample of MHP). The explained variance on the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors for the local in-group by three predictors was highest at the samples of MHP, CHP, and HDP supporters, respectively. When the predictive power of these three variables on the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors for extended in-group was tested, there were interesting findings. Local in-group based variables did not predict the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of T.C citizens, and the explained variance was not significant in the sample of HDP supporters. Except for the individual agency for the local in-group, the proposed mediating variables predicted the extreme pro-group behavior for T.C citizens at the samples of CHP and MHP. The explained variance on the extreme pro-group behavior tendency for T.C citizens was highest at the MHP sample. In addition, the familial ties with MHP supporters was related with the endorsement of the extreme pro-group behaviors for T.C citizens rather than on the behalf of MHP supporters.

3.5 Indirect Relationship between Identity and Extreme Pro-Group Behavior Tendency

The mediational models were tested at the samples of CHP ($N = 320$), HDP ($N = 215$), and MHP ($N = 150$) supporters (using LISREL 9.1) in order to investigate the possible indirect effects of identification, and identity fusion with local in-group on the dependent variables as the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of local in-group and extended in-group. At the first models, the proposed mediators were the relative deprivation fusion, the familial ties with the local in-group, the individual agency for the local in-group, and the perceived invulnerability of the local in-group. On the other way, identification and identity fusion with the extended in-group were used as possible mediators at the second mediational models.

3.5.1 The mediational models in the sample of CHP supporters

The mediating roles of the relative deprivation fusion, the familial ties with CHP members, the individual agency for the group of CHP, and the perceived invulnerability of the group of CHP on the relationship between identification, and identity fusion with CHP and extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of CHP, and T.C citizens were tested at the first model. The relative deprivation fusion was not a significant mediator that is why it was excluded from the proposed model. The greater identification with CHP leaded to greater familial ties with CHP members which in turn increased the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors for CHP ($B = .05$; $SE = .02$; $t = 2.91$), and T.C citizens ($B = .05$; $SE = .02$; $t = 2.54$) as can be seen in Figure 3.1. In addition, the group identification with CHP directly predicted the extreme pro-group behavior tendency for CHP ($B = .12$, $SE = .04$, $p = .004$). At the same proposed model, the greater identity fusion with CHP strengthened the familial ties with CHP members, the individual agency for the group of CHP, and the perceived invulnerability of the group of CHP which in turn increased the extreme pro-group behavior tendency for CHP ($B = .30$; $SE = .04$; $t = 8.47$). The identity fusion with CHP had also a positive indirect effect on the extreme pro-group action tendency on the behalf of T.C citizens through the familial ties with CHP members, and the perceived invulnerability of the group of CHP ($B = .23$; $SE = .04$; $t = 6.40$). The proposed model indicated a good fit to the data; $\chi^2(6, N = 320) = 14.34$, $p = .026$, $\chi^2/df = 2.39$, GFI = .99, AGFI = .94, NFI = .99, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .07, 90% CI [.021, .111]. The explained variance was 41% for the extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of CHP; 15% for the extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of T.C citizens (see Figure 3.1 for detailed information).
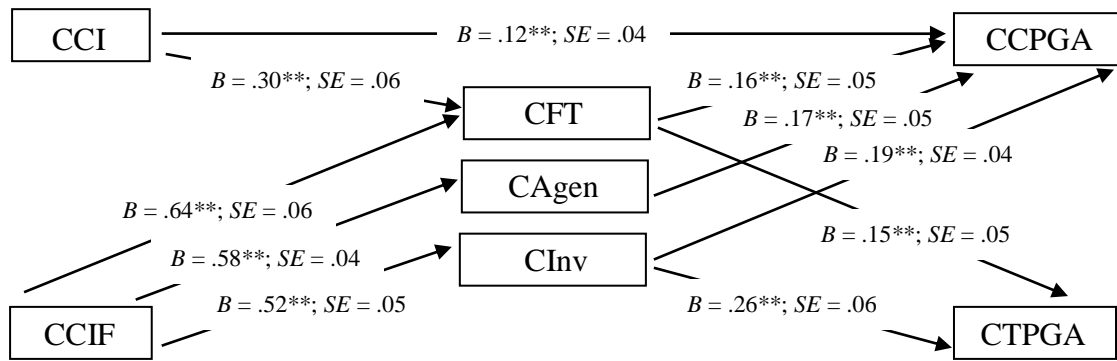
Figure 3.1 *The Mediational Model to Test the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of CHP and T.C Citizens*

**p < .01; *p < .05; CHP supporters (*N* = 320) were used as the participant group.
Note. CCPGA = the willingness of CHP supporters to perform extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of CHP; CTPGA= the willingness of CHP supporters to perform extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of T.C citizens; CCI = the identification of CHP supporters with the group of CHP; CCIF = the identity fusion of CHP supporters with the group of CHP; CFT = the familial ties of CHP supporters with other CHP members; CAgen = the individual agency of CHP supporters for the group of CHP; CInv = the perceived invulnerability of the group of CHP by CHP supporters.

- The explained variance was 41% for CCPGA; 15% for CTPGA; 60% for CFT; 39% for CAgen; and 26% for CInv.
- The proposed model indicated a good fit to the data; χ^2(6, *N* = 320) = 14.34, *p* = .026, χ^2/df = 2.39, GFI = .99, AGFI = .94, NFI = .99, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .07, 90% CI [.021, .111].
- The indirect effect of CCI on CCPGA (*B* = .05; *SE* = .02; *t* = 2.91); of CCI on CTPGA (*B* = .05; *SE* = .02; *t* = 2.54); of CCIF on CCPGA (*B* = .30; *SE* = .04; *t* = 8.47); and of CCIF on CTPGA (*B* = .23; *SE* = .04; *t* = 6.40) were significant.
- Error covariances were set between CCPGA and CTPGA; among CFT, CAgen, and CInv.

At the second proposed model (see Figure 3.2) the mediating roles of identification and identity fusion with T.C citizens on the relationship between identification, and identitiy fusion with the group of CHP and the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of CHP, and T.C citizens were tested. The identification with the group of CHP increased the identification with the group of T.C citizens which in turn strengthened the extreme pro-group action tendency for T.C citizens (*B* = .07; *SE* = .02; *t* = 3.32). Secondly, the identity fusion with CHP increased the identity fusion with T.C citizens which in turn increased the extreme pro-group action tendency for T.C citizens (*B* = .14; *SE* = .03; *t* = 4.99). In addition, the identity fusion with CHP was directly associated with the extreme pro-group action tendency for CHP (*B* = .46; *SE* = .03; *p* < .001). The proposed model indicated a good fit to the data; χ^2(7, *N* = 320) = 12.81, *p* = .077, χ^2/df = 1.83, GFI =

.99, AGFI = .96, NFI = .99, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .05, 90% CI [.000, .094]. The proposed model explained 31% variance on the extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of CHP; 30% variance on the extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of T.C citizens (see Figure 3.2 for detailed information).

Figure 3.2 *The Mediational Model to Test the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of Local In-Group (CHP) and Extended In-Group (T.C Citizens) using both Local In-Group and Extended In-Group Identities*

**p < .01; *p < .05; CHP supporters (N = 320) were used as the participant group.
Note. CCPGA = the willingness of CHP supporters to perform extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of CHP; CTPGA= the willingness of CHP supporters to perform extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of T.C citizens; CCI = the identification of CHP supporters with the group of CHP; CCIF = the identity fusion of CHP supporters with the group of CHP; CTI = the identification of CHP supporters with the group of T.C citizens; CTIF = the identity fusion of CHP supporters with the group of T.C citizens.
- The explained variance was 31% for CCPGA; 30% for CTPGA; 13% for CTI; and 13% for CTIF.
- The proposed model indicated a good fit to the data; χ^2(7, N = 320) = 12.81, p = .077, χ^2/df = 1.83, GFI = .99, AGFI = .96, NFI = .99, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .05, 90% CI [.000, .094].
- The indirect effect of CCI on CTPGA (B = .07; SE = .02; t = 3.32); and of CCIF on CTPGA (B = .14; SE = .03; t = 4.99) were significant.
- Error covariances were set between CCPGA and CTPGA; and between CTI and CTIF.

3.5.2 The mediational models in the sample of HDP supporters

The same mediational models were tested using the sample of HDP supporters. The greater identification with the group of HDP increased the familial ties with HDP members, the individual agency for the group of HDP, and the perceived invulnerability of the group of HDP which in turn supported the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of HDP (B = .11; SE = .03; t = 3.28). In addition, the identification with the group of HDP directly predicted the pro-group action tendency on the behalf of T.C citizens (B = .15; SE = .04; p = .001). At the same proposed model, the greater identity fusion with HDP leaded to greater relative deprivation fusion, greater familial ties with HDP

members, greater individual agency for the group of HDP, and greater perceived invulnerability of the group of HDP which in turn strengthened the extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of HDP ($B = .30$; $SE = .04$; $t = 6.97$). The proposed model indicated a good fit to the data; $\chi^2(11, N = 215) = 26.22$, $p = .006$, $\chi^2/df = 2.38$, GFI = .97, AGFI = .91, NFI = .98, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .08, 90% CI [.041, .120]. The explained variance was 37% for the extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of HDP; 05% for the extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of T.C citizens (see Figure 3.3 for detailed information).

Figure 3.3 *The Mediational Model to Test the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of HDP and T.C Citizens*

**$p < .01$; *$p < .05$; HDP supporters ($N = 215$) were used as the participant group.

Note. HHPGA = the willingness of HDP supporters to perform extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of HDP; HTPGA= the willingness of HDP supporters to perform extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of T.C citizens; HHI = the identification of HDP supporters with the group of HDP; HHIF = the identity fusion of HDP supporters with the group of HDP; HDF = the deprivation fusion of HDP supporters; HFT = the familial ties of HDP supporters with other HDP members; HAgen = the individual agency of HDP supporters for the group of HDP; HInv = the perceived invulnerability of the group of HDP by HDP supporters.

- The explained variance was 37% for HHPGA; 05% for HTPGA; 42% for HDF; 56% for HFT; 48% for HAgen; and 26% for HInv.
- The proposed model indicated a good fit to the data; $\chi^2(11, N = 215) = 26.22$, $p = .006$, $\chi^2/df = 2.38$, GFI = .97, AGFI = .91, NFI = .98, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .08, 90% CI [.041, .120].
- The indirect effect of HHI on HHPGA ($B = .11$; $SE = .03$; $t = 3.28$); and of HHIF on HHPGA ($B = .30$; $SE = .04$; $t = 6.97$) were significant.
- Error covariances were set between HHPGA and HTPGA; among HFT, HAgen, and HInv.

At the second proposed model (see Figure 3.4), the identity fusion with the group of T.C citizens and the extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of T.C citizens were not significant and these variables were removed from the model.

The identification with the group of HDP increased the identification with the group of T.C citizens which in turn decreased the extreme pro-group action tendency on the behalf of HDP ($B = -.08$; $SE = .03$; $t = -2.78$). In addition, the identification with HDP directly predicted the extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of HDP ($B = .22$; $SE = .08$; $p = .005$). Secondly, the identity fusion with HDP decreased the identification with T.C citizens which in turn increased the extreme pro-group actions on the behalf of HDP ($B = .04$; $SE = .02$; $t = 2.01$). Also, the identity fusion with HDP directly predicted the extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of HDP ($B = .26$; $SE = .07$; $p = .001$). The explained variance was 32% on the extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of HDP (see Figure 3.4 for detailed information).
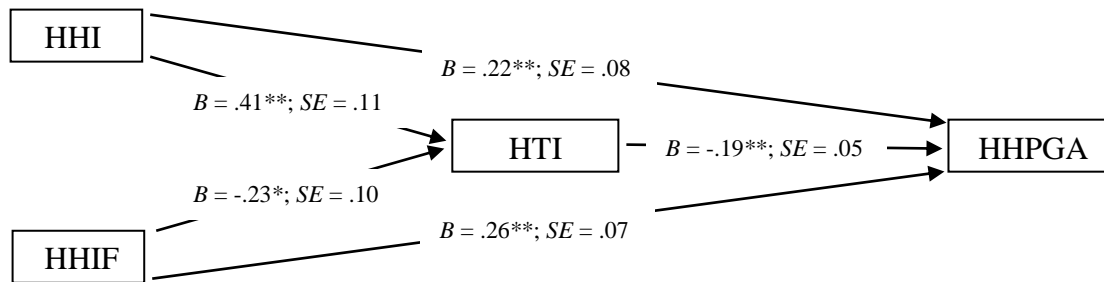
Figure 3.4 *The Mediational Model to Test the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of Local In-Group (HDP) and Extended In-Group (T.C Citizens) using both Local In-Group and Extended In-Group Identities*

**p < .01; *p < .05; HDP supporters ($N = 215$) were used as the participant group.
Note. HHPGA = the willingness of HDP supporters to perform extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of HDP; HHI = the identification of HDP supporters with the group of HDP; HHIF = the identity fusion of HDP supporters with the group of HDP; HTI = the identification of HDP supporters with the group of T.C citizens.
- The explained variance was 32% for HHPGA; and 07% for HTI.
- The indirect effect of HHI on HHPGA ($B = -.08$; $SE = .03$; $t = -2.78$); and of HHIF on HHPGA ($B = .04$; $SE = .02$; $t = 2.01$) were significant.

3.5.3 The mediational models in the sample of MHP supporters

The same mediational models lastly were tested using the sample of MHP supporters. The greater identification with MHP leaded to greater relative deprivation fusion and greater perceived invulnerability of the group of MHP which in turn strengthened the endorsement of extreme pro-group behavior on the behalf of MHP ($B = .09$; $SE = .04$; $t = 2.42$) and T.C citizens ($B = .09$; $SE = .04$; $t = 2.23$). At the same model, the identity fusion with the group of MHP increased the relative

deprivation fusion, the individual agency for the group of MHP, and the perceived invulnerability of the group of MHP which in turn strengthened the extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of MHP (B = .55; SE = .06; t = 9.13). In addition, the identity fusion with the group of MHP raised the relative deprivation fusion, the familial ties with MHP members, and the perceived invulnerability of the group of MHP which in turn strengthened the extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of T.C citizens (B = .29; SE = .07; t = 4.37). The proposed model indicated a good fit to the data; χ^2(11, N = 150) = 21.61, p = .028, χ^2/df = 1.97, GFI = .97, AGFI = .89, NFI = .99, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .08, 90% CI [.026, .130]. The explained variance was 67% for the extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of MHP; 21% for the extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of T.C citizens (see Figure 3.5 for detailed information).
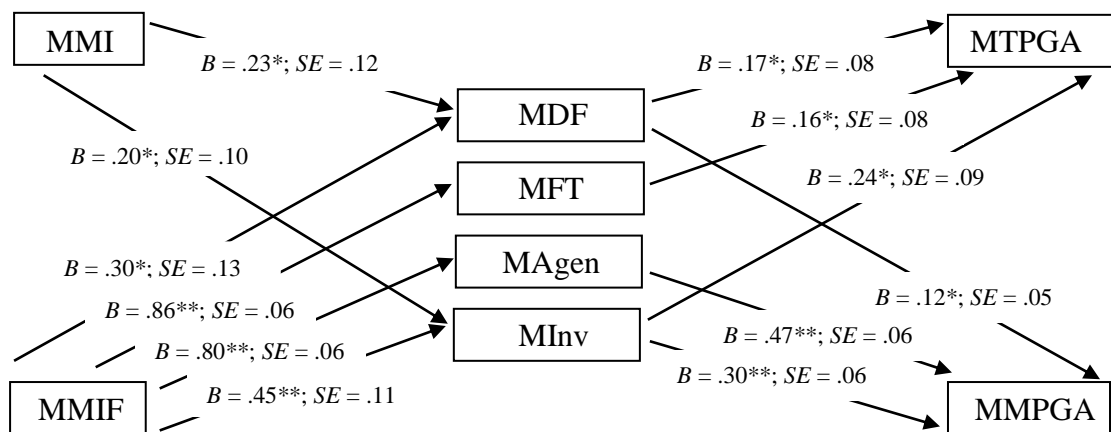
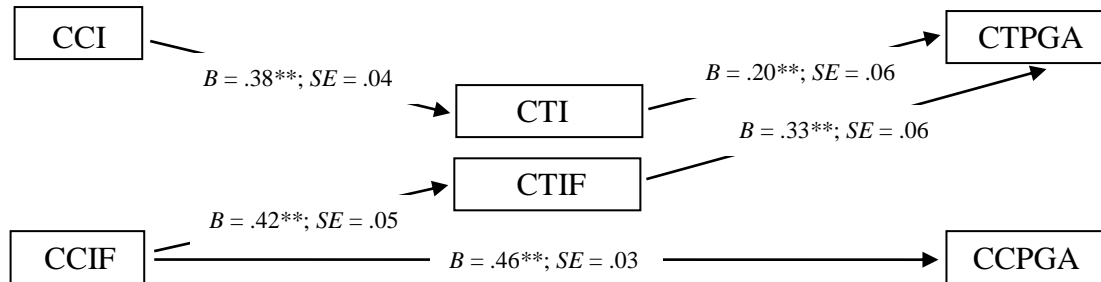Figure 3.5 *The Mediational Model to Test the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of MHP and T.C Citizens*

**p < .01; *p < .05; MHP supporters (N = 150) were used as the participant group.

Note. MMPGA = the willingness of MHP supporters to perform extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of MHP; MTPGA= the willingness of MHP supporters to perform extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of T.C citizens; MMI = the identification of MHP supporters with the group of MHP; MMIF = the identity fusion of MHP supporters with the group of MHP; MDF = the deprivation fusion of MHP supporters; MFT = the familial ties of MHP supporters with other MHP members; MAgen = the individual agency of MHP supporters for the group of MHP; MInv = the perceived invulnerability of the group of MHP by MHP supporters.

- The explained variance was 67% for MMPGA; 21% for MTPGA; 27% for MDF; 59% for MFT; 53% for MAgen; and 40% for MInv.
- The proposed model indicated a good fit to the data; χ^2(11, N = 150) = 21.61, p = .028, χ^2/df = 1.97, GFI = .97, AGFI = .89, NFI = .99, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .08, 90% CI [.026, .130].
- The indirect effect of MMI on MMPGA (B = .09; SE = .04; t = 2.42); of MMI on MTPGA (B = .09; SE = .04; t = 2.23); of MMIF on MMPGA (B = .55; SE = .06; t = 9.13); and of MMIF on MTPGA (B = .29; SE = .07; t = 4.37) were significant.
- Error covariances were set between MMPGA and MTPGA; among MFT, MAgen, and MInv.

At the second proposed model (see Figure 3.6), the identification with the group of MHP increased the identification with the group of T.C citizens which in turn strengthened the extreme pro-group action tendency on the behalf of T.C citizens; but this indirect effect was not significant ($t = 1.81$). The identity fusion with MHP increased the identity fusion with T.C citizens which in turn increased the extreme pro-group action tendency on the behalf of T.C citizens ($B = .12$; $SE = .04$; $t = 2.86$). In addition, the identity fusion with MHP directly predicted the extreme pro-group action tendency on the behalf of MHP ($B = .60$; $SE = .06$; $p < .001$). The proposed model indicated a good fit to the data; $\chi^2(7, N = 150) = 8.51$, $p = .290$, $\chi^2/df = 1.22$, GFI = .98, AGFI = .94, NFI = .98, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .04, 90% CI [.000, .112]. The model explained 40% variance on the extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of MHP; 20% variance on the extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of T.C citizens (see Figure 3.6 for detailed information).
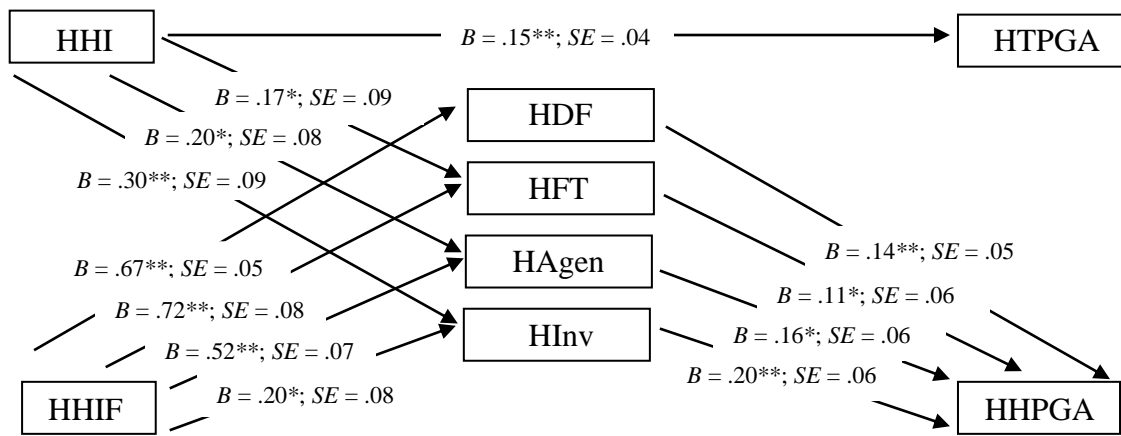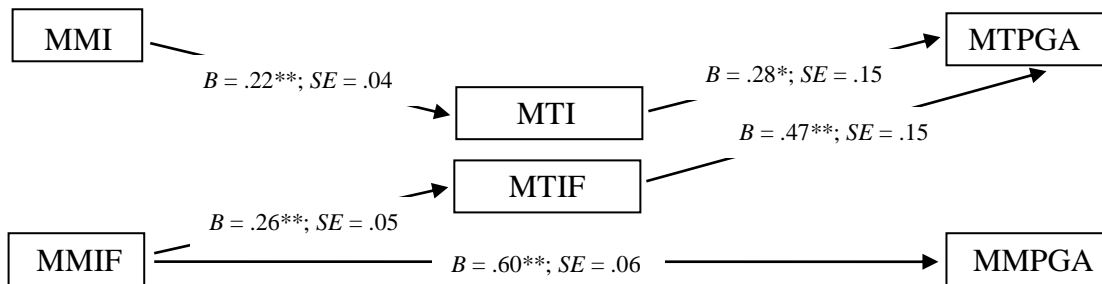

Figure 3.6 *The Mediational Model to Test the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of Local In-Group (MHP) and Extended In-Group (T.C Citizens) using both Local In-Group and Extended In-Group Identities*

**p < .01; *p < .05; MHP supporters (N = 150) were used as the participant group.
Note. MMPGA = the willingness of MHP supporters to perform extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of MHP; MTPGA= the willingness of MHP supporters to perform extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of T.C citizens; MMI = the identification of MHP supporters with the group of MHP; MMIF = the identity fusion of MHP supporters with the group of MHP; MTI = the identification of MHP supporters with the group of T.C citizens; MTIF = the identity fusion of MHP supporters with the group of T.C citizens.
  - The explained variance was 40% for MMPGA; 20% for MTPGA; 12% for MTI; and 15% for MTIF.
  - The proposed model indicated a good fit to the data; $\chi^2(7, N = 150) = 8.51$, $p = .290$, $\chi^2/df = 1.22$, GFI = .98, AGFI = .94, NFI = .98, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .04, 90% CI [.000, .112].
  - The indirect effect of MMIF on MTPGA ($B = .12$; $SE = .04$; $t = 2.86$) was significant.
  - Error covariances were set between MMPGA and MTPGA; and between MTI and MTIF.

3.5.4 Comparison of three samples due to mediational models

The first mediational models tested the possible indirect effects of identification, and identity fusion with local in-group on the dependent variables as the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of local in-group (supporters of own political party) and extended in-group (T.C citizens) using the relative deprivation fusion, the familial ties with the local in-group, the individual agency for the local in-group, and the perceived invulnerability of the local in-group as mediating variables. The proposed models explained 41%, 37%, and 67% of the variance on the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of local in-group; 15%, 05%, and 21% on the behalf of T.C citizens at the samples of CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters, respectively. All proposed mediating variables indicated significant relationships at all samples (excluding the relative deprivation fusion at the sample of CHP supporters), and the mediational models had good fits to the data. The indirect effects of identity fusion with local in-group on the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors for local in-group and extended in-group were greater in comparison to identification with local in-group at all samples (excluding the sample of HDP supporters; because there was not a significant indirect effect of identification and identity fusion with local in-group on the extreme pro-group behavior tendency for T.C citizens).

Identification and identity fusion with T.C citizens were tested as mediating variables at the second mediational models. There were important findings in the sample of HDP supporters. Firstly, the variables as identity fusion with T.C citizens and extreme pro-group behavior tendency for T.C citizens were removed from the analyses due to their insignificant roles within the proposed model. Secondly, the relationship between the mediator (identification with T.C citizens) and the extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of HDP was negative. In this regard, the indirect effect of identification with HDP supporters was negative whereas the indirect effect of identity fusion with HDP supporters was positive. Identification, and identity fusion with local in-group indirectly related to the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors for T.C citizens through identification and identity fusion with T.C citizens at the samples of CHP, and MHP supporters (excluding the insignificant mediating role of identification with T.C citizens at the sample of MHP supporters). The proposed models explained 31%, 32%, and 40% of the

variance on the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of local in-group at the samples of CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters, respectively. The explained variance on the extreme pro-group behavior tendency for T.C citizens was 30%, and 20% at the samples of CHP, and MHP supporters. All models indicated good fits to the data.

3.6 Predicting the Extreme Self-Sacrificing Behavior Tendency in Multi-Group Context using the Created Vignettes

Up to this part, scales were used to understand extreme pro-group behavior tendency of people; but intergroup relations may be more complex in real life. Starting from this point, eight different hypothetically created scenarios were used to test the participants' willingness to perform extreme self-sacrificing behaviors on the behalf of local in-group, extended in-group and different local out-groups in multi-group context using the samples of CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters. The 1st, 2nd, and 8th vignette had two possible action options whereas other vignettes had more. In order to predict the actions of participants, hierarchical logistic regression analysis was conducted for two-choice situations. As predictors, identification and identity fusion with local in-group entered into the equation at the first step; identification and identity fusion with extended in-group at the second step; individual-based and group-based relative deprivations at the third step; and relative deprivation fusion at the fourth step. Discriminant function analysis was performed using the same seven predictor variables when the vignette had action choice more than two options. If the choice was selected by less than 35 participants in a particular situation, this choice was removed from the analysis due to its low sample size (Burns & Burns, 2008).

3.6.1 Vignette 1

In the first vignette, the social identity was activated first. Five local in-group members (supporters of own political party) were in danger: that is a runaway trolley is about to crush and cause the death of five local in-group members. Participants made a choice between "doing nothing to stop runaway trolley, and letting the death of five local in-group members" or "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five local in-group members" (see Tables 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5).

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3.6.1.1 Responses for the vignette 1 in the sample of CHP supporters

The first model (including identification, and identity fusion with CHP) was significant; $\chi^2(2) = 9.94$, $p = .007$, explained 4% of the variance in extreme self-sacrificing behavior tendency and correctly classified 60% of cases. Identity fusion with CHP was positively associated with the choice of extreme self-sacrificing behavior; $B = .36$; $SE = .14$; $Wald\ \chi^2(1) = 7.02$, $p = .008$, OR = 1.44, 95% CI OR [1.10, 1.88]. Odd ratio indicated that identity fusion with CHP increases 1.44 times more likely to sacrifice own life to save the lives of five CHP supporters. When identification and identity fusion with T.C citizens variables entered into the equation, the model was significant; $\chi^2(4) = 23.70$, $p < .001$. The model explained 10% of the variance in self-sacrificing behavior tendency, and correctly classified 64% of cases. Identity fusion with T.C citizens was positively related to the choice of extreme self-sacrificing behavior; $B = .46$; $SE = .14$; $Wald\ \chi^2(1) = 11.61$, $p = .001$, OR = 1.59, 95% CI OR [1.22, 2.08]. Odd ratio indicated that identity fusion with T.C citizens increases 1.59 times more likely to sacrifice own life to save the lives of five CHP supporters. At the next step, individual-based and group-based relative deprivations were added to the equation. Even though the model was significant; $\chi^2(6) = 25.15$, $p < .001$, entered variables were not significantly related. At the last step, relative deprivation fusion entered into the equation. The model was significant; $\chi^2(7) = 37.93$, $p < .001$, explained 15% of the variance, and correctly classified 66% of cases. Relative deprivation fusion was positively associated with the choice of extreme self-sacrificing behavior; $B = .37$; $SE = .11$; $Wald\ \chi^2(1) = 12.23$, $p < .001$, OR = 1.44, 95% CI OR [1.18, 1.77]. Odd ratio indicated that relative deprivation fusion increases 1.44 times more likely to sacrifice own life to save the lives of five CHP supporters (see Table 3.11).

3.6.1.2 Responses for the vignette 1 in the sample of HDP supporters

In the sample of HDP supporters, 110 (51.2%) participants chose "doing nothing to stop runaway trolley, and letting the death of five HDP supporters" whereas 105 (48.8%) participants chose "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five HDP supporters". However, all hierarchical logistic regression steps to predict extreme self-sacrificing behavior were not significant; $\chi^2(2) = 5.95$, $p = .051$; $\chi^2(4) = 6.29$, $p = .179$; $\chi^2(6) = 9.72$, $p = .137$; $\chi^2(7) = 10.31$, $p = .172$, respectively (see Table 3.11).

Table 3.11 *Hierarchical Logistic Regression Predicting the Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors of CHP, HDP, and MHP Supporters in Vignette 1*

		The Sample of CHP Supporters ($N = 320$)				
Variables	*B*	*SE B*	*Wald χ²*	*OR*	*95% CI OR*	The Model Summary
CCI	-.12	.13	.872	.889	[.694, 1.14]	Block: $χ^2(2) = 9.94$, $p = .007$;
CCIF	.36**	.14	7.02	1.44	[1.10, 1.88]	Model: $χ^2(2) = 9.94$, $p = .007$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .04$
CTI	-.25	.14	3.47	.777	[.596, 1.01]	Block: $χ^2(2) = 13.76$, $p = .001$;
CTIF	.46**	.14	11.61	1.59	[1.22, 2.08]	Model: $χ^2(4) = 23.70$, $p < .001$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .10$
CTDI	.09	.10	.821	1.10	[.898, 1.34]	Block: $χ^2(2) = 1.44$, $p = .486$;
CTDG	-.11	.10	1.27	.896	[.740, 1.08]	Model: $χ^2(6) = 25.15$, $p < .001$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .10$
CDF	.37**	.11	12.23	1.44	[1.18, 1.77]	Block: $χ^2(1) = 12.78$, $p < .001$; Model: $χ^2(7) = 37.93$, $p < .001$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .15$

		The Sample of HDP Supporters ($N = 215$)				
Variables	*B*	*SE B*	*Wald χ²*	*OR*	*95% CI OR*	The Model Summary
HHI	.06	.16	.120	1.06	[.775, 1.44]	Block: $χ^2(2) = 5.95$, $p = .051$;
HHIF	.19	.15	1.66	1.21	[.906, 1.61]	Model: $χ^2(2) = 5.95$, $p = .051$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .04$
HTI	.07	.17	.194	1.08	[.774, 1.50]	Block: $χ^2(2) = .339$, $p = .844$;
HTIF	-.10	.17	.337	.905	[.647, 1.27]	Model: $χ^2(4) = 6.29$, $p = .179$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .04$
HTDI	.01	.10	.013	1.01	[.835, 1.22]	Block: $χ^2(2) = 3.43$, $p = .180$;
HTDG	.26	.16	2.71	1.30	[.951, 1.78]	Model: $χ^2(6) = 9.72$, $p = .137$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .06$
HDF	.10	.13	.591	1.10	[.861, 1.41]	Block: $χ^2(1) = .593$, $p = .441$; Model: $χ^2(7) = 10.31$, $p = .172$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .06$

		The Sample of MHP Supporters ($N = 150$)				
Variables	*B*	*SE B*	*Wald χ²*	*OR*	*95% CI OR*	The Model Summary
MMI	-.14	.20	.530	.867	[.590, 1.27]	Block: $χ^2(2) = 8.73$, $p = .013$;
MMIF	.46*	.21	4.66	1.58	[1.04, 2.41]	Model: $χ^2(2) = 8.73$, $p = .013$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .08$
MTI	-.03	.25	.013	.972	[.594, 1.59]	Block: $χ^2(2) = .534$, $p = .766$;
MTIF	.15	.25	.366	1.16	[.711, 1.91]	Model: $χ^2(4) = 9.26$, $p = .055$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .08$
MTDI	-.05	.15	.121	.949	[.707, 1.27]	Block: $χ^2(2) = .199$, $p = .905$;
MTDG	.07	.17	.177	1.07	[.771, 1.49]	Model: $χ^2(6) = 9.46$, $p = .149$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .08$
MDF	-.04	.15	.064	.964	[.725, 1.28]	Block: $χ^2(1) = .064$, $p = .800$; Model: $χ^2(7) = 9.52$, $p = .217$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .08$

Note. **p < .01; *p < .05. The first letter of the subscript indicates participant group whereas the second letter means the reference point of the measure. E.g., at the sample of CHP supporters, group identification of CHP supporters with CHP (CCI), and with T.C citizens (CTI); identity fusion of CHP supporters with CHP (CCIF), and T.C citizens (CTIF); individual-based relative deprivation of CHP supporters (CTDI); group-based relative deprivation of CHP supporters (CTDG); relative deprivation fusion of CHP supporters (CDF). See Tables 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5 for the dependent variable (Vignette 1); the choice A was coded as 0, the choice B was coded as 1.

3.6.1.3 Responses for the vignette 1 in the sample of MHP supporters

The first model (including identification, and identity fusion with MHP) was significant; $\chi^2(2) = 8.73$, $p = .013$, explained 8% of the variance in extreme self-sacrificing behavior tendency and correctly classified 60% of cases. Identity fusion with MHP was positively associated with the choice of extreme self-sacrificing behavior; $B = .46$; $SE = .21$; $Wald \; \chi^2(1) = 4.66$, $p = .031$, OR = 1.58, 95% CI OR [1.04, 2.41]. Identity fusion with MHP increased 1.58 times more likely to sacrifice own life to save the lives of five MHP supporters due to odd ratio. The second, third, and fourth models were not significant; $\chi^2(4) = 9.26$, $p = .055$; $\chi^2(6) = 9.46$, $p = .149$; $\chi^2(7) = 9.52$, $p = .217$, respectively (see Table 3.11).

3.6.2 Vignette 2

In the second vignette, the personal identity was activated first rather than the social identity. The participant was in danger: that is a runaway trolley is about to crush and cause the death of him/her. Participants made a choice between "calling five local in-group members for help, and cause the death of them to save own life" or "sacrifice own life" (see Tables 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5).

3.6.2.1 Responses for the vignette 2 in the sample of CHP supporters

Identification and identity fusion with CHP were tested at the first step, and the model was significant; $\chi^2(2) = 15.97$, $p < .001$. The explained variance in extreme self-sacrificing behavior tendency was 7%, and the model correctly classified 62% of cases. Identification with CHP was negatively associated with the choice of extreme self-sacrificing behavior; $B = -.29$; $SE = .13$; $Wald \; \chi^2(1) = 5.03$, $p = .025$, OR = .749, 95% CI OR [.581, .964]. Odd ratio indicated that identification with CHP reduces the chance of choosing the "sacrifice own life" option .749 times, and participants prefer calling five CHP supporters for help and cause the death of them to save own life. Secondly, there was a positive association between identity fusion with CHP and extreme self-sacrificing behavior; $B = .54$; $SE = .15$; $Wald \; \chi^2(1) = 13.99$, $p < .001$, OR = 1.72, 95% CI OR [1.29, 2.28]. Identity fusion with CHP increased 1.72 times more likely to sacrifice own life rather than calling five CHP supporters.

Even though the second and third models were significant; $\chi^2(4) = 16.19$, $p = .003$; $\chi^2(6) = 17.55$, $p = .007$, respectively, the entered variables were not significantly related to extreme self-sacrificing behavior. At the last step, relative

deprivation fusion was added to the equation, and the model was significant; $\chi^2(7) = 23.11$, $p = .002$. It explained 9% of the variance, and correctly classified 62% of cases. Relative deprivation fusion was positively related to the choice of extreme self-sacrificing behavior; $B = .24$; $SE = .10$; $Wald\ \chi^2(1) = 5.44$, $p = .020$, OR = 1.27, 95% CI OR [1.04, 1.55]. According to odd ratio, relative deprivation fusion increased 1.27 times more likely to sacrifice own life rather than calling five CHP members for help and cause the death of them to save own life (see Table 3.12).

3.6.2.2 Responses for the vignette 2 in the sample of HDP supporters

In the sample of HDP supporters, 49 (22.8%) participants chose "calling five HDP supporters for help, and cause the death of them to save own life" whereas 166 (77.2%) participants chose "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five HDP supporters". However, all hierarchical logistic regression steps to predict extreme self-sacrificing behavior were not significant; $\chi^2(2) = 5.22$, $p = .074$; $\chi^2(4) = 6.35$, $p = .174$; $\chi^2(6) = 12.51$, $p = .052$; $\chi^2(7) = 12.55$, $p = .084$, respectively (see Table 3.12).

