

ATTITUDES TOWARDS ALLOWANCE OF HEADSCARF IN THE  
UNIVERSITIES: A TERROR MANAGEMENT THEORY PERSPECTIVE

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## ABSTRACT

### ATTITUDES TOWARDS ALLOWANCE OF HEADSCARF IN THE UNIVERSITIES: A TERROR MANAGEMENT THEORY PERSPECTIVE

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The present study tested the mortality salience (MS) hypothesis of Terror Management Theory (TMT) on attitudes towards allowance of headscarf in the universities. Sample of the current study consisted of 208 university students. Religious, secular and liberal views were evaluated by participants. The results of 2 (Attitude: Supporters, Opponents) X 2 (Condition: Mortality salience, Control) ANOVAs showed that despite the lack of significant main effect of condition and interaction effect, MS tended to lead supporters of headscarf to evaluate both religious and secular essay more favorably but the liberal essay less favorably. On the contrary, opponents of headscarf tended to become supportive of the secular essay but critical of the religious and liberal essay following MS. Findings were discussed considering past literature and alternative theoretical perspectives.

Keywords: Terror management theory, headscarf, türban

## ÖZ

### ÜNİVERSİTELERDE BAŞÖRTÜSÜ İZİNİNE YÖNELİK TUTUMLAR: DEHŞET YÖNETİMİ KURAMI PERSPEKTİFİ

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Bu çalışma, Dehşet Yönetimi Kuramı'nın ölümlülüğün hatırlatılması hipotezini üniversitelerde başörtüsü iznine yönelik tutumlar üzerinde test etmiştir. Çalışmanın örneklemini 208 üniversite öğrencisinden oluşmaktadır. Dini, laik ve liberal görüşler katılımcılar tarafından değerlendirilmiştir. 2 (Tutum: Destekleyenler, Karşı Çıkanlar) X 2 (Koşul: Ölümlülüğün hatırlatılması, Kontrol) ANOVAların sonuçları anlamlı koşul temel etkisi ve etkileşim etkisi göstermemesine karşın, ölümlülüğün hatırlatılmasının başörtüsünü destekleyenlerin hem dini hem de laik görüşe ilişkin makaleyi olumlu; fakat liberal görüşe ilişkin makaleyi olumsuz değerlendirme eğiliminde olduğunu göstermiştir. Aksine, ölümlülüğün hatırlatılmasının ardından başörtüsüne karşı çıkanlar laik görüşe ilişkin makaleyi daha destekleyici; fakat dini ve liberal görüşe ilişkin makaleyi daha eleştirici olma eğilimindedir. Bulgular geçmiş araştırma bulguları ve alternatif kuramlar dikkate alınarak tartışılmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Dehşet Yönetimi Kuramı, başörtüsü, türban

*To*

*Şengül and Mehmet Yılmaz Çamlı*

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

This study aims to investigate the underlying motivations of attitudes towards allowance of headscarf in the universities. Terror Management Theory (TMT) has provided a framework for explaining various human motivations and behaviors ranging from prejudice in intergroup relations to prosocial behavior (Greenberg, Solomon & Pyszczynski, 1997). In the current study, attitudes towards allowance of headscarf in the universities were examined from the perspective of TMT. First, a brief introduction of the theory and past studies relevant to the present research will be presented. Then, the emergence and development of headscarf controversy in Turkey will be elaborated in the following sections.

#### 1.1 Terror Management Theory

Dava tek: Ölmemek! (Claim is unique: Not to die!)