3.6.2.3 Responses for the vignette 2 in the sample of MHP supporters

At the first step, even though the model (including identification, and identity fusion with MHP) was significant; $\chi^2(2) = 6.11$, $p = .047$, entered variables were not significantly related to extreme self-sacrificing behavior. When identification and identity fusion with T.C citizens entered into the equation, the model was still significant; $\chi^2(4) = 17.23$, $p = .002$, explained 15% of the variance, and correctly classified 71% of cases. Identity fusion with T.C citizens was positively related to the choice of extreme self-sacrificing behavior; $B = .81$; $SE = .28$; $Wald\ \chi^2(1) = 8.36$, $p = .004$, OR = 2.24, 95% CI OR [1.30, 3.88]. Identity fusion with T.C citizens increased 2.24 times more likely to sacrifice own life rather than calling five MHP supporters. At the third step, when individual-based, and group-based relative deprivations were added to the equation, the model was significant; $\chi^2(6) = 22.37$, $p = .001$, explained 19% of the variance, and correctly classified 73% of cases. The group-based relative deprivation was negatively related with the choice of extreme self-sacrificing behavior; $B = -.40$; $SE = .20$; $Wald\ \chi^2(1) = 4.25$, $p = .039$, OR = .667, 95% CI OR [.455, .980]. The group-based relative deprivation decreased the chance of choosing the "sacrifice own life" option .667 times, and participants preferred calling five MHP supporters for help and

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Table 3.12 *Hierarchical Logistic Regression Predicting the Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors of CHP, HDP, and MHP Supporters in Vignette 2*

	The Sample of CHP Supporters ($N = 320$)					
Variables	*B*	*SE B*	*Wald χ^2*	*OR*	*95% CI OR*	The Model Summary
CCI	-.29*	.13	5.03	.749	[.581, .964]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 15.97$, $p < .001$;
CCIF	.54**	.15	13.99	1.72	[1.29, 2.28]	Model: $\chi^2(2) = 15.97$, $p < .001$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .07$
CTI	.00	.13	.000	1.00	[.777, 1.29]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = .217$, $p = .897$;
CTIF	-.04	.13	.100	.960	[.745, 1.24]	Model: $\chi^2(4) = 16.19$, $p = .003$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .07$
CTDI	-.12	.10	1.34	.891	[.732, 1.08]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 1.36$, $p = .506$;
CTDG	.04	.10	.180	1.04	[.865, 1.25]	Model: $\chi^2(6) = 17.55$, $p = .007$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .07$
CDF	.24*	.10	5.44	1.27	[1.04, 1.55]	Block: $\chi^2(1) = 5.56$, $p = .018$; Model: $\chi^2(7) = 23.11$, $p = .002$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .09$

	The Sample of HDP Supporters ($N = 215$)					
Variables	*B*	*SE B*	*Wald χ^2*	*OR*	*95% CI OR*	The Model Summary
HHI	.04	.19	.055	1.05	[.725, 1.51]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 5.22$, $p = .074$;
HHIF	.23	.18	1.65	1.26	[.886, 1.79]	Model: $\chi^2(2) = 5.22$, $p = .074$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .04$
HTI	.19	.20	.827	1.20	[.808, 1.79]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 1.13$, $p = .568$;
HTIF	-.22	.20	1.12	.807	[.542, 1.20]	Model: $\chi^2(4) = 6.35$, $p = .174$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .04$
HTDI	.13	.12	1.25	1.14	[.907, 1.43]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 6.15$, $p = .046$;
HTDG	.27	.16	2.89	1.31	[.960, 1.78]	Model: $\chi^2(6) = 12.51$, $p = .052$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .09$
HDF	.03	.15	.043	1.03	[.768, 1.39]	Block: $\chi^2(1) = .043$, $p = .837$; Model: $\chi^2(7) = 12.55$, $p = .084$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .09$

	The Sample of MHP Supporters ($N = 150$)					
Variables	*B*	*SE B*	*Wald χ^2*	*OR*	*95% CI OR*	The Model Summary
MMI	-.08	.21	.133	.928	[.619, 1.39]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 6.11$, $p = .047$;
MMIF	.37	.23	2.71	1.45	[.932, 2.25]	Model: $\chi^2(2) = 6.11$, $p = .047$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .06$
MTI	-.27	.27	1.05	.762	[.453, 1.28]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 11.12$, $p = .004$;
MTIF	.81**	.28	8.36	2.24	[1.30, 3.88]	Model: $\chi^2(4) = 17.23$, $p = .002$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .15$
MTDI	.07	.17	.169	1.07	[.771, 1.49]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 5.14$, $p = .077$;
MTDG	-.40*	.20	4.25	.667	[.455, .980]	Model: $\chi^2(6) = 22.37$, $p = .001$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .19$
MDF	.27	.16	2.81	1.31	[.955, 1.80]	Block: $\chi^2(1) = 2.84$, $p = .092$; Model: $\chi^2(7) = 25.22$, $p = .001$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .22$

Note. **$p < .01$; *$p < .05$. The first letter of the subscript indicates participant group whereas the second letter means the reference point of the measure. E.g., at the sample of HDP supporters, group identification of HDP supporters with HDP (HHI), and with T.C citizens (HTI); identity fusion of HDP supporters with HDP (HHIF), and T.C citizens (HTIF); individual-based relative deprivation of HDP supporters (HTDI); group-based relative deprivation of HDP supporters (HTDG); relative deprivation fusion of HDP supporters (HDF). See Tables 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5 for the dependent variable (Vignette 2); the choice A was coded as 0, the choice B was coded as 1.

caused the death of them to save own life. When the relative deprivation fusion was added to the equation at the last step, the model was significant; $\chi^2(7) = 25.22$, $p = .001$, but the entered variable was not significantly related to extreme self-sacrificing behavior (see Table 3.12).

3.6.3 Vignette 3

In the third vignette, extreme self-sacrificing behavior to save the lives of five extended in-group members (T.C citizens) versus the life of a local in-group member (supporter of own political party) was tested. Based on the scenario, a runaway trolley is about to crush five extended in-group members. Participants made a choice among "doing nothing to stop runaway trolley, and letting the death of five extended in-group members", "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five extended in-group members", or "change the track of trolley, and cause the death of a local in-group member to save the lives of five extended in-group members" (see Tables 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5).

3.6.3.1 Responses for the vignette 3 in the sample of CHP supporters

Discriminant function analysis was conducted to predict the choices of CHP supporters in the vignette 3 using the seven main variables of the study (see Table 3.13). The homogeneity of variance-covariance assumption was met; *Box's M* = 52.18, *F*(56, 182489.16) = .900, *p* = .685. Two discriminant functions were calculated. The first function was significant; *Wilks' λ* = .806; $\chi^2(14) = 67.54$, $p < .001$. Explained variance was 18% by the first function. The second discriminant function was not significant; $\chi^2(6) = 6.55$, $p = .365$.

The first discriminant function maximally discriminated the choices "doing nothing to stop runaway trolley, and letting the death of five T.C citizens", and "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five extended T.C citizens". Significant predictors of the first function were identity fusion with the group of T.C citizens (*r* = .78), relative deprivation fusion (*r* = .49), and identification with the group of T.C citizens (*r* = .46). CHP supporters who chose to sacrifice own life for saving the lives of five T.C citizens indicated greater identity fusion with T.C citizens, greater relative deprivation fusion, and greater identification with T.C citizens in comparison to CHP supporters who chose to do nothing to save T.C citizens.

Table 3.13 *Discriminant Function Analysis, and Hierarchical Logistic Regression Predicting the Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors of CHP, HDP, and MHP Supporters in Vignette 3*

	The Sample of CHP Supporters ($N = 320$)					
	Correlations of Predicted Variables with Functions					
Variables	Function 1	Function 2			Function 1	Function 2
CCI	-.01	-.54	*R^2*	*Canonical*	.18	.02
CCIF	.26	-.39				
CTI	.46*	.03		*Eigenvalue*	.21	.02
CTIF	.78*	-.04				
CTDI	.00	.38		*Wilks' λ*	.806	.979
CTDG	-.15	.65				
CDF	.49*	-.03		*χ^2*	67.54**	6.55

	The Sample of HDP Supporters ($N = 215$)					
	Correlations of Predicted Variables with Functions					
Variables	Function 1	Function 2			Function 1	Function 2
HHI	.62	.36	*R^2*	*Canonical*	.06	.02
HHIF	.38	.82				
HTI	.74	-.05		*Eigenvalue*	.07	.02
HTIF	.48	.19				
HTDI	.18	.43		*Wilks' λ*	.919	.979
HTDG	.29	.23				
HDF	.50	.35		*χ^2*	17.58	4.40

	The Sample of MHP Supporters ($N = 150$)				
Variables	*B*	*SE B*	*Wald χ^2*	*OR*	*95% CI OR*	The Model Summary
MMI	.14	.20	.508	1.15	[.778, 1.71]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = .930$, $p = .628$;
MMIF	-.20	.21	.901	.818	[.541, 1.24]	Model: $\chi^2(2) = .930$, $p = .628$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .01$
MTI	.07	.26	.072	1.07	[.646, 1.78]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = .148$, $p = .928$;
MTIF	-.11	.28	.148	.899	[.523, 1.55]	Model: $\chi^2(4) = 1.08$, $p = .898$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .01$
MTDI	.17	.15	1.27	1.19	[.880, 1.61]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 2.51$, $p = .285$;
MTDG	.08	.18	.180	1.08	[.760, 1.53]	Model: $\chi^2(6) = 3.59$, $p = .732$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .04$
MDF	-.13	.15	.758	.879	[.657, 1.18]	Block: $\chi^2(1) = .761$, $p = .383$; Model: $\chi^2(7) = 4.35$, $p = .738$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .04$

Note. **$p < .01$; *$p < .05$. The first letter of the subscript indicates participant group whereas the second letter means the reference point of the measure. E.g., at the sample of MHP supporters, group identification of MHP supporters with MHP (MMI), and with T.C citizens (MTI); identity fusion of MHP supporters with MHP (MMIF), and T.C citizens (MTIF); individual-based relative deprivation of MHP supporters (MTDI); group-based relative deprivation of MHP supporters (MTDG); relative deprivation fusion of MHP supporters (MDF). See Tables 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5 for the dependent variable (Vignette 3). The choice B was coded as 0, the choice C was coded as 1, the choice A was removed from the equation due to its low sample size ($< 20\%$) in the sample of MHP supporters. There were three choice options for CHP supporters and HDP supporters; that is why the discriminant function analysis was conducted for these samples.

3.6.3.2 Responses for the vignette 3 in the sample of HDP supporters

Discriminant function analysis was conducted to predict the choices of HDP supporters in the vignette 3 using the seven main variables of the study (see Table 3.13). The homogeneity of variance-covariance assumption was met; *Box's M =* 58.99, *F*(56, 94838.09) = 1.00, *p* = .471. Two discriminant functions were calculated; but both of them were not significant; $\chi^2(14) = 17.58$, *p* = .227; $\chi^2(6) = 4.40$, *p* = .623, respectively.

3.6.3.3 Responses for the vignette 3 in the sample of MHP supporters

Among 150 MHP supporters, only 17 (11.3%) participants chose "doing nothing to stop runaway trolley, and letting the death of five T.C citizens, and this option was removed from the analysis due to its low sample size. The hierarchical logistic regression analysis was conducted to test the choice of participants as "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five T.C citizens", or "change the track of trolley, and cause the death of a MHP supporter to save the lives of five T.C citizens". All hierarchical logistic regression steps were not significant; $\chi^2(2) = .930$, *p* = .628; $\chi^2(4) = 1.08$, *p* = .898; $\chi^2(6) = 3.59$, *p* = .732; $\chi^2(7) = 4.35$, *p* = .738, respectively (see Table 3.13)

3.6.4 Vignette 4

Extreme self-sacrificing behavior on the behalf of extended in-group (T.C citizens) versus one of the local out-groups (supporters of the ruling party, AKP) was compared in the fourth vignette. Both extended in-group members and local out-group members were in danger at the same time: that is two runaway trolleys are about to crush and cause the death of both five extended in-group members and five local out-group members in two parallel railways. Participants made a choice among "doing nothing to stop runaway trolleys, and letting the death of both five extended in-group members and five local out-group members", "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five extended in-group members, and letting the death of local out-group members", or "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five local out-group members, and letting the death of extended in-group members" (see Tables 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5).

3.6.4.1 Responses for the vignette 4 in the sample of CHP supporters

Among 320 CHP supporters, 2 (.6%) participants chose to sacrifice own life for saving the lives of five AKP supporters, and this option was removed from the analysis due to its low sample size. The hierarchical logistic regression analysis was conducted to test the choice of participants as "doing nothing to stop runaway trolleys, and letting the death of both five T.C citizens and five AKP supporters", or "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five T.C citizens, and letting the death of five AKP supporters". The first model (including identification, and identity fusion with CHP) was not significant; $\chi^2(2) = 1.77$, $p = .413$. Identification and identity fusion with T.C citizens variables entered into the equation at the second step. The model was significant; $\chi^2(4) = 19.57$, $p = .001$, explained 8% of the variance in self-sacrificing behavior, and correctly classified 61% of cases. Identity fusion with T.C citizens was positively associated with the choice of extreme self-sacrificing behavior; $B = .47$; $SE = .14$; $Wald\ \chi^2(1) = 12.09$, $p = .001$, OR = 1.61, 95% CI OR [1.23, 2.10]. Identity fusion with T.C citizens increased 1.61 times more likely to sacrifice own life to save the lives of five T.C citizens and let the death of five AKP supporters. At the third step, individual-based and group-based relative deprivations were added to the equation. Even though the model was significant; $\chi^2(6) = 20.80$, $p = .002$, entered variables were not significantly related. At the last step, relative deprivation fusion entered into the equation. The model was significant; $\chi^2(7) = 35.58$, $p < .001$, explained 14% of the variance, and correctly classified 64% of cases. Relative deprivation fusion was positively associated with the choice of extreme self-sacrificing behavior; $B = .40$; $SE = .11$; $Wald\ \chi^2(1) = 13.91$, $p < .001$, OR = 1.49, 95% CI OR [1.21, 1.84]. The relative deprivation fusion increased 1.49 times more likely to sacrifice own life to save the lives of five T.C citizens when five AKP supporters were in danger at the same time (see Table 3.14).

3.6.4.2 Responses for the vignette 4 in the sample of HDP supporters

Among 215 HDP supporters, no participant chose to sacrifice own life for saving the lives of five AKP supporters, and this option was removed from the analysis. The hierarchical logistic regression analysis was conducted to test the choice of participants as "doing nothing to stop runaway trolleys, and letting the death of both five T.C citizens and five AKP supporters", or "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five T.C citizens, and letting the death of five AKP supporters".

The first model was not significant; $\chi^2(2) = 1.76$, $p = .415$. When identification and identity fusion with T.C citizens were added to the analysis, the model was significant; $\chi^2(4) = 10.44$, $p = .034$, but the entered variables were not significant predictors. In the third model, individual-based and group-based relative deprivations were added to the equation. The model was significant; $\chi^2(6) = 16.63$, $p = .011$, explained 10% of the variance, and correctly classified 66% of cases. Group-based relative deprivation was positively related to the choice of extreme self-sacrificing behavior; $B = .44$; $SE = .20$; $Wald \chi^2(1) = 4.96$, $p = .026$, OR = 1.55, 95% CI OR [1.05, 2.27]. Group-based relative deprivation increased 1.55 times more likely to sacrifice own life to save the lives of five T.C citizens and let the death of five AKP supporters. At the last model, relative deprivation fusion entered into the equation. The model was significant; $\chi^2(7) = 17.13$, $p = .017$, but relative deprivation fusion did not significantly predict the extreme self-sacrificing behavior (see Table 3.14).

3.6.4.3 Responses for the vignette 4 in the sample of MHP supporters

Among 150 MHP supporters, 2 (1.3%) participant chose to sacrifice own life for saving the lives of five AKP supporters, and this option was removed from the analysis. The hierarchical logistic regression analysis was conducted to test the choice of participants as "doing nothing to stop runaway trolleys, and letting the death of both five T.C citizens and five AKP supporters", or "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five T.C citizens, and letting the death of five AKP supporters". The first model was not significant; $\chi^2(2) = 4.01$, $p = .134$. When identification and identity fusion with T.C citizens variables entered into equation, the model became significant; $\chi^2(4) = 10.66$, $p = .031$, but entered variables were not significant predictors. When deprivation variables were added, the third and fourth steps of the analysis were not significant; $\chi^2(6) = 11.23$, $p = .082$; $\chi^2(7) = 12.57$, $p = .083$, respectively (see Table 3.14).

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Table 3.14 *Hierarchical Logistic Regression Predicting the Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors of CHP, HDP, and MHP Supporters in Vignette 4*

				The Sample of CHP Supporters ($N = 320$)		
Variables	*B*	*SE B*	*Wald χ^2*	*OR*	*95% CI OR*	The Model Summary
CCI	-.08	.13	.399	.924	[.722, 1.18]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 1.77$, $p = .413$;
CCIF	.17	.14	1.55	1.18	[.908, 1.54]	Model: $\chi^2(2) = 1.77$, $p = .413$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .01$
CTI	-.17	.14	1.51	.847	[.650, 1.10]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 17.80$, $p < .001$;
CTIF	.47**	.14	12.09	1.61	[1.23, 2.10]	Model: $\chi^2(4) = 19.57$, $p = .001$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .08$
CTDI	.11	.10	1.22	1.12	[.916, 1.37]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 1.23$, $p = .541$;
CTDG	-.05	.10	.274	.950	[.784, 1.15]	Model: $\chi^2(6) = 20.80$, $p = .002$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .09$
CDF	.40**	.11	13.91	1.49	[1.21, 1.84]	Block: $\chi^2(1) = 14.79$, $p < .001$; Model: $\chi^2(7) = 35.58$, $p < .001$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .14$

				The Sample of HDP Supporters ($N = 215$)		
Variables	*B*	*SE B*	*Wald χ^2*	*OR*	*95% CI OR*	The Model Summary
HHI	.06	.16	.133	1.06	[.770, 1.47]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 1.76$, $p = .415$;
HHIF	.08	.15	.292	1.09	[.806, 1.46]	Model: $\chi^2(2) = 1.76$, $p = .415$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .01$
HTI	.30	.18	2.95	1.35	[.958, 1.91]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 8.68$, $p = .013$;
HTIF	.02	.18	.007	1.02	[.720, 1.43]	Model: $\chi^2(4) = 10.44$, $p = .034$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .07$
HTDI	-.02	.10	.040	.980	[.801, 1.20]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 6.19$, $p = .045$;
HTDG	.44*	.20	4.96	1.55	[1.05, 2.27]	Model: $\chi^2(6) = 16.63$, $p = .011$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .10$
HDF	.09	.13	.491	1.10	[.845, 1.43]	Block: $\chi^2(1) = .495$, $p = .482$; Model: $\chi^2(7) = 17.13$, $p = .017$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .11$

				The Sample of MHP Supporters ($N = 150$)		
Variables	*B*	*SE B*	*Wald χ^2*	*OR*	*95% CI OR*	The Model Summary
MMI	-.23	.20	1.22	.798	[.535, 1.19]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 4.01$, $p = .134$;
MMIF	.40	.22	3.28	1.49	[.968, 2.28]	Model: $\chi^2(2) = 4.01$, $p = .134$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .04$
MTI	.23	.26	.786	1.26	[.758, 2.08]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 6.64$, $p = .036$;
MTIF	.31	.26	1.40	1.36	[.815, 2.28]	Model: $\chi^2(4) = 10.66$, $p = .031$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .10$
MTDI	-.06	.16	.144	.942	[.691, 1.28]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = .573$, $p = .751$;
MTDG	.13	.18	.572	1.14	[.808, 1.62]	Model: $\chi^2(6) = 11.23$, $p = .082$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .10$
MDF	.18	.15	1.34	1.19	[.884, 1.61]	Block: $\chi^2(1) = 1.34$, $p = .247$; Model: $\chi^2(7) = 12.57$, $p = .083$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .11$

Note. **p < .01; *p < .05. The first letter of the subscript indicates participant group whereas the second letter means the reference point of the measure. E.g., at the sample of CHP supporters, group identification of CHP supporters with CHP (CCI), and with T.C citizens (CTI); identity fusion of CHP supporters with CHP (CCIF), and T.C citizens (CTIF); individual-based relative deprivation of CHP supporters (CTDI); group-based relative deprivation of CHP supporters (CTDG); relative deprivation fusion of CHP supporters (CDF). See Tables 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5 for the dependent variable (Vignette 4); the choice A was coded as 0, the choice B was coded as 1, the choice C was removed from the equation due to its low sample size in samples of CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters (< 20%).

3.6.5 Vignette 5

Extreme self-sacrificing behavior on the behalf of extended in-group (T.C citizens) versus one of the local out-groups (supporters of HDP for the CHP sample; supporters of CHP for the HDP sample; supporters of CHP for the MHP sample) was compared in the fifth vignette. Both extended in-group members and local out-group members were in danger at the same time: that is two runaway trolleys are about to crush and cause the death of both five extended in-group members and five local out-group members in two parallel railways. Participants made a choice among "doing nothing to stop runaway trolleys, and letting the death of both five extended in-group members and five local out-group members", "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five extended in-group members, and letting the death of local out-group members", or "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five local out-group members, and letting the death of extended in-group members" (see Tables 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5).

3.6.5.1 Responses for the vignette 5 in the sample of CHP supporters

In the sample of CHP supporters ($N = 320$), 5 (1.6%) participants chose to sacrifice own life for saving the lives of five HDP supporters, and this option was removed from the analysis due to its low sample size. The hierarchical logistic regression analysis was conducted to test the choice of participants as "doing nothing to stop runaway trolleys, and letting the death of both five T.C citizens and five HDP supporters", or "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five T.C citizens, and letting the death of five HDP supporters". The first model was not significant; $\chi^2(2) = 1.56$, $p = .458$. Identification and identity fusion with T.C citizens variables entered into the equation at the second step, and the model became significant; $\chi^2(4) = 26.74$, $p < .001$. The explained variance was 11%, and 62% of cases were correctly classified. Identity fusion with T.C citizens was positively associated with the choice of extreme self-sacrificing behavior; $B = .50$; $SE = .14$; *Wald* $\chi^2(1) = 12.81$, $p < .001$, OR = 1.64, 95% CI OR [1.25, 2.16]. Identity fusion with T.C citizens increased 1.64 times more likely to sacrifice own life to save the lives of five T.C citizens, and let the death of five HDP supporters. At the third step, individual-based and group-based relative deprivations were added to the equation. Even though the model was significant; $\chi^2(6) = 29.07$, $p < .001$, the entered variables were not significant predictors. At the last step, relative deprivation fusion

entered into the equation. The model was significant; $\chi^2(7) = 40.01$, $p < .001$, explained 16% of the variance, and correctly classified 65% of cases. Relative deprivation fusion was positively associated with the choice of extreme self-sacrificing behavior; $B = .35$; $SE = .11$; $Wald\ \chi^2(1) = 10.47$, $p = .001$, OR = 1.42, 95% CI OR [1.15, 1.75]. The relative deprivation fusion increased 1.42 times more likely to sacrifice own life to save the lives of five T.C citizens when five HDP supporters were in danger at the same time (see Table 3.15).

3.6.5.2 Responses for the vignette 5 in the sample of HDP supporters

Among 215 HDP supporters, 29 (13.5%) participants chose to sacrifice own life for saving the lives of five CHP supporters, and this option was removed from the analysis due to its low sample size. The hierarchical logistic regression analysis was conducted to test the choice of participants as "doing nothing to stop runaway trolleys, and letting the death of both five T.C citizens and five CHP supporters", or "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five T.C citizens, and letting the death of five CHP supporters". The first step was not significant; $\chi^2(2) = 5.44$, $p = .066$. The second, third, and fourth steps were significant; $\chi^2(4) = 13.75$, $p = .008$; $\chi^2(6) = 19.19$, $p = .004$; $\chi^2(7) = 19.32$, $p = .007$, respectively, but the entered variables did not significantly predict the extreme self-sacrificing behavior (see Table 3.15).

3.6.5.3 Responses for the vignette 5 in the sample of MHP supporters

Among 150 MHP supporters, 3 (2%) participants chose to sacrifice own life for saving the lives of five CHP supporters, and this option was removed from the analysis due to its low sample size. The hierarchical logistic regression analysis was conducted to test the choice of participants as "doing nothing to stop runaway trolleys, and letting the death of both five T.C citizens and five CHP supporters", or "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five T.C citizens, and letting the death of five CHP supporters". The first step (including identification and identity fusion with MHP) was significant; $\chi^2(2) = 6.43$, $p = .040$, explained 6% of the variance, and classified correctly 68% of cases. Identity fusion with MHP was positively related to the choice of extreme self-sacrificing behavior; $B = .54$; $SE = .23$; $Wald\ \chi^2(1) = 5.33$, $p = .021$, OR = 1.72, 95% CI OR [1.09, 2.72]. The identity fusion with MHP increased 1.72 times more likely to sacrifice own life to save the lives of five T.C citizens when five CHP supporters were in danger at the same time. The second,

Table 3.15 *Hierarchical Logistic Regression Predicting the Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors of CHP, HDP, and MHP Supporters in Vignette 5*

			The Sample of CHP Supporters ($N = 320$)			
Variables	*B*	*SE B*	*Wald χ^2*	*OR*	*95% CI OR*	The Model Summary
CCI	-.10	.13	.657	.902	[.702, 1.16]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 1.56$, $p = .458$;
CCIF	.17	.14	1.52	1.18	[.905, 1.55]	Model: $\chi^2(2) = 1.56$, $p = .458$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .01$
CTI	-.07	.14	.233	.963	[.715, 1.23]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 25.17$, $p < .001$;
CTIF	.50**	.14	12.81	1.64	[1.25, 2.16]	Model: $\chi^2(4) = 26.74$, $p < .001$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .11$
CTDI	.16	.11	2.23	1.17	[.952, 1.44]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 2.33$, $p = .312$;
CTDG	-.05	.10	.226	.953	[.780, 1.16]	Model: $\chi^2(6) = 29.07$, $p < .001$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .12$
CDF	.35**	.11	10.47	1.42	[1.15, 1.75]	Block: $\chi^2(1) = 10.95$, $p = .001$; Model: $\chi^2(7) = 40.01$, $p < .001$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .16$

			The Sample of HDP Supporters ($N = 215$)			
Variables	*B*	*SE B*	*Wald χ^2*	*OR*	*95% CI OR*	The Model Summary
HHI	.03	.20	.024	1.03	[.701, 1.52]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 5.44$, $p = .066$;
HHIF	.24	.18	1.84	1.28	[.897, 1.82]	Model: $\chi^2(2) = 5.44$, $p = .066$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .04$
HTI	.32	.20	2.38	1.37	[.918, 2.05]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 8.31$, $p = .016$;
HTIF	.06	.20	.103	1.07	[.722, 1.58]	Model: $\chi^2(4) = 13.75$, $p = .008$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .11$
HTDI	.16	.13	1.49	1.17	[.908, 1.51]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 5.44$, $p = .066$;
HTDG	.34	.25	1.94	1.41	[.870, 2.28]	Model: $\chi^2(6) = 19.19$, $p = .004$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .14$
HDF	.06	.16	.128	1.06	[.769, 1.46]	Block: $\chi^2(1) = .129$, $p = .720$; Model: $\chi^2(7) = 19.32$, $p = .007$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .15$

			The Sample of MHP Supporters ($N = 150$)			
Variables	*B*	*SE B*	*Wald χ^2*	*OR*	*95% CI OR*	The Model Summary
MMI	-.33	.22	2.31	.720	[.472, 1.10]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 6.43$, $p = .040$;
MMIF	.54*	.23	5.33	1.72	[1.09, 2.72]	Model: $\chi^2(2) = 6.43$, $p = .040$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .06$
MTI	.36	.27	1.78	1.43	[.847, 2.41]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 6.24$, $p = .044$;
MTIF	.16	.27	.376	1.18	[.698, 1.99]	Model: $\chi^2(4) = 12.67$, $p = .013$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .12$
MTDI	-.07	.16	.167	.936	[.681, 1.29]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = .169$, $p = .919$;
MTDG	.05	.18	.065	1.05	[.730, 1.50]	Model: $\chi^2(6) = 12.84$, $p = .046$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .12$
MDF	.30	.16	3.47	1.35	[.985, 1.84]	Block: $\chi^2(1) = 3.53$, $p = .060$; Model: $\chi^2(7) = 16.37$, $p = .022$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .15$

Note. **$p < .01$; *$p < .05$. The first letter of the subscript indicates participant group whereas the second letter means the reference point of the measure. E.g., at the sample of HDP supporters, group identification of HDP supporters with HDP (HHI), and with T.C citizens (HTI); identity fusion of HDP supporters with HDP (HHIF), and T.C citizens (HTIF); individual-based relative deprivation of HDP supporters (HTDI); group-based relative deprivation of HDP supporters (HTDG); relative deprivation fusion of HDP supporters (HDF). See Tables 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5 for the dependent variable (Vignette 5); the choice A was coded as 0, the choice B was coded as 1, the choice C was removed from the equation due to its low sample size in samples of CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters (< 20%).

third, and fourth steps were significant; $\chi^2(4) = 12.67$, $p = .013$; $\chi^2(6) = 12.84$, $p = .046$; $\chi^2(7) = 16.37$, $p = .022$, respectively, but the entered variables did not significantly predict the extreme self-sacrificing behavior (see Table 3.15).

3.6.6 Vignette 6

Extreme self-sacrificing behavior on the behalf of extended in-group (T.C citizens) versus one of the local out-groups (supporters of MHP for the CHP sample; supporters of MHP for the HDP sample; supporters of HDP for the MHP sample) was compared in the sixth vignette. Both extended in-group members and local out-group members were in danger at the same time: that is two runaway trolleys are about to crush and cause the death of both five extended in-group members and five local out-group members in two parallel railways. Participants made a choice among "doing nothing to stop runaway trolleys, and letting the death of both five extended in-group members and five local out-group members", "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five extended in-group members, and letting the death of local out-group members", or "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five local out-group members, and letting the death of extended in-group members" (see Tables 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5).

3.6.6.1 Responses for the vignette 6 in the sample of CHP supporters

Among 320 CHP supporter, 3 (.9%) participants chose to sacrifice own life for saving the lives of five MHP supporters, and this option was removed from the analysis. The hierarchical logistic regression analysis was conducted to test the choice of participants as "doing nothing to stop runaway trolleys, and letting the death of both five T.C citizens and five MHP supporters", or "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five T.C citizens, and letting the death of five MHP supporters". The first model was not significant; $\chi^2(2) = 1.56$, $p = .459$. Identification and identity fusion with T.C citizens variables entered into the equation at the second step, and the model became significant; $\chi^2(4) = 23.14$, $p < .001$. The explained variance was 10%, and 61% of cases were correctly classified. Identity fusion with T.C citizens was positively related to the choice of extreme self-sacrificing behavior; $B = .49$; $SE = .14$; $Wald \chi^2(1) = 12.69$, $p < .001$, OR = 1.63, 95% CI OR [1.25, 2.13]. Identity fusion with T.C citizens increased 1.63 times more likely to sacrifice own life to save the lives of five T.C citizens and let the death of five MHP supporters. At the third step, individual-based and group-based relative deprivations

were added to the equation. Even though the model was significant; : $\chi^2(6) = 24.63$, $p < .001$, the entered variables were not significant predictors. At the last step, relative deprivation fusion entered into the equation. The model was significant; $\chi^2(7) = 45.19$, $p < .001$, explained 18% of the variance, and correctly classified 65% of cases. Relative deprivation fusion was positively associated with the choice of extreme self-sacrificing behavior; $B = .48$; $SE = .11$; $Wald\ \chi^2(1) = 18.80$, $p < .001$, OR = 1.62, 95% CI OR [1.30, 2.01]. The relative deprivation fusion increased 1.62 times more likely to sacrifice own life to save the lives of five T.C citizens when five MHP supporters were in danger at the same time (see Table 3.16).

3.6.6.2 Responses for the vignette 6 in the sample of HDP supporters

Among 215 HDP supporters, no participant chose to sacrifice own life for saving the lives of five MHP supporters, and this option was removed from the analysis. The hierarchical logistic regression analysis was performed to test the choice of participants as "doing nothing to stop runaway trolleys, and letting the death of both five T.C citizens and five MHP supporters", or "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five T.C citizens, and letting the death of five MHP supporters". The first step was not significant; $\chi^2(2) = 2.69$, $p = .261$. When identification and identity fusion with T.C citizens variables were added, the model became significant; $\chi^2(4) = 12.41$, $p = .015$, but variables in the model were not significant. At the third step, individual-based and group-based deprivations entered into the equation. The third model was significant; $\chi^2(6) = 18.20$, $p = .006$, explained 11% of the variance, and classified correctly 68% of cases. Group-based relative deprivation positively predicted the extreme self-sacrificing behavior; $B = .44$; $SE = .20$; $Wald\ \chi^2(1) = 4.70$, $p = .030$, OR = 1.54, 95% CI OR [1.04, 2.29]. The group-based deprivation increased 1.54 times more likely to sacrifice own life to save the lives of five T.C citizens when five MHP supporters were in danger at the same time. At the last model, relative deprivation fusion was added. The model was significant; $\chi^2(7) = 18.30$, $p = .011$, but the added variable did not predict the self-sacrificing behavior. (see Table 3.16).

Table 3.16 *Hierarchical Logistic Regression Predicting the Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors of CHP, HDP, and MHP Supporters in Vignette 6*

			The Sample of CHP Supporters ($N = 320$)			
Variables	*B*	*SE B*	*Wald χ^2*	*OR*	*95% CI OR*	The Model Summary
CCI	-.10	.13	.577	.908	[.709, 1.16]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 1.56$, $p = .459$;
CCIF	.17	.14	1.49	1.18	[.905, 1.54]	Model: $\chi^2(2) = 1.56$, $p = .459$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .01$
CTI	-.12	.14	.791	.886	[.679, 1.16]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 21.58$, $p < .001$;
CTIF	.49**	.14	12.69	1.63	[1.25, 2.13]	Model: $\chi^2(4) = 23.14$, $p < .001$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .10$
CTDI	.13	.10	1.48	1.13	[.926, 1.39]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 1.50$, $p = .473$;
CTDG	-.07	.10	.438	.936	[.771, 1.14]	Model: $\chi^2(6) = 24.63$, $p < .001$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .10$
CDF	.48**	.11	18.80	1.62	[1.30, 2.01]	Block: $\chi^2(1) = 20.56$, $p < .001$; Model: $\chi^2(7) = 45.19$, $p < .001$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .18$

			The Sample of HDP Supporters ($N = 215$)			
Variables	*B*	*SE B*	*Wald χ^2*	*OR*	*95% CI OR*	The Model Summary
HHI	-.00	.17	.000	.998	[.719, 1.38]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 2.69$, $p = .261$;
HHIF	.16	.15	1.13	1.18	[.870, 1.60]	Model: $\chi^2(2) = 2.69$, $p = .261$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .02$
HTI	.30	.18	2.77	1.35	[.949, 1.91]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 9.72$, $p = .008$;
HTIF	.05	.18	.079	1.05	[.743, 1.49]	Model: $\chi^2(4) = 12.41$, $p = .015$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .08$
HTDI	-.03	.10	.061	.975	[.795, 1.20]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 5.79$, $p = .055$;
HTDG	.44*	.20	4.70	1.54	[1.04, 2.29]	Model: $\chi^2(6) = 18.20$, $p = .006$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .11$
HDF	.04	.14	.107	1.05	[.802, 1.36]	Block: $\chi^2(1) = .107$, $p = .744$; Model: $\chi^2(7) = 18.30$, $p = .011$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .11$

			The Sample of MHP Supporters ($N = 150$)			
Variables	*B*	*SE B*	*Wald χ^2*	*OR*	*95% CI OR*	The Model Summary
MMI	-.02	.23	.011	.977	[.628, 1.52]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 6.14$, $p = .047$;
MMIF	.36	.25	2.07	1.43	[.878, 2.33]	Model: $\chi^2(2) = 6.14$, $p = .047$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .06$
MTI	.28	.28	1.01	1.32	[.766, 2.29]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 8.45$, $p = .015$;
MTIF	.35	.29	1.52	1.42	[.812, 2.50]	Model: $\chi^2(4) = 14.58$, $p = .006$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .14$
MTDI	.01	.18	.003	1.01	[.715, 1.43]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = .005$, $p = .998$;
MTDG	.00	.20	.000	1.00	[.680, 1.47]	Model: $\chi^2(6) = 14.59$, $p = .024$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .14$
MDF	.17	.17	.941	1.18	[.843, 1.66]	Block: $\chi^2(1) = .941$, $p = .332$; Model: $\chi^2(7) = 15.53$, $p = .030$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .15$

Note. **p < .01; *p < .05. The first letter of the subscript indicates participant group whereas the second letter means the reference point of the measure. E.g., at the sample of MHP supporters, group identification of MHP supporters with MHP (MMI), and with T.C citizens (MTI); identity fusion of MHP supporters with MHP (MMIF), and T.C citizens (MTIF); individual-based relative deprivation of MHP supporters (MTDI); group-based relative deprivation of MHP supporters (MTDG); relative deprivation fusion of MHP supporters (MDF). See Tables 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5 for the dependent variable (Vignette 6); the choice A was coded as 0, the choice B was coded as 1, the choice C was removed from the equation due to its low sample size in samples of CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters (< 20%).

3.6.6.3 Responses for the vignette 6 in the sample of MHP supporters

Among 150 MHP supporters, 3 (2%) participants chose to sacrifice own life for saving the lives of five HDP supporters, and this option was removed from the analysis. The hierarchical logistic regression analysis was conducted to test the choice of participants as "doing nothing to stop runaway trolleys, and letting the death of both five T.C citizens and five HDP supporters", or "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five T.C citizens, and letting the death of five HDP supporters". All four steps were significant; $\chi^2(2) = 6.14$, $p = .047$; $\chi^2(4) = 14.58$, $p = .006$; $\chi^2(6) = 14.59$, $p = .024$; $\chi^2(7) = 15.53$, $p = .030$, respectively, but the entered variables did not significantly predict the extreme self-sacrificing behavior (see Table 3.16).

3.6.7 Vignette 7

The seventh vignette tested extreme self-sacrificing behavior tendency of participants when members of three local out-groups (supporters of HDP, MHP, and AKP for the CHP sample; supporters of CHP, MHP, and AKP for the HDP sample; supporters of CHP, HDP, and AKP for the MHP sample) were in danger at the same time. According to the vignette, three runaway trolleys are about to crash and cause the death of local out-group members in three parallel railways. Participants made a choice among "doing nothing to stop runaway trolleys, and letting the death of all three local out-groups' members", "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five local out-group members (one of the local out-groups)", "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five local out-group members (one of the local out-groups)" or "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five local out-group members (one of the local out-groups)" (see Tables 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5).

3.6.7.1 Responses for the vignette 7 in the sample of CHP supporters

In the sample of CHP supporters ($N = 320$), 28 (8.8%) participants chose to sacrifice own life for saving the lives of five HDP supporters, and only 2 (.6%) participants tended to save the lives of five AKP supporters. These options were removed from the analysis. The hierarchical logistic regression analysis was conducted to test the choice of participants as "doing nothing to stop runaway trolleys, and letting the death of all three local out-groups' members", or "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five MHP supporters". The first model was significant; $\chi^2(2) = 6.61$, $p = .037$, but the tested variables did not predict the extreme self-

sacrificing behavior. Identification and identity fusion with T.C citizens variables entered into the equation at the second step, and the model was significant; $\chi^2(4) = 33.52$, $p < .001$, explained 19% of the variance, and classified correctly 86% of cases. Identity fusion with T.C citizens was positively related to the choice of extreme self-sacrificing behavior; $B = .74$; $SE = .22$; $Wald\ \chi^2(1) = 11.59$, $p = .001$, OR = 2.10, 95% CI OR [1.37, 3.22]. Identity fusion with T.C citizens increased 2.10 times more likely to sacrifice own life to save the lives of five MHP supporters when HDP, MHP, and AKP supporters were in danger at the same time. The third, and fourth steps were significant; $\chi^2(6) = 33.59$, $p < .001$; $\chi^2(7) = 37.27$, $p < .001$, respectively, but the entered variables were not significant variables (see Table 3.17).

3.6.7.2 Responses for the vignette 7 in the sample of HDP supporters

Among 215 HDP supporters, no participant chose to sacrifice own life for saving the lives of five MHP supporters, and only 1 (.5%) participant tended to save the lives of five AKP supporters. These options were removed from the analysis. The hierarchical logistic regression analysis was performed to test the choice of participants as "doing nothing to stop runaway trolleys, and letting the death of all three local out-groups' members", or "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five CHP supporters". The first step was not significant; $\chi^2(2) = 4.91$, $p = .086$. When identification and identity fusion with T.C citizens variables were added, the model became significant; $\chi^2(4) = 10.24$, $p = .037$, explained 7% of the variance, and classified correctly 72% of cases. Identification with T.C citizens was positively related to the choice of extreme self-sacrificing behavior; $B = .39$; $SE = .19$; $Wald$ $\chi^2(1) = 4.12$, $p = .042$, OR = 1.47, 95% CI OR [1.01, 2.13]. Identification with T.C citizens increased 1.47 times more likely to sacrifice own life to save the lives of five CHP supporters when CHP, MHP, and AKP supporters were in danger at the same time. The third, and fourth steps were significant; $\chi^2(6) = 14.20$, $p = .027$; $\chi^2(7) = 14.21$, $p = .048$, respectively, but the entered variables were not significant variables (see Table 3.17).

Table 3.17 *Hierarchical Logistic Regression Predicting the Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors of CHP, HDP, and MHP Supporters in Vignette 7*

Variables	B	SE B	Wald χ^2	OR	95% CI OR	The Model Summary
The Sample of CHP Supporters ($N = 320$)						
CCI	.23	.18	1.62	1.26	[.884, 1.78]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 6.61$, $p = .037$;
CCIF	.10	.19	.290	1.11	[.769, 1.59]	Model: $\chi^2(2) = 6.61$, $p = .037$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .04$
CTI	.00	.22	.000	1.00	[.656, 1.53]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 26.90$, $p < .001$;
CTIF	.74**	.22	11.59	2.10	[1.37, 3.22]	Model: $\chi^2(4) = 33.52$, $p < .001$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .19$
CTDI	.03	.16	.042	1.03	[.760, 1.40]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = .074$, $p = .964$;
CTDG	-.04	.16	.066	.961	[.706, 1.31]	Model: $\chi^2(6) = 33.59$, $p < .001$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .19$
CDF	.28	.15	3.58	1.32	[.990, 1.76]	Block: $\chi^2(1) = 3.68$, $p = .055$; Model: $\chi^2(7) = 37.27$, $p < .001$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .21$
The Sample of HDP Supporters ($N = 215$)						
HHI	.08	.18	.207	1.08	[.766, 1.53]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 4.91$, $p = .086$;
HHIF	.17	.16	1.10	1.19	[.862, 1.63]	Model: $\chi^2(2) = 4.91$, $p = .086$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .03$
HTI	.39*	.19	4.12	1.47	[1.01, 2.13]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 5.33$, $p = .069$;
HTIF	-.19	.19	.979	.826	[.566, 1.21]	Model: $\chi^2(4) = 10.24$, $p = .037$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .07$
HTDI	-.12	.11	1.32	.884	[.716, 1.09]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 3.96$, $p = .138$;
HTDG	.37	.21	3.18	1.45	[.964, 2.18]	Model: $\chi^2(6) = 14.20$, $p = .027$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .09$
HDF	.01	.14	.002	1.01	[.765, 1.33]	Block: $\chi^2(1) = .002$, $p = .961$; Model: $\chi^2(7) = 14.21$, $p = .048$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .09$
The Sample of MHP Supporters ($N = 150$)						
MMI	-.13	.23	.291	.883	[.561, 1.39]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 6.83$, $p = .033$;
MMIF	.45	.24	3.48	1.57	[.977, 2.52]	Model: $\chi^2(2) = 6.83$, $p = .033$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .08$
MTI	-.23	.35	.420	.798	[.404, 1.58]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 6.54$, $p = .038$;
MTIF	.86*	.41	4.45	2.35	[1.06, 5.22]	Model: $\chi^2(4) = 13.36$, $p = .010$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .14$
MTDI	.26	.21	1.58	1.30	[.864, 1.95]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 3.48$, $p = .176$;
MTDG	-.45	.25	3.30	.641	[.396, 1.04]	Model: $\chi^2(6) = 16.84$, $p = .010$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .18$
MDF	-.00	.18	.000	.999	[.706, 1.41]	Block: $\chi^2(1) = .000$, $p = .994$; Model: $\chi^2(7) = 16.84$, $p = .018$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .18$

Note. **$p < .01$; *$p < .05$. The first letter of the subscript indicates participant group whereas the second letter means the reference point of the measure. E.g., at the sample of CHP supporters, group identification of CHP supporters with CHP (CCI), and with T.C citizens (CTI); identity fusion of CHP supporters with CHP (CCIF), and T.C citizens (CTIF); individual-based relative deprivation of CHP supporters (CTDI); group-based relative deprivation of CHP supporters (CTDG); relative deprivation fusion of CHP supporters (CDF). See Tables 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5 for dependent variable (Vignette 7); choice A was coded as 0, choice C was coded as 1 for CHP supporters; choice A was coded as 0, choice B was coded as 1 for HDP supporters; choice A was coded as 0, choice D was coded as 1 for MHP supporters. Other choices were removed due to low sample size (< 20%).

3.6.7.3 Responses for the vignette 7 in the sample of MHP supporters

In the sample of MHP supporters ($N = 150$), no participant chose to sacrifice own life for saving the lives of five HDP supporters, and only 24 (16%) participants tended to save the lives of five CHP supporters. These options were removed from the analysis. The hierarchical logistic regression analysis was conducted to test the choice of participants as "doing nothing to stop runaway trolleys, and letting the death of all three local out-groups' members", or "sacrifice own life to save the lives of five AKP supporters". The first model was significant; $\chi^2(2) = 6.83$, $p = .033$, but the tested variables did not predict the extreme self-sacrificing behavior. Identification and identity fusion with T.C citizens variables entered into the equation at the second step, and the model was significant; $\chi^2(4) = 13.36$, $p = .010$, explained 14% of the variance, and classified correctly 72% of cases. Identity fusion with T.C citizens was positively related with the choice of extreme self-sacrificing behavior; $B = .86$; $SE = .41$; $Wald$ $\chi^2(1) = 4.45$, $p = .035$, OR = 2.35, 95% CI OR [1.06, 5.22]. Identity fusion with T.C citizens increased 2.35 times more likely to sacrifice own life to save the lives of five AKP supporters when CHP, HDP, and AKP supporters were in danger at the same time. The third, and fourth steps were significant; $\chi^2(6) = 16.84$, $p = .010$; $\chi^2(7) = 16.84$, $p = .018$, respectively, but the entered variables were not significant variables (see Table 3.17).

3.6.8 Vignette 8

In the last vignette, the extreme self-sacrificing behavior of participant to save lives of local in-group members (supporters of own political party) was measured when there were people who were defined as a threat for local in-group. According to the scenario, a bombing attack happens during the demonstration of local in-group. Some members of local in-group are about to jump to the track of a runaway trolley with a panic. At the same time, terrorists are trying to escape in other track. Participants chose "doing nothing, and letting the death of local in-group members" or "sacrifice own life to change the way of runaway trolley, and trolley crushes terrorists rather than local in-group members" (see Tables 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5).

3.6.8.1 Responses for the vignette 8 in the sample of CHP supporters

The first model (including identification and identity fusion with CHP) was significant; $\chi^2(2) = 18.69$, $p < .001$, explained 8% of the variance in extreme self-sacrificing behavior tendency and correctly classified 66% of cases. Identity fusion with CHP was positively related to the choice of extreme self-sacrificing behavior; $B = .59$; $SE = .15$; *Wald* $\chi^2(1) = 14.53$, $p < .001$, OR = 1.80, 95% CI OR [1.33, 2.43]. Identity fusion with CHP increased 1.80 times more likely to sacrifice own life to change the way of the runaway trolley, and trolley crushes terrorists rather than CHP supporters. The second and third models were significant; $\chi^2(4) = 26.50$, $p < .001$; $\chi^2(6) = 26.66$, $p < .001$, respectively, but the entered variables were not significant predictors. At the last step, relative deprivation fusion entered into the equation. The model was significant; $\chi^2(7) = 31.00$, $p < .001$, explained 13% of the variance, and correctly classified 70% of cases. Relative deprivation fusion was positively associated with the choice of extreme self-sacrificing behavior; $B = .23$; $SE = .11$; *Wald* $\chi^2(1) = 4.28$, $p = .039$, OR = 1.25, 95% CI OR [1.01, 1.56]. The relative deprivation fusion increased 1.25 times more likely to sacrifice own life to save the lives of CHP supporters and stop terrorists (see Table 3.18).

3.6.8.2 Responses for the vignette 8 in the sample of HDP supporters

The first model (including identification and identity fusion with HDP) was significant; $\chi^2(2) = 6.24$, $p = .044$, but the entered variables did not significantly predict the extreme self-sacrificing behavior. In the second step, identification and identity fusion with T.C citizens variables were added. The model was significant; $\chi^2(4) = 10.41$, $p = .034$, explained 7% of variance, and classified correctly 78% of cases. Identity fusion with T.C citizens was negatively related to the choice of extreme self-sacrificing behavior; $B = -.40$; $SE = .21$; *Wald* $\chi^2(1) = 3.87$, $p = .049$, OR = .688, 95% CI OR [.446, .999]. Identity fusion with T.C citizens reduced the chance of choosing the "sacrifice own life to save the lives of HDP supporters and stop terrorists " option .688 times, and participants preferred doing nothing, and letting the death of HDP supporters. Individual-based and group-based relative deprivations entered into the model at the third step. The model was significant; $\chi^2(6) = 17.58$, $p = .007$, explained 12% of the variance, and classified correctly 77% of cases. Group-based relative deprivation was positively related to the choice of extreme self-sacrificing behavior; $B = .44$; $SE = .17$; *Wald* $\chi^2(1) = 6.55$, $p = .010$,

Table 3.18 *Hierarchical Logistic Regression Predicting the Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors of CHP, HDP, and MHP Supporters in Vignette 8*

	The Sample of CHP Supporters (*N* = 320)					
Variables	*B*	*SE B*	*Wald χ²*	*OR*	*95% CI OR*	The Model Summary
CCI	-.24	.13	3.30	.786	[.606, 1.02]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 18.69$, $p < .001$;
CCIF	.59**	.15	14.53	1.80	[1.33, 2.43]	Model: $\chi^2(2) = 18.69$, $p < .001$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .08$
CTI	.07	.14	.300	1.08	[.827, 1.40]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 7.81$, $p = .020$;
CTIF	.19	.14	1.93	1.21	[.926, 1.57]	Model: $\chi^2(4) = 26.50$, $p < .001$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .11$
CTDI	.01	.11	.005	1.01	[.821, 1.24]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = .161$, $p = .923$;
CTDG	.03	.10	.099	1.03	[.851, 1.25]	Model: $\chi^2(6) = 26.66$, $p < .001$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .11$
CDF	.23*	.11	4.28	1.25	[1.01, 1.56]	Block: $\chi^2(1) = 4.35$, $p = .037$; Model: $\chi^2(7) = 31.00$, $p < .001$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .13$

	The Sample of HDP Supporters (*N* = 215)					
Variables	*B*	*SE B*	*Wald χ²*	*OR*	*95% CI OR*	The Model Summary
HHI	.33	.19	3.06	1.40	[.960, 2.03]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 6.24$, $p = .044$;
HHIF	-.04	.18	.046	.962	[.677, 1.37]	Model: $\chi^2(2) = 6.24$, $p = .044$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .04$
HTI	.27	.21	1.66	1.31	[.869, 1.97]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 4.17$, $p = .124$;
HTIF	-.40*	.21	3.87	.668	[.446, .999]	Model: $\chi^2(4) = 10.41$, $p = .034$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .07$
HTDI	-.16	.13	1.63	.851	[.665, 1.09]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 7.16$, $p = .028$;
HTDG	.44*	.17	6.55	1.55	[1.11, 2.16]	Model: $\chi^2(6) = 17.58$, $p = .007$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .12$
HDF	.26	.15	2.76	1.29	[.955, 1.75]	Block: $\chi^2(1) = 2.78$, $p = .096$; Model: $\chi^2(7) = 20.36$, $p = .005$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .14$

	The Sample of MHP Supporters (*N* = 150)					
Variables	*B*	*SE B*	*Wald χ²*	*OR*	*95% CI OR*	The Model Summary
MMI	.32	.23	1.92	1.38	[.875, 2.18]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 9.60$, $p = .008$;
MMIF	.10	.25	.175	1.11	[.682, 1.81]	Model: $\chi^2(2) = 9.60$, $p = .008$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .09$
MTI	.74*	.32	5.46	2.09	[1.13, 3.87]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 20.43$, $p < .001$;
MTIF	.31	.29	1.10	1.36	[.765, 2.42]	Model: $\chi^2(4) = 30.03$, $p < .001$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .27$
MTDI	-.19	.20	.931	.823	[.555, 1.22]	Block: $\chi^2(2) = 1.21$, $p = .546$;
MTDG	.21	.22	.956	1.24	[.809, 1.89]	Model: $\chi^2(6) = 31.24$, $p < .001$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .28$
MDF	-.20	.20	1.04	.818	[.556, 1.20]	Block: $\chi^2(1) = 1.06$, $p = .303$; Model: $\chi^2(7) = 32.30$, $p < .001$; Nagelkerke $R^2 = .29$

Note. **p < .01; *p < .05. The first letter of the subscript indicates participant group whereas the second letter means the reference point of the measure. E.g., at the sample of HDP supporters, group identification of HDP supporters with HDP (HHI), and with T.C citizens (HTI); identity fusion of HDP supporters with HDP (HHIF), and T.C citizens (HTIF); individual-based relative deprivation of HDP supporters (HTDI); group-based relative deprivation of HDP supporters (HTDG); relative deprivation fusion of HDP supporters (HDF). See Tables 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5 for the dependent variable (Vignette 8); the choice A was coded as 0, the choice B was coded as 1.

OR = 1.55, 95% CI OR [1.11, 2.16]. Group-based relative deprivation increased 1.55 times more likely to sacrifice own life to change the way of the runaway trolley, and trolley crushes terrorists rather than HDP supporters. At the last step, relative deprivation fusion entered into the equation. The model was significant; $\chi^2(7) = 20.36$, $p = .005$, but relative deprivation fusion was not a significant predictor (see Table 3.18).

3.6.8.3 Responses for the vignette 8 in the sample of MHP supporters

The first model (including identification and identity fusion with MHP) was significant; $\chi^2(2) = 9.60$, $p = .008$, but the entered variables did not significantly predict the extreme self-sacrificing behavior. In the second step, identification and identity fusion with T.C citizens variables were added. The model was significant; $\chi^2(4) = 30.03$, $p < .001$, explained 27% of the variance, and classified correctly 82% of cases. Identification with T.C citizens was positively related to the choice of extreme self-sacrificing behavior; $B = .74$; $SE = .32$; $Wald\ \chi^2(1) = 5.46$, $p = .019$, OR = 2.09, 95% CI OR [1.13, 3.87]. Identification with T.C citizens increased 2.09 times more likely to sacrifice own life to change the way of the runaway trolley, and trolley crushes terrorists rather than MHP supporters. The third and fourth models were significant; $\chi^2(6) = 31.24$, $p < .001$; $\chi^2(7) = 32.30$, $p < .001$, respectively, but the entered variables did not significantly predict the extreme self-sacrificing behavior tendency of participants (see Table 3.18).

3.6.9 Comparison of three samples due to vignette-based findings

Eight scenarios were added into the questionnaire package to see participants' extreme self-sacrificing behavior tendency on the behalf of local in-group (supporters of own political party), extended in-group (T.C citizens), and local out-groups (supporters of ruling party, and other two opposition parties) when members of different groups were in danger at the same time (like a real life situation). In general, identity-based and deprivation-based findings were in consistent with study hypotheses, and previous analyses of the current research which tested the dependent variable using the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors measure in the sample of CHP supporters. Identity fusion and relative deprivation fusion variables positively predicted the willingness to perform extreme self-sacrificing behaviors for the sake of CHP supporters and T.C citizens in multi-political party context whereas group identification and separate individual-based /

group-based relative deprivation variables were not significant predictors. On the other hand, there were fewer significant associations in the samples of HDP, and MHP supporters when vignette-based findings were compared with scale-based findings (see Table 3.19).

Table 3.19
Summary of Vignettes, and Significant Associations in the Samples of CHP, HDP, and MHP Supporters

Variables	Vignette 1	Vignette 2	Vignette 3	Vignette 4	Vignette 5	Vignette 6	Vignette 7	Vignette 8
CHP Supporters								
CCI		-*						
CCIF	+**	+**						+**
CTI			+*					
CTIF	+**		+*	+**	+**	+**	+**	
CTDI								
CTDG								
CDF	+**	+*	+*	+**	+**	+**		+*
HDP Supporters								
HHI								
HHIF								
HTI							+*	
HTIF								-*
HTDI								
HTDG				+*		+*		+*
HDF								
MHP Supporters								
MMI								
MMIF	+*				+*			
MTI								+*
MTIF		+**					+*	
MTDI								
MTDG		-*						
MDF								

Note. **p < .01; *p < .05. The first letter of the subscript indicates participant group whereas the second letter means the reference point of the measure. E.g., at the sample of CHP supporters, group identification of CHP supporters with CHP (CCI), and with T.C citizens (CTI); identity fusion of CHP supporters with CHP (CCIF), and T.C citizens (CTIF); individual-based relative deprivation of CHP supporters (CTDI); group-based relative deprivation of CHP supporters (CTDG); relative deprivation fusion of CHP supporters (CDF). See Tables 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5 to read vignettes. See Tables 3.11, 3.12, 3.13, 3.14, 3.15, 3.16, 3.17, and 3.18 for detailed information.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

4.1 Overview

The present research aimed to (i) synthesize the literature on extreme pro-group behaviors, (ii) test the fundamental assumptions of identity fusion theory in multi-political party context of Turkey to predict extreme pro-group behaviors (the willingness to fight and die on the behalf of in-group), (iii) investigate the distinctiveness of identity fusion concept (identity fusion theory: connectedness and oneness of personal identity with group-based identity) from in-group identification (social identity theory: identification with group-based identity), and (iv) explore the indirect effects of identification and identity fusion with local in-group on the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors for the sake of local in-group and extended in-group members using the relative deprivation fusion, the familial ties with local in-group, the individual agency for local in-group, and the perceived invulnerability of local in-group as mediators. In addition, the mediating roles of identification and identity fusion with extended in-group on the relationship between local in-group based identity processes and extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of both local and extended in-groups were tested.

In other words, the research has focused on the question of why individuals make extreme self-sacrificing behaviors on the behalf of local in-group and extended in-group in multi-political party context using the theory of social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; 1986); identity fusion (e.g., Swann et al., 2009); and relative deprivation (e.g., Crosby, 1976; Davis, 1959; Gurr, 1970; Runciman, 1966). The relative deprivation fusion concept (that is the unique form of deprivation; interpersonal comparisons and individual-based relative deprivation become fused and overlap with intergroup comparisons and group-based relative deprivation) was proposed by the authors of the current research as inspired by the identity fusion

theory. The associations of relative deprivation fusion construct with local and extended in-group based identity processes and extreme pro-group behavior tendency were tended to explore.

Lastly, we should point out the sample of the research. The study was conducted with the participation of the members of opposition parties (including CHP, HDP, and MHP) which were represented in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey through November-2015 parliamentary elections. Participants filled out the measures in reference to local in-group (supporters of own political party), extended in-group (T.C citizens) and three local out-groups (supporters of ruling party AKP and two other opposition parties). Therefore, the present research did not only test the theory-based hypotheses but also indicated the intra- / inter-political party relations, tested the relations of opposition parties with T.C citizens and reflected the current political atmosphere in Turkey.

The reliability and validity of the adapted or derived study measures will be discussed in the following part of the thesis. The general and political party-based findings of the research will be summarized and discussed depending on the related literature. In addition, theoretical contributions and implications of the study will be clarified. The limitations and directions for further studies also will be presented.

4.2 Summary and Discussion of the Research Findings

4.2.1 Reliability and validity of the adapted or derived measures

The identity fusion theory (e.g., Swann et al., 2009) is relatively a new perspective to rationalize extreme pro-group behavior tendency of individuals. The measures of the theory were tested by the same researcher group using American and Spanish samples. That is why vignettes (see Tables 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5) and measures of endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors (7-item), verbal identity fusion (7-item), familial ties (3-item), agency for the group (3-item), and invulnerability (5-item) were translated into Turkish and adapted for the context of political party supporters for the first time. Participants filled out the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors and verbal identity fusion measures in reference to local in-group, extended in-group and local out-groups. The alpha value range of endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors measure was [.71, .88] for CHP supporters; [.74, .85] for HDP supporters; and [.89, .95] for MHP supporters. The internal consistency range of verbal identity fusion scale was [.87, .93] for CHP

supporters; [.82, .93] for HDP supporters; and [.87, .98] for MHP supporters. Beside familial ties, agency for the group, and invulnerability measures were responded in reference to local in-group. The alpha values of familial ties measure were .92, .90, and .91; of agency for the group measure were .86, .85, and .92; of invulnerability measure were .89, .83, and .89 in the samples of CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters, respectively. The measures which were related to the identity fusion theory (e.g., Swann et al., 2009) indicated the same factor structure with original scales in three different participant samples. Item loadings, item-total correlations, eigenvalues, and explained variances were presented in Tables 2.2, 2.7, 2.10, 2.11, and 2.12.

The measure of group identification (6-item; Mael & Ashforth, 1992) also was translated into Turkish and adapted to political party context for the present study. Participants filled out the measure in reference to local in-group, extended in-group and local out-groups. The item of "I am very interested in what members of other groups think about my group" was problematic depending on its item-total correlation score and association with internal consistency value in three different samples. That is why this item was removed from the study. The alpha value range of group identification measure (5-item) was [.72, .94] for CHP supporters; [.50, .89] for HDP supporters; and [.83, .95] for MHP supporters. Item loadings, item-total correlations, eigenvalues, and explained variances were presented in Table 2.6.

Individual-based and group-based relative deprivation scales were derived from the items of egoistic (individual-based) relative deprivation scale (5-item; Özdemir et al., in press). Participants filled out the measures for themselves and local in-group using interpersonal and intergroup comparisons with other T.C citizens and local out-groups in order to specify their individual-based and group-based deprivations based on the possessed social and political conditions. The internal consistency range of individual-based relative deprivation scale (5-item) was [.85, .95] for CHP supporters; [.89, .95] for HDP supporters; and [.85, .96] for MHP supporters. In addition, the alpha value range of group-based relative deprivation scale (5-item) was [.87, .95] for CHP supporters; [.89, .97] for HDP supporters; and [.88, .96] for MHP supporters. The factor structure of individual-based and group-based relative deprivation scales indicated the same pattern with

the measure of Özdemir and colleagues (in press). Item loadings, item-total correlations, eigenvalues, and explained variances were presented in Table 2.8.

Relative deprivation fusion scale was derived from the items of verbal identity fusion scale (7-item; Gomez, Brooks et al., 2011). The alpha values of the measure were .94, .93, and .95 in the samples of CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters, respectively. The factor structure of the scale was same with the original measure. Item loadings, item-total correlations, eigenvalues, and explained variances were presented in Table 2.9.

All translated, adapted or derived measures of the study were reliable depending on the principal component factor analysis findings and measures' psychometric characteristics. According to Kline (2000) and Schmitt (1996), the Cronbach' Alpha value of the factors should be higher than .70 in order to accept the scale as reliable. In addition, item-total correlations of the measure should be at least .20 (Aiken, 1994). The alpha scores of all measures were higher than .70 (excluding the alpha value of group identification measure based on HDP supporters' responses in reference to AKP) in the samples of CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters. Moreover, both item loading and item-total correlation scores were higher than .30. Besides, the associations among variables were consistent with the hypotheses of the study, socio-political structure of Turkey, and the related literature. These findings supported the construct validity of the measures. Briefly, the findings indicated that the present research provided reliable and valid measures for the literature.

4.2.2 General findings

There was a strong positive association between group identification and identity fusion constructs in the samples of three opposition parties when the measures filled out in reference to local in-group, extended in-group, and three local out-groups; but the extreme pro-group behavior tendency, the relative deprivation fusion, the familial ties with local in-group, the individual agency for local in-group, and the perceived invulnerability of local in-group indicated greater positive associations with identity fusion in comparison to in-group identification according to the Pearson bivariate correlations (see Tables 3.2, 3.3, and 3.4) as it was expected in hypothesis 1. These associations supported that even if identity fusion and group identification constructs seem conceptually similar, there are fundamental

differences between these constructs as proposed by the identity fusion theory (e.g., Swann et al., 2009; Swann et al., 2012) depending on identity synergy, relational ties, agentic personal self, and irrevocability principles of identity fusion theory in comparison to functional antagonism, depersonalization hypothesis, and salience hypothesis principles of group identification and social identity theory.

As expected in hypothesis 2, 2.1, and 2.2, fused individual-based and group-based identities and deprivations were stronger predictors of extreme pro-group behavior tendency in comparison to separate levels in the samples of CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters (see Tables 3.5, 3.6, and 3.7). According to dominance analysis findings, identity fusion was dominant predictor of the extreme pro-group behavior tendency in comparison to in-group identification. Relative deprivation fusion was also dominant predictor of the extreme pro-group behavior tendency in comparison to individual-based and group-based relative deprivations. These findings indicated the contribution of identity-based and deprivation-based processes in individual and group levels to predict extreme pro-group behavior tendency. It was supported that individual level and group level processes may be complementary, and the fused levels may provide a stronger motivation to perform extreme pro-group behaviors. The predictive power of fused personal and social identity on extreme pro-group behavior tendency was known in the related literature (e.g., Swann et al., 2012; Swann, Wenzlaff, & Tafarodi, 1992). The findings of the literature were similar in Turkish sample and political party context depending on the current thesis. Secondly, pro-group behavior was mostly associated with group-based relative deprivation in the literature (e.g., Abrams & Grant, 2012; Smith et al., 2012; Walker & Man, 1987). However, this research indicated the importance of fused individual-based and group-based deprivations to rationalize extreme pro-group behaviors.

According to the dominance analysis findings and mediational models, identification and identity fusion with local in-group positively predicted the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of local in-group, whereas identification and identity fusion with extended in-group were positively related to the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of extended in-group in the samples of three political party groups as stated in hypothesis 3. In addition, identification and identity fusion with local in-group

positively predicted the extreme behavior tendency on the behalf of extended in-group members as proposed in hypothesis 3.1. However, the strength of these associations or the importance of identity-based and deprivation-based variables indicated some differences based on the political party identity of participants and the relations of the political party with extended in-group (T.C citizens). These differences will be presented under the title of political party-based findings.

After the controlling of demographic variables, the proposed mediating variables by the literature (including the familial ties with local in-group, the individual agency for local in-group, and the perceived invulnerability of local in-group) positively predicted the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of local in-group in the samples of CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters as expected in hypothesis 4 (excluding the familial ties with local in-group variable in the sample of MHP supporters). However, the association of proposed mediating variables with extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of extended in-group changed depending on the political party identity of the participant (see Tables 3.8, 3.9, and 3.10); because individuals may perceive T.C citizens as extended in-group in different levels based on the political party-based values. Especially, the associations of mediating variables with extended ingroup-based pro-group behavior tendency were not significant in the sample of HDP supporters. This finding can be evaluated as an expected result when the minority-based political party characteristics of HDP are considered. In addition, the individual agency for local in-group did not predict extreme pro-group behavior tendency for the sake of extended in-group in the samples of CHP and MHP supporters. These differences will be introduced in the next section of the thesis in detail.

In general, identity fusion with local ingroup increased the relative deprivation fusion, the familial ties with local in-group, the individual agency for local in-group, and the perceived invulnerability of local in-group which in turn strengthened the endorsement of extreme pro-group behavior on the behalf of local and extended in-group members depending on the mediational models as stated in hypothesis 5. In addition, identification with local in-group positively predicted the endorsement of extreme pro-group behavior on the behalf of local and extended in-group members, but the role of proposed mediators in that relationship was relatively weak or insignificant (hypothesis 5.1) (see Figures 3.1, 3.3, and 3.5).

Actually, the related literature findings (e.g., Gomez, Brooks et al., 2011; Swann et al., 2012) emphasize the indirect relationship between identity fusion and extreme pro-group behavior tendency through proposed mediators (namely, the familial ties with local in-group, the individual agency for local in-group, and the perceived invulnerability of local in-group), and the direct relationship between group identification and extreme pro-group behavior tendency. However, the new mediating variable, namely the relative deprivation fusion, was added into the models at the present research. Also, both local and extended group-based extreme behavior tendencies were tested at the same time. These additions may influence the associations among variables. On the other hand, there were differences based on the political party identity of participants. Firstly, the relative deprivation fusion was not a significant mediating variable in the sample of CHP supporters. Secondly, mediating variables predicted the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of local in-group rather than extended in-group in the sample of HDP supporters. In addition, the associational power among the variables of the models indicated some differences depending on the participant group. These differences on the mediational models based on the party identity will be considered at the next part of the study.

Identification with local in-group increased the identification with extended in-group; identity fusion with local in-group increased the identity fusion with extended in-group which in turn strengthened the extreme pro-group behavior tendency for the sake of extended in-group members (hypothesis 6) in the samples of CHP and MHP supporters (see Figures 3.2, and 3.6). In addition, identity fusion with local in-group directly predicted the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of local in-group members. However, there were different and interesting findings in the sample of HDP supporters (see Figure 3.4). The identification with local in-group increased the identification with extended in-group which in turn decreased the extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of local in-group. On the other hand, the identity fusion with local in-group decreased the identification with extended in-group which in turn increased the extreme pro-group behavior tendency for the sake of local in-group. This finding supported that group identification and identity fusion constructs are different processes (e.g., Gomez, Brooks et al., 2011). The identification with extended in-

group, and the extreme pro-group behavior tendency for the sake of extended in-group variables were removed from the model due to their insignificant associations. These findings also related to the relationships between local in-group and extended in-group. The approaches of political parties may differ from each other while they are evaluating the group of T.C citizens as extended in-group. These differences will be discussed in the section of political party-based findings.

The present study presented some supportive findings, and indicated that "identity fusion with local in-group or extended in-group will positively predict the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of local in-group members when either personal identity or social identity is activated using a threat (hypothesis 7)" in the samples of CHP and MHP supporters rather than HDP supporters (see Tables 3.11, and 3.12). These findings were consistent with the related literature (e.g., Swann & Buhrmester, 2015; Swann, Gomez, Dovidio et al., 2010), and supported the validity of identity fusion construct as "feelings of inseparable connection between self and group" (Gomez et al., 2017, p. 673). Moreover, identity fusion and identification with extended in-group increased the importance of each local and extended in-group member (hypothesis 7.1) in the sample of CHP supporters (see Table 3.13); but the association of identity fusion variable was greater than group identification as expected. This finding reminded the relational ties principle of the identity fusion theory. People may perceive each in-group member as unique individuals rather than categorically interchangeable persons (e.g., Swann et al., 2012).

Relative deprivation fusion also positively predicted the endorsement of extreme pro-group behavior on the behalf of local in-group when either personal identity or social identity is activated (hypothesis 8) in the sample of CHP supporters (see Tables 3.11, and 3.12) rather than HDP, and MHP supporters. Besides, relative deprivation fusion increased the importance of each local and extended in-group member. (hypothesis 8.1) in the sample of CHP supporters (see Table 3.13). The insignificant findings in the samples of HDP, and MHP supporters will be criticized at the next part.

Lastly, the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors was for the sake of extended in-group members rather than local out-group members when both groups were in danger (hypothesis 9) (see Tables 3.14, 3.15, and 3.16). Almost no

participant chose to perform the extreme pro-group behavior for the sake of local out-group members.

As stated before, the findings were not exactly the same for each group of political party supporters. Intra- / inter-political party relations and their approaches toward the group of T.C citizens differ due to the main ideology and political position of the party. These differences will be presented in the next part.

4.2.3 Political party-based findings

Political parties which were used as participant groups of the current study are positioned at different points of the political spectrum. CHP represents the left-wing as a social democratic party whereas MHP positions itself at the far-right of the political spectrum using nationalist and Islam-based values. HDP is defined as the continuation of left-wing parties that represent the rights of Kurdish people and other minorities in Turkey. These parties have different intra- / inter-political party relations depending on their political backgrounds, values, and objectives. Their relations with the ruling party AKP (AKP represents the right-wing political view as a conservative democratic party whereas the party has organic ties with highly conservative and pro-Islamist parties of Turkey) and T.C citizens may also indicate differences. The definition of national identity and the perception toward the group of T.C citizens as an extended in-group may differ on the view of party supporter due to the values and objectives of the party. That is why the proposed associations among study variables indicated differences based on the political party identity of the participant as proposed in hypothesis 10.