(Kısakürek, N. F., 2003, p. 262-263-264)

The most helpless mammals in the world, namely human beings, are granted with intellectual abilities such as “the capacity to delay behavior in order to consider alternative responses, to contemplate their past and ponder their future, and to imagine that which does not yet exist and to engage in behavior to render such internal representations into concrete reality” (Greenberg et al., 1997, p. 64) which give them a superior survival advantage over other creatures. Rather than

simply reacting to the environmental stimulus, the only one governed by ego, a sense of 'I' which is separate from the environment, manipulates the environment via intellectual abilities and attains unlimited freedom (Becker, 1962). Sharing a basic instinct for self-preservation with other creatures, their superior intellectual abilities resulted in a self-consciousness that made them aware of their vulnerability and inevitability of their death (Solomon, Greenberg, & Pyszczynski, 1991, 2004). Being aware of the fact that we are going to leave our loved ones, jobs, careers, sweet homes, cars, books, and all other belongings is an unbearable thing to live with. Thus, the dawning awareness of ultimate mortality and vulnerability creates the potential for overwhelming terror. Death is ubiquitous watching our efforts to repress the anxiety of the knowledge that we are going to die, at least someday. In times of failures and choices, college meetings, marriages, break-ups, career changes, retirements, middle age crisis, illnesses, and a loved one's death (Yalom, 1999, 2008). Building on the work of Ernest Becker (1962, 1973, 1975), Terror Management Theory (TMT) claims that culture provides human beings an anxiety buffer mechanism in order to control the existential anxiety inherent in the human condition (Pyszczynski, Greenberg, & Solomon, 1997). According TMT, people must sustain two basic beliefs to maintain psychological equanimity in their lives:

(1) "faith in a culturally derived worldview that imbues reality with order, stability, meaning, and permanence"

(2) "a belief that one is a significant contributor to this meaningful reality"  
(Pyszczynski, Solomon, & Greenberg, 2003, p. 16-17).

These two beliefs are the two fundamental components of cultural anxiety-buffer. The first terror management component, *the belief in a cultural worldview*, provides standards of value and promises protection or death transcendence to individuals who meet or exceed those standards. Owing to the dependency of the human infant to succoring parents, human beings learn to meet the moral standards shaped by parents not to face abandonment that is the origin of anxiety (Becker, 1962). The socialization begins with the detachment of the human infant from his/her parents, who satisfy his/her needs up to that time, and formation of an independent human being which was completed by the mastery of ego over his/her life. The second component, *self-esteem*, is the belief that individual is meeting or exceeding the cultural standards of value. In Becker (1962)'s words, 'Self-esteem is the warm inner feeling of self-righteousness that arms the individual against anxiety' (p. 79). Since ego is capable of manipulating the environment, self-esteem is the feeling that ego accomplished what it is supposed to perform, that is to say, handling the anxiety, which was attained by meeting the standards of the cultural worldview. Being embedded in a cultural worldview that gives life meaning is not enough unless human beings feel that they are valuable contributors of that meaning. Through life, every individual builds his/ her self on various attitudes and beliefs, namely, his/her personal way of buffering the abject terror rendered by the awareness of death. While religion promises literal or real immortality via the promises of afterlife or immortal soul, other cultural worldviews promise symbolic immortality such as national and ethnic belonging, children, books, awards and so forth (Greenberg et al., 1997, Solomon et al., 2004).

However, on the one hand death is an inevitable fact that may show up in any corner in the life and, on the other hand, people are encompassed by others who have different cultural worldviews that may threaten, challenge, derogate or question their cultural worldview, namely, their existential buffer. In fact, human beings were cognizant of the fact that the cultural worldview they are imbedded in is just a fiction, formed by their parents and the culture they were born into (Becker, 1962). As a result, they need continual validation of these fragile symbolic constructions (Becker, 1973). As such, noticing others with different worldviews signal the possibility that one may be wrong in his/ her belief or his/ her worldview is invalid. When one, however, comes across with people who hold similar beliefs, the validity of his/her worldviews, anxiety buffer, is symbolically approved. Thus, people have positive attitudes towards similar others and those who bolster their own worldview. Inversely, people have negative attitudes against people who threaten their own worldview. In addition, people's reactions get stronger especially when they are reminded of the thing their worldviews serve to buffer. In other words, since cultural worldviews help to assuage death anxiety, reminding people of their mortality will increase their need to defend their own worldview and derogate the discrepant worldviews.