The ideological conflicts, the relations between political parties in Turkish political history, the current political atmosphere in Turkey and political party-based values and objectives should be considered while the political party identity-based findings are interpreting. As stated in the first chapter of the thesis, after the 1950s, the conflict between leftist and rightist political groups dominated the politics. In the 1980s, the polarizations between secularist and pro-Islamist groups, and Turkish nationalists and Kurdish nationalists influenced the political agenda (Çarkoğlu & Hinich, 2006; Gürsoy, 2012; Keyman, 2008). After the election of AKP as the ruling party since 2002, the conflict between secularists and pro-Islamists was represented by CHP and AKP. The ruling party versus main opposition party, and periphery versus center discourses also increased the

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ideological distance of AKP and CHP. On the other hand, ethnicity-based conflict (including the conflict between Turkish nationalist and Kurdish nationalists) polarized the relations between MHP and HDP. (see Chapter 1 to remember the political atmosphere in Turkey). In addition, when we consider the location of parties on the political spectrum as leftist or rightist and evaluate their political party-based values, we can assume that AKP may be the most ideologically distant political party, and HDP may be the ideologically closest political party for CHP supporters. HDP supporters may evaluate MHP as the most distant political party whereas CHP may be perceived as the closest one. Lastly, MHP supporters may see HDP as the most distant political party, and perceive AKP as the closest party. The current relations among political parties, the previous studies (e.g., Celep, 2014; Güneş, 2014; Gürsoy, 2012; Okuyan, 2012), and the findings of the present research supported these proposed distances. The perceived distances among political parties may influence the participants' extreme pro-group behavior tendency, group identification, identity fusion, and relative deprivation in reference to political party members.

As stated previously, political party supporters may not perceive T.C citizens as extended in-group in the same way. The definition of national identity may indicate differences depending on political party-based values and objectives. For example, the perception of MHP supporters toward T.C citizens as extended in-group may be strongest because of its national solidarity-based, ethnic, rightist, and conservative political values (Party Program of MHP, n.d.). However, HDP supporters may perceive the group of T.C citizens as extended in-group at the lowest level when we consider the relations of the party with minorities and its pro-Kurdish ideologies (Celep, 2014; Grigoriadis, 2016). When we regard the history of CHP, we can say that the national identity definition of CHP and its relations with the group of T.C citizens may include both ethnocultural and civic characteristics (Gürsoy, 2012; Yeğen, 2007). CHP supporters also may perceive T.C citizens as extended in-group members, but the roots of this perception may be different in comparison to MHP supporters which highlight Turkish nationalism. The main purpose of the current research was to provide theoretical explanations for extreme pro-group behavior tendency, and we did not aim to specify inter-party relations. That is why we tended to use neutral labels such as T.C citizens rather than Turkish

people. However, participants may interpret the group of T.C citizens in different ways due to the internalized political party identity-based values.

4.2.3.1 Between-political party comparisons

When three political party supporter groups were compared (differences on between-political parties; see Table 3.1), the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of CHP, HDP, and MHP / the identification with CHP, HDP, and MHP / the identity fusion with CHP, HDP, and MHP was stronger among their own supporters (local in-group members) (hypothesis 10.1.1). When associations with extended in-group were tested, the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of T.C citizens / the identification with T.C citizens / the identity fusion with T.C citizens was stronger among MHP supporters in comparison to CHP and HDP supporters; was stronger among CHP supporters in comparison to HDP supporters (hypothesis 10.1.2). In addition, the associations of political parties with the ruling party AKP were tested. The endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of AKP / the identification with AKP / the identity fusion with AKP was stronger among MHP supporters in comparison to CHP and HDP supporters (hypothesis 10.1.3). As an additional information, CHP supporters had stronger identification and identity fusion with the group of HDP than MHP supporters'; of MHP than HDP supporters'.

The separate relative deprivations levels of the party supporters were compared. Individual-based and group-based relative deprivations were stronger among HDP supporters in comparison to CHP and MHP supporters; stronger among MHP supporters in comparison to CHP supporters (hypothesis 10.1.4). However, when the comparison point changed, some different findings were realized. For example, when participants compare themselves with other T.C citizens in individual level depending on the possessed social and political conditions, both HDP and MHP supporters indicated greater individual-based deprivation than CHP supporters. Besides, HDP supporters also indicated greater group-based deprivation than CHP and MHP supporters when they made local ingroup-based comparisons with the group of T.C citizens. In addition, when participants compare themselves with AKP supporters using interpersonal comparisons, HDP supporters indicated greater individual-based deprivation than both CHP and MHP supporters. In addition, the local ingroup-based deprivation

was stronger among HDP supporters than CHP and MHP supporters; stronger among CHP supporters than MHP supporters when they compare their own political party group with the group of AKP (see Table 3.1). These findings can become meaningful when the current conditions of political parties are considered.

Lastly, the hypothesis 10.1.5 "Relative deprivation fusion / familial ties with local in-group / individual agency for local in-group / perceived invulnerability of local in-group will be stronger among HDP supporters in comparison to CHP and MHP supporters; stronger among MHP supporters in comparison to CHP supporters" was tested. HDP supporters indicated greater relative deprivation fusion than CHP supporters. Both HDP and MHP supporters had greater familial ties and perceived greater individual agency for their own parties than CHP supporters'. In addition, MHP supporters perceived greater invulnerability toward their own party than both CHP and HDP supporters'. The perceived invulnerability was higher among HDP supporters in comparison to CHP supporters (see Table 3.1).

4.2.3.2 Within-political party comparisons

When within-political party differences were explored, the strength of the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors / the group identification / the identity fusion changed from more to less for T.C citizens, CHP, HDP, MHP, and AKP, respectively (hypothesis 10.2.1) (there was not a significant difference between HDP and MHP reference points) in the sample of CHP supporters; from more to less for HDP, T.C citizens, CHP, AKP, and MHP, respectively (hypothesis 10.2.2) (there was not a significant difference between AKP and MHP reference points) in the sample of HDP supporters; from more to less for T.C citizens, MHP, AKP, CHP, and HDP, respectively (hypothesis 10.2.3) (there was not a significant difference between AKP and CHP reference points) in the sample of MHP supporters (see Table 3.1).

Individual-based and group-based relative deprivations were also tested. The strength of the individual-based and group-based relative deprivations changed from more to less when participants made comparisons with AKP, other T.C citizens, MHP, and HDP, respectively (hypothesis 10.2.4) in the sample of CHP supporters; from more to less when participants made comparisons with AKP, other T.C citizens, CHP, and HDP, respectively (hypothesis 10.2.6) in the sample of MHP supporters. In addition, the individual-based deprivation was higher when

HDP supporters compared themselves with AKP supporters. Also, group-based deprivation was higher when HDP supporters compared their political party with the group of AKP and other T.C citizens, respectively (hypothesis 10.2.5) (see Table 3.1).

4.2.3.3 Dominance analysis to predict extreme pro-group behavior tendency

Dominance analyses were conducted to see the relative contributions of identification with local in-group, identity fusion with local in-group, individual-based and group-based relative deprivations and the relative deprivation fusion variables to predict the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of local in-group members (supporters of own political party). The highest contribution was provided by identity fusion in the samples of CHP and MHP supporters; by relative deprivation fusion in the sample of HDP supporters as proposed by hypothesis 10.3.1. The perceived individual- and group-based (fused) disadvantaged conditions had an important role to explain the motivation behind pro-group behaviors and intra-party relations (Foster & Matheson, 1995; Tougas & Beaton, 2002) in the sample of HDP supporters in comparison to CHP, and MHP samples. It may indicate that ideology- / value-based purposes put CHP, and MHP supporters together whereas the perceived deprivation provides the cognitive allegiance to supporters of own political party in the sample of HDP. When the possessed social and political conditions of HDP in the current socio-political system are considered, these findings are expected.

When the relative contributions of identification with extended in-group, identity fusion with extended in-group, individual-based and group-based relative deprivations and relative deprivation fusion variables to predict the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of extended in-group members (T.C citizens) were tested using dominance analyses, the highest contribution was provided by identity fusion in the sample of HDP supporters; by relative deprivation fusion in the samples of CHP and MHP supporters as stated in hypothesis 10.3.2. These findings indicated that the underlying motivation behind the relations of CHP and MHP supporters with supporters of own political party and T.C citizens is different in comparison to the motivation of HDP supporters. This difference may

be explained considering the current socio-political conditions and political party-based values.

Lastly, the relative contributions of identification and identity fusion with both local in-group and extended in-group variables were tested to predict the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of extended in-group members. The highest contribution was provided by identity fusion with extended in-group in the samples of CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters (hypothesis 10.3.3) (see Tables 3.5, 3.6, and 3.7).

4.2.3.4 Hierarchical regression analysis to predict extreme pro-group behavior tendency using the proposed mediating variables

Hierarchical regression analyses were conducted to predict extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of local in-group (supporters of own political party) and extended in-group (T.C citizens) using the proposed mediating variables by the literature (including familial ties with local in-group, individual agency for local in-group and perceived invulnerability of local in-group). After the control of demographic variables (including sex, age, education level and perceived socio-economic status), the proposed mediating variables by the literature positively predicted extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of local in-group in the samples of CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters (hypothesis 10.4.1) (excluding familial ties with local in-group in the sample of MHP supporters).

The predictive powers of the proposed mediating variables were also tested for T.C citizens. After the control of demographic variables (including sex, age, education level and perceived socio-economic status), the proposed mediating variables by the literature positively predicted extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of T.C citizens in the samples of CHP, and MHP supporters (excluding individual agency for the local in-group); but these associations were not significant in the sample of HDP supporters (hypothesis 10.4.2) (see Tables 3.8, 3.9, and 3.10). Identity fusions with local in-group and extended in-group may have different meanings in the sample of HDP supporters. Findings were consistent with political party-based values (including pro-Kurdish- / minority-based ideologies) of HDP.

4.2.3.5 The first mediational models

Hypothesis 10.5.1 "in the sample of CHP supporters, identity fusion with CHP will increase the relative deprivation fusion, the familial ties with CHP, the individual agency for CHP, and the perceived invulnerability of CHP which in turn strengthen the endorsement of extreme pro-group behavior on the behalf of CHP and T.C citizens. In addition, the associations between identification with CHP and mediating variables will be lower or insignificant in comparison to identity fusion' associations" was tested within the structural equation model using LISREL 9.1. The relative deprivation fusion was not a significant mediating variable. Therefore, it removed from the model. The greater identity fusion with CHP strengthened the familial ties with CHP members, the individual agency for the group of CHP, and the perceived invulnerability of the group of CHP which in turn increased the extreme pro-group behavior tendency for CHP. The identity fusion with CHP had also a positive indirect effect on the extreme pro-group action tendency on the behalf of T.C citizens through the familial ties with CHP members, and the perceived invulnerability of the group of CHP. Besides the greater identification with CHP led to greater familial ties with CHP members which in turn increased the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors for CHP members and T.C citizens. The association of mediating variables with identity fusion with CHP were higher in comparison to the identification. In addition, the group identification with CHP directly predicted the extreme pro-group behavior tendency for CHP members (see Figure 3.1).

As stated in hypothesis 10.5.2, in the sample of HDP supporters, the greater identity fusion with HDP leaded to greater relative deprivation fusion, greater familial ties with HDP members, greater individual agency for the group of HDP, and greater perceived invulnerability of the group of HDP which in turn strengthened the extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of HDP. The greater identification with the group of HDP also increased the familial ties with HDP members, the individual agency for the group of HDP, and the perceived invulnerability of the group of HDP which in turn supported the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of HDP. However, the mediating variables were more related to identity fusion with HDP rather than identification. In addition, there was not a significant direct or indirect (using mediators)

association between identity fusion with HDP and the willingness to perform extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of T.C citizens. Besides, identification with the group of HDP directly predicted the pro-group action tendency on the behalf of T.C citizens (see Figure 3.3). These findings may show that identity fused people with HDP may not perceive T.C citizens as an extended in-group, but identified people with HDP may perceive.

Lastly, the same hypothesis (10.5.3) was tested in the sample of MHP supporters. The identity fusion with the group of MHP increased the relative deprivation fusion, the individual agency for the group of MHP, and the perceived invulnerability of the group of MHP which in turn strengthened the extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of MHP. In addition, the identity fusion with the group of MHP raised the relative deprivation fusion, the familial ties with MHP members, and the perceived invulnerability of the group of MHP which in turn strengthened the extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of T.C citizens. When the paths were considered for group identification, the greater identification with MHP led to greater relative deprivation fusion and greater perceived invulnerability of the group of MHP which in turn strengthened the endorsement of extreme pro-group behavior on the behalf of MHP and T.C citizens. The mediating variables more associated with identity fusion rather than group identification (see Figure 3.5).

4.2.3.6 The second mediational models

The mediating roles of identification and identity fusion with T.C citizens on the relationship between political party-based identity processes and endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors for the sake of political party members and T.C citizens were explored within structural equation models. As stated in the hypothesis 10.6.1, identification with CHP increased the identification with T.C citizens; identity fusion with CHP increased the identity fusion with T.C citizens which in turn strengthened the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf T.C citizens. In addition, the identity fusion with CHP was directly associated with the extreme pro-group action tendency on the behalf of CHP (see Figure 3.2).

In the sample of HDP supporters, the hypothesis 10.6.2 "identification with HDP will decrease identification with T.C citizens; identity fusion with HDP will

decrease identity fusion with T.C citizens which in turn strengthen the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of HDP; decrease the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of T.C citizens" was tested. However, the findings were a bit different than expectations. The identity fusion with the group of T.C citizens and the extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of T.C citizens were not significant and these variables were removed from the model. The identification with the group of HDP increased the identification with the group of T.C citizens which in turn decreased the extreme pro-group action tendency on the behalf of HDP. In addition, the identity fusion with HDP decreased the identification with T.C citizens which in turn increased the extreme pro-group actions on the behalf of HDP. The identification and identity fusion with HDP also directly predicted the extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of HDP (see Figure 3.4).

Lastly, identification with MHP increased the identification with T.C citizens; identity fusion with MHP increased the identity fusion with T.C citizens which in turn strengthened the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of T.C citizens (hypothesis 10.6.3). However, the mediating role of identification with T.C citizens was not significant in the proposed model. Moreover, identity fusion with the group of MHP directly predicted extreme pro-group behaviors for the sake of MHP supporters (see Figure 3.6).

CHP, and MHP supporters indicated a similar pattern and local in-group-based identity processes positively predicted extended in-group-based identity processes, and these people expressed the willingness to perform extreme self-sacrificing behaviors on the behalf of T.C citizens. On the other hand, identity fused people with HDP did not perceive T.C citizens as an extended in-group. As stated before, these findings were consistent with values and objectives of political parties. Besides, all figures supported the distinctiveness of identification and identity fusion processes (e.g., Swann et al., 2012).

Based on the accepted χ^2/df (< 5), RMSEA (≤ .08), GFI (> .85) and AGFI (> .85) cut-points by the literature, both the first and the second mediational models indicated a good fit to the data in all samples (Browne & Cudeck, 1992; Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1993; Sharma, Mukherjee, Kumar, & Dillon, 2005). The fit indices supported the reliability of the study findings.

4.2.3.7 Predicting extreme pro-group behavior tendency in multi-political party context using the created vignettes

Hypothetically created vignettes were used to see the extreme pro-group behavior tendency of participants in the multi-political party context (like a real life situation) when different local in-group/out-group and extended in-group members were in danger at the same time. The hypothesis 10.7.1 "identity fusion with local in-group will positively predict extreme pro-group behavior tendency on the behalf of local in-group members when either social identity or personal identity is activated in the samples of CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters. Identity fusion with extended in-group also will have the similar function at both conditions in the samples of CHP and MHP supporters." was tested using hierarchical logistic regression analyses in Vignette 1 (including social identity activation) and Vignette 2 (including personal identity activation). The proposed variables did not predict extreme pro-group behavior tendency of HDP supporters for the sake of HDP members in both conditions. When the social identity of participants was activated at the first vignette, identity fusion of CHP supporters with the groups of CHP and T.C citizens, and identity fusion of MHP supporters with the group of MHP positively predicted the extreme pro-group behavior tendency for the sake of own political party members. Moreover, when personal identity was activated at the second vignette, identity fusion of CHP supporters with the group of CHP, and identity fusion of MHP supporters with the group of T.C citizens positively predicted the extreme self-sacrificing behavior on the behalf of own political party members (see Tables 3.11, and 3.12). The theoretical explanation of these findings was consistent with previous studies (e.g., Swann et al., 2009; Swann & Buhrmester, 2015; Swann, Gomez, Dovidio et al., 2010).

When hypothesis 10.7.2 "identity fusion with local in-group or extended in-group will make each local or extended in-group member valuable / unexpendable in the samples of CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters" was tested using vignette 3, the findings were not significant at the samples of HDP, and MHP supporters. However, both identified and identity fused people with T.C citizens perceived each CHP supporter or T.C citizen as valuable / unexpendable in the sample of CHP supporters (Swann, Gomez, Dovidio et al., 2010) (see Table 3.13).

In addition to identity-based processes, relative deprivation-based variables also were tested to predict the extreme pro-group behavior tendency of participants in the created vignettes (hypotheses 10.7.3, and 10.7.4). Particularly, relative deprivation fusion variable was positively related to the extreme self-sacrificing behavior tendency of CHP supporters rather than HDP, and MHP supporters (see Tables 3.11, 3.12, and 3.13). Insignificant findings about HDP, and MHP supporters may be explained with relative aspect of deprivation, and low sample size of these groups.

Vignette 4, 5, and 6 were used to test the extreme self-sacrificing behavior tendency of participants when T.C citizens and one of the local out-groups (supporters of ruling party AKP and two other opposition parties) were in danger at the same time. All political party groups did not prefer to perform the extreme self-sacrificing behavior on the behalf of local out-group members in that situation (hypothesis 10.7.5) (see Tables 3.14, 3.15, and 3.16).

4.2.3.7.1 Perceived distance to other political parties

Hypothesis 10.8 (including 10.8.1, 10.8.2, and 10.8.3) was explored to see the perceived distance/closeness between political parties. AKP was the most distant party for CHP supporters, but there was not a significant difference between HDP and MHP. Secondly, CHP was the closest party for HDP supporters, but the significant difference could not be found between AKP and MHP. Lastly, HDP was the most distant party for MHP supporters, but there was not a significant difference between AKP and CHP (see Tables 2.1, and 3.1). In addition, vignette 7 compared the self-sacrificing behavior tendency of participants on the behalf of three local out-groups (see Table 3.17) and provided consistent findings with Tables 2.1, and 3.1.

4.2.3.7.2 Predicting extreme pro-group behavior tendency during a terrorist attack

Turkey has experienced serious terrorist attacks in recent history such as bombing attacks in Diyarbakır (June, 2015), Suruç (July, 2015) and Ankara (October, 2015). These bombing attacks happened during the public demonstrations of different political groups. In order to strengthen the perceived reality of hypothetically created scenario, the bombing attack was added into Vignette 8 rather than a runaway trolley (as a personal curiosity), and the extreme self-

sacrificing behavior tendency on the behalf of local in-group was tested. When identity-based variables were considered, identity fusion with local in-group (supporters of own political party) in the sample of CHP supporters positively; identity fusion with extended in-group (T.C citizens) in the sample of HDP supporters negatively; and identification with extended in-group (T.C citizens) in the sample of MHP supporters positively predicted self-sacrificing behavior tendency of people to save the lives of local in-group members and stop terrorists (see Table 3.18). Besides, the relative deprivation fusion positively predicted self-sacrificing behavior tendency of CHP supporters. Especially, identity-based findings were consistent with political party-based values of participant groups.

4.3 Theoretical Contributions and Implications

The present study tried to synthesize the literature on pro-group actions, and answer the question of why people make extreme self-sacrificing behaviors for their local and extended in-group members. Three important theories of intra / intergroup relations research area, namely Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), Identity Fusion Theory (Swann et al., 2009), and Relative Deprivation Theory (e.g., Crosby, 1976; Davis, 1959; Gurr, 1970; Runciman, 1966), were tried to be integrated. All these theories explain the pro-group behavior with different reasons. However, when we use them in a complementary perspective, we can explain greater variances, understand the underlying mechanism of the process, and reach more reliable and generalizable findings; because the explanation of a pro-group behavior can be more complicated. The literature needs more comprehensive studies which test the social construct through related theoretical approaches in order to see different aspects and rationalize the underlying pattern of social behavior. In that point, firstly, the comprehensive literature review of the current study can provide an important source to researchers who deal with intra / intergroup relations, Turkish national identity, and political structure of Turkey. Also, the complementary perspective of the thesis may increase the number of comprehensive studies in the field.

The identity fusion theory can be evaluated as a new theoretical approach, and its main assumptions were not tested in the Turkish sample, to our knowledge. The measures of the theory were translated into Turkish with the permission of the research lab at the University of Texas at Austin, US, and adapted to multi-political

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party context of Turkey for the first time. Maybe, the most important contribution of the thesis is to introduce the identity fusion theory to Turkish psychology literature. In addition, while the current study tends to indicate the difference between in-group identification and identity fusion concepts, it tries to improve the theoretical perspective of identity fusion theory using relative deprivations theory. Identity fusion theory proposes the familial ties with in-group, the individual agency for in-group, and the perceived invulnerability of in-group as mediator variables on the relationship between identity fusion with in-group and the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors on the behalf of in-group. The current research added an additional variable, namely the relative deprivation fusion, into the proposed model. The findings supported that the relative deprivation fusion can be evaluated as a mediator variable like other mediators.

In spite of the differentiative-based approach of the literature, the current research aims to integrate individual level and group level identities and relative deprivations to explain extreme pro-group behavior tendency of people. The study findings indicate that fused levels explained greater variance on the endorsement of extreme pro-group behavior in comparison to separate levels. Because, individual and group levels may create a synergy, and activate each other. This synergy may provide a greater motivation to make extreme sacrifices on the behalf of in-group. This approach may bring a new point of view to researchers who especially try to understand extreme behaviors.

Extreme self-sacrificing pro-group behavior (e.g., fighting or sacrificing own life for in-group for the sake of in-group members) is an important issue; but there is not enough research on the literature about these topics. These type of researches can be conducted to understand the underlying motivation for terrorist activities. Each year, lots of innocent civil people lose their lives due to terrorist activities (e.g., suicide attacks, bombing, etc.) in the world. Actually, the question is the same with the main concern of the current research; why does a person sacrifice own life for the sake of in-group (terrorist group)? For example, sacred values and identity fusion constructs were used to predict the willingness of Peshmerga, Iraqi Army Kurds and Sunni Arab Militiamen members to fight and die at the research of Gomez et al., (2017).

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The other important contribution of the research is to test the study assumptions within the multi-political party context of Turkey. The study used the opposition party supporters (including CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters) who were represented in the parliament of Turkey via November-2015 parliamentary elections as participant samples. The study focused on the relations of participants with local in-group (supporters of own political party), extended in-group (T.C citizens) and three local out-groups (supporters of ruling party and two other opposition parties), and tended to rationalize inter/intra political party relations using three different theoretical perspectives. The inter- / intra-political party relations do not only define the future of Turkish society but also shape the conditions and collaborations at the world stage. The conditions on the Turkish political system rapidly changed due to unexpected situations especially over the past decade (see the limitations part of the thesis). While a lot of problems are occupying the agenda of the country, the reporting inter / intra political party relations in a scientific way can be defined as an important contribution not only for the psychology field but also for the Turkish history and political science.

4.4 Limitations and Future Directions

The current study may have some limitations. These limitations should be taken into consideration while readers or other researchers are interpreting the findings of the study. Important fluctuates on politics, society and economy may influence the inter- / intra-political party relations. During the data collection process (including the dates between 10-May-2016 to 15-April-2017), numerous problems occupied the agenda of Turkey; e.g., serious conflicts with other countries / international organizations, Syrian refugee crisis, terrorist activities and explosions at the important cities of the country, military coup attempt, expanding state of emergency, arrest of academicians / journalists / opposition parties' parliamentarians, and increasing unemployment, inflation and value of foreign currencies, etc. The data collection process was stopped for a while after tragic situations (e.g., terrorist bombings, the military coup attempt, etc.) in order to protect the data from confounding factors. In addition, a lot of people did not want to participate in a research which is related to politics, and they were afraid to express their opinions about political parties in that atmosphere. That is why the data collection process took a long time period.

Collecting data from CHP and HDP supporters were easier in comparison to MHP supporters. We got in contact and sent e-mails to political party branches, civil society organizations, and academicians, but we could not get a supportive response most of the time. Especially, the number of MHP supporters is still relatively low. In the further studies, the research assumptions should be tested using larger samples in order to make reliable generalizations. In addition, the convenience sampling with snowball technique was used to access participants, but the random sampling method can be a better option for the generalizability of the findings.

Besides, there were different significant findings about the underlying motivation of the endorsement of extreme pro-group behaviors when scale or vignette was preferred as a measurement instrument for the dependent variable. Particularly, we have found fewer significant findings when the vignettes were used in comparison to the scale in order to test the extreme pro-group behavior tendency in the samples of HDP, and MHP supporters (see Table 3.19). Its reason may be explained with the multi-political party content of vignettes. Participants rated the items of scale to indicate the extreme pro-group behavior tendency for each group separately whereas the vignettes tested the same motivation when different groups were in danger at the same time in a multi-group context. Secondly, the number of participants in the samples of HDP and MHP supporters may be the second point which can be used to explain insignificant vignette-based results. Lastly, the vignette may not be an appropriate measurement instrument for HDP and MHP supporters in comparison to the scale. This difference should be clarified in further studies.

Lastly, the current research can be defined as a correlational study. Therefore, readers or/and researchers should not make causal explanations while they interpreting the findings.

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APPENDIX A

RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL

Etik Kurul İzni

UYGULAMALI ETIK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER

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17 MAYIS 2016

Sayı: 28620816 / 246

Konu: Fatih ÖZDEMİR Etik Onay

Gönderilen: Doç.Dr. Türker ÖZKAN

Psikoloji Bölümü

Gönderen: Prof. Dr. Canan SÜMER

İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başkanı

İlgi: Etik Onayı

Sayın Doç.Dr. Türker ÖZKAN'ın danışmanlığını yaptığı doktora öğrencisi Fatih ÖZDEMİR'in "Birey ve Grup Seviyelerinin Kaynaşımı: Aşırı Grup-Yanlısı Davranış Sürecinde Siyasi Parti Destekçileri Örneği" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay 2016-SOS-089 protokol numarası ile 09.05.2016-06.09.2017 tarihleri arasında geçerli olmak üzere verilmiştir.

Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.

Prof. Dr. Canan SÜMER

İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başkanı

Prof. Dr. Meliha ALTUNIŞIK

İAEK Üyesi

Prof. Dr. Mehmet UTKU

İAEK Üyesi

Yrd .Doç .Dr. Pınar KAYGAN

İAEK Üyesi

Prof. Dr. Ayhan SOL

İAEK Üyesi

Prof. Dr. Ayhan Gürbüz DEMİR

İAEK Üyesi

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Emre SELÇUK

İAEK Üyesi

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Sosyo-Politik Kimlik Çalışması
Bilgilendirme ve Gönüllü Katılım Formu

Altı bölümden oluşan bu çalışma, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi (ODTÜ) Psikoloji Bölümü öğretim üyelerinden Prof. Dr. Türker Özkan danışmanlığında, Uzman Psikolog Fatih Özdemir tarafından doktora tezi kapsamında yürütülmektedir. Çalışmanın amacı; **sosyo-politik kimlik değişkenine bağlı olarak grup-temelli davranışları araştırmaktır. Araştırma Kasım-2015 genel seçimlerinde seçim barajını aşarak Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'nde temsil hakkına sahip muhalefet partilerin destekçileri ile yürütülmektedir. Bu sebeple çalışmaya kendini CHPli (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi), HDPli (Halkların Demokratik Partisi) ya da MHPli (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi) olarak tanımlayan veya kendini bu partilerden en az birine yakın bulan kişilerin katılması istenmektedir.** Sizden beklenen, çalışmadaki soruları dikkatle okuyup, düşüncelerinizi en iyi yansıtan cevabı seçmeniz ve boş soru bırakmamanızdır.

Çalışmaya katılım tamamıyla gönüllülük temelinde olmalıdır. Çalışma süresince sizden kimlik belirleyici hiçbir bilgi istenmemektedir. Cevaplarınız tamamıyla gizli tutulacak ve sadece araştırmacılar tarafından değerlendirilecektir; elde edilecek bilgiler bilimsel yayınlarda kullanılacaktır.

Çalışma sırasında doldurulması talep edilecek anket, genel olarak kişisel rahatsızlık verecek herhangi bir ayrıntı içermemektedir. Ancak, katılım sırasında sorulardan ya da herhangi başka bir nedenden ötürü kendinizi rahatsız hissederseniz çalışmayı yarıda bırakıp çıkmakta serbestsiniz. Bu çalışmaya katıldığınız için şimdiden teşekkür ederiz. Çalışma hakkında daha fazla bilgi almak için araştırma sorumlusu Uzman Psikolog Fatih Özdemir (e-posta: psyfatihozdemir@gmail.com) ya da Psikoloji Bölümü öğretim üyelerinden Prof. Dr. Türker Özkan (e-posta: ozturker@metu.edu.tr) ile iletişim kurabilirsiniz.

Bu çalışmaya tamamen gönüllü olarak katılıyor ve verdiğiniz bilgilerin bilimsel amaçlı yayınlarda kullanılmasını kabul ediyorsanız, yandaki kutucuğu işaretleyiniz:

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION FORM

Demografik Bilgi Formu

-Cinsiyetiniz: ....…….   -Yaşınız: ....…......

-Mesleğiniz: ......……….   -Yaşadığınız şehir: ....

-*Eğitim durumunuz: ☐Lisans
                               ☐ Lisansüstü
*Eğer eğitiminiz devam ediyorsa şu an devam ettiğiniz eğitim seviyesini, eğer eğitiminiz devam etmiyorsa en son tamamladığınız eğitim seviyesini işaretleyiniz.

-Eve giren ortalama aylık maddi geliriniz: ☐ 1.000 TL ve altı
                                          ☐ 1.001 – 3.000 TL
                                          ☐ 3.001 – 5.000 TL
                                          ☐ 5.001 – 7.000 TL
                                          ☐ 7.001 TL ve üzeri

-Kendinizi, hangi sosyo-ekonomik statüde görüyorsunuz? Aşağıdaki ölçekte daire içine alarak belirtiniz.

     En alt statü   En üst statü
         1   2   3   4   5   6   7

-Hayatınızın en büyük kısmını aşağıdakilerden hangisinde geçirdiniz?
☐ Köy/Kasaba/İlçe   ☐Diğer şehir merkezleri   ☐İstanbul/Ankara/İzmir

-Politik kimliğinizi en iyi şekilde ifade eden siyasi partiyi belirtiniz.

☐Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP)   ☐Halkların Demokratik Partisi (HDP)
☐Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (MHP)   ☐ Diğer (Lütfen belirtiniz): ....

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION FORM

-**CHP/HDP/MHP ile olan ilişkinizi değerlendirdiğinizde aşağıdaki seçeneklerin hangisi ya da hangileri sizin için doğrudur? (Birden fazla seçeneği işaretleyebilirsiniz).

☐ CHP'ye/HDP'ye/MHP'ye ilişkin bir sempatim var.

☐ Seçimlerde genellikle CHP'ye/HDP'ye/MHP'ye oy veririm.

☐ CHP/HDP/MHP tarafından organize edilen gruplara ya da etkinliklere katılmaya çalışırım.

**Katılımcı bir önceki soruda politik kimliğini hangi siyasi parti olarak belirtti ise (CHP, HDP ya da MHP) bu soruyu belittiği siyasi partiyi referans alarak cevaplamıştır. Eğer "Diğer" seçeneğini işaretledi ise araştırmaya devam edememiş ve "Katılım Sonrası Bilgi Formu"na yönlendirilmiştir.

-Aşağıdaki siyasi partileri kendinize ne kadar yakın bulduğunuzu lütfen en uygun rakamı işaretleyerek belirtiniz.

Tamamen uzak **1**	Çoğunlukla uzak **2**	Kısmen uzak **3**	Ne yakın ne uzak **4**	Kısmen yakın **5**	Çoğunlukla yakın **6**		Tamamen yakın **7**

Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Halkların Demokratik Partisi (HDP)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (MHP)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Diğer (Yakınlık duyduğunuz başka bir siyasi parti var ise belirtiniz) :	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

ÖNEMLİ NOT: Bu ölçeğin genelinde grup üyeliği, parti üyeleri gibi kavramlar bulunmaktadır. Üyelik ile kastedilen şey bir gruba/partiye resmi bir kayıtla üyelik değil, kişinin kendisini o partili grubun bir parçası olarak görmesi, kendisini o partili gruba ait ya da yakın hissetmesidir.

ENDORSEMENT OF EXTREME PRO-GROUP BEHAVIORS MEASURE*

Aşırı Grup-Yanlısı Davranışları Destekleme Ölçümü

Aşağıdaki ifadeleri dikkatlice okuyup kendi duygu ve düşüncenize göre her bir ifadeye ne derece katılıp katılmadığınızı en uygun rakamı işaretleyerek belirtiniz.

Kesinlikle katılmıyorum 1	Çoğunlukla katılmıyorum 2	Kısmen katılmıyorum 3	Kararsızım 4	Kısmen katılıyorum 5	Çoğunlukla katılıyorum 6	Kesinlikle katılıyorum 7

1	Başka bir T.C vatandaşını / CHPli'yi / HDPli'yi / MHPli'yi / AKPli'yi fiziksel olarak tehdit eden biriyle kavga ederdim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	T.C vatandaşları / CHPliler / HDPliler / MHPliler / AKPliler ile dalga geçen ya da onlara hakaret eden biriyle kavga ederdim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	T.C vatandaşlarına / CHPliler'e / HDPliler'e / MHPliler'e / AKPliler'e kendilerine hakaret eden birinden intikam almaları için yardım ederdim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	T.C vatandaşlarını / CHPliler'i / HDPliler'i / MHPliler'i / AKPliler'i korumak amacıyla başkalarına zarar vermek kabul edilebilir bir durumdur.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	T.C vatandaşlarını / CHPliler'i / HDPliler'i / MHPliler'i / AKPliler'i korumak için her şeyi yapardım.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	Bir başka T.C vatandaşının / CHPli'nin / HDPli'nin / MHPli'nin / AKPli'nin hayatını kurtaracaksa, kendi hayatımı feda ederdim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	T.C vatandaşlarına / CHPliler'e / HDPliler'e / MHPliler'e / AKPliler'e sosyal ve politik statü ya da önemli bir fayda sağlayacaksa, kendi hayatımı feda ederdim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

*Mevcut araştırmanın üç farklı katılımcı grubu (şöyle ki CHPliler, HDPliler ve MHPliler) bu ölçümü yerel iç-grup (kendi siyasi partisinin destekçileri), geniş iç-grup (T.C vatandaşları) ve üç farklı yerel dış-grubu (iktidar partisinin ve diğer iki muhalefet partisinin destekçileri) referans alarak dengeli-rastlantısal bir sırada doldurmuştur.

*Three different participant groups of the present research (namely CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters) filled out the measure in reference to local in-group (supporters of own political party), extended in-group (T.C citizens) and three different local out-groups (supporters of ruling party and two other opposition parties) in counterbalanced-random order.

VIGNETTES

of the Participant Group of CHP Supporters

CHP Destekçileri Katılımcı Grubunun Vinyetler

1- Altından trenyolu geçen bir üst geçitte olduğunuzu düşünün. Beş CHPli'nin aşağıdaki raylarda mahsur kaldığını ve kontrolden çıkmış bir tramvayın bu beş CHPli'ye çarpmak üzere hızla yaklaştığını görüyorsunuz. Hiçbir şey yapmayıp tramvayın CHPliler'e çarpmasına izin verebilirsiniz ya da raylara atlayıp kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına tramvayın yavaşlayıp durmasını sağlayarak CHPliler'i kurtarabilirsiniz. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız;

a) Hiçbir şey yapmayıp tramvayın geçmesine izin veririm ve beş CHPli hayatını kaybeder.
b) Hayatımı feda etme pahasına, tren yoluna atlayıp tramvayın yavaşlayıp durmasını sağlarım ve beş CHPli'nin hayatını kurtarırım.

2- Tren raylarında mahsur kaldığınızı ve kontrolden çıkmış bir tramvayın hızla size doğru yaklaştığını düşünün. 200 metre ileride beş CHPli'nin olduğunu ve eğer onlara seslenirseniz size yardım için geleceklerini fark ediyorsunuz. Bu beş CHPli hızla yaklaşan tramvayın farkında değiller. Yardım için geldiklerinde siz ve tramvay arasındaki raylarda kalacaklar. Böylece beş CHPli kendi hayatlarını kaybederek tramvayın yavaşlayıp durmasını sağlayacak ve siz hayatta kalacaksınız. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız;

a) Beş CHPli'yi ölüm tuzağına çekerek hayatta kalırım.
b) Beş CHPli'ye seslenmem ve hayatımı feda ederim.

3- Kontrolden çıkmış bir tramvayın, beş T.C vatandaşına doğru hızla yaklaştığını görüyorsunuz. Hiçbir şey yapmazsanız bu kişiler hayatını kaybedecek. T.C vatandaşlarını kurtarmak için ya kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına raylara atlayıp tramvayın yavaşlayarak durmasını sağlayacaksınız ya da rayların makasıyla oynayıp tramvayın yönünü değiştireceksiniz ve diğer rayda olan bir CHPli'nin ölümüne neden olacaksınız. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız;

a) Hiçbir şey yapmam ve beş T.C vatandaşı hayatını kaybeder.
b) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına raylara atlayıp beş T.C vatandaşının hayatını kurtarırım.
c) Rayların makasıyla oynarım ve tramvayın diğer raya sapmasını sağlayarak bir CHPli'nin ölmesine neden olurken, beş T.C. vatandaşının hayatını kurtarırım.