TMT explains this basic motivational process with two main hypotheses: *Mortality salience (MS) hypothesis and anxiety-buffer hypothesis*. The MS hypothesis states that if a psychological structure protects against anxiety, reminding people of the source of the anxiety (i.e., their own mortality) should increase their need for protection provided by that structure. That is to say,



concerns about mortality should increase their need to validate their sense of worth and faith in their cultural worldview by bolstering their own, derogating the other and behaving in a way consistent with that worldview (Greenberg et al., 1997). MS hypothesis has been tested by randomly assigning participants to MS (i.e., projective life attitude assessment, Rosenblatt, Greenberg, Solomon, Pyszczynski, & Lyon, 1989) and control condition (e.g., watching television, next important exam, or dental pain; for various operationalizations of MS and control condition, see Solomon et al., 2004), and then giving an opportunity to defend their cultural belief system, which were manipulated by bogus essays. MS has been documented to increase the defense of their own cultural belief system and disdain towards other cultural belief systems (e.g., Arndt, Greenberg, Solomon, Pyszczynski, & Simon, 1997; Greenberg, Pyszczynski, Solomon, Simon, & Breus, 1994; Greenberg et al., 1990). Furthermore, other aversive or anxiety provoking events did not bring about same effects as mortality salience and MS effects were not mediated by self-reported affect. The anxiety-buffer hypothesis, on the other hand, states that strengthening a psychological structure that buffers the anxiety should decrease anxiety or anxiety-related defenses in response to threats. Simply, strengthening self-esteem or faith in cultural worldview should decrease anxiety or anxiety-mediated behavior in response to reminders of mortality.

The MS effects occur when death-related thoughts are on the fringes of consciousness. In other words, they are highly accessible but outside of conscious awareness (Pyszczynski, Greenberg, & Solomon, 1999). When people are reminded of their mortality, they are suppressing death-related thoughts from

conscious awareness. However, after a period, suppression relaxes and death-related thoughts become preconscious, which bring about worldview defense (Pyszczynski et al., 1997).

Immediately after MS, human beings are using proximal defenses such as “distracting oneself from the problem, minimizing the apparent threat by altering perceptions of its severity, denying vulnerability to threat, and emphasizing the temporal remoteness of the problem” (Pyszczynski et al., 2003, pp. 55) in order to defuse the conscious thoughts about death. On the contrary, after a delay or distraction following MS, when accessibility of death-related thoughts increases but are not in conscious awareness, they are using distal defenses, namely terror management defenses, such as self-esteem and cultural worldview bolstering (Pyszczynski et al., 1999). In an exemplary study, Greenberg et al. (1994; Study 2) used three different experimental conditions to examine the effect of distractor on worldview defense. In the MS distraction condition, participants were distracted by a neutral puzzle; in the MS continued death focus condition, they were forced to keep the problem of death via death puzzle; and in the MS free-thought condition, they were given three minutes to write down whatever thoughts came to mind. The findings revealed that greater preference for pro-US author over anti-US author was exhibited in the MS distraction condition exceeding MS, MS free-thought and MS continued death focus condition, in order. Among MS free-thought participants, preference for pro-US author over anti-US author was greater for participants that thought about mundane things than participants that thought about positive feelings and participants that thought about existential issues respectively.

In their fourth study, they investigated the death thought accessibility after MS distraction, MS-no distraction and television salience condition. Death-thought accessibility was assessed by asking participants to complete 20 word fragments by filling in two missing letters immediately after experimental conditions. The findings showed that death thought accessibility in the MS distraction condition was higher than other conditions. No significant difference was found between MS-no distraction and control conditions.