4- Kontrolden çıkmış iki tramvay birbirine paralel iki trenyolunda hızla ilerlemektedir. Tramvaylardan birinin beş T.C vatandaşına, diğer tramvayın ise beş AKPli'ye çarpıp, bu kişileri öldürmek üzere olduğunu görüyorsunuz. Eğer hiçbir şey yapmazsanız, tramvaylar iki grubun da ölümüne sebep olacak. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş T.C vatandaşının hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş AKPli hayatını kaybedecek. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına AKPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş AKPli'nin hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş T.C vatandaşı hayatını kaybedecek. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız;

a) Hiçbir şey yapmam ve iki grup da hayatını kaybeder.

b) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarım.

c) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına AKPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.

5- Kontrolden çıkmış iki tramvay birbirine paralel iki trenyolunda hızla ilerlemektedir. Tramvaylardan birinin beş T.C vatandaşına, diğer tramvayın ise beş HDPli'ye çarpıp, bu kişileri öldürmek üzere olduğunu görüyorsunuz. Eğer hiçbir şey yapmazsanız, tramvaylar iki grubun da ölümüne sebep olacak. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş T.C vatandaşının hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş HDPli hayatını kaybedecek. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına HDPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş HDPli'nin hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş T.C vatandaşı hayatını kaybedecek. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız;

a) Hiçbir şey yapmam ve iki grup da hayatını kaybeder.

b) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarım.

c) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına HDPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.

6- Kontrolden çıkmış iki tramvay birbirine paralel iki trenyolunda hızla ilerlemektedir. Tramvaylardan birinin beş T.C vatandaşına, diğer tramvayın ise beş MHPli'ye çarpıp, bu kişileri öldürmek üzere olduğunu görüyorsunuz. Eğer hiçbir şey yapmazsanız, tramvaylar iki grubun da ölümüne sebep olacak. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş T.C vatandaşının hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş MHPli hayatını kaybedecek. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına MHPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş MHPli'nin hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş T.C vatandaşı hayatını kaybedecek. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız;

a) Hiçbir şey yapmam ve iki grup da hayatını kaybeder.

b) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarım.

c) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına MHPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.

7- Kontrolden çıkmış üç tramvay birbirine paralel üç trenyolunda hızla ilerlemektedir. Tramvaylardan birinin beş HDPli'ye, diğer tramvayın beş MHPli'ye ve diğer tramvayın ise beş AKPli'ye çarpıp, bu kişileri öldürmek üzere olduğunu görüyorsunuz. Eğer hiçbir şey yapmazsanız, tramvaylar üç grubun da ölümüne sebep olacak. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına herhangi bir grubun olduğu raylara atlarsanız, o gruptaki beş kişinin hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat diğer iki grup hayatını kaybedecek. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız;

a) Hiçbir şey yapmam ve üç grup da hayatını kaybeder.
b) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına HDPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.
c) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına MHPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.
d) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına AKPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.

8- Altından pek çok trenyolunun geçtiği bir üst geçitte olduğunuzu düşünün. CHPliler'in düzenlediği kalabalık bir gösteriye bombalı bir saldırıda bulunulduğuna şahit oluyorsunuz. Patlamanın ardından, aşağıdaki trenyolu üzerinde koşarak uzaklaşmaya çalışan bombacıları görüyorsunuz. Aynı zamanda patlamanın neden olduğu panik ile CHPliler hızla yaklaşan bir tramvayın raylarına farkında olmadan atlamak üzereler. Bu şartlarda, kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına raylara atlarsanız, yaklaşan tramvay yolunu değiştirip bombacıların bulunduğu raya girecek ve CHPliler yerine bombacılara çarpacak. Raylara atlamayıp tramvayın yoluna devam etmesine izin verirseniz, hızla gelen tramvay CHPliler'e çarpacak. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız;

a) Hiçbir şey yapmayıp, tramvayın yoluna devam etmesine ve raylara atlayan CHPliler'e çarpmasına izin veririm.
b) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına raylara atlayıp, tramvayın yönünü değiştiririm ve CHPliler'i kurtararak tramvayın bombacılara çarpmasını sağlarım.

VIGNETTES
of the Participant Group of HDP Supporters

HDP Destekçileri Katılımcı Grubunun Vinyetleri

1- Altından trenyolu geçen bir üst geçitte olduğunuzu düşünün. Beş HDPli'nin aşağıdaki raylarda mahsur kaldığını ve kontrolden çıkmış bir tramvayın bu beş HDPli'ye çarpmak üzere hızla yaklaştığını görüyorsunuz. Hiçbir şey yapmayıp tramvayın HDPliler'e çarpmasına izin verebilirsiniz ya da raylara atlayıp kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına tramvayın yavaşlayıp durmasını sağlayarak HDPliler'i kurtarabilirsiniz. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız;

a) Hiçbir şey yapmayıp tramvayın geçmesine izin veririm ve beş HDPli hayatını kaybeder.
b) Hayatımı feda etme pahasına, tren yoluna atlayıp tramvayın yavaşlayıp durmasını sağlarım ve beş HDPli'nin hayatını kurtarırım.

2- Tren raylarında mahsur kaldığınızı ve kontrolden çıkmış bir tramvayın hızla size doğru yaklaştığını düşünün. 200 metre ileride beş HDPli'nin olduğunu ve eğer onlara seslenirseniz size yardım için geleceklerini fark ediyorsunuz. Bu beş HDPli hızla yaklaşan tramvayın farkında değiller. Yardım için geldiklerinde siz ve tramvay arasındaki raylarda kalacaklar. Böylece beş HDPli kendi hayatlarını kaybederek tramvayın yavaşlayıp durmasını sağlayacak ve siz hayatta kalacaksınız. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız;

a) Beş HDPli'yi ölüm tuzağına çekerek hayatta kalırım.
b) Beş HDPli'ye seslenmem ve hayatımı feda ederim.

3- Kontrolden çıkmış bir tramvayın, beş T.C vatandaşına doğru hızla yaklaştığını görüyorsunuz. Hiçbir şey yapmazsanız bu kişiler hayatını kaybedecek. T.C vatandaşlarını kurtarmak için ya kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına raylara atlayıp tramvayın yavaşlayarak durmasını sağlayacaksınız ya da rayların makasıyla oynayıp tramvayın yönünü değiştireceksiniz ve diğer rayda olan bir HDPli'nin ölümüne neden olacaksınız. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız;

a) Hiçbir şey yapmam ve beş T.C vatandaşı hayatını kaybeder.
b) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına raylara atlayıp beş T.C vatandaşının hayatını kurtarırım.
c) Rayların makasıyla oynarım ve tramvayın diğer raya sapmasını sağlayarak bir HDPli'nin ölmesine neden olurken, beş T.C vatandaşının hayatını kurtarırım.

4- Kontrolden çıkmış iki tramvay birbirine paralel iki trenyolunda hızla ilerlemektedir. Tramvaylardan birinin beş T.C vatandaşına, diğer tramvayın ise beş AKPli'ye çarpıp, bu kişileri öldürmek üzere olduğunu görüyorsunuz. Eğer hiçbir şey yapmazsanız, tramvaylar iki grubun da ölümüne sebep olacak. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş T.C vatandaşının hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş AKPli hayatını kaybedecek. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına AKPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş AKPli'nin hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş T.C vatandaşı hayatını kaybedecek. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız;

a) Hiçbir şey yapmam ve iki grup da hayatını kaybeder.

b) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarım.

c) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına AKPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.

5- Kontrolden çıkmış iki tramvay birbirine paralel iki trenyolunda hızla ilerlemektedir. Tramvaylardan birinin beş T.C vatandaşına, diğer tramvayın ise beş CHPli'ye çarpıp, bu kişileri öldürmek üzere olduğunu görüyorsunuz. Eğer hiçbir şey yapmazsanız, tramvaylar iki grubun da ölümüne sebep olacak. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş T.C vatandaşının hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş CHPli hayatını kaybedecek. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına CHPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş CHPli'nin hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş T.C vatandaşı hayatını kaybedecek. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız;

a) Hiçbir şey yapmam ve iki grup da hayatını kaybeder.

b) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarım.

c) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına CHPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.

6- Kontrolden çıkmış iki tramvay birbirine paralel iki trenyolunda hızla ilerlemektedir. Tramvaylardan birinin beş T.C vatandaşına, diğer tramvayın ise beş MHPli'ye çarpıp, bu kişileri öldürmek üzere olduğunu görüyorsunuz. Eğer hiçbir şey yapmazsanız, tramvaylar iki grubun da ölümüne sebep olacak. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş T.C vatandaşının hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş MHPli hayatını kaybedecek. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına MHPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş MHPli'nin hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş T.C vatandaşı hayatını kaybedecek. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız;

a) Hiçbir şey yapmam ve iki grup da hayatını kaybeder.

b) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarım.

c) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına MHPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.

7- Kontrolden çıkmış üç tramvay birbirine paralel üç trenyolunda hızla ilerlemektedir. Tramvaylardan birinin beş CHPli'ye, diğer tramvayın beş MHPli'ye ve diğer tramvayın ise beş AKPli'ye çarpıp, bu kişileri öldürmek üzere olduğunu görüyorsunuz. Eğer hiçbir şey yapmazsanız, tramvaylar üç grubun da ölümüne sebep olacak. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına herhangi bir grubun olduğu raylara atlarsanız, o gruptaki beş kişinin hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat diğer iki grup hayatını kaybedecek. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız;

a) Hiçbir şey yapmam ve üç grup da hayatını kaybeder.

b) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına CHPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.

c) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına MHPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.

d) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına AKPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.

8- Altından pek çok trenyolunun geçtiği bir üst geçitte olduğunuzu düşünün. HDPliler'in düzenlediği kalabalık bir gösteriye bombalı bir saldırıda bulunulduğuna şahit oluyorsunuz. Patlamanın ardından, aşağıdaki trenyolu üzerinde koşarak uzaklaşmaya çalışan bombacıları görüyorsunuz. Aynı zamanda patlamanın neden olduğu panik ile HDPliler hızla yaklaşan bir tramvayın raylarına farkında olmadan atlamak üzereler. Bu şartlarda, kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına raylara atlarsanız, yaklaşan tramvay yolunu değiştirip bombacıların bulunduğu raya girecek ve HDPliler yerine bombacılara çarpacak. Raylara atlamayıp tramvayın yoluna devam etmesine izin verirseniz, hızla gelen tramvay HDPliler'e çarpacak. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız;

a) Hiçbir şey yapmayıp, tramvayın yoluna devam etmesine ve raylara atlayan HDPliler'e çarpmasına izin veririm.

b) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına raylara atlayıp, tramvayın yönünü değiştiririm ve HDPliler'i kurtararak tramvayın bombacılara çarpmasını sağlarım.

VIGNETTES
of the Participant Group of MHP Supporters

MHP Destekçileri Katılımcı Grubunun Vinyetleri

1- Altından trenyolu geçen bir üst geçitte olduğunuzu düşünün. Beş MHPli'nin aşağıdaki raylarda mahsur kaldığını ve kontrolden çıkmış bir tramvayın bu beş MHPli'ye çarpmak üzere hızla yaklaştığını görüyorsunuz. Hiçbir şey yapmayıp tramvayın MHPliler'e çarpmasına izin verebilirsiniz ya da raylara atlayıp kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına tramvayın yavaşlayıp durmasını sağlayarak MHPliler'i kurtarabilirsiniz. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız;

a) Hiçbir şey yapmayıp tramvayın geçmesine izin veririm ve beş MHPli hayatını kaybeder.
b) Hayatımı feda etme pahasına, tren yoluna atlayıp tramvayın yavaşlayıp durmasını sağlarım ve beş MHPli'nin hayatını kurtarırım.

2- Tren raylarında mahsur kaldığınızı ve kontrolden çıkmış bir tramvayın hızla size doğru yaklaştığını düşünün. 200 metre ileride beş MHPli'nin olduğunu ve eğer onlara seslenirseniz size yardım için geleceklerini fark ediyorsunuz. Bu beş MHPli hızla yaklaşan tramvayın farkında değiller. Yardım için geldiklerinde siz ve tramvay arasındaki raylarda kalacaklar. Böylece beş MHPli kendi hayatlarını kaybederek tramvayın yavaşlayıp durmasını sağlayacak ve siz hayatta kalacaksınız. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız;

a) Beş MHPli'yi ölüm tuzağına çekerek hayatta kalırım.
b) Beş MHPli'ye seslenmem ve hayatımı feda ederim.

3- Kontrolden çıkmış bir tramvayın, beş T.C vatandaşına doğru hızla yaklaştığını görüyorsunuz. Hiçbir şey yapmazsanız bu kişiler hayatını kaybedecek. T.C vatandaşlarını kurtarmak için ya kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına raylara atlayıp tramvayın yavaşlayarak durmasını sağlayacaksınız ya da rayların makasıyla oynayıp tramvayın yönünü değiştireceksiniz ve diğer rayda olan bir MHPli'nin ölümüne neden olacaksınız. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız;

a) Hiçbir şey yapmam ve beş T.C vatandaşı hayatını kaybeder.
b) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına raylara atlayıp beş T.C vatandaşının hayatını kurtarırım.
c) Rayların makasıyla oynarım ve tramvayın diğer raya sapmasını sağlayarak bir MHPli'nin ölmesine neden olurken, beş T.C. vatandaşının hayatını kurtarırım.

4- Kontrolden çıkmış iki tramvay birbirine paralel iki trenyolunda hızla ilerlemektedir. Tramvaylardan birinin beş T.C vatandaşına, diğer tramvayın ise beş AKPli'ye çarpıp, bu kişileri öldürmek üzere olduğunu görüyorsunuz. Eğer hiçbir şey yapmazsanız, tramvaylar iki grubun da ölümüne sebep olacak. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş T.C vatandaşının hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş AKPli hayatını kaybedecek. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına AKPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş AKPli'nin hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş T.C vatandaşı hayatını kaybedecek. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız;

a) Hiçbir şey yapmam ve iki grup da hayatını kaybeder.

b) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarım.

c) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına AKPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.

5- Kontrolden çıkmış iki tramvay birbirine paralel iki trenyolunda hızla ilerlemektedir. Tramvaylardan birinin beş T.C vatandaşına, diğer tramvayın ise beş CHPli'ye çarpıp, bu kişileri öldürmek üzere olduğunu görüyorsunuz. Eğer hiçbir şey yapmazsanız, tramvaylar iki grubun da ölümüne sebep olacak. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş T.C vatandaşının hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş CHPli hayatını kaybedecek. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına CHPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş CHPli'nin hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş T.C vatandaşı hayatını kaybedecek. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız;

a) Hiçbir şey yapmam ve iki grup da hayatını kaybeder.

b) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarım.

c) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına CHPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.

6- Kontrolden çıkmış iki tramvay birbirine paralel iki trenyolunda hızla ilerlemektedir. Tramvaylardan birinin beş T.C vatandaşına, diğer tramvayın ise beş HDPli'ye çarpıp, bu kişileri öldürmek üzere olduğunu görüyorsunuz. Eğer hiçbir şey yapmazsanız, tramvaylar iki grubun da ölümüne sebep olacak. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş T.C vatandaşının hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş HDPli hayatını kaybedecek. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına HDPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarsanız, beş HDPli'nin hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat beş T.C vatandaşı hayatını kaybedecek. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız;

a) Hiçbir şey yapmam ve iki grup da hayatını kaybeder.

b) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına T.C vatandaşlarının olduğu raylara atlarım.

c) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına HDPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.

7- Kontrolden çıkmış üç tramvay birbirine paralel üç trenyolunda hızla ilerlemektedir. Tramvaylardan birinin beş CHPli'ye, diğer tramvayın beş HDPli'ye ve diğer tramvayın ise beş AKPli'ye çarpıp, bu kişileri öldürmek üzere olduğunu görüyorsunuz. Eğer hiçbir şey yapmazsanız, tramvaylar üç grubun da ölümüne sebep olacak. Eğer kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına herhangi bir grubun olduğu raylara atlarsanız, o gruptaki beş kişinin hayatını kurtaracaksınız, fakat diğer iki grup hayatını kaybedecek. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız;

a) Hiçbir şey yapmam ve üç grup da hayatını kaybeder.
b) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına CHPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.
c) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına HDPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.
d) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına AKPliler'in olduğu raylara atlarım.

8- Altından pek çok trenyolunun geçtiği bir üst geçitte olduğunuzu düşünün. MHPliler'in düzenlediği kalabalık bir gösteriye bombalı bir saldırıda bulunulduğuna şahit oluyorsunuz. Patlamanın ardından, aşağıdaki trenyolu üzerinde koşarak uzaklaşmaya çalışan bombacıları görüyorsunuz. Aynı zamanda patlamanın neden olduğu panik ile MHPliler hızla yaklaşan bir tramvayın raylarına farkında olmadan atlamak üzereler. Bu şartlarda, kendi hayatınızı feda etme pahasına raylara atlarsanız, yaklaşan tramvay yolunu değiştirip bombacıların bulunduğu raya girecek ve MHPliler yerine bombacılara çarpacak. Raylara atlamayıp tramvayın yoluna devam etmesine izin verirseniz, hızla gelen tramvay MHPliler'e çarpacak. Bu durumda ne yaparsınız;

a) Hiçbir şey yapmayıp, tramvayın yoluna devam etmesine ve raylara atlayan MHPliler'e çarpmasına izin veririm.
b) Kendi hayatımı feda etme pahasına raylara atlayıp, tramvayın yönünü değiştiririm ve MHPliler'i kurtararak tramvayın bombacılara çarpmasını sağlarım.

APPENDIX F

MEASURE OF GROUP IDENTIFICATION*

Grup Özdeşleşmesi Ölçümü

Aşağıdaki ifadeleri dikkatlice okuyup kendi duygu ve düşüncenize göre her bir ifadeye ne derece katılıp katılmadığınızı en uygun rakamı işaretleyerek belirtiniz.

Kesinlikle katılmıyorum 1	Çoğunlukla katılmıyorum 2	Kısmen katılmıyorum 3	Kararsızım 4	Kısmen katılıyorum 5	Çoğunlukla katılıyorum 6	Kesinlikle katılıyorum 7

1	Birisi T.C vatandaşlarını / CHPliler'i / HDPliler'i / MHPliler'i / AKPliler'i eleştirdiğinde, şahsıma hakaret edilmiş gibi hissederim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	(Diğer milletlerin T.C vatandaşları hakkında) Diğer siyasi partilerin üyelerinin CHPliler / HDPliler / MHPliler / AKPliler hakkında ne düşündüğüyle çok ilgiliyim.**	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	T.C vatandaşlarından / CHPliler'den / HDPliler'den / MHPliler'den / AKPliler'den bahsederken genellikle "onlar" yerine "biz" diye bahsederim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	T.C vatandaşlarının / CHPliler'in / HDPliler'in / MHPliler'in / AKPliler'in başarıları benim de başarımdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	Birisi T.C vatandaşlarını / CHPliler'i / HDPliler'i / MHPliler'i / AKPliler'i yücelttiğinde sanki bana övgüde bulunmuş gibi hissederim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	Medyadaki bir haber T.C vatandaşlarının / CHPliler'in / HDPliler'in / MHPliler'in / AKPliler'in olumsuz taraflarını eleştirdiğinde kendimi mahçup hissederim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

*Mevcut araştırmanın üç farklı katılımcı grubu (şöyle ki CHPliler, HDPliler ve MHPliler) bu ölçümü yerel iç-grup (kendi siyasi partisinin destekçileri), geniş iç-grup (T.C vatandaşları) ve üç farklı dış-grubu (iktidar partisinin ve diğer iki muhalefet partisinin destekçileri) referans alarak dengeli-rastlantısal bir sırada doldurmuştur.

*Three different participant groups of the present research (namely CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters) filled out the measure in reference to local in-group (supporters of own political party), extended in-group (T.C citizens) and three different local out-groups (supporters of ruling party and two other opposition parties) in counterbalanced-random order.

**The item "(Diğer milletlerin T.C vatandaşları hakkında) Diğer siyasi partilerin üyelerinin CHPliler / HDPliler / MHPliler / AKPliler hakkında ne düşündüğüyle çok ilgiliyim." was removed from the measure because of its unfavorable psychometric characteristics.

VERBAL IDENTITY FUSION SCALE*

Sözlü Kimlik Kaynaşımı Ölçeği

Aşağıdaki ifadeleri dikkatlice okuyup kendi duygu ve düşüncenize göre her bir ifadeye ne derece katılıp katılmadığınızı en uygun rakamı işaretleyerek belirtiniz.

Kesinlikle katılmıyorum **1**	Çoğunlukla katılmıyorum **2**	Kısmen katılmıyorum **3**	Kararsızım **4**	Kısmen katılıyorum **5**	Çoğunlukla katılıyorum **6**	Kesinlikle katılıyorum **7**

1	T.C vatandaşları / CHPliler / HDPliler / MHPliler / AKPliler ile bir bütünüm.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	Kendimi T.C vatandaşları / CHPliler / HDPliler / MHPliler / AKPliler ile bütünleşmiş hissediyorum.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	T.C vatandaşları / CHPliler / HDPliler / MHPliler / AKPliler ile derin duygusal bir bağım var.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	T.C vatandaşları / CHPliler / HDPliler / MHPliler / AKPliler demek, ben demektir.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	T.C vatandaşları / CHPliler / HDPliler / MHPliler / AKPliler için, diğer T.C vatandaşlarının / diğer CHPli / diğer HDPli / diğer MHPli / diğer AKPli grup üyelerinin yapacağından daha fazla şey yaparım.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	T.C toplumu / CHPliler / HDPliler / MHPliler / AKPliler sayesinde güçlüyüm.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	T.C toplumunu / CHPliler'i / HDPliler'i / MHPliler'i / AKPliler'i güçlü hale getiriyorum.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

*Mevcut araştırmanın üç farklı katılımcı grubu (şöyle ki CHPliler, HDPliler ve MHPliler) bu ölçümü yerel iç-grup (kendi siyasi partisinin destekçileri), geniş iç-grup (T.C vatandaşları) ve üç farklı yerel dış-grubu (iktidar partisinin ve diğer iki muhalefet partisinin destekçileri) referans alarak dengeli-rastlantısal bir sırada doldurmuştur.

*Three different participant groups of the present research (namely CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters) filled out the measure in reference to local in-group (supporters of own political party), extended in-group (T.C citizens) and three different local out-groups (supporters of ruling party and two other opposition parties) in counterbalanced-random order.

INDIVIDUAL-BASED AND GROUP-BASED RELATIVE DEPRIVATION SCALES

Birey-Temelli Göreli Yoksunluk Ölçeği*

Aşağıdaki ifadeleri **diğer T.C vatandaşları / HDPliler / MHPliler / AKPliler ile yaptığınız karşılaştırmalar sonucu, kendi yaşantınızı gözönüne alarak** dikkatlice okuyup, kendi duygu ve düşüncenize göre her bir ifadeye ne derece katılıp katılmadığınızı en uygun rakamı işaretleyerek belirtiniz.

Kesinlikle katılmıyorum **1**	Çoğunlukla katılmıyorum **2**	Kısmen katılmıyorum **3**	Kararsızım **4**	Kısmen katılıyorum **5**	Çoğunlukla katılıyorum **6**	Kesinlikle katılıyorum **7**

1	Kendimi diğer T.C vatandaşları / HDPliler / MHPliler / AKPliler ile karşılaştırdığımda, diğer T.C vatandaşlarının / HDPliler'in / MHPliler'in / AKPliler'in benden daha iyi sosyal ve politik imkânlara sahip olduğunun farkındayım.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	Diğer T.C vatandaşlarının / HDPliler'in / MHPliler'in / AKPliler'in sahip olduğu sosyal ve politik imkânlara sahip olmayı isterim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	Diğer T.C vatandaşlarının / HDPliler'in / MHPliler'in / AKPliler'in sahip olduğu sosyal ve politik imkânları hak ettiğimi düşünürüm.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	Kendimi diğer T.C vatandaşları / HDPliler / MHPliler / AKPliler ile karşılaştırdığımda, sahip olduğum sosyal ve politik imkânlar beni tatmin etmiyor.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	Sosyal ve politik imkânlar konusunda, diğer T.C vatandaşları / HDPliler / MHPliler / AKPliler benden daha iyi durumda.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

*Üç farklı katılımcı grubunun üyeleri (şöyle ki CHPliler, HDPliler ve MHPliler) kendilerini geniş iç-grubun üyeleri (T.C vatandaşları) ve üç farklı dış-grubun üyeleri (iktidar partisinin ve diğer iki muhalefet partisinin destekçileri) ile birey seviyesinde ve dengeli-rastlantısal bir sırada karşılaştırmıştır. Sahip oldukları sosyal ve siyasi koşullara bağlı olarak ne ölçüde birey-temelli yoksunluk algıladıklarını belirtmişlerdir.

*Members of three different participant groups (namely CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters) compared themselves with member(s) of extended in-group (T.C citizens) and member(s) of three different local out-groups (supporters of ruling party and two other opposition parties) in individual level and counterbalanced-random order. They expressed what extent they perceive individual-based deprivation based on the possessed social and political conditions.

*The present version of the measure was used by the group of CHP supporters. The reference points of the measure were changed for the groups of HDP supporters and MHP supporters.

Grup-Temelli Göreli Yoksunluk Ölçeği**

Aşağıdaki ifadeleri **CHPliler'i diğer T.C vatandaşları / HDPliler / MHPliler / AKPliler ile karşılaştırarak** dikkatlice okuyup, kendi duygu ve düşüncenize göre her bir ifadeye ne derece katılıp katılmadığınızı en uygun rakamı işaretleyerek belirtiniz.

Kesinlikle katılmıyorum 1	Çoğunlukla katılmıyorum 2	Kısmen katılmıyorum 3	Kararsızım 4	Kısmen katılıyorum 5	Çoğunlukla katılıyorum 6	Kesinlikle katılıyorum 7

1	CHPliler'i diğer T.C vatandaşları / HDPliler / MHPliler / AKPliler ile karşılaştırdığımda, diğer T.C vatandaşlarının / HDPliler'in / MHPliler'in / AKPliler'in CHPliler'den daha iyi sosyal ve politik imkânlara sahip olduğunun farkındayım.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	Diğer T.C vatandaşlarının / HDPliler'in / MHPliler'in / AKPliler'in sahip olduğu sosyal ve politik imkânlara CHPliler'in de sahip olmasını isterim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	Diğer T.C vatandaşlarının / HDPliler'in / MHPliler'in / AKPliler'in sahip olduğu sosyal ve politik imkânları CHPliler'in de hak ettiğini düşünürüm.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	CHPliler'i diğer T.C vatandaşları / HDPliler / MHPliler / AKPliler ile karşılaştırdığımda, CHPliler'in sahip olduğu sosyal ve politik imkânlar beni tatmin etmiyor.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	Sosyal ve politik imkânlar konusunda, diğer T.C vatandaşları / HDPliler / MHPliler / AKPliler CHPliler'den daha iyi durumda.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

**Üç farklı katılımcı grubunun üyeleri (şöyle ki CHPliler, HDPliler ve MHPliler) yerel iç-gruplarını (kendi siyasi partisinin destekçileri) geniş iç-grubun üyeleri (T.C vatandaşları) ve üç farklı yerel dış-grubun üyeleri (iktidar partisinin ve diğer iki muhalefet partisinin destekçileri) ile grup seviyesinde ve dengeli-rastlantısal bir sırada karşılaştırmıştır. Sahip oldukları sosyal ve siyasi koşullara bağlı olarak ne ölçüde grup-temelli yoksunluk algıladıklarını belirtmişlerdir.

**Members of three different participant groups (namely CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters) compared their local in-group (supporters of own political party) with member(s) of extended in-group (T.C citizens) and member(s) of three different local out-groups (supporters of ruling party and two other opposition parties) in group level and counterbalanced-random order. They expressed what extent they perceive group-based deprivation based on the possessed social and political conditions.

**The present version of the measure was used by the group of CHP supporters. The reference points of the measure were changed for the groups of HDP supporters and MHP supporters.

RELATIVE DEPRIVATION FUSION SCALE*

Göreli Yokunluk Kaynaşımı Ölçeği

Kişilerin kendilerini diğer bireyler, gruplar ya da kendi geçmişleri ile karşılaştırmaları sonucu arzulanan durum ile gerçekte sahip oldukları koşullar arasındaki farkı görmeleri, kendi görece dezavantajlı durumlarının farkına varmalarına ve yoksunluk durumuna neden olabilir.

- **Birey-temelli yoksunluk:** Kişinin kendisini diğer birey(ler) ile karşılaştırması sonucu, diğer kişilerin kendisinden daha iyi koşullara sahip olduğunu fark etmesi, kendisinin de bu imkanlara sahip olmasını istemesi ve bu imkanları kendisinin de hak ettiğini düşünmesi birey-temelli yoksunluğa neden olur.

- **Grup-temelli yoksunluk:** Kişinin üyesi olduğu grubu diğer gruplar ile karşılaştırması sonucu, diğer grupların kendi grubundan daha iyi koşullara sahip olduğunu fark etmesi, kendi grubunun da bu imkânlara sahip olmasını istemesi ve bu imkanları kendi grubunun da hak ettiğini düşünmesi grup-temelli yoksunluğa neden olur.

Birey-temelli yoksunluğunuzun CHPli / HDPli / MHPli grup üyeliğine bağlı grup-temelli yoksunluğunuz ile ne derece ilişkili olduğunu her bir ifadeyi dikkatlice okuyup, en uygun rakamı işaretleyerek belirtiniz.

Kesinlikle katılmıyorum 1	Çoğunlukla katılmıyorum 2	Kısmen katılmıyorum 3	Kararsızım 4	Kısmen katılıyorum 5	Çoğunlukla katılıyorum 6	Kesinlikle katılıyorum 7

1	CHPli / HDPli / MHPli grup üyeliğime bağlı grup-temelli yoksunluğum ve birey-temelli yoksunluğum bir bütündür.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	CHPli / HDPli / MHPli grup üyeliğime bağlı grup-temelli yoksunluğum ile bütünleşmiş hissediyorum.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	CHPli / HDPli / MHPli grup üyeliğime bağlı grup-temelli yoksunluğum ile derin duygusal bir bağım var.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	CHPli / HDPli / MHPli grup üyeliğime bağlı grup-temelli yoksunluğum, birey-temelli yoksunluğum ile aynıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	CHPli / HDPli / MHPli grup üyeliğime bağlı grup-temelli yoksunluğumu gidermek için, diğer CHPliler'in / diğer HDPliler'in / diğer MHPliler'in yapacağından daha fazla şey yaparım.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	CHPli / HDPli / MHPli grup üyeliğime bağlı grup-temelli yoksunluğum beni etkilemektedir.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	CHPli / HDPli / MHPli grup üyeliğime bağlı grup temelli yoksunluğumu giderdiğimde, birey-temelli yoksunluğumu da gidermiş olacağım.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

*Mevcut araştırmanın üç farklı katılımcı grubu (şöyle ki CHPliler, HDPliler ve MHPliler) bu ölçeği yerel iç-grubu (kendi siyasi partisinin destekçilerini) referans alarak doldurmuştur.

*Three different participant groups of the present research (namely CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters) filled out the scale in reference to local in-group (supporters of own political party).

MEASURE OF FAMILIAL TIES*

Ailevi Bağlar Ölçümü

Aşağıdaki ifadeleri dikkatlice okuyup kendi duygu ve düşüncenize göre her bir ifadeye ne derece katılıp katılmadığınızı en uygun rakamı işaretleyerek belirtiniz.

Kesinlikle katılmıyorum **1**	Çoğunlukla katılmıyorum **2**	Kısmen katılmıyorum **3**	Kararsızım **4**	Kısmen katılıyorum **5**	Çoğunlukla katılıyorum **6**	Kesinlikle katılıyorum **7**

1	CHPliler / HDPliler / MHPliler benim için ailem gibidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	CHPli / HDPli / MHPli birisi incindiğinde veya tehlikede olduğunda, sanki bir aile bireyi incinmiş ya da tehlikedeymiş gibi hissederim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	CHPliler'i / HDPliler'i / MHPliler'i erkek ya da kız kardeşlerim gibi görürüm.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

*Mevcut araştırmanın üç farklı katılımcı grubu (şöyle ki CHPliler, HDPliler ve MHPliler) bu ölçümü yerel iç-grubu (kendi siyasi partisinin destekçilerini) referans alarak doldurmuştur.

*Three different participant groups of the present research (namely CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters) filled out the measure in reference to local in-group (supporters of own political party).

APPENDIX K

MEASURE OF AGENCY FOR THE GROUP*

Grup İçin Etkin Olma Ölçümü

Aşağıdaki ifadeleri dikkatlice okuyup kendi duygu ve düşüncenize göre her bir ifadeye ne derece katılıp katılmadığınızı en uygun rakamı işaretleyerek belirtiniz.

Kesinlikle katılmıyorum **1**	Çoğunlukla katılmıyorum **2**	Kısmen katılmıyorum **3**	Kararsızım **4**	Kısmen katılıyorum **5**	Çoğunlukla katılıyorum **6**	Kesinlikle katılıyorum **7**

1	Kendi davranışlarım üzerinde olduğu kadar CHPliler'in / HDPliler'in / MHPliler'in hareketlerinde de söz sahibiyim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	CHPliler'e / HDPliler'e / MHPliler'e olan her şeyden kendimi sorumlu hissederim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	CHPliler'in / HDPliler'in / MHPliler'in yaptığı her şeyden kendimi sorumlu hissederim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

*Mevcut araştırmanın üç farklı katılımcı grubu (şöyle ki CHPliler, HDPliler ve MHPliler) bu ölçümü yerel iç-grubu (kendi siyasi partisinin destekçilerini) referans alarak doldurmuştur.

*Three different participant groups of the present research (namely CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters) filled out the measure in reference to local in-group (supporters of own political party).

MEASURE OF INVULNERABILITY*

Sağlamlık Ölçümü

Aşağıdaki ifadeleri dikkatlice okuyup kendi duygu ve düşüncenize göre her bir ifadeye ne derece katılıp katılmadığınızı en uygun rakamı işaretleyerek belirtiniz.

Kesinlikle katılmıyorum 1	Çoğunlukla katılmıyorum 2	Kısmen katılmıyorum 3	Kararsızım 4	Kısmen katılıyorum 5	Çoğunlukla katılıyorum 6	Kesinlikle katılıyorum 7

1	Tehlike karşısında CHPliler'in / HDPliler'in / MHPliler'in ve kendimin bu durumu atlatacağına eminim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	Bana ya da CHPliler'e / HDPliler'e / MHPliler'e kötü bir şey olmaz.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	Hiçbir şey bana ya da CHPliler'e / HDPliler'e / MHPliler'e zarar veremez.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	CHPliler / HDPliler / MHPliler diğer pek çok gruptan daha dayanıklıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	CHPliler / HDPliler / MHPliler her türlü tehlike ile baş edebilir.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

*Mevcut araştırmanın üç farklı katılımcı grubu (şöyle ki CHPliler, HDPliler ve MHPliler) bu ölçümü yerel iç-grubu (kendi siyasi partisinin destekçilerini) referans alarak doldurmuştur.

*Three different participant groups of the present research (namely CHP, HDP, and MHP supporters) filled out the measure in reference to local in-group (supporters of own political party).

DEBRIEFING FORM

Sosyo-Politik Kimlik Çalışması
Katılım Sonrası Bilgi Formu

Bu araştırmaya katıldığınız için çok teşekkür ederiz. Verdiğiniz bilgiler kaydedilmiştir. Aşağıdaki bilgileri okumak ve araştırmanın amacını daha ayrıntılı biçimde öğrenmek için birkaç dakikanızı daha ayırmak ister misiniz?

Bu çalışma daha önce de belirtildiği gibi, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi (ODTÜ) Psikoloji Bölümü öğretim üyelerinden Prof. Dr. Türker Özkan danışmanlığında, Uzman Psikolog Fatih Özdemir tarafından doktora tezi kapsamında yürütülmektedir. Çalışmanın amacı; **sosyo-politik kimlik değişkenine bağlı olarak grup-temelli davranışları araştırmaktır. Araştırma seçim barajını aşarak Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'nde temsil hakkına sahip muhalefet partilerin destekçileri ile yürütülmektedir. Bu sebeple çalışmaya kendini CHPli (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi), HDPli (Halkların Demokratik Partisi) ya da MHPli (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi) olarak tanımlayan veya kendini bu partilerden en az birine yakın bulan kişilerin katılması istenmektedir.**

Beklentimiz, kimlik kaynaşımı kuramının ana savlarını çoklu grup bağlamında test ederek kimlik kaynaşımı ve iç-grup özdeşleşmesi kavramlarının farklılığını ortaya koymaktır. Ayrıca kimlik kaynaşımı kuramının teorik çerçevesini göreli yoksunluk kuramı ile geliştirerek aşırı grup-yanlısı davranışların nedenlerini anlamaktır. Literatürün farklılaştırma temelli yaklaşımına rağmen, mevcut çalışma birey ve grup seviyelerinin ve literatür tarafından bağımsız bir şekilde sunulan değişkenlerin aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sürecinde birbirlerini tamamlayıcı süreçler olabileceğini önermektedir ve bu durum bireylerin yerel iç-grup, geniş iç-grup ve yerel dış-grup üyeleri ile olan ilişkilerini etkileyebilir. Araştırmada hedeflenen, siyasi partileri değerlendirmek değil, siyasi parti destekçileri örnekleminde bu kuram ve değişkenleri bilimsel bir bakışaçısı ile test etmektir.

Bu araştırmanın bilimsel doğruluğu gelecekte bu çalışmaya katılabilecek potansiyel katılımcılarla yukarıdaki bilgilerin paylaşılmamasına bağlıdır. Eğer kişilerle bu bilgi paylaşılırsa, katılımcılar doğal olmayan yollarla ölçekleri cevaplamayı seçebilir ve verilerin bilimsel doğruluğu tehlikeye atılmış olur. Eğer bu bilgileri, araştırmaya henüz katılmamış diğer insanlarla paylaşmazsanız sizlere minnettar oluruz.

Bu çalışmadan alınacak ilk verilerin Aralık 2016 sonunda elde edilmesi amaçlanmaktadır. Elde edilen bilgiler sadece bilimsel araştırma ve yazılarda kullanılacaktır. Çalışmanın sonuçlarını öğrenmek ya da bu araştırma hakkında daha fazla bilgi almak için araştırmacı Uzman Psikolog Fatih Özdemir (e-posta: psyfatihozdemir@gmail.com) ile iletişim kurabilirsiniz. Bu araştırmaya katıldığınız için tekrar teşekkür ederiz.

Dominance Analyses for the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of CHP and T.C Citizens using the Sample of CHP Supporters

Table A.

Dominance Analysis for the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of CHP in order to Test Local In-Group Identity and Relative Deprivation

		Additional Contribution of				
	R^2	X_1 (CCI)	X_2 (CCIF)	X_3 (CTDI)	X_4 (CTDG)	X_5 (CDF)
Null & k = 0		.238	.329	.033	.196	.048
X_1 (CCI)	.238	-	.098	.005	.006	.150
X_2 (CCIF)	.329	.007	-	.004	.006	-.001
X_3 (CTDI)	.033	.210	.300	-		
X_4 (CTDG)	.029	.214	.304	.306	-	
X_5 (CDF)	.196	.048	.139			-
k = 1 average		.120	.210	.105	.006	.075
X_1X_2	.336	-	-	.004	.005	.230
X_1X_3	.243	-	.097	-	.003	.560
X_1X_4	.244	-	.097	.002	-	-
X_1X_5	.293					
X_2X_3	.333	.007	-	-	.003	-.001
X_2X_4	.335	.006	-	.001	-	-
X_2X_5	.346					
X_3X_4	.042	.299	.204	-	-	-
X_3X_5	.200	.140	.141	-	-	-
X_4X_5	.198	.143	.048	-	-	-
k = 2 average		.119	.117	.002	.004	.263
$X_1X_2X_3$	.340	-	-	-	.002	.250
$X_1X_2X_4$	.341	-	-	.001	-	-
$X_1X_2X_5$	.352					
$X_1X_3X_4$	.246	-	.096	-	-	-
$X_1X_3X_5$	.293	-	.060	-	-	-
$X_2X_3X_4$	.336	.000	-	-	-	-
$X_2X_3X_4$	.336	-.336	-	-	-	-
$X_2X_3X_4$	.336	.006	-	-	-	-
k = 3 average		-.110	.078	.001	.002	.250
$X_1X_2X_3X_4$	.342	-	-	-	-	.012
$X_1X_2X_3X_5$	.353	-	-	-	.001	-
$X_1X_2X_4X_5$	.353	-	-	.001	-	-
$X_1X_3X_4X_5$	.293	-	.061	-	-	-
$X_2X_3X_4X_5$	.349	.005	-	-	-	-
k = 4 average		.005	.070	.001	.002	.131
$X_1X_2X_3X_4X_5$	.354	-	-	-	-	-
Overall average (Percentage)		.092 (18%)	.184 (35%)	.035 (7%)	.052 (10%)	.159 (30%)

Note. CHP supporters ($N = 320$) were used as the participant group. Total shared variance with the dependent variable is 52%. The first letter of the script indicates the participant group (CHP supporters) whereas the second letter means the reference point of the measure; CCI = group identification with CHP; CCIF = identity fusion with CHP; CTDI = individual-based relative deprivation when CHP supporters make interpersonal comparisons with other T.C citizens; CTDG = group-based / CHP-based relative deprivation when CHP supporters make intergroup comparisons with other T.C citizens; CDF = relative deprivation fusion.

Dominance Analyses for the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of CHP and T.C Citizens using the Sample of CHP Supporters

Table B.
Dominance Analysis for the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of T.C Citizens in order to Test Extended In-Group Identity and Relative Deprivation

	R^2	Additional Contribution of				
		X_1 (CTI)	X_2 (CTIF)	X_3 (CTDI)	X_4 (CTDG)	X_5 (CDF)
Null & k = 0		.264	.290	.027	.077	.196
X_1 (CTI)	.264	-	.050	.007	.009	.150
X_2 (CTIF)	.290	.024	-	.003	.012	-.001
X_3 (CTDI)	.027	.244	.266	-		
X_4 (CTDG)	.016	.255	.277	.286	-	
X_5 (CDF)	.077	.196	.225			-
k = 1 average		.180	.205	.099	.011	.075
X_1X_2	.314	-	-	.004	.011	.230
X_1X_3	.271	-	.047	-	.004	.560
X_1X_4	.273	-	.052	.002	-	-
X_1X_5	.294					
X_2X_3	.293	.025	-	-	.009	-.002
X_2X_4	.302	.023	-	.000	-	-
X_2X_5	.307					
X_3X_4	.030	.295	.245	-	-	-
X_3X_5	.085	.233	.240	-	-	-
X_4X_5	.079	.246	.196	-	-	-
k = 2 average		.164	.156	.002	.008	.263
$X_1X_2X_3$	.318	-	-	-	.007	.250
$X_1X_2X_4$	.325	-	-	.000	-	-
$X_1X_2X_5$	.332					
$X_1X_3X_4$	.275	-	.050	-	-	-
$X_1X_3X_5$	.296	-	.037	-	-	-
$X_2X_3X_4$	.302	.000	-	-	-	-
$X_2X_3X_4$	.302	-.302	-	-	-	-
$X_2X_3X_4$	.302	.023	-	-	-	-
k = 3 average		-.093	.044	.000	.007	.250
$X_1X_2X_3X_4$	.325	-	-	-	-	.012
$X_1X_2X_3X_5$	.333	-	-	-	.004	-
$X_1X_2X_4X_5$	.337	-	-	.000	-	-
$X_1X_3X_4X_5$	.297	-	.040	-	-	-
$X_2X_3X_4X_5$	.313	.024	-	-	-	-
k = 4 average		.024	.042	.000	.006	.131
$X_1X_2X_3X_4X_5$	.337	-	-	-	-	-
Overall average (Percentage)		.129 (23%)	.174 (31%)	.032 (6%)	.026 (5%)	.196 (35%)

Note. CHP supporters ($N = 320$) were used as the participant group. Total shared variance with the dependent variable is 56%. The first letter of the script indicates the participant group (CHP supporters) whereas the second letter means the reference point of the measure; CTI = group identification with T.C citizens; CTIF = identity fusion with T.C citizens; CTDI = individual-based relative deprivation when CHP supporters make interpersonal comparisons with other T.C citizens; CTDG = group-based / CHP-based relative deprivation when CHP supporters make intergroup comparisons with other T.C citizens; CDF = relative deprivation fusion.

Dominance Analyses for the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of CHP and T.C Citizens using the Sample of CHP Supporters

Table C.
Dominance Analysis for the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of T.C Citizens in order to Test Local In-Group and Extended In-Group Identities

	R^2	Additional Contribution of			
		X_1 (CCI)	X_2 (CCIF)	X_3 (CTI)	X_4 (CTIF)
Null & k = 0		.038	.073	.264	.290
X_1 (CCI)	.038	-	.035	.226	.254
X_2 (CCIF)	.073	.000	-	.202	.220
X_3 (CTI)	.264	.000	.011	-	.050
X_4 (CTIF)	.290	.002	.003	.024	-
k = 1 average		.001	.016	.151	.175
X_1X_2	.073	-	-	.211	.220
X_1X_3	.264	-	.020	-	.050
X_1X_4	.292	-	.001	.022	-
X_2X_3	.275	.009	-	-	.042
X_2X_4	.293	.000	-	.024	-
X_3X_4	.314	.000	.003	-	-
k = 2 average		.003	.008	.086	.104
$X_1X_2X_3$	.284	-	-	-	.034
$X_1X_2X_4$	.293	-	-	.025	-
$X_1X_3X_4$	.314	-	.004	-	-
$X_2X_3X_4$	.317	.001	-	-	-
k = 3 average		.001	.004	.025	.034
$X_1X_2X_3X_4$	.318	-	-	-	-
Overall average (Percentage)		.011 (3%)	.025 (8%)	.131 (41%)	.151 (47%)

Note. CHP supporters ($N = 320$) were used as the participant group. Total shared variance with the dependent variable is 32%. The first letter of the script indicates the participant group (CHP supporters) whereas the second letter means the reference point of the measure; CCI = group identification with CHP; CCIF = identity fusion with CHP; CTI = group identification with T.C citizens; CTIF = identity fusion with T.C citizens.

Dominance Analyses for the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of HDP and T.C Citizens using the Sample of HDP Supporters

Table A.
Dominance Analysis for the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of HDP in order to Test Local In-Group Identity and Relative Deprivation

	R^2	Additional Contribution of				
		X_1 (HHI)	X_2 (HHIF)	X_3 (HTDI)	X_4 (HTDG)	X_5 (HDF)
Null & k = 0		.208	.257	.038	.233	-.004
X_1 (HHI)	.208	-	.060	.010	.021	.150
X_2 (HHIF)	.257	.011	-	.005	.014	-.001
X_3 (HTDI)	.038	.180	.224	-		
X_4 (HTDG)	.056	.162	.206	.215	-	
X_5 (HDF)	.233	-.004	.038			-
k = 1 average		.087	.132	.077	.018	.075
X_1X_2	.268	-	-	.005	.013	.230
X_1X_3	.218	-	.055	-	.014	.560
X_1X_4	.229	-	.052	.003	-	-
X_1X_5	.291					
X_2X_3	.262	.011	-	-	.010	-.001
X_2X_4	.271	.010	-	.001	-	-
X_2X_5	.298					
X_3X_4	.069	.212	.163	-	-	-
X_3X_5	.238	.035	.043	-	-	-
X_4X_5	.239	.042	-.007	-	-	-
k = 2 average		.062	.061	.003	.012	.263
$X_1X_2X_3$	.273	-	-	-	.009	.250
$X_1X_2X_4$	.281	-	-	.001	-	-
$X_1X_2X_5$	.307					
$X_1X_3X_4$	.232	-	.050	-	-	-
$X_1X_3X_5$	.294	-	.015	-	-	-
$X_2X_3X_4$	.272	.000	-	-	-	-
$X_2X_3X_4$	.272	-.272	-	-	-	-
$X_2X_3X_4$	.272	.010	-	-	-	-
k = 3 average		-.087	.033	.001	.009	.250
$X_1X_2X_3X_4$	.282	-	-	-	-	.030
$X_1X_2X_3X_5$	.309	-	-	-	.003	-
$X_1X_2X_4X_5$	.312	-	-	.000	-	-
$X_1X_3X_4X_5$	.297	-	.015	-	-	-
$X_2X_3X_4X_5$	.303	.009	-	-	-	-
k = 4 average		.009	.024	.000	.006	.140
$X_1X_2X_3X_4X_5$	.312	-	-	-	-	-
Overall average (Percentage)		.067 (16%)	.121 (28%)	.030 (7%)	.068 (16%)	.146 (34%)

Note. HDP supporters (N = 215) were used as the participant group. Total shared variance with the dependent variable is 43%. The first letter of the script indicates the participant group (HDP supporters) whereas the second letter means the reference point of the measure; HHI = group identification with HDP; HHIF = identity fusion with HDP; HTDI = individual-based relative deprivation when HDP supporters make interpersonal comparisons with other T.C citizens; HTDG = group-based / HDP-based relative deprivation when HDP supporters make intergroup comparisons with other T.C citizens; HDF = relative deprivation fusion.

Dominance Analyses for the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of HDP and T.C Citizens using the Sample of HDP Supporters

Table B.

Dominance Analysis for the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of T.C Citizens in order to Test Extended In-Group Identity and Relative Deprivation

		Additional Contribution of				
	R^2	X_1 (HTI)	X_2 (HTIF)	X_3 (HTDI)	X_4 (HTDG)	X_5 (HDF)
Null & k = 0		.132	.169	.006	.007	.125
X_1 (HTI)	.132	-	.041	.004	.000	.150
X_2 (HTIF)	.169	.004	-	.004	.001	-.001
X_3 (HTDI)	.006	.130	.167	-		
X_4 (HTDG)	.001	.135	.172	.169	-	
X_5 (HDF)	.007	.125	.163			-
k = 1 average		.099	.136	.059	.001	.075
X_1X_2	.173	-	-	.004	.000	.230
X_1X_3	.136	-	.041	-	.001	.560
X_1X_4	.132	-	.041	.005	-	-
X_1X_5	.140					
X_2X_3	.173	.004	-	-	.000	.000
X_2X_4	.170	.003	-	.003	-	-
X_2X_5	.176					
X_3X_4	.011	.162	.126	-	-	-
X_3X_5	.010	.167	.163	-	-	-
X_4X_5	.011	.162	.126	-	-	-
k = 2 average		.100	.099	.004	.000	.263
$X_1X_2X_3$	.177	-	-	-	.000	.250
$X_1X_2X_4$	.173	-	-	.004	-	-
$X_1X_2X_5$	.180					
$X_1X_3X_4$	.137	-	.040	-	-	-
$X_1X_3X_5$	.142	-	.040	-	-	-
$X_2X_3X_4$	.173	.000	-	-	-	-
$X_2X_3X_4$	.173	-.173	-	-	-	-
$X_2X_3X_4$	.173	.004	-	-	-	-
k = 3 average		-.056	.040	.004	.000	.250
$X_1X_2X_3X_4$	.177	-	-	-	-	.005
$X_1X_2X_3X_5$	.182	-	-	-	.000	-
$X_1X_2X_4X_5$	.180	-	-	.002	-	-
$X_1X_3X_4X_5$	.144	-	.038	-	-	-
$X_2X_3X_4X_5$	.178	.004	-	-	-	-
k = 4 average		.004	.039	.003	.000	.128
$X_1X_2X_3X_4X_5$	.182	-	-	-	-	-
Overall average (Percentage)		.068 (31%)	.111 (51%)	.018 (8%)	.002 (1%)	.020 (9%)

Note. HDP supporters ($N = 215$) were used as the participant group. Total shared variance with the dependent variable is 22%. The first letter of the script indicates the participant group (HDP supporters) whereas the second letter means the reference point of the measure; HTI = group identification with T.C citizens; HTIF = identity fusion with T.C citizens; HTDI = individual-based relative deprivation when HDP supporters make interpersonal comparisons with other T.C citizens; HTDG = group-based / HDP-based relative deprivation when HDP supporters make intergroup comparisons with other T.C citizens; HDF = relative deprivation fusion.

Dominance Analyses for the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of HDP and T.C Citizens using the Sample of HDP Supporters

Table C.
Dominance Analysis for the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of T.C Citizens in order to Test Local In-Group and Extended In-Group Identities

	R^2	Additional Contribution of			
		X_1 (HHI)	X_2 (HHIF)	X_3 (HTI)	X_4 (HTIF)
Null & k = 0		.056	.032	.132	.169
X_1 (HHI)	.056	-	.001	.103	.140
X_2 (HHIF)	.032	.025	-	.124	.152
X_3 (HTI)	.132	.027	.024	-	.041
X_4 (HTIF)	.169	.027	.015	.004	-
k = 1 average		.026	.013	.077	.111
X_1X_2	.057	-	-	.104	.139
X_1X_3	.159	-	.002	-	.039
X_1X_4	.196	-	.000	.002	-
X_2X_3	.156	.005	-	-	.033
X_2X_4	.184	.012	-	.005	-
X_3X_4	.173	.025	.016	-	-
k = 2 average		.014	.006	.037	.070
$X_1X_2X_3$	.161	-	-	-	.037
$X_1X_2X_4$	.196	-	-	.002	-
$X_1X_3X_4$	.198	-	.000	-	-
$X_2X_3X_4$	.189	.009	-	-	-
k = 3 average		.009	.000	.002	.037
$X_1X_2X_3X_4$	.198	-	-	-	-
Overall average (Percentage)		.026 (13%)	.013 (6%)	.062 (31%)	.097 (49%)

Note. HDP supporters (N = 215) were used as the participant group. Total shared variance with the dependent variable is 20%. The first letter of the script indicates the participant group (HDP supporters) whereas the second letter means the reference point of the measure; HHI = group identification with HDP; HHIF = identity fusion with HDP; HTI = group identification with T.C citizens; HTIF = identity fusion with T.C citizens.

APPENDIX P

Dominance Analyses for the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of MHP and T.C Citizens using the Sample of MHP Supporters

Table A.
Dominance Analysis for the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of MHP in order to Test Local In-Group Identity and Relative Deprivation

		Additional Contribution of				
	R^2	X_1 (MMI)	X_2 (MMIF)	X_3 (MTDI)	X_4 (MTDG)	X_5 (MDF)
Null & k = 0		.336	.441	.005	.285	.073
X_1 (MMI)	.336	-	.108	.002	.022	.150
X_2 (MMIF)	.441	.003	-	.001	.021	-.002
X_3 (MTDI)	.005	.333	.437	-		
X_4 (MTDG)	.179	.159	.263	.283	-	
X_5 (MDF)	.285	.073	.177			-
k = 1 average		.142	.246	.095	.022	.074
X_1X_2	.444	-	-	.000	.019	.230
X_1X_3	.338	-	.106	-	.039	.560
X_1X_4	.358	-	.105	.019	-	-
X_1X_5	.416					
X_2X_3	.442	.002	-	-	.028	-.001
X_2X_4	.462	.001	-	.008	-	-
X_2X_5	.494					
X_3X_4	.218	.245	.159	-	-	-
X_3X_5	.285	.159	.178	-	-	-
X_4X_5	.326	.137	.051	-	-	-
k = 2 average		.109	.120	.009	.029	.263
$X_1X_2X_3$	.444	-	-	-	.027	.250
$X_1X_2X_4$	.463	-	-	.008	-	-
$X_1X_2X_5$	.494					
$X_1X_3X_4$	.377	-	.094	-	-	-
$X_1X_3X_5$	.419	-	.075	-	-	-
$X_2X_3X_4$	.470	.000	-	-	-	-
$X_2X_3X_4$	.470	-.470	-	-	-	-
$X_2X_3X_4$	.470	.001	-	-	-	-
k = 3 average		-.156	.085	.008	.027	.250
$X_1X_2X_3X_4$	.471	-	-	-	-	.034
$X_1X_2X_3X_5$	.494	-	-	-	.011	-
$X_1X_2X_4X_5$	.501	-	-	.004	-	-
$X_1X_3X_4X_5$	.434	-	.071	-	-	-
$X_2X_3X_4X_5$	.505	.000	-	-	-	-
k = 4 average		.000	.078	.006	.019	.142
$X_1X_2X_3X_4X_5$	.505	-	-	-	-	-
Overall average (Percentage)		.108 (17%)	.223 (36%)	.029 (5%)	.091 (15%)	.165 (27%)

Note. MHP supporters ($N = 150$) were used as the participant group. Total shared variance with the dependent variable is 62%. The first letter of the script indicates the participant group (MHP supporters) whereas the second letter means the reference point of the measure; MMI = group identification with MHP; MMIF = identity fusion with MHP; MTDI = individual-based relative deprivation when MHP supporters make interpersonal comparisons with other T.C citizens; MTDG = group-based / MHP-based relative deprivation when MHP supporters make intergroup comparisons with other T.C citizens; MDF = relative deprivation fusion.

Dominance Analyses for the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of MHP and T.C Citizens using the Sample of MHP Supporters

Table B.
Dominance Analysis for the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of T.C Citizens in order to Test Extended In-Group Identity and Relative Deprivation

		Additional Contribution of				
	R^2	X_1 (MTI)	X_2 (MTIF)	X_3 (MTDI)	X_4 (MTDG)	X_5 (MDF)
Null & k = 0		.152	.183	.026	.132	.037
X_1 (MTI)	.152	-	.048	.006	.017	.150
X_2 (MTIF)	.183	.017	-	.016	.024	-.006
X_3 (MTDI)	.026	.132	.173	-		
X_4 (MTDG)	.046	.112	.153	.161	-	
X_5 (MDF)	.132	.037	.075			-
k = 1 average		.075	.112	.061	.021	.072
X_1X_2	.200	-	-	.011	.018	.230
X_1X_3	.158	-	.053	-	.011	.560
X_1X_4	.169	-	.049	.000	-	-
X_1X_5	.222					
X_2X_3	.199	.012	-	-	.011	-.003
X_2X_4	.207	.011	-	.003	-	-
X_2X_5	.248					
X_3X_4	.049	.169	.120	-	-	-
X_3X_5	.146	.065	.072	-	-	-
X_4X_5	.136	.082	.033	-	-	-
k = 2 average		.068	.065	.005	.013	.262
$X_1X_2X_3$	.211	-	-	-	.008	.250
$X_1X_2X_4$	.218	-	-	.001	-	-
$X_1X_2X_5$	.258					
$X_1X_3X_4$	.169	-	.050	-	-	-
$X_1X_3X_5$	.226	-	.039	-	-	-
$X_2X_3X_4$	.210	.000	-	-	-	-
$X_2X_3X_4$	.210	-.210	-	-	-	-
$X_2X_3X_4$	.210	.009	-	-	-	-
k = 3 average		-.067	.045	.001	.008	.250
$X_1X_2X_3X_4$	.219	-	-	-	-	.046
$X_1X_2X_3X_5$	.265	-	-	-	.000	-
$X_1X_2X_4X_5$	.259	-	-	.006	-	-
$X_1X_3X_4X_5$	.226	-	.039	-	-	-
$X_2X_3X_4X_5$	.258	.007	-	-	-	-
k = 4 average		.007	.042	.004	.004	.148
$X_1X_2X_3X_4X_5$	.265	-	-	-	-	-
Overall average (Percentage)		.057 (15%)	.101 (27%)	.023 (6%)	.043 (11%)	.155 (41%)

Note. MHP supporters (*N* = 150) were used as the participant group. Total shared variance with the dependent variable is 38%. The first letter of the script indicates the participant group (MHP supporters) whereas the second letter means the reference point of the measure; MTI = group identification with T.C citizens; MTIF = identity fusion with T.C citizens; MTDI = individual-based relative deprivation when MHP supporters make interpersonal comparisons with other T.C citizens; MTDG = group-based / MHP-based relative deprivation when MHP supporters make intergroup comparisons with other T.C citizens; MDF = relative deprivation fusion.

Dominance Analyses for the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of MHP and T.C Citizens using the Sample of MHP Supporters

Table C.
Dominance Analysis for the Endorsement of Extreme Pro-Group Behaviors on the behalf of T.C Citizens in order to Test Local In-Group and Extended In-Group Identities

	R^2	Additional Contribution of			
		X_1 (MMI)	X_2 (MMIF)	X_3 (MTI)	X_4 (MTIF)
Null & k = 0		.085	.104	.152	.183
X_1 (MMI)	.085	-	.021	.095	.124
X_2 (MMIF)	.104	.002	-	.104	.111
X_3 (MTI)	.152	.028	.056	-	.048
X_4 (MTIF)	.183	.026	.032	.017	-
k = 1 average		.019	.036	.072	.094
X_1X_2	.106	-	-	.104	.110
X_1X_3	.180	-	.030	-	.040
X_1X_4	.209	-	.007	.011	-
X_2X_3	.208	.002	-	-	.025
X_2X_4	.215	.001	-	.018	-
X_3X_4	.200	.020	.033	-	-
k = 2 average		.008	.023	.044	.058
$X_1X_2X_3$	.210	-	-	-	.023
$X_1X_2X_4$	.216	-	-	.017	-
$X_1X_3X_4$	.220	-	.013	-	-
$X_2X_3X_4$	.233	.000	-	-	-
k = 3 average		.000	.013	.017	.023
$X_1X_2X_3X_4$	.233	-	-	-	-
Overall average (Percentage)		.028 (12%)	.044 (19%)	.071 (31%)	.090 (38%)

Note. MHP supporters (N = 150) were used as the participant group. Total shared variance with the dependent variable is 23%. The first letter of the script indicates the participant group (MHP supporters) whereas the second letter means the reference point of the measure; MMI = group identification with MHP; MMIF = identity fusion with MHP; MTI = group identification with T.C citizens; MTIF = identity fusion with T.C citizens.

TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

GİRİŞ

Grup-yanlısı davranışların altında yatan motivasyonu anlamak, sosyal bilimlerin süregelen ilgi alanlarından biri olmuştur. Ancak, aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış ve grup üyeleri yararına olağandışı (aşırı) fedakârlıkta bulunma durumunun nedenleri henüz netleştirilmemiştir. Mevcut çalışma, "neden bazı kişiler iç-grup üyeleri için kavga etme, savaşma ya da kendi yaşamını feda etmeye razı olma gibi aşırı grup-yanlısı davranışlarda ve olağandışı fedakarlıklarda bulunuyor" sorusunu anlamlandırmayı ve sosyal kimlik (Tajfel ve Turner, 1979), kimlik kaynaşımı (örn., Swann, Gomez, Seyle, Morales ve Huici, 2009) ve göreli yoksunluk (örn., Crosby, 1976; Davis, 1959; Gurr, 1970; Runciman, 1966) kuramlarını kullanarak grup içi / gruplar arası ilişkileri birey ve grup seviyelerinde rasyonelleştiren teorik bir çerçeve sağlamayı hedeflenmektedir.

Çalışmanın temel amaçları (i) aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış literatürünü sentezlemek; (ii) aşırı grup-yanlısı davranışları yordamak için kullanılan kimlik kaynaşımı kuramının temel varsayımlarını ilk defa Türkiye'nin çoklu-siyasi parti düzleminde test etmek; (iii) kimlik kaynaşımı kavramının (kimlik kaynaşımı kuramı: bireysel kimlik ve grup-temelli kimliğin bağlantılı ve bir olma hali) iç-grup özdeşleşmesiden (sosyal kimlik kuramı: grup-temelli kimlikle özdeşleşme) farkını incelemek; ve (iv) göreli yoksunluk kaynaşımı, yerel iç-grup ile ailevi bağlar, yerel iç-grup için bireysel etkinlik ve yerel iç-grubun algılanan sağlamlığı değişkenlerini aracı değişken olarak kullanarak yerel iç-grupla özdeşleşme ve kimlik kaynaşımının yerel iç-grup ve geniş iç-grup üyeleri uğruna aşırı grup-yanlısı davranışları onaylama üzerindeki dolaylı ilişkisini araştırmaktır. Ek olarak, yerel iç-grup-temelli

kimlik süreçleri ve yerel iç-grup ve geniş iç-grup üyeleri uğruna aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimi arasındaki ilişkide geniş iç-grup ile özdeşleşme ve kimlik kaynaşımının aracı rolü test edilecektir.

Bu amaçlar doğrultusunda mevcut araştırma, Kasım-2015 parlamento seçimlerinde Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'nde temsil hakkına sahip olan muhalefet partilerinin destekçileriyle (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, CHP; Halkların Demokratik Partisi, HDP; ve Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi, MHP) çoklu siyasi parti düzleminde yürütülmüştür. Katılımcıların yerel iç-grup (kişinin desteklediği siyasi partinin destekçileri), geniş iç-grup (T.C vatandaşları) ve yerel dış-gruplarla (iktidar partisi AKP ve diğer iki muhalefet partisinin destekçileri) olan birey ve grup seviyelerindeki ilişkileri ve aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimleri incelenmiştir. Bu nedenle araştırma, aşırı grup-yanlısı davranışları yordamaya ilişkin teorik katkısının yanı sıra Türkiye'nin mevcut siyasi atmosferini yansıtması açısından da önemlidir.

1.1 Sosyal Kimlik ve Kimlik Kaynaşımı Kuramları

Sosyal Kimlik Kuramı (Tajfel ve Turner, 1979) 1970 sonlarından beri bireyin "ben kimim" algısını ve kişilerin grup-yanlısı davranışlarda bulunma motivasyonunu anlamlandırmak amacıyla ilgili literatürde sıklıkla kullanılmaktadır (örn., Jasper, 2014; van Stekelenburg ve Klandermans, 2013; van Zomeren, Postmes ve Spears, 2008). Sosyal grup üyeliği-temelli bilgi ve bu üyeliğe yüklenen duygusal bağlılıktan türeyen ve kişinin benliğinin bir parçası olan sosyal kimlik, "ben kimim" sorusuna verilen yanıtın önemli bir kısmını oluşturmakta (Tajfel, 1978) ve kişiler arası ve gruplar arası ilişkileri şekillendirmektedir. Ancak az sayıda grup üyesi, grubu için aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış gösterme eğilimindedir. Hayatta kalma ya da kendini koruma içgüdüleri aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergilemeye yönelik eğilimi azaltmaktadır. Öyleyse, kişileri aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimine iten durum nedir? İşlevsel olarak eşit, etkin ve geçirgen birey-temelli kimlik ile grup-temelli kimliğin birbiriyle örtüşme ve kişinin iç-grubu ile kaynaşma ve bir olma durumunu vurgulayan kimlik kaynaşımı kuramı, aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğiliminin altındaki motivasyonu rasyonelleştirmek için son dönem çalışmalarda kullanılmaktadır (örn., Swann ve ark., 2009; Swann, Jetten, Gomez, Whitehouse ve Bastian, 2012). Bir diğer deyişle, kimlik kaynaşımı benlik ve grup arasındaki ayrılmaz bağlantı durumunu ifade etmektedir (Gomez ve ark., 2017).

Kimlik kaynaşımı hali sosyal kimlik kuramı (örn., Tajfel ve Turner, 1979; Turner, 1999) çerçevesinde test edilen iç-grup özdeşleşmesi durumuyla kavramsal olarak yakınmış gibi gözükse de, bireysel kimlik ve sosyal kimliğin aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimiyle etkileşimi dikkate alındığında kimlik kaynaşımı ve iç-grup özdeşleşmesi kavramları arasında farklılıklar olduğu söylenebilir (Swann ve ark., 2012). Öncelikle sosyal kimlik kuramı bireysel kimlik ve sosyal kimliğin ayrımına dikkat çekmekte ve bireyin sosyal davranışlarını kişiler arası – gruplar arası süreklilik içerisinde sıfır toplamlı ilişkisellikle incelemektedir; örneğin grup-temelli davranışlar bireysel kimlik etkinsizleşirken sosyal kimliğin aktive olmasıyla açıklanmakta ve bu durum işlevsel antagonizma prensibi (functional antagonism principle) olarak isimlendirilmektedir (örn., Levine ve Crowther, 2008; Tajfel ve Turner, 1979; Turner, 1999; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher ve Wetherell, 1987). İkinci olarak, depersonalizasyon varsayımına göre (depersonalization hypothesis) iç-grup özdeşleşmesi grup üyelerinin kişisel özellikleri ve bu bireylerle deneyimlenen kendine özgü / kişisel ilişkilerden ziyade, soyut kategorik bağlar ve özdeşleşilen grubun prototipik özellikleriyle gelişmektedir; bu nedenle bireyler kendilerini ve iç-grup üyelerini diğer iç-grup üyeleri ile değiştirilebilir (birbirinin yerini alabilir) olarak algılamaktadır (örn., Hogg, 1993; Hogg ve Hardie, 1991). Aynı zamanda bireyler diğer iç-grup üyeleri ile doğrudan etkileşime girmeseler bile üyelik temelli (kategori-temelli) çekim, iç-grup özdeşleşmesi halini desteklemektedir (Stets ve Burke, 2000). Son olarak ise belirginlik varsayımına göre (salience hypothesis) sosyal kimlik kuramı yaklaşımı çerçevesinde, iç-grup özdeşleşmesi hali bağlam-bağımlı bir durum olarak nitelendirilmektedir; sosyal konteksteki değişiklikler iç-grup ile özdeşleşme durumunu belirlemekte ve kuvvetini etkilemektedir (Turner, 1999).

Diğer bir taraftan kimlik kaynaşımı kuramı (Swann ve ark., 2012), bireysel kimlik ve grup-temelli kimliğin aynı anda etkin ve birbirine işlevsel olarak eşit olabileceğini önermektedir. Bireysel kimlik ve sosyal kimlik birbiri ile çatışmaktan ziyade birbirini destekleyerek tamamlayabilir. Kimlik sinerji prensibine göre (identity synergy principle), etkin birey-temelli ve grup-temelli kimlikler arasındaki geçişken ve flu sınırlar sinerji (görevdeşlik) yaratmakta ve grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimini artırmaktadır. Oluşan bu sinerjiden dolayı, kimlik-kaynaşımlı kişiler bireysel ya da grup-temelli kimliklerine yönelik bir tehdit algıladığında, bireylerin

aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimi artmaktadır (örn., Swann ve ark., 2009; Swann, Wenzlaff ve Tafarodi, 1992). İkinci olarak kimlik kaynaşımı kuramının ilişkisel bağlar prensibine göre (relational ties principle), sadece üyelik-temelli (kategori-temelli) çekim ve grup prototip özelliklerine dayalı kategorik bağlar değil, tek olma temelli çekim (iç-grup üyelerinin kendine has bireysel özelliklerini ve üyeler ile yaşanan kişisel ilişkileri içermektedir.) de iç-grup üyeleriyle ilişkisel bağları kuvvetlendirmektedir. Bu sebeple, kişiler kendilerini ve diğer grup üyelerini bir başka iç-grup üyesi ile değiştirilebilir (birbirinin yerini alabilir) olarak görmemektedir. Üçüncü olarak etkin bireysel öz prensibine göre (agentic personal self principle), kimlik-kaynaşımlı bireylerin aşırı grup-yanlısı davranışları bireysel kimliğin dışa vuruşu olarak nitelendirilebilir. Bireysel etkinlik (niyetlenen davranışı başlatma ve kontrol etme yeterliğini içermektedir.) iç-grup üyeleri adına bireysel sorumluluk alma eğilimini artırmaktadır; bu sebeple iç-grup özdeşleşmesi kontrol edildikten sonra bile kimlik kaynaşımı, üyelerin aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimini açıklamıştır (Swann ve ark., 2009). Son olarak değişmezlik prensibine göre (irrevocability principle), kimlik kaynaşımı sosyal bağlam-bağımlı bir durum olarak sunulmamakta ve kimlik kaynaşımı halinin görece sabitliğine dikkat çekilmektedir. Özellikle, iç-grup üyeleriyle kurulan derin ilişkisel / ailevi bağlar kimlik kaynaşımı durumunun sabitliğini desteklemektedir. Kimlik-kaynaşımlı bireyler iç-grup üyeleri tarafından dışlansalar dahi, iç-gruba yönelik bağı iyileştirmek adına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranışta bulunma eğilimini sürdürmektedir (Gomez, Morales, Hart, Vazquez ve Swann, 2011).