In a related vein, Arndt et al. (1997; Study 3), assigned participants to three different experimental conditions including MS-defend, MS-no defend and control condition to understand whether worldview defense decreases death thought accessibility. In the MS-defend condition, participants contemplated their mortality and after a distraction, they evaluated pro and anti- American essays in a judgmental way. In the MS-no defend condition, they evaluated two essays in a non-judgmental way. In the control condition, different from MS-defend condition, they contemplated their next important exam. The findings showed that death thought accessibility was higher for participants in the MS-no defend condition than participants in the control condition and in the MS-defend condition respectively. Taken together, these studies suggest that when mortality concerns are high, human beings suppress death-related thoughts from conscious by proximal defenses. However, after a delay, the accessibility of death thoughts increases the motivation to defend their worldview, which serves to keep death-related thoughts at bay.

Although TMT posits that cultural worldview and self-esteem quell existential anxiety and human beings are safe from death symbolically or literally, a new problem emerged, namely, the war of worldviews that are fragile in nature, and deteriorated the safe, permanent, and meaningful universe conception in the real world. As Becker (1975) succinctly puts,

“What men have done is to shift the fear of death onto the higher level of cultural perpetuity; and this very triumph ushers in an ominous new problem. Since men must now hold for dear life onto the self-transcending meanings of the society in which they live, onto the immortality symbols, which guarantee them indefinite duration of some kind, a new kind of instability and anxiety are created. And this anxiety is precisely what spills over into the affairs of men. In seeking to avoid evil, man is responsible for bringing more evil into the world than organisms could ever do merely by exercising their digestive tracts.” (p. 5)

Individuals react to different worldviews with the effort of conversion, derogation, assimilation, accommodation, and annihilation (Greenberg et al., 1997; Pyszczynski et al., 2003; Solomon et al., 1991, 2004). Human beings can change their worldview (conversion) since they do not attain the required psychological equanimity from their own worldview. Breeding the roots of prejudice, human beings can derogate the other by claiming that they are misbelievers. Worse than derogation, individuals attempt to assimilate those with different worldviews to reduce the anxiety engendered by the existence of worldview-threateners. In addition, assimilation can take the form of accommodation, that is to say, incorporation of some compelling or appealing aspects of the other worldviews, which are in line with the endorsed cultural belief system. The worst reaction to different worldviews is to kill people with threatening worldviews to defuse threat. Cultural worldview, which is meant to be a ‘buffer’, becomes a ‘burden’, for which

human beings condescend, devalue, dehumanize, and even kill in order to allay the existential anxiety.

Past research within the TMT framework has shown that MS inducement results in derogation of people with incompatible worldviews or values and bolstering of people with upholding worldviews or values. In an early study, Rosenblatt et al. (1989), in three studies, explored the effect of MS on the punishment of moral transgressors and conferment of heroes. Although judges are trained to make judgments based on facts, they found that judges in the MS condition set higher bonds (*Ms*: \$455) than judges in the control condition did (*Ms*: \$50) since the defendant has a prostitution background which undermines the moral principles of the culture. The findings were replicated in the second study, which demonstrated that in the MS condition college students who had an unfavorable attitude towards prostitution set higher bonds than the ones with favorable attitude. Exposure to MS brought about higher bonds among participants who had an unfavorable attitude but participants who had a favorable attitude, signifying the importance of violation of values especially for people who adopt them. The results of the third study revealed that participants set higher rewards for a hero, who reported the mugger to the police, in the MS condition compared to control condition. Similar findings have been replicated in a number of studies (for reviews, see Greenberg et al., 1997; Burke, Martens, & Faucher, 2010).

### **1.1.1 Group Identifications**

Group identifications (e.g., religious, racial, national) serve as an existential buffer mechanism by representing cultural worldviews and providing sources of

self-esteem as well as shifting the fear of death from personal to social entities (Castano & Deschense, 2005; Pyszczynski, Greenberg, Solomon, Arndt, & Schimel, 2004). Past studies on group identification showed that existential concerns exacerbated the way human beings perceive out-groups. In an investigation to understand attraction of Christian participants to Christian and Jew targets, Greenberg et al. (1990, Study 1)'s findings indicated that MS increased Christians' liking of a Christian student yet decreased their liking of a Jew student. Moreover, MS significantly increased positive evaluation of a Christian student and insignificantly increased negative evaluation of a Jew student. Since group membership is a means to buttress existential anxiety, MS increases positive evaluation of in-group members and negative evaluation of out-group members. Simply being assigned to a group, minimal group paradigm, was shown to bring about same strivings after MS manipulation. Harmon-Jones, Greenberg, Solomon, and Simon (1996) asked participants to choose one painting among each five pairs of paintings and then told participants that they were assigned to the groups depending on their preference similarity for paintings (aesthetic preference) or a random base. Participants evaluated themselves, their own group and the other group on positive and negative traits. The findings of the study indicated that MS induced aesthetic preference participants rated their in-group more positively than did participants in other conditions. In a related study, Castano, Yzerbyt, Paladino, and Sacchi (2002) investigated the effect of mortality concerns on in-group identification and in-group entitativity, perception of a group as a real entity, among Italian students. Participants filled measures of in-group entitativity and in-group identification, rated Italians and Germans on 10 traits, from which the

difference was taken as an in-group bias measure. The findings demonstrated that MS augmented participants' identification with Italy and perception of Italians as a real entity. In addition, MS led to more positive evaluation of Italians than Germans, which was mediated by both in-group identification and in-group entitativity. Contrary to the above-mentioned findings, MS can also lead to disidentification when the negative aspects of the group in question was made salient (e.g., Arndt, Greenberg, Schimel, Pyszczynski, & Solomon, 2002; Dechesne, Greenberg, Arndt, & Schimel, 2000; Dechesne, Janssen, & Knippenberg, 2000).

Intensified allegiance to one's own group can manifest itself in the form of prejudice due to reminders of death (Greenberg et al., 2009). Greenberg, Schimel, Martens, Solomon, and Pyszczynski (2001) conducted three studies to assess the perception of White pride among White students. They asked participants to read two essays written by a White or Black student about student's pride in their group. The findings of Study 1 revealed that White students perceived the White essayist more racist than the Black essayist. Reversely, Study 2 showed that in the MS condition, participants perceived the White student nonsignificantly less racist than Black. Furthermore, MS significantly decreased the racist perception for the White essayist while nonsignificantly increased it for the Black essayist. In the final study, they asked participants to read the legal case of a White/Black male supervisor who engaged in discriminational acts against Blacks/Whites and his justifications accordingly. Participants evaluated him in terms of discrimination and racist beliefs, and assigned a jail sentence to him. They made a composite

score of perceptions of guilt toward the target, which revealed that MS significantly led to a decrease in the attributions of guilt for the White target while nonsignificantly increased attributions of guilt for the Black target. In addition, perception of guilt for the White target was lower than the Black target in the MS condition than the control condition. In a related vein, other studies corroborated that anxiety associated with the awareness of death precipitate prejudicial activities (e.g., derogation, physical aggression) against people with threatening worldviews (e.g., Pyszczynski et al., 2006, Study 1; McGregor et al., 1998, Study 1 & 2).

Certain personality characteristics play an augmenting or alleviating role in the reactions to similar and dissimilar others in response to MS. In a study aimed to assess the role of authoritarian personality, Greenberg et al. (1990, Study 2) told participants that they were going to work with a partner on a problem-solving task. Participants rated their agreement with a survey of attitudes, consisting of 12 items (e.g., discipline of children, sports, the role of women in society, and the university grading system) and a bogus similar/ dissimilar target profile was generated by 75% and 25% item agreement with subject's own respectively. Participants were given the bogus information about their partners and were instructed to rate their attraction to the target. The findings indicated that MS decreased high authoritarians liking of dissimilar target significantly but failed to bring about significant difference for low authoritarians. In addition, high authoritarians evaluated the dissimilar target more negatively than low authoritarians did in the MS condition. The authors interpreted that low authoritarians' possible negative



reactions to dissimilar others were attenuated by their highly valued open-mindedness and tolerance of others.