1.1.1 İç-grup özdeşleşmesi ve kimlik kaynaşımı farkını gösteren bulgular

İç-grup özdeşleşmesi ve kimlik kaynaşımı durumları arasındaki farklılık ve bu kavramların aşırı grup-yanlısı davranışı destekleme eğilimiyle ilişkisi farklı araştırmalarda incelenmiştir. Gomez, Brooks, Buhrmester, Vazquez, Jetten ve Swann (2011) kimlik kaynaşımı ve iç-grup özdeşleşmesi kavramlarının farkını açıklayıcı ve doğrulayıcı faktör analizleriyle sunmuştur. İkinci olarak kişilerin algıladığı yaşam kaliteleri ve destekledikleri siyasi partinin Amerikan ve İspanyol ulusal seçimlerindeki galibiyeti ya da mağlubiyeti arasındaki ilişki test edildiğinde, yüksek kimlik-kaynaşımlı bireyler grup-temelli galibiyeti ve mağlubiyeti kimlik-kaynaşımsız, grup üyeleriyle düşük özdeşleşmiş ve yüksek özdeşleşmiş kişilerden

daha fazla içselleştirmiştir (Buhrmester, Gomez, Brooks, Morales, Fernandez ve Swann, 2012). Grup üyeliği ve bu üyeliğin getirdiği olumlu ve olumsuz çıktılar yüksek kimlik-kaynaşımlı kişiler tarafından yoğun bir şekilde bireysel olarak algılanmıştır. Fakat grupla yüksek özdeşleşmiş (kimlik-kaynaşımsız) grup üyeleri grup galibiyetini içselleştirirken, mağlubiyeti içselleştirmemiştir. Bunun yanında, kimlik-kaynaşımlı kişiler farklı vinyetler (senaryolar) ile incelenen aşırı grup-yanlısı davranışları (örn., iç-grup üyelerinin hayatını kurtarmak için kendi hayatını feda etme eğilimi) kimlik-kaynaşımsız ve düşük kimlik-kaynaşımlı kişilerden daha fazla desteklemiştir (örn., Gomez, Brooks ve ark., 2011; Swann, Gomez, Dovidio, Hart ve Jetten, 2010; Swann, Gomez, Huici, Morales ve Hixon, 2010).

Bireysel kimlik ve sosyal kimliğin bağlantılılığını test etmek amacıyla bireysel ya da sosyal kimlik aktivasyonunun aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimi üzerindeki yordayıcı gücü değerlendirilmiştir. Yüksek kimlik-kaynaşımlı örneklemde bireysel kimlik ya da sosyal kimliğin aktivasyonu aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimini güçlendirirken, yüksek özdeşleşmiş (kimlik-kaynaşımsız) örneklemde ise sadece sosyal kimliğin aktivasyonu grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimini yordamıştır (örn., Swann ve ark., 2009; Swann ve Buhrmester, 2015; Swann, Gomez, Buhrmester, Rodriguez, Jimenez ve Vazquez, 2014; Swann, Gomez, Dovidio ve ark., 2010). Kimlik-kaynaşımlı üyelerde bireysel kimlik ve sosyal kimlik arasındaki geçirgen, flu ve örtüşmüş sınırlardan ötürü, aktivasyon akışı bireysel kimlikten sosyal kimliğe (ya da tersine) olabilmekte ve aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimini kuvvetlendirebilmektedir.

Tek olma temelli çekim (ilişkisel bağlar) aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimini yordayan değişkenlerin başında gelmektedir; bireyler iç-gruplarını prototipik özellikler-temelli sosyal kategorilerden ziyade bir aile olarak görebilir. Bu eğilim grup üyeleri arasındaki algılanan bağı, paylaşılan birlikteliği ve karşılıklı sorumluluk algısını ve aynı zamanda kolektif bağları güçlendirmektedir (Gomez, Brooks ve ark., 2011; Swann, Buhrmester ve ark., 2014). Bu nedenle kimlik-kaynaşımsız ya da zayıf kimlik-kaynaşımlı iç-grup üyelerine kıyasla, yüksek kimlik-kaynaşımlı İspanyollar, yardıma muhtaç İspanyol vatandaşlar için daha fazla para bağışında bulunmuştur (Swann, Gomez, Huici ve ark., 2010); ya da yüksek kimlik-kaynaşımlı bireylerin, ülkelerini korumak adına savaşma ve kendi hayatlarını feda etmeye ilişkin niyetleri daha kuvvetlidir (Gomez, Brooks ve ark.,

2011; Swann ve ark., 2009); ya da iç-grup üyeleri tehlikede olduğunda yüksek kimlik-kaynaşımlı kişiler daha güçlü endişe ve stres sergilerken, kimlik-kaynaşımsız bireyler kendini koruma motivasyonu göstermiştir (Swann, Gomez ve ark., 2014).

Kimlik kaynaşımı araştırmalarının çoğunda, bireylerin ülkelerine yönelik kimlik kaynaşım durumları (örn., İspanyol ya da Amerikan toplumu) incelenmiştir; ancak geniş gruplarda üyelerin tüm grup üyeleriyle nasıl güçlü ailevi ve ilişkili bağlar kurduğu sorusu önemlidir. Bu bireyler bütün grubun sadece sınırlı bir kısmıyla kişisel ilişkiler ve doğrudan etkileşim kurma olanağına sahiptir. Bu nedenle araştırmacılar yerel kaynaşım (örn., aile, arkadaş grupları, küçük askeri birimler gibi küçük grupları içermektedir.) ve geniş kaynaşım (örn., ülkeler, cinsiyet grupları, dini gruplar gibi büyük grupları içemektedir.) olmak üzere iki farklı kaynaşım türünü önermektedir. Küçük gruplarda biyolojik genler ya da temel değerler gibi paylaşılan önemli özellikler üyeleri birlikte tutarken, geniş gruplarda ise işlenmiş merkez özellikler (the primed core characteristics) tüm üyelere yansıtılır ve bireyler tüm üyeler ile doğrudan etkileşime girmemiş olsalar bile bu yansıtma hali, grup üyeleri arası ailevi ve ilişkisel bağları güçlendirir. Örneğin, işlenmiş (primed) paylaşılan biyolojik özellikler (örn., Çinli ve Hintli örneklemlerde) ve paylaşılan sosyal değerler (örn., Amerikan ve İspanyol örneklemlerde) kimlik kaynaşımı ve iç-grup üyeleri uğruna kavga etme ya da hayatını feda etmeye eğilimi arasındaki ilişkiyi artırmış ve ailevi bağlar kimlik kaynaşımı ve aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimi arasındaki ilişkiye aracılık etmiştir. Kimlik-kaynaşımlı kişiler için, paylaşılan merkez özelliklere ilişkin farkındalık bu özelliklerin olumlu ya da olumsuz algılanmasından daha mühimdir (Swann, Buhrmester ve ark., 2014). Geniş ya da çok etnikli gruplarda paylaşılan merkez özellikler biyolojik yakınlıktan ziyade ulusal kimlik, grup-temelli değerler ve ideolojiler, olaysal hafıza ve ortak sıkıntılar gibi çoğunlukla oluşturulmuş sosyo-kültürel kavramlardır, ve bu kavramlar grup üyelerinin benzerliğini ve kolektif ve ailevi ilişkisel bağları kuvvetlendirir (Swann ve ark., 2012). Bilhassa paylaşılan ortak sorunlar bireyleri paylaşılan olumlu deneyimlerden daha çok birarada tutmaktadır (Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Finkenouer ve Vohs, 2001). Bu nedenle mevcut çalışma paylaşılan merkez değerlerin yanısıra algılanan ortak dezavantaja yönelik farkındalık ve göreli yoksunluk halinin literatür

tarafından sunulan yerel iç-grup ile ailevi bağlar, yerel iç-grup için bireysel etkinlik ve yerel iç-grubun algılanan sağlamlığı değişkenleri gibi kimlik kaynaşımı ve iç-grup üyeleri uğruna aşırı grup-yanlısı davranışta bulunma eğilimi arasındaki ilişkiye aracılık edebileceğini önermektedir.

Sonraki bölümde göreli yoksunluk kuramına ilişkin literatür taranacak ve kimlik kaynaşımı kuramı çerçevesinde göreli yoksunluk kaynaşımı kavramı sunulacaktır. Mevcut araştırma aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sürecinde göreli yoksunluk halinin iç-grup özdeşleşmesi ve kimlik kaynaşımı kavramlarıyla farklı ilişkiler gösterebileceğini önermektedir.

1.2 Göreli Yoksunluk Kuramı

Bireylerin nesnel statülerine ve nesnel sosyo-ekonomik dezavantajın olumsuz etkilerine rağmen (Wilkinson ve Pickett, 2010), kişiler arası ve gruplar arası öznel karşılaştırmalar ve yorumlamalar algılanan eşitsizliğe ilişkin farkında olma halini ve gösterilen tepkiyi şekillendirmektedir (örn., Osborne ve Sibley, 2013; Stouffer, Suchman, DeVinney, Star ve Williams, 1949). Göreli yoksunluk kuramına göre (örn., Crosby, 1976; Davis, 1959; Gurr, 1970; Runciman, 1966) bireyler kendilerini diğer kişiler, gruplar ya da kendi geçmişleriyle kıyaslamaktadır. Kişiler arası ve gruplar arası öznel karşılaştırmalar bireyin kendi ya da iç-grubunun dezavantajlı durumunu algıladığı bilişsel bir onaya neden olmaktadır (örn., Smith, Pettigrew, Pippin ve Biolasiewicz, 2012).

Runciman (1966) öznel kıyaslamaların seviyesini ve buna bağlı olarak göreli yoksunluğun birey-temelli ya da grup-temelli olarak farklılaştığını vurgulamıştır; bireyler kişiler arası ya da gruplar arası karşılaştırmalar yapma eğilimindedir ve bu yolla diğer kişilere kıyasla kişisel dezavatajının ya da diğer gruplara kıyasla kendi iç-grubunun dezavantajının farkına varmaktadır. Göreli yoksunluk literatüründe kişiler arası ve gruplar arası öznel karşılaştırmalar farklı çıktılarla ilişkilendirilmektedir; kişiler arası karşılaştırmalar ve birey-temelli yoksunluk öznel esenlik, yaşam doyumu, öz-saygı, stres, depresyon ve endişe gibi birey-temelli durumları yordarken (örn., Osborne ve Sibley, 2013; Smith ve ark., 2012; Smith ve Ortiz, 2002; Walker, 1999; Walker ve Mann, 1987), gruplar arası karşılaştırmalar ve grup-temelli yoksunluk hali grup-yanlısı protesto, kolektif eylem ve sosyal değişim gibi grup-temelli çıktılarla ilişkilendirilmektedir (örn., Abrams ve Grant, 2012; Walker ve Man, 1987).

Araştırmacılar aynı seviye yaklaşımın önemine dikkat çekmektedir (örn., Smith ve ark., 2012; Walker ve Mann, 1987; Walker ve Pettigrew, 1984); birey-temelli çıktıların kişiler arası kıyaslamalar ve birey-temelli yoksunluk haliyle incelenmesi gerektiği önerilirken, grup-temelli çıktıların gruplar arası kıyaslamalar ve grup-temelli yoksunluk durumuyla test edilmesi gerektiği savunulmuştur. Birey-temelli ve grup-temelli yoksunluklar neredeyse birbiriyle ilişkisiz süreçler olarak sunulmakta, ve grup-yanlısı davranışların çoğunlukla grup-temelli kimlik, gruplar arası kıyaslamalar ve grup-temelli yoksunluk haliyle açıklanabileceği önerilmektedir (örn., Smith ve ark., 2012; Walker, 1999; Walker ve Mann, 1987). Bu durum Hogg'un makalelerinde (1987; 1991; 1993) bahsedilen bireysel ve sosyal kimliğe yönelik farklılaştırma-temelli yaklaşımı hatırlatmakta ve grup-temelli davranışlarda bireysel kimliğin, kişiler arası kıyaslamaların ve birey-temelli yoksunluğun etkisini görmezden gelmektedir. Literatürdeki bazı çalışmalar bu görüş ile tutarlı değildir. Birey-temelli göreli yoksunluk hali her araştırmada birey-temelli çıktıları anlamlı olarak yordamamıştır (Olson, Roese, Meen ve Robertson, 1995), ya da grup-temelli yoksunluk durumu her çalışmada algılanan dezavantaja yönelik grup-temelli tepkilerle ilişkili bulunmamıştır (Birt ve Dion, 1987; Schmitt, Maes ve Widaman, 2010). Bazı araştırmalar ise birey ve grup seviyesindeki yoksunluk hallerinin birbiriyle ilişkili olduğunu desteklemektedir. Örneğin Pettigrew ve ark., (2008) tarafından yürütülen araştırmada grup-temelli yoksunluk, birey-temelli yoksunluk ve dış-gruba yönelik önyargı arasındaki ilişkide aracı değişken rolüne sahiptir. Az sayıdaki çalışma ise aynı anda oluşan birey-temelli ve grup-temelli yoksunluk hallerinin grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimini destekleyeceğini ve iç-gruba olan bağlılığı artıracağını önermektedir (Foster ve Matheson, 1995; Tougas ve Beaton, 2002). Bu veriler hem kişiler arası hem gruplar arası kıyaslamaların grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimiyle ilişkili olabileceği görüşünü desteklemektedir. Mevcut araştırmalar tarafından önerilen farklı çıktılar kıyaslama seviyesinden ziyade kıyaslama noktasıyla açıklanabilir. Bulgular göstemektedir ki iç-grup üyesiyle yapılan birey-temelli kıyaslamalardan ziyade, dış-grup üyesiyle yapılan birey-temelli kıyaslamalar grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimini güçlendirmektedir (Hafer ve Olson, 1993). Bu kıyaslamalar paylaşılan dezavantajlı duruma yönelik farkındalığı sağlayabilir ve yerel iç-grup ile ailevi bağlar, yerel iç-grup için bireysel etkinlik ve yerel iç-grubun algılanan sağlamlığı

değişkenleri gibi kişiyi grup üyeleri yararına aşırı fedakâr davranışlar sergileme eğilimine yönlendirebilir.

Mevcut araştırma kişiler arası ve gruplar arası kıyaslamaların ilişkili süreçler olduğunu önermektedir. Kişiler arası ve gruplar arası kıyaslamalar grup-yanlısı davranış sürecinde birbirini destekleyerek bireyin aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimini kuvvetlendirebilir. Araştırmanın literatür taraması ve kimlik kaynaşımı kuramının varsayımları dikkate alındığında mevcut çalışma, kişiler arası kıyaslamaların ve birey-temelli yoksunluk halinin gruplar arası kıyaslamalar ve grup-temelli yoksunluk haliyle kaynaştığı ve örtüştüğü, göreli yoksunluk kaynaşımı olarak adlandırılan yeni bir kavram önermektedir.

Bulgulara göre bireyler iç-grubun dezavantajlı durumunun farkına varsa dahi, kendilerini bu dezavantaja maruz kalıyor olarak algılamayabilir (Taylor, Wright, Moghaddam ve Lalonde, 1990), ve bu durum kişilerin grup-temelli davranış sergileme eğilimini azaltabilir (Taylor, Moghaddam, Gamble ve Zellerer, 1987). Fakat mevcut araştırmada birey ve grup seviyesindeki yoksunluk halinin örtüşmesi ve kaynaşımı nedeniyle, birey-temelli algılanan adaletsiz dezavantaj, grup deneyimleriyle ilişkili olacaktır, ve bireyler algılanan grup-temelli dezavantaja, kişisel hayatlarında da maruz kalacaktır. Kimlik kaynaşımı kuramı ve ilgili literatür dikkate alındığında (örn., Stets ve Burke, 2000; Swann ve ark., 2009; Swann ve ark., 2012; Swann, Gomez, Huici ve ark., 2010), yoksunluk kaynaşımı durumunda etkin kişiler arası yoksunluk ve gruplar arası yoksunluk arasındaki sınırlar geçirgen olabilir. Bu durum iç-grup üyeleri arasındaki algılanan benzerliği ve ilişkisel bağlılığı artırabileceği gibi, iç-grup üyeleri uğruna aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimini kuvvetlendirebilir.

1.2.1 Algılanan adaletsizlik ve göreli yoksunluk halinin duygusal boyutu

Çalışmalar çoğunlukla birey-temelli ya da grup-temelli davranışları açıklamak için göreli yoksunluğun bilişsel büyüklük kısmına (kıyaslamalar sonucu kişinin kendi ve diğer kişiler arasında algıladığı durum farklılığını içermektedir.) odaklanmakta ve yoksunluk halinin duygusal kısmını ihmal etmektedir. Kişinin kendi ya da iç-grubunun dezavantajlı durumuna yönelik farkındalık hali ve bilişsel onayı iç-gruba bağlanma ya da grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimini yordamayamayabilir. Örneğin mevcut kökleşmiş inanç düzenine ve yapılanmış sisteme yönelik doğrudan ya da etkili bir karşı çıkma olmazsa kadınlar, etnik ya da

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dini azınlıklar ve eşcinseller gibi dezavantajlı sosyal gruplar mevcut statükoyu doğrulama eğilimi gösterebilir (örn., Jost, Banaji ve Nosek, 2004; Jost, Pelham, Sheldon ve Sullivan, 2003). Varoluşsal ve ideolojik eğilimlerden dolayı (örn., adil dünya inancı, sosyal hakimiyet yönelimi, sistemi meşrulaştırma yönelimi, muhafazakarlık gibi motivasyonları içermektedir.) bireyler kendi dezavantajlı durumlarının farkında olsalar bile bu sosyal eşitsizliği adil ya da doğalmış gibi yorumlayabilir (örn., Göregenli, 2015; Hafer ve Olson, 1989; Jost ve Thompson, 2000). Bu durum iç-grup üyelerine ilişkin bağlılığı artıran ve grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimini kuvvetlendiren göreli yoksunluğun yoğunluğunu azaltacaktır. Bu sebeple dezavantajlı duruma yönelik algılanan adillik ve ulaşılmak istenen / yoksunluğu hissedilen çıktıyı birey-temelli ve grup-temelli öznel hak etme algısı dikkate alınmalıdır.

Bireyin kendi ve iç-grubunun koşullarına yönelik bilişsel değerlendirme ve onay grup-temelli duygularla ilişkili bulunmuştur (Mackie, Devos ve Smith, 2000; Smith, Cronin ve Kessler, 2008). Adil ve meşru olmayan eşitsizliğe yönelik farkında olma hali, kişinin arzuladığı ve görece hak ettiğini düşündüğü şeye ulaşamaması ve algılanan adaletsiz şartlar öfke ve kızgınlık gibi olumsuz duygu durumunu kuvvetlendirir ve algılanan dezavantajın kaynağına yönelik suçlama eğilimini artırır (örn., van Stekelenburg ve Klandermans, 2013; van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer ve Leach, 2004; Weiss, Suckow ve Cropanzano, 1999). Mevcut araştırma kapsamında önerilen göreli yoksunluk kaynaşımı kavramına göre bireylerin, algılanan adil ve meşru olmayan birey-temelli dezavantajlarının grup deneyimleriyle ilişkili olduğunu fark etmeleri ya da algılanan adil ve meşru olmayan grup-temelli dezavantajlı duruma kendi bireysel hayatlarında maruz kalmaları hissedilen yoksunluğun kuvvetini artırabilir. Bu durum iç-grup üyelerini birarada tutma ve aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme sürecinde önemli bir değişken olabilir.

Birey-temelli ve grup-temelli yoksunluğun bilişsel ve duygusal boyutları çalışmalarda ayrı ve ilişkisiz süreçlermiş gibi incelenmektedir (örn., Olson ve Hafer, 1996; van Zomeren ve ark., 2008; Walker ve Smith, 2002); fakat bu süreçler literatürün önerdiğinden daha kuvvetli bir şekilde birbiriyle ilişkili ve kaynaşımlı olabilir. Özetle göreli yoksunluk kuramına göre (Runciman, 1966), "(i) birey diğer kişinin, kişilerin ya da eskiden kendisinin bu çıktıya sahip olduğunu fark ettiğinde,

(ii) birey bu çıktıya sahip olmadığında, (iii) birey bu çıktıya sahip olmak istediğinde, ve (iv) kendisinin de bu ulaşılmak istenen çıktıyı hak ettiğini düşündüğünde", kişi yoksun olarak nitelendirilmektedir. Kişiler arası kıyaslamalar ve birey-temelli yoksunluk durumu gruplar arası kıyaslamalar ve grup-temelli yoksunluk haliyle ilişkili olduğunda, bu durum yoksunluk kaynaşımı olarak isimlendirilebilir.

YÖNTEM

2.1 Katılımcılar

Mevcut çalışma kendini CHPli, HDPli ya da MHPli olarak tanımlayan muhalif parti destekçilerinin katılımıyla yürütülmüştür. Araştırmanın verisi *QUALTRICS* yazılımı kullanılarak kolayda örneklem (convenience sampling) yöntemi ve kartopu (snowball) tekniğiyle toplanmıştır. Duyurular ve anonim araştırma linki sosyal medya yoluyla paylaşılmış ya da siyasi partilerle ilişkili kişilerin e-posta adreslerine gönderilmiştir. Ek olarak, siyasi parti kolları ve sivil toplum kuruluşlarıyla iletişime geçilmiştir. Üniversite hocalarının desteğiyle araştırma linki öğrencilerle de paylaşılmıştır. Toplamda 981 kişi araştırmaya katılmıştır.

Araştırma örnekleminde 320 kişi ($N_{kadın} = 219$; $N_{erkek} = 101$) siyasi parti kimliğini CHP olarak tanımlarken, 215 kişi ($N_{kadın} = 119$; $N_{erkek} = 96$) HDPli ve 150 kişi ($N_{kadın} = 85$; $N_{erkek} = 65$) MHPli olduğunu belirtmiştir. 296 kişi ($N_{kadın} = 174$; $N_{erkek} = 122$) ise siyasi parti kimliğini diğer olarak belirtmiştir. Siyasi parti kimliğini diğer olarak belirten kişilere sadece demografik bilgi formu verilmiş ve bu kişiler araştırmaya dâhil edilmemiştir. Katılımcıların cinsiyet, yaş, eğitim durumu, gelir düzeyi, algıladıkları sosyo-ekonomi statü, yetişme yeri, kendi siyasi partileri ile ilişkileri ve diğer siyasi partilere ilişkin algıladıkları yakınlık bilgileri Tablo 2.1'de sunulmuştur.

2.2 Ölçüm Araçları

Muhalif siyasi partilerin destekçileri için hazırlanan araştırma linki üç farklı soru formunu içermektedir. Formlarda kullanılan ölçümler aynı olsa da ölçümlerin

referans noktaları katılımcının siyasi parti kimliğine göre değişmektedir. Formlar altı bölümden oluşmaktadır. İlk bölümde demografik sorular yer alırken, ikinci bölümde kişilerin T.C vatandaşları, üç farklı muhalif parti ve iktidar partisi AKP ile özdeşleşme ve kimlik kaynaşımı durumlarını ölçen ölçekler bulunmaktadır. Üçüncü bölüm ise katılımcıların kişiler arası / gruplar arası karşılaştırmalarla sahip olunan sosyal ve siyasi imkânlara bağlı olarak birey ve grup seviyelerinde göreli yoksunluk halini ve yoksunluk kaynaşımı durumlarını test etmektedir. Dördüncü kısımda ilgili literatür tarafından önerilen aracı değişkenler ölçülmüş ve kişiler, yerel iç-grup ile ailevi bağlar, yerel iç-grup için bireysel etkinlik ve yerel iç-grubun algılanan sağlamlığı ölçümlerini yanıtlamıştır. Beşinci kısımda katılımcıların T.C vatandaşları, üç farklı muhalif parti ve iktidar partisi AKP üyeleri uğruna aşırı grup-yanlısı davranışları onaylama halleri ölçülmüştür. Son kısımda ise oluşturulmuş vinyetlerle katılımcıların tehlike anında bu grupların üyelerini korumak adına aşırı fedakâr davranışlarda bulunma eğilimleri test edilmiştir (Tablo 2.13). Araştırmada kullanılan ölçümler şu şekildedir;

- Aşırı grup-yanlısı davranışları destekleme ölçümü (Swann ve ark., 2009)
- Vinyetler (Senaryolar) (Swann, Gomez, Dovidio ve ark., 2010; Swann, Gomez ve ark., 2014)
- Grup özdeşleşmesi ölçümü (Mael ve Ashforth, 1992)
- Sözlü kimlik kaynaşımı ölçeği (Gomez, Brooks ve ark., 2011)
- *Birey-temelli ve grup-temelli göreli yoksunluk ölçekleri
- **Göreli yoksunluk kaynaşımı ölçeği
- Ailevi bağlar ölçümü (Swann, Buhrmester ve ark., 2014)
- Grup için etkin olma ölçümü (Haggard ve Tsakiris, 2009; Swann, Gomez, Huici ve ark., 2010)
- Sağlamlık ölçümü (Gomez, Brooks ve ark., 2011)
- Demografik bilgi formu

Vinyetler, aşırı grup-yanlısı davranışları destekleme, grup özdeşleşmesi, sözlü kimlik kaynaşımı, ailevi bağlar, grup için etkin olma ve sağlamlık ölçüm araçları mevcut araştırma kapsamında Türkçe'ye tercüme edilmiş ve siyasi parti düzlemine uyarlanmıştır. *Birey-temelli ve grup-temelli göreli yoksunluk ölçekleri Özdemir, Tekeş ve Öner-Özkan (baskıda) tarafından geliştirilen egoistik (birey-temelli) göreli yoksunluk ölçeği maddelerinden türetilmiştir. **Göreli yoksunluk

kaynaşımı ölçeği ise yine mevcut çalışma kapsamında sözlü kimlik kaynaşımı ölçeği (Gomez, Brooks ve ark., 2011) maddeleri baz alınarak geliştirilmiştir. Aşırı grup-yanlısı davranışları destekleme ölçümü (Swann ve ark., 2009) aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimi bağımlı değişkenini her bir grup için tek boyutlu değerlendirirken, vinyetler (Swann, Gomez, Dovidio ve ark., 2010; Swann, Gomez ve ark., 2014) aynı bağımlı değişkeni çoklu siyasi parti düzleminde ölçmüştür.

BULGULAR ve TARTIŞMA

3.1 Genel Bulgular

Katılımcılar ölçüm araçlarını yerel iç-grup, geniş iç-grup ve üç farklı yerel dış-grubu referans alarak yanıtladıklarında, üç muhalif siyasi parti örnekleminde grup özdeşleşmesi ve kimlik kaynaşımı kavramları arasında güçlü pozitif bir ilişki bulunmuştur; ancak hipotez 1'de beklendiği gibi aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimi, göreli yoksunluk kaynaşımı, yerel iç-grup ile ailevi bağlar, yerel iç-grup için bireysel etkinlik ve yerel iç-grubun algılanan sağlamlığı iç-grup özdeşleşmesine kıyasla kimlik kaynaşımıyla daha güçlü pozitif ilişki göstermiştir (Tablolar 3.2, 3.3 ve 3.4). Bulgular kimlik kaynaşımı ve grup özdeşleşmesi durumlarının kavramsal olarak birbirlerine benzer görünse dahi kimlik kaynaşımı kuramının (örn., Swann ve ark., 2009; Swann ve ark., 2012) önerdiği gibi bu kavramlar arasında temel farklar olduğunu desteklemektedir.

Hipotezler 2, 2.1, ve 2.2'de beklendiği üzere, CHP, HDP ve MHP destekçileri örneklemlerinde kaynaşmış birey-temelli ve grup-temelli kimlikler ve yoksunluklar ayrı seviyelere kıyasla aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimini daha güçlü yordamıştır (Tablolar 3.5, 3.6 ve 3.7). Dominans analizi bulgularına göre, kimlik kaynaşımı iç-grup özdeşleşmesine kıyasla aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğiliminin baskın yordayıcısıdır. Göreli yoksunluk kaynaşımı da birey-temelli ve grup-temelli göreli yoksunluk durumlarına kıyasla aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimini daha güçlü yordamıştır. Dominans analizi birey ve grup seviyelerinde kimlik-temelli ve yoksunluk-temelli süreçlerin aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimini yordamada ne derece katkı sağladıklarını test etmektedir.

Bulgular birey ve grup seviyelerindeki süreçlerin birbirlerini tamamlayıcı nitelikte olabileceğini ve kaynaşmış seviyelerin aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimine ilişkin daha güçlü bir motivasyon sağladığını desteklemektedir. Kaynaşmış bireysel ve sosyal kimliğin aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimini yordama gücü ilgili literatürce bilinmektedir (örn., Swann ve ark., 2012; Swann ve ark., 1992). Mevcut çalışmaya bağlı olarak literatür bulguları, Türk örneklemde ve siyasi parti düzleminde tutarlıdır. İkinci olarak, literatürde grup-yanlısı davranışlar çoğunlukla grup-temelli göreli yoksunluk haliyle ilişkilendirilmektedir (örn., Abrams ve Grant, 2012; Smith ve ark., 2012; Walker ve Man, 1987). Fakat mevcut araştırma aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimini rasyonelleştirmede kaynaşmış birey-temelli ve grup-temelli yoksunluk hallerinin (göreli yoksunluk kaynaşımı) önemini göstermiştir.

Hipotez 3'te önerildiği üzere üç örneklemde de dominans analizi bulguları ve aracılı modellere göre, yerel iç-grupla özdeşleşme ve kimlik kaynaşımı yerel iç-grup yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimini pozitif yordarken geniş iç-grupla özdeşleşme ve kimlik kaynaşımı geniş iç-grup yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimiyle pozitif ilişkilidir. Ek olarak, yerel iç-grupla özdeşleşme ve kimlik kaynaşımı geniş iç-grup üyeleri yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranıları pozitif yordamıştır (hipotez 3.1). Ancak ilişkilerin kuvveti ya da kimlik-temelli ve yoksunluk-temelli değişkenlerin önemi katılımcının siyasi parti kimliğine ve desteklenen siyasi partinin geniş iç-grupla (T.C vatandaşları) ilişkilerine bağlı olarak farklılıklar göstermiştir. Bu farklar siyasi parti-temelli bulgular başlığı altında sunulacaktır.

Hipotez 4'te beklendiği üzere demografik değişkenlerin kontrolünden sonra literatür tarafından önerilen aracı değişkenler (yerel iç-grupla ailevi bağlar, yerel iç-grup için bireysel etkinlik ve yerel iç-grubun algılanan sağlamlığı) tüm örneklemlerde yerel iç-grup yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimini pozitif yordamıştır (MHP destekçileri örnekleminde yerel iç-grupla ailevi bağlar değişkeni hariç). Fakat önerilen aracı değişkenlerin geniş iç-grup yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimiyle ilişkisi katılımcının siyasi parti kimliğine bağlı olarak değişiklik göstermiştir (Tablolar 3.8, 3.9 ve 3.10); çünkü desteklenen siyasi partinin değerlerine bağlı olarak katılımcıların T.C vatandaşlarını geniş iç-grup olarak algılama durumları değişmektedir. Örneğin HDP destekçileri örnekleminde, aracı

değişkenlerin (siyasi parti-temelli süreçlerin) T.C vatandaşları yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimiyle ilişkisi anlamlı değildir. HDP'nin azınlık grup-temelli siyasi parti özellikleri dikkate alındığında bu netice beklenen bir bulgu olarak değerlendirilebilir.

Aracılı modellere bakıldığında genel olarak, yerel iç-grupla kimlik kaynaşımı göreli yoksunluk kaynaşımını, yerel iç-grupla ailevi bağları, yerel iç-grup için bireysel etkinliği ve yerel iç-grubun algılanan sağlamlığını artırmış ve bu durum yerel ve geniş iç-grup üyeleri yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimini desteklemiştir (hipotez 5). Ek olarak, yerel iç-grupla özdeşleşme yerel ve geniş iç-grup üyeleri yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimini pozitif yordamıştır, fakat aracı değişkenlerin rolü bu ilişkide görece zayıf ya da anlamsızdır (hipotez 5.1) (Figürler 3.1, 3.3 ve 3.5). İlgili literatür bulguları (örn., Gomez, Brooks ve ark., 2011; Swann ve ark., 2012) önerilen aracı değişkenler üzerinden (yerel iç-grupla ailevi bağlar, yerel iç-grup için bireysel etkinlik ve yerel iç-grubun algılanan sağlamlığı) kimlik kaynaşımı ve aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimi arasında dolaylı ilişkiyi vurgularken, grup özdeşleşmesi ve aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimi arasındaki doğrudan ilişkiye dikkat çekmektedir. Ancak mevcut araştırmada göreli yoksunluk kaynaşımı aracı değişken olarak modele eklenmiştir. Aynı zamanda yerel ve geniş iç-grup yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimleri aynı anda test edilmiştir. Bu eklemeler değişkenler arası ilişkileri etkilemiş olabilir. Diğer taraftan katılımcının siyasi parti kimliğine bağlı olarak bazı farklar bulunmuştur. Öncelikle CHP destekçileri örnekleminde göreli kimlik kaynaşımı anlamlı bir aracı değişken değildir. İkinci olarak, HDP destekçileri örnekleminde aracı değişkenler geniş iç-gruptan ziyade yerel iç-grup yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimini yordamıştır. Ayrıca, katılımcı gruba bağlı olarak modellerdeki değişkenler arası ilişkisel kuvvetler farklılık göstermiştir.

CHP ve MHP destekçileri örneklemlerinde yerel iç-grupla özdeşleşme geniş iç-grupla özdeşleşmeyi artırmakta; yerel iç-grupla kimlik kaynaşımı geniş iç-grupla kimlik kaynaşımını artırmakta ve bu durum geniş iç-grup üyeleri yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimini desteklemektedir (hipotez 6; Figürler 3.2 ve 3.6). Fakat MHP destekçileri örnekleminde özdeşleşme üzerinden giden dolaylı ilişki anlamlı değildir. Ek olarak, yerel iç-grupla kimlik kaynaşımı yerel iç-grup üyeleri yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimini doğrudan yordamıştır. HDP

destekçileri örnekleminde ise farklı ve ilginç bulgular vardır (Figür 3.4). Yerel iç-grupla özdeşleşme geniş iç-grupla özdeşleşmeyi artırmış ve bu durum yerel iç-grup yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimini azaltmıştır. Diğer yandan yerel iç-grupla kimlik kaynaşımı geniş iç-grupla özdeşleşmeyi azaltmış ve bu durum yerel iç-grup yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimini artırmıştır. Bu bulgu grup özdeşleşmesi ve kimlik kaynaşımı kavramlarının farklı süreçler olduğunu destekler niteliktedir (örn., Gomez, Brooks ve ark., 2011). Geniş iç-grupla kimlik kaynaşımı ve geniş iç-grup yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimi anlamsız ilişkilerinden ötürü modelden çıkarılmıştır. Bu bulgular aynı zamanda yerel ve geniş iç-grup arasındaki ilişkilerle ilgilidir. Siyasi partilerin T.C vatandaşlarını geniş iç-grup olarak algılama durumları farklılık gösterebilir.

Mevcut çalışma HDP destekçilerinden ziyade CHP ve MHP destekçileri örneklemlerinde, "tehdit algısı kullanılarak bireysel ya da sosyal kimlik aktive edildiğinde yerel ya da geniş iç-grupla kimlik kaynaşımı yerel iç-grup üyeleri yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimini pozitif yardayabilir (hipotez 7)" varsayımını destekler bulgular sağlamıştır (Tablolar 3.11 ve 3.12). Bulgular literatürle tutarlıdır (örn., Gomez ve ark., 2017; Swann ve Buhrmester, 2015; Swann, Gomez, Dovidio ve ark., 2010) ve benlik ve grup arasıdaki ayrılmaz ilişki hali olarak tanımlanan kimlik kaynaşımı kavramının geçerliğini desteklemiştir. Ayrıca CHP destekçileri örnekleminde, geniş iç-grupla özdeşleşme ve kimlik kaynaşımı her bir yerel ve geniş iç-grup üyesinin önemini artırmıştır (hipotez 7.1; Tablo 3.13) ve beklendiği gibi kimlik kaynaşımının bu ilişkideki rolü grup özdeşleşmesine kıyasla daha kuvvetlidir. Bu bulgu kimlik kaynaşımı kuramının ilişkisel bağlar prensibini hatırlatmaktadır. İç-grup üyeleri her grup üyesini, kategorik olarak değiştirilebilecek kişilerden ziyade kendine has (unique) bireyler olarak algılayabilir (örn., Swann ve ark., 2012).

Ek olarak, bireysel ya da sosyal kimlik aktive edildiğinde göreli yoksunluk kaynaşımı yerel iç-grup yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimini CHP destekçileri örnekleminde pozitif yordamıştır (hipotez 8; Tablolar 3.11 ve 3.12). Bu bulgu ilgili literatürdeki çalışmaları destekler niteliktedir (Foster ve Matheson, 1995; Tougas ve Beaton, 2002). Aynı örneklemde göreli yoksunluk kaynaşımı, her bir yerel ve geniş iç-grup üyesinin önemini artırmıştır (hipotez 8.1; Tablo 3.13).

Geniş iç-grup (T.C vatandaşları) ve yerel dış-grup (iktidar partisi veya diğer iki muhalefet partisinden birinin destekçileri) üyelerinin aynı anda tehlikede olduğu durumda katılımcının aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimi vinyet 4, 5 ve 6'da test edilmiştir. Katılımcılar böyle bir durumda yerel dış-grup üyeleri yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergilemeyi tercih etmemiştir (hipotez 9; Tablolar 3.14, 3.15 ve 3.16).

3.2 Siyasi Parti-Temelli Bulgular

Mevcut çalışmada katılımcı grubu olarak kullanılan siyasi partiler siyasi yelpazenin farklı noktalarında konumlanmaktadır. CHP sosyal demokrat parti olarak sol kanadı temsil ederken, MHP milliyetçi ve Islam-temelli değerleri kullanarak kendini siyasi yelpazenin aşırı sağında konumlandırır. HDP ise Kürt halkının ve Türkiye'deki diğer azınlıkların haklarını temsil eden sol-kanat partilerin devamı olarak tanımlanır. Bu partiler siyasi geçmiş, değer ve hedeflerine bağlı olarak parti içi / partiler arası ilişkilerde farklılık göstermektedir. Bu partilerin iktidar partisi AKP (AKP muhafazakâr demokrat parti olarak sağ-kanat siyasi görüşü temsil etse de Türkiye'nin aşırı muhafazakâr ve İslam-yanlısı partileriyle organik bağları vardır) ve T.C vatandaşlarıyla olan ilişkileri de farklılaşmaktadır. Ulusal kimlik tanımı ve T.C vatandaşlarını geniş iç-grup olarak algılama hali desteklenen partinin değerlerine ve hedeflerine göre şekillenebilir. Bu nedenle hipotez 10'da beklendiği gibi katılımcının siyasi parti kimliğine bağlı olarak çalışma değişkenleri arasındaki önerilen ilişkiler farklılık göstermiştir.

Araştırmanın siyasi parti kimliği-temelli bulguları yorumlanırken ideolojik çatışmalar, Türkiye'nin siyasi geçmişinde partiler arası ilişkiler, Türkiye'deki mevcut siyasi ortam ve siyasi parti-temelli değerler ve hedefler dikkate alınmalıdır. Tezin ilk bölümünde belirtildiği gibi 1950'lerden sonra solcu ve sağcı siyasi gruplar arasındaki çatışma Türkiye'yi meşgul ederken, 1980'lerde sekularist ve İslam-yanlısı gruplar ile Türk milliyetçileri ve Kürt milliyetçileri arasındaki kutuplaşma siyasi gündemi etkilemiştir (Çarkoğlu ve Hinich, 2006; Gürsoy, 2012; Keyman, 2008). AKP'nin 2002'den beri iktidar partisi seçilmesiyle sekularistler ve İslam-yanlıları arasındaki çatışma CHP ve AKP tarafından temsil edilmiştir. Ana muhalefet partisi – iktidar partisi ve merkez – çevre söylemleri CHP ve AKP arasındaki ideolojik mesafeyi daha çok artırmıştır. Diğer yandan Türk ve Kürt milliyetçileri arasındaki etnisite-temelli çatışma MHP ve HDP arasındaki ilişkileri polarize etmiştir.

(Türkiye'deki siyasi ortamı hatırlamak için tezin İngilizce bölümüne bakınız). Ek olarak, partilerin siyasi yelpazedeki konumlarını dikkate aldığımızda ve siyasi-parti temelli değerleri göz önünde bulundurduğumuzda CHP destekçileri için AKP'nin ideolojik olarak en uzak, HDP'nin ise en yakın; HDP destekçileri için MHP'nin en uzak, CHP'nin en yakın; MHP destekçileri için ise HDP'nin en uzak, AKP'nin ise en yakın siyasi parti olarak algılanacağını söyleyebiliriz. Siyasi partiler arası mevcut ilişkiler, önceki çalışmalar (örn., Celep, 2014; Güneş, 2014; Gürsoy, 2012; Okuyan, 2012) ve mevcut araştırmanın bulguları önerilen bu mesafeleri desteklemektedir. Siyasi partiler arası algılanan mesafeler referans alınan partiye göre katılımcının aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimi, grup özdeşleşmesi, kimlik kaynaşımı ve göreli yoksunluk halini etkileyebilir.

Siyasi partilerin T.C vatandaşlarıyla ilişkileri dikkate alındığında bu partilerin destekçileri T.C vatandaşlarını aynı şekilde geniş iç-grup olarak algılamayabilir ve siyasi parti değerlerine bağlı olarak ulusal kimlik tanımı farklılık gösterebilir. Örneğin MHP destekçileri ulusal birlik-temelli, etnik, sağcı ve muhafazakâr siyasi değerlerinden ötürü (Party Program of MHP, n.d.) T.C vatandaşlarını kuvvetli bir şekilde geniş iç-grup olarak algılayabilir. Fakat HDP'nin azınlık gruplarla ve Kürt-yanlısı ideolojilerle ilişkisi dikkate alındığında (Celep, 2014; Grigoriadis, 2016), parti destekçileri T.C vatandaşlarını çok düşük seviyede geniş iç-grup olarak görebilir. CHP'nin geçmişini göz önüne aldığımızda ise CHP'nin ulusal kimlik tanımı ve T.C vatandaşlarıyla ilişkilerinin etnokültürel ve sivil özellikler taşıdığını söyleyebiliriz (Gürsoy, 2012; Yeğen, 2007). CHP destekçileri de T.C vatandaşlarını geniş iç-grup olarak algılayacaktır; fakat bu algının temeli Türk milliyetçiliğini vurgulayan MHP destekçilerininkinden farklı olacaktır. Mevcut araştırmanın temel amacı partiler arası ilişkileri rasyonelleştirmekten ziyade aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimine yönelik teorik açıklamalar sağlamaktır. Bu nedenle çalışmada Türk bireylerden ziyade T.C vatandaşları gibi tarafsız etiketler kullanılmıştır. Fakat siyasi parti kimliği-temelli içselleştirilmiş değerlerden ötürü katılımcılar yine de T.C vatandaşları grubunu farklı şekilde yorumlayabilir.

3.2.1 Siyasi partiler arası karşılaştırmalar

Üç siyasi parti destekçi grubu birbiriyle karşılaştırıldığında (Tablo 3.1) CHP, HDP ve MHP yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranışları destekleme / CHP, HDP ve

MHP'yle özdeşleşme / CHP, HDP ve MHP'yle kimlik kaynaşımı partilerin kendi destekçileri arasında daha güçlüdür (hipotez 10.1.1). Geniş iç-grupla ilişkiler test edildiğinde T.C vatandaşları yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranışları destekleme / T.C vatandaşlarıyla özdeşleşme / T.C vatandaşlarıyla kimlik kaynaşımı CHP ve HDP destekçilerine kıyasla MHP destekçileri arasında; HDP destekçilerine kıyasla CHP destekçileri arasında daha kuvvetlidir (hipotez 10.1.2). Ek olarak, muhalif siyasi partilerin iktidar partisi AKP'yle ilişkisi test edilmiştir. AKP yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranışları destekleme / AKP'yle özdeşleşme / AKP'yle kimlik kaynaşımı CHP ve HDP destekçilerine kıyasla MHPliler arasında daha güçlüdür (hipotez 10.1.3). Ayrıca CHP destekçileri HDP'yle MHP destekçilerinin gösterdiğinden; MHP'yle HDP destekçilerinin gösterdiğinden daha güçlü özdeşleşme ve kimlik kaynaşımı göstermiştir.

Parti destekçilerinin ayrı göreli yoksunluk seviyeleri karşılaştırılmıştır. Birey-temelli ve grup-temelli göreli yoksunluklar CHP ve MHP destekçilerine kıyasla HDPliler arasında; CHP destekçilerine kıyasla MHPliler arasında daha güçlüdür (hipotez 10.1.4). Fakat karşılaştırma noktası değiştiğinde farklı sonuçlar bulunmuştur. Örneğin katılımcılar kendilerini diğer T.C vatandaşlarıyla birey düzeyinde sahip oldukları sosyal ve siyasi imkânlara göre karşılaştırdıklarında HDP ve MHP destekçileri CHPlilerden daha fazla birey-temelli yoksunluk göstermiştir. Fakat T.C vatandaşlarıyla iç-grup-temelli karşılaştırmalar yapıldığında HDP destekçileri CHP ve MHPlilerden daha güçlü grup-temelli yoksunluk belirtmiştir. Katılımcılar kişiler arası karşılaştırmalar yaparak kendilerini AKP destekçileriyle kıyasladığındaysa HDP destekçileri CHP ve MHPlilerden daha güçlü birey-temelli yoksunluk göstermiştir. Katılımcılar kendi siyasi partilerini AKP'yle karşılaştırdığında HDP destekçileri CHP ve MHPlilerden daha güçlü; CHP destekçileri MHPlilerden daha güçlü yerel iç-grup-temelli yoksunluk sergilemiştir (Tablo 3.1).

Son olarak hipotez 10.1.5 "Göreli yoksunluk kaynaşımı / yerel iç-grupla ailevi bağlar / yerel iç-grup için bireysel etkinlik / yerel iç-grubun algılanan sağlamlığı CHP ve MHP destekçilerine kıyasla HDPliler arasında; CHP destekçilerine kıyasla MHPliler arasında daha kuvvetli olabilir" test edildiğinde HDP destekçileri CHPlilerden daha kuvvetli göreli yoksunluk kaynaşımına sahiptir. HDP ve MHP destekçileri CHPlilere kıyasla kendi partileriyle güçlü ailevi bağlar

ve bireysel etkinlik göstermiştir. Ayrıca MHP destekçileri CHP ve HDPlilerden daha kuvvetli siyasi parti-temelli sağlamlık algılarken, bu algı CHP destekçilerine kıyasla HDPliler arasında daha güçlüdür (Tablo 3.1).

3.2.2 Siyasi parti içi karşılaştırmalar

CHP destekçileri örnekleminde siyasi parti içi farklar test edildiğinde aşırı grup-yanlısı davranışları destekleme / grup özdeşleşmesi / kimlik kaynaşımının kuvveti sırasıyla T.C vatandaşları, CHP, HDP, MHP ve AKP için giderek azalmıştır (hipotez 10.2.1) (HDP ve MHP referans noktaları arasında anlamlı fark yoktur). HDP destekçileri örnekleminde bu değişkenlerin kuvveti sırasıyla HDP, T.C vatandaşları, CHP, AKP, and MHP için giderek azalırken (hipotez 10.2.2) (AKP ve MHP referans noktaları arasında anlamlı fark yoktur), MHP destekçileri örnekleminde bu azalma sırasıyla T.C vatandaşları, MHP, AKP, CHP ve HDP için olmuştur (hipotez 10.2.3) (AKP ve CHP referans noktaları arasında anlamlı fark yoktur) (Tablo 3.1).

CHP destekçileri örnekleminde birey-temelli ve grup-temelli göreli yoksunluklar test edildiğinde bu değişkenlerin kuvveti sırasıyla AKP, diğer T.C vatandaşları, MHP ve HDP'yle kıyaslamalar yapıldığında giderek azalırken (hipotez 10.2.4), MHP destekçileri örnekleminde bu azalma sırasıyla AKP, diğer T.C vatandaşları, CHP ve HDP'yle yapılan kıyaslamalar şeklinde olmuştur (hipotez 10.2.6). HDP destekçileri ise en güçlü birey-temelli yoksunluğu kendilerini AKP destekçileriyle kıyasladığında hissetmiştir. Grup-temelli yoksunluksa en yüksek sırasıyla AKP ve diğer T.C vatandaşlarıyla yapılan kıyaslamalarda belirtilmiştir (hipotez 10.2.5) (Tablo 3.1).

3.2.3 Aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimi ve dominans analizi

Yerel iç-grup üyeleri (desteklenen siyasi partinin destekçileri) yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimi yordanırken yerel iç-grupla özdeşleşme, yerel iç-grupla kimlik kaynaşımı, birey-temelli ve grup-temelli göreli yoksunluklar ve göreli yoksunluk kaynaşımı değişkenlerinin katkısı dominans analiziyle incelenmiştir. CHP ve MHP destekçileri örneklemlerinde en güçlü katkı kimlik kaynaşımı değişkeni tarafından sağlanırken, HDP destekçileri örnekleminde bu katkıyı göreli yoksunluk kaynaşımı sağlamıştır (hipotez 10.3.1).

Dominans analizi kullanılarak geniş iç-grup üyeleri (T.C vatandaşları) yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranışları sergileme eğilimi yordanırken geniş iç-

grupla özdeşleşme, geniş iç-grupla kimlik kaynaşımı, birey-temelli ve grup-temelli göreli yoksunluklar ve göreli yoksunluk kaynaşımı değişkenlerinin katkısı test edildiğinde HDP destekçileri örnekleminde en güçlü katkıyı kimlik kaynaşımı değişkeni yaparken CHP ve MHP destekçileri örneklemlerinde en yüksek katkı göreli yoksunluk kaynaşımı tarafından sağlanmıştır (hipotez 10.3.2).

Son olarak yerel iç-grup ve geniş iç-grupla özdeşleşme ve kimlik kaynaşımı değişkenlerinin geniş iç-grup üyeleri yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimini yordamadaki katkısı test edilmiştir. CHP, HDP ve MHP destekçileri örneklemlerinde en yüksek katkı geniş iç-grupla kimlik kaynaşımı değişkeni tarafından sağlanmıştır (hipotez 10.3.3) (Tablolar 3.5, 3.6 ve 3.7).

3.2.4 Önerilen aracı değişkenleri kullanarak aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimini yordama ve hiyerarşik regresyon analizi

Literatür tarafından önerilen aracı değişkenleri kullanarak (yerel iç-grupla ailevi bağlar, yerel iç-grup için bireysel etkinlik ve yerel iç-grubun algılanan sağlamlığı) yerel iç-grup ve geniş iç-grup yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimi hiyerarşik regresyon analiziyle test edilmiştir. Demografik değişkenlerin kontrolünden sonra (cinsiyet, yaş, eğitim seviyesi ve algılanan sosyo-ekonomik statü) aracı değişkenler CHP, HDP ve MHP destekçileri örneklemlerinde yerel iç-grup yararına aşırı grup yanlısı davranış eğilimini pozitif yordamıştır (hipotez 10.4.1) (MHP destekçileri örnekleminde yerel iç-grupla ailevi bağlar hariç).

Literatür tarafından önerilen aracı değişkenlerin yordayıcı gücü geniş iç-grup yararına aşırı davranış sergileme eğilimi için de test edilmiştir. Demografik değişkenlerin kontrolünden sonra (cinsiyet, yaş, eğitim seviyesi ve algılanan sosyo-ekonomik statü), CHP ve MHP destekçileri örneklemlerinde aracı değişkenler T.C vatandaşları yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimini pozitif yordamıştır (MHP destekçileri örnekleminde yerel iç-grup için bireysel etkinlik hariç); fakat HDP destekçileri örnekleminde bu ilişkiler anlamlı değildir (hipotez 10.4.2) (Tablolar 3.8, 3.9 ve 3.10).

3.2.5 Aracılı ilk modeller

Hipotez 10.5.1 "CHP destekçileri örnekleminde CHP'yle kimlik kaynaşımı göreli yoksunluk kaynaşımını, CHP'yle ailevi bağları, CHP için bireysel etkinliği ve CHP'nin algılanan sağlamlığını artırabilir ve bu durum CHP ve T.C vatandaşları

yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimini kuvvetlendirebilir. Ek olarak CHP'yle özdeşleşme ve aracı değişkenler arasındaki ilişkiler kimlik kaynaşımının ilişkilerine kıyasla daha zayıf ya da anlamsız olabilir" yapısal eşitlik modeliyle test edilmiştir. Göreli yoksunluk kaynaşımı anlamlı katkı sağlamadığı için modelden çıkarılmıştır. CHP'yle kimlik kaynaşımı CHP üyeleriyle ailevi bağları, CHP grubu için bireysel etkinliği ve CHP grubunun algılana sağlamlığını kuvvetlendirmiş ve bu durum CHP yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimini artırmıştır. CHP'yle kimlik kaynaşımı aynı zamanda CHP üyeleriyle ailevi bağlar ve CHP grubunun algılanan sağlamlığı üzerinden T.C vatandaşları yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimiyle dolaylı pozitif ilişkiye sahiptir. CHP'yle özdeşleşme ise CHP üyeleriyle ailevi bağları kuvvetlendirmiş ve CHP üyeleri ve T.C vatandaşları yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimini artırmıştır. Aracı değişkenlerin kimlik kaynaşımıyla ilişkisi özdeşleşmeye kıyasla daha güçlüdür. Ek olarak CHP'yle özdeşleşme CHP üyeleri yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimini doğrudan yordamıştır (Figür 3.1).

HDP destekçileri örnekleminde HDP'yle kimlik kaynaşımı göreli yoksunluk kaynaşımını, HDP üyeleriyle ailevi bağları, HDP grubu için bireysel etkinliği ve HDP'nin algılanan sağlamlığını artırmış ve bu durum HDP yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimini desteklemiştir (hipotez 10.5.2). HDP'yle özdeşleşme ise HDP üyeleriyle ailevi bağları, HDP grubu için bireysel etkinliği ve HDP'nin algılanan sağlamlığını artırmış ve bu durum HDP yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimini desteklemiştir. Fakat aracı değişkenlerin kimlik kaynaşımıyla ilişkisi özdeşleşmeye kıyasla daha kuvvetlidir. Ek olarak HDP'yle özdeşleşme T.C vatandaşları yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimini doğrudan yordamıştır (Figür 3.3).

Son olarak benzer hipotez (10.5.3) MHP destekçileri örnekleminde test edilmiştir. MHP'yle kimlik kaynaşımı göreli yoksunluk kaynaşımını, MHP grubu için bireysel etkinliği ve MHP'nin algılanan sağlamlığını güçlendirmiş ve bu durum MHP yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimini artırmıştır. Ayrıca MHP'yle kimlik kaynaşımı göreli yoksunluk kaynaşımını, MHP üyeleriyle ailevi bağları ve MHP'nin algılanan sağlamlığını artırarak T.C vatandaşları yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimini desteklemiştir. Grup özdeşleşmesi hali incelendiğinde MHP'yle özdeşleşme göreli yoksunluk kaynaşımı ve MHP'nin

algılanan sağlamlığını destekleyerek MHP ve T.C vatandaşları yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimini kuvvetlendirmiştir. Aracı değişkenlerin özdeşleşmeye kıyasla kimlik kaynaşımıyla ilişkisi daha kuvvetlidir (Figür 3.5).

3.2.6 Aracılı ikinci modeller

Siyasi parti-temelli kimlik süreçleri ve yerel iç-grup ve T.C vatandaşları yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimi arasındaki ilişkide T.C vatandaşlarıyla özdeşleşme ve kimlik kaynaşımının aracı rolleri yapısal eşitlik modelinde test edilmiştir. CHP'yle özdeşleşme T.C vatandaşlarıyla özdeşleymeyi; CHP'yle kimlik kaynaşımı T.C vatandaşlarıyla kimlik kaynaşımını artırmış ve bu durum T.C vatandaşları yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimini desteklemiştir (hipotez 10.6.1). Ayrıca CHP'yle kimlik kaynaşımı CHP yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimiyle doğrudan ilişkilidir (Figür 3.2).

HDP örnekleminde (hipotez 10.6.2) T.C vatandaşlarıyla kimlik kaynaşımı ve T.C vatandaşları yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimi anlamlı katkı sağlamadığı için modelden çıkarılmıştır. HDP'yle özdeşleşme T.C vatandaşlarıyla özdeşleşmeyi artırarak HDP yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimini azaltmıştır. Ek olarak HDP'yle kimlik kaynaşımı T.C vatandaşlarıyla özdeşleşmeyi düşürerek HDP yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimini kuvvetlendirmiştir. Ayrıca HDP'yle özdeşleşme ve kimlik kaynaşımı HDP yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimini doğrudan yordamıştır (Figür 3.4).

Son olarak MHP'yle özdeşleşme T.C vatandaşlarıyla özdeşleşmeyi; MHP'yle kimlik kaynaşımı T.C vatandaşlarıyla kimlik kaynaşımını artırarak T.C vatandaşları yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimini desteklemiştir (hipotez 10.6.3). Ancak özdeşleşme üzerinden giden dolaylı ilişki anlamlı değildir. Ayrıca MHP'yle kimlik kaynaşımı MHP yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimini doğrudan yordamıştır (Figür 3.6).

3.2.7 Yaratılmış vinyetlerle çoklu-siyasi parti düzleminde aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimini yordama

Hipotez 10.7.1 "CHP, HDP ve MHP destekçileri örneklemlerinde sosyal kimlik ya da bireysel kimlik aktive edildiğinde yerel iç-grupla kimlik kaynaşımı yerel iç-grup üyeleri yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimini pozitif yordayabilir. Ayrıca CHP ve MHP destekçileri örneklemlerinde geniş iç-grupla

kimlik kaynaşımı da iki koşulda benzer işleve sahip olabilir" vinyet 1 ve 2'de test edilmiştir. Önerilen değişkenler her iki koşulda HDP destekçilerinin iç-grup yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimini yordamamıştır. İlk vinyette katılımcıların sosyal kimliği aktive edildiğinde CHP destekçilerinin yerel iç-grup ve T.C vatandaşlarıyla; ve MHP destekçilerinin yerel iç-grupla kimlik kaynaşımı kendi siyasi parti üyeleri yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimini pozitif yordamıştır. İkinci vinyette bireysel kimlik aktive edildiğinde CHP destekçilerinin yerel iç-grupla; ve MHP destekçilerinin T.C vatandaşlarıyla kimlik kaynaşımı kendi siyasi parti üyeleri yararına aşırı fedakar davranış sergileme eğilimini pozitif yordamıştır (Tablolar 3.11 ve 3.12).

Hipotez 10.7.2 "CHP, HDP ve MHP destekçileri örnekleminde yerel iç-grup ya da geniş iç-grupla kimlik kaynaşımı her bir yerel ya da geniş iç-grup üyesinin değerli / gözden çıkarılamaz olduğu algısını destekleyebilir" vinyet 3'te test edilmiş ve HDP ve MHP destekçileri örneklemlerinde anlamlı sonuç bulunamamıştır. Fakat CHP destekçileri örnekleminde T.C vatandaşlarıyla özdeşleşme ve kimlik kaynaşımı hali her bir CHP destekçisinin ya da T.C vatandaşının değerli / gözden çıkarılamaz olduğu algısını güçlendirmiştir (Tablo 3.13).

Katılımcıların aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergileme eğilimini yordamak amacıyla kimlik-temelli süreçlere ek olarak, göreli yoksunluk-temelli değişkenler çoklu-siyasi parti düzleminde yaratılmış vinyetlerle test edilmiştir (hipotezler 10.7.3 ve 10.7.4). Göreli yoksunluk kaynaşımı HDP ve MHP destekçilerinden ziyade CHP destekçileri örnekleminde aşırı fedakâr davranış sergileme eğilimiyle pozitif yönde ilişkili bulunmuştur (Tablolar 3.11, 3.12 ve 3.13).

Belirtilen bu bulgulara ek olarak vinyet 4, 5 ve 6'da görüldüğü üzere, geniş iç-grup ve yerel dış-grup üyelerinin aynı anda tehlikede olduğu durumlarda hiçbir katılımcı örneklemi (siyasi parti grubu) yerel dış-grup üyeleri yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış sergilemeyi tercih etmemiştir (hipotez 10.7.5) (Tablolar 3.14, 3.15 ve 3.16).

3.2.8 Diğer siyasi partilere ilişkin algılanan uzaklık

Siyasi partiler arası algılanan uzaklık-yakınlık test edildiğinde (hipotez 10.8), CHP destekçileri için AKP en uzak siyasi partidir; fakat HDP ve MHP'nin algılanan uzaklığı arasında anlamlı fark yoktur. HDP destekçileri için CHP en yakın parti olarak algılanırken AKP ve MHP arasında anlamlı fark bulunmamıştır. MHP

destekçileri içinse HDP en uzak partiyken AKP ve CHP arasında anlamlı fark yoktur (Tablolar 2.1 ve 3.1). Ayrıca vinyet 7'de katılımcıların üç yerel dış-grup yararına aşırı grup-yanlısı davranış eğilimleri karşılaştırılmış ve bu sonuçlarla tutarlı bulgulara ulaşılmıştır.

3.3 Sonuç

Mevcut araştırma "neden bazı kişiler iç-grup üyeleri için kavga etme, savaşma ya da kendi yaşamını feda etmeye razı olma gibi aşırı grup-yanlısı davranışlarda ve olağandışı fedakarlıklarda bulunuyor" sorusunu anlamlandırmayı ve sosyal kimlik (Tajfel ve Turner, 1979), kimlik kaynaşımı (örn., Swann ve ark., 2009) ve göreli yoksunluk (örn., Crosby, 1976; Davis, 1959; Gurr, 1970; Runciman, 1966) kuramlarını kullanarak grup içi / gruplar arası ilişkileri birey ve grup seviyelerinde rasyonelleştiren teorik bir çerçeve sağlamayı hedeflemiştir. Bu hedef doğrultusunda araştırma, Kasım-2015 parlamento seçimlerinde Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'nde temsil hakkına sahip olan muhalif siyasi partilerin destekçileriyle yürütülmüştür. Bu nedenledir ki mevcut çalışma aşırı grup-yanlısı davranışları yordamaya ilişkin teorik katkısının yanı sıra Türkiye'nin mevcut siyasi atmosferini yansıtması açısından da önemlidir. Araştırmanın öne sürdüğü hipotezler analiz bulgularıyla desteklenmiş ve ilgili literatür, politik kimlik-temelli değerler ve Türkiye'nin mevcut siyasi atmosferiyle uyum göstermiştir.

CURRICULUM VITAE / ÖZGEÇMİŞ

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2017 - 2018: The University of Texas at Austin - Visiting Researcher (11 Months)

2011 - 2013: Middle East Technical University, Social Psychology (M.S.), C.GPA: 3.75/4

2006 - 2011: İzmir University of Economics, Psychology (B.S.), C.GPA: 3.64/4

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2002 - 2006: Orhangazi Anatolian High School

2.1 Advisors

Ph.D.: Prof. Dr. Türker Özkan (Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey)

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4. RESEARCH INTERESTS

Identity fusion theory, social identity theory, relative deprivation theory, extreme pro-group actions, attitude and attitude change, national and ethnic identities, intergroup relations, gender issues, and subjective well-being

4.1 Thesis

4.1.1 Ph.D. Thesis

Özdemir, F. (2018, October). *The fusion of individual and group levels: The case of political party supporters within extreme pro-group action process.* Ph.D. Thesis, Middle East Technical University, Ankara. (funded by TUBITAK; The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey)

4.1.2 Master's Thesis

Özdemir, F. (2013, July). *The predictors of attitudes toward military: Turkish identity, uninational ideology, ambivalent sexism, conservatism, and religious orientation.* Master's Thesis, Middle East Technical University, Ankara. (funded by TUBITAK; The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey)

4.2 Ongoing Researches

Ashokkumar, A., **Özdemir, F.**, & Swann, W. B. Jr. (2018). *Suriyeli Mülteciler Bağlamında Gruplar Arası İlişkiler [Intergroup Relations in the Context of Syrian Refugees].*

İmamoğlu, E. O., İmamoğlu-Tezcan, S., **Özdemir, F.**, & Çeviker, G. (2018). *Farklı Psikolojik Esenlik Halleri [Different Psychological Well-Being Types].*

Özdemir, F., Ashokkumar, A., & Swann, W. B. Jr. (2018). *Türk ve Amerikan Örneklemlerinde Kimlik Kaynaşımı ve Öznel Esenlik Arasındaki Dolaylı İlişki [Indirect Relationship between Identity Fusion and Subjective Well-Being in Turkish and American Samples].*

Tekeş, B., İmamoğlu, E. O., **Özdemir, F.**, & Öner-Özkan, B. (2018). *Relationship between Political Orientations and Morality Considerations of Turkish Adults: Direct and Mediational Roles of the Need for Cognition and Recognition.*

Terzi, H., **Özdemir, F.**, & Özkan, T. (2018). *Gender (In)Equality in Work and Hofstede's Culture Dimensions.*

5. ARTICLES

5.1 Submitted Articles

Tekeş, B., **Özdemir, F.**, & Özkan, T. (2018). Time perspective and driving skills and driver behaviors among young drivers. Journal of Transportation Safety and Security.

5.2 Published or Accepted to Be Published in Journals Covered by SCI, SSCI, SCOPUS or AHCI

Özdemir, F., Tekeş, B., & Öner-Özkan, B. (in press). Birey düzeyinde göreli yoksunluk ve öznel esenlik arasındaki dolaylı ilişki [Indirect relationship between egoistic relative deprivation and subjective well-being]. Türk Psikoloji Dergisi [Turkish Journal of Psychology].

Özdemir, F., & Sakallı Uğurlu, N. (2018). Development of militaristic attitudes scale and its associations with Turkish identity and uninational ideology. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology, 24*(2), 175-187. doi: 10.1037/pac0000296

Sakallı Uğurlu, N., & **Özdemir, F.** (2017). Predicting attitudes toward the masculine structure of the military with Turkish identification and ambivalent sexism. *Sex Roles, 76,* 511-519. doi: 10.1007/s11199-016-0676-0

5.3 Published or Accepted to Be Published in Journals Covered by Other Indexes

Özdemir, F., & Öner-Özkan, B. (2017). The nature of crime: Different approaches toward the causes of the criminal act. *Nesne, 5*(11), 345-361. doi: 10.7816/nesne-05-11-01

Özdemir, F. (2016). The predictive power of religious orientation types on ambivalent sexism. *Nesne, 4*(7), 89-107. doi: 10.7816/nesne-04-07-05

Özdemir, F., & Öner-Özkan, B. (2016). Türkiye'de sosyal medya kullanıcılarının Suriyeli mültecilere ilişkin sosyal temsilleri [Social representations of social media users toward Syrian refugees in Turkey]. *Nesne, 4*(8), 229-246. doi: 10.7816/nesne-04-08-04

Özdemir, F. (2014). Development and validation of the relative deprivation scale for financial possibilities. *Journal of Advances in Humanities, 2*(2), 110-116. ISSN: 2349-4379.

Özdemir, F., & Gözün, E. (2013). Evaluating relationship among religiosity, self-esteem, and identification with Turkish identity through structural equation model. *International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanity Studies, 5*(2), 73-85, ISSN: 1309-8063 (Online).

6. CONFERENCE PAPERS

6.1 Submitted Conference Papers

Özdemir, F., Ashokkumar, A., & Swann, W. B. Jr. (2019, July). When conservatives are as tolerant of refugees as liberals. *The paper was submitted for the 16th European Congress of Psychology, Moscow, Russia.*

Özdemir, F., İmamoğlu, E. O., İmamoğlu-Tezcan, S., & Çeviker, G. (2019, July). Associations of search for and presence of meaning in life with well-being-related orientations. *The paper was submitted for the 16th European Congress of Psychology, Moscow, Russia.*

6.2 Presented or Accepted to Be Presented in Congresses and Seminars

6.2.1 Oral presentations

International:

Özdemir, F. (2017, July). Resilience as an ordinary human strength: The psychology of optimal functioning.*The paper was presented at the 15th European Congress of Psychology, Amsterdam, The Netherlands.*

Özdemir, F., İslambay, D., Tekeş, B., & Öner-Özkan, B. (2016, July). The mediator role of human strength between egoistic relative deprivation and subjective well-being. *The paper was presented at the 31st International Congress of Psychology, Yokohama, Japan.*

Özdemir, F., & Öner-Özkan, B. (2015, July). A qualitative study: Social representations toward Syrian refugees in Turkey. *The paper was presented at the 14th European Congress of Psychology, Milan, Italy.*

Özdemir, F., & Tekeş, B. (2015, July). Predictive power of driver's time perspective and driving skills on active-young driver behaviors. *The paper was presented at the 14th European Congress of Psychology, Milan, Italy.*

Özdemir, F., & Terzi, H. (2015, July). A cross-cultural study: Systematic association between gender-related occupational differences and national culture dimensions. *The paper was presented at the 14th European Congress of Psychology, Milan, Italy.*

Özdemir, F., & Sakallı-Uğurlu, N. (2014, July). Underlying factors of attitude toward masculine structure of military: Turkish identity, ambivalent sexism, and conservatism. *The paper was presented at the 22nd International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology, Reims, France.*

Özdemir, F., & Sakallı-Uğurlu, N. (2014, July). Predictive power of Turkish identity, uninational ideology, and conservatism on militaristic attitude. *The paper was presented at the 28th International Congress of Applied Psychology, Paris, France.*

Özdemir, F., & Gözün, E. (2013, October). Evaluating relationship between self-esteem, religiousness, and identification with Turkish identity through structural equation model. *The paper was presented at the 6th International Conference on Social Sciences, Izmir, Turkey.*

National:

Özdemir, F., & Özkan, T. (2018, November). Kimlik ve yoksunluk: Ana muhalefet partisi destekçileri örnekleminde senaryolar yardımıyla aşırı grup-yanlısı davranışları inceleme. *The paper was presented at the 20. Ulusal Psikoloji Kongresi [20th National Congress of Psychology], Ankara, Turkey.*

Özdemir, F., & Öner-Özkan, B. (2016, September). Birey düzeyinde maddiyata ve maneviyata ilişkin göreli yoksunluk ile nasıl başa çıkıyoruz? Baş etme stratejilerinin aracı rolü. *The paper was presented at the 19. Ulusal Psikoloji Kongresi [19th National Congress of Psychology], İzmir, Turkey.*

Tekeş, B., İmamoğlu, E. O., **Özdemir, F.**, İslambay, D., & Öner-Özkan, B. (2016, September). Siyasal görüş ve ahlak ilişkisinde düşünme ihtiyacı ve tanınma ihtiyacının aracı rolleri. *The*

paper was presented at the 19. Ulusal Psikoloji Kongresi [19th National Congress of Psychology], İzmir, Turkey.

6.2.2 Poster Presentations

International:

Özdemir, F. (2017, July). The psychology of man, woman, and gender: Attitudes toward gender issues. *The poster was presented at the 15th European Congress of Psychology, Amsterdam, The Netherlands.*

Özdemir, F., & Sakallı-Uğurlu, N. (2014, July). Testing the predictive power of religious orientation types on ambivalent sexism in the sense of man and woman. *The poster was presented at the 28th International Congress of Applied Psychology, Paris, France.*

Özdemir, F. (2013, July). Development and validation of the relative deprivation scale for financial possibilities. *The poster was presented at the 13th European Congress of Psychology, Stockholm, Sweden.*

National:

Özdemir, F., & Sakallı-Uğurlu, N. (2014, April). Militarist tutum ölçeği ile askeriyenin erkeksi yapısı ölçeğinin geliştirilmesi. *The poster was presented at the 18. Ulusal Psikoloji Kongresi [18th National Congress of Psychology], Bursa, Turkey.*

7. REVIEWS FOR JOURNALS

Journal of Advances in Humanities (1)

Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology (2)

The Journal of Positive Psychology (1)

8. SEMINARS

Özdemir, F. (2014, May). Türk örnekleminde, askeriyeye ilişkin tutumları yordayan sosyo-psikolojik faktörlerin sosyal kimlik teorisi bağlamında incelenmesi. Uludag University, Faculty of Arts and Science, Department of Psychology, Spring-Term Seminars 2013-2014, Bursa, Turkey.

9. WORK INFORMATION

2016 - ....:   Uludag University - Research Assistant in Psychology Department

Lectured Courses: PSY 3003, Industrial and Organizational Psychology (2018-2019, fall semester)

PSY 3056, Selected Topics in Social Psychology (2016-2017, spring semester)

2017 - 2018:   The University of Texas at Austin - Visiting Researcher in the Lab Group of
Dr. W. B. Swann

2013 - 2016:   Middle East Technical University - Research Assistant in Psychology Department

Assisted Courses: PSY 500, Advanced Statistics for Psychology I (2016-2017, fall semester)

                    PSY 510, Advanced Statistics for Psychology II (2015-2016, spring semester)

                    PSY 500, Advanced Statistics for Psychology I (2015-2016, fall semester)

                    PSY 100, Introduction to Psychology (2014-2015, spring semester)

                    PSY 500, Advanced Statistics for Psychology I (2014-2015, fall semester)

                    PSY 653, Social Representations (2013-2014, spring semester)

2012 - 2013:   Ufuk University - Research Assistant in Psychology Department

10. ACHIEVEMENTS

10.1 Scholarships and Financial Supports

2214-A TUBITAK International Research Fellowship Program during Ph.D., 2017-2018: Approx. $16.000

Uludag University, International Conference Presenter Support, 2017: ₺5.000

Academic Promotion for the Period of 1st January – 31st December 2017: Approx. ₺3.750

Academic Promotion for the Period of 1st January – 31st December 2016: Approx. ₺3.000

2224-A TUBITAK International Conference Presenter Support, 2015-7: Approx. $1.000

2211-E TUBITAK National Scholarship Program for Ph.D. Students, 2013 – 2019: Approx. ₺90.000

2228-A TUBITAK National Scholarship Program for MS Students, 2011 – 2013: Approx. ₺40.000

Scholarship Program of Izmir Chamber of Commerce for BS Students, 2006 – 2011: Approx. ₺200.000

11. SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

11.1 Memberships

Community Volunteers

11.2 Hobbies

Traveling (Instagram: notesofbackpacker)

THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU

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Enformatik Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Informatics ☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Marine Sciences ☐

<u>**YAZARIN /** AUTHOR</u>

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Adı / Name   : FATİH

Bölümü / Department   : PSİKOLOJİ

<u>**TEZİN ADI** / TITLE OF THE THESIS</u> (**İngilizce** / English): The Fusion of Individual and Group Levels: The Case of Political Party Supporters within Extreme Pro-Group Action Process

<u>**TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE:**</u>   **Yüksek Lisans /** Master ☐   **Doktora /** Ph.D. ■

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