Greenberg, Simon, Pyszczynski, Solomon, and Chatel (1992) explored whether tolerance plays a mitigating role in negative reactions to others who threaten one's worldview. In this study, participants were classified as extremely conservative and liberal based their responses to four questions concerning legalized abortion, prayer in schools, whether flag burning should be legal, and the overall effects of Reagan presidency. They read two bogus political attitude surveys (one extremely conservative, one extremely liberal) filled by two other students and evaluated them on Interpersonal Judgment Scale and positive/negative traits. The findings of the first study demonstrated that MS increased conservative students' preference of similar target over dissimilar target but decreased liberal students' preference. In evaluations of positive/negative traits, MS increased conservative students' favorability of similar target and unfavorability of dissimilar target, and liberal students' favorability of dissimilar target. Since liberal students value tolerance and open-mindedness more than conservative students, MS resulted in an increment in the preference for the dissimilar target. In their second study, they primed tolerance by an attitude survey consisting of statements advocating tolerance and a bogus attitude survey consisting of neutral statements was used in the neutral prime condition. They asked participants to rate foreign students' views of America. In the MS condition, tolerance primed subjects reacted less negatively to anti-US target than neutral prime subjects. Indeed, tolerance prime mitigated unfavorable ratings of others rather than favorable ratings of similar. In other

words, participants still wanted to defend their worldview but they became more tolerant of others when tolerance was primed.

In a similar vein, Pyszczynski et al (2006, Study 2), examined whether political orientation moderates the effect of MS on extreme military tactics in the Middle East. American students were assigned to mortality, intense physical pain, and terrorism salience condition. Terrorism salience was manipulated by asking two questions regarding the terrorist attacks on September 11. The findings revealed that both MS and 9/11 conditions induced greater support for extreme military measures compared to control condition among conservative participants, but not among liberal participants. However, Landau et al. (2004, Study 3), found that MS and 9/11 conditions resulted in higher support for President Bush regardless of political orientation, namely conservative and liberal. Likewise, McGregor et al. (1998) found that both conservatives and liberals allocated greater amounts of hot sauce, which was an assessment of physical aggression, to participants with threatening worldviews. Unlike Greenberg et al. (1992), in three studies (e.g., Landau et al., 2005; McGregor et al., 1998; Pyszczynski et al., 2006), participants' political orientation was assessed by their self-reported position along a continuum from very conservative to very liberal. Therefore, although this measure has face validity, the contradictory findings regarding political orientation could result from the inadequacy of single item measuring a broad term like political orientation. Taken together, in spite of the contradictory findings, these studies suggest that individuals may not engage in worldview defense as expected if they place a high value on tolerance, open-mindedness, liberalism, and so forth.

### **1.1.2 TMT Studies in Turkey**

The basic hypotheses of TMT have been tested by a relatively few number of studies in Turkey (Aslıtürk, 2001; Bozo, Tunca, & Şimşek, 2009; Koca-Atabey & Öner-Özkan, in press; Kökdemir & Yeniçeri, 2010; Şimşek, 2005; Yavuz & Van den Bos, 2009). Of particular relevance to group identification, Kökdemir & Yeniçeri (2010) examined the impact of MS on the identification of private (Study 1a) and state (Study 1b) university students. Participants were asked to read and evaluate an essay favoring either private or state universities. Study 1a's findings revealed that in the MS condition, private university students evaluated the essay claiming the private universities were better more positively than the essay claiming the state universities were better. In addition, pro-state essay was insignificantly negatively evaluated in the MS condition relative to control condition. Similar to Study 1a, Study 1b indicated that in the MS condition state university students rated the pro-state essay more favorably than pro-private essay. Moreover, MS augmented the negative evaluation of the pro-private essay by state university students. Taken together, the findings indicated that MS resulted in out-group derogation but in-group favoritism.

In sum, previous work on TMT has provided evidence suggesting that activation of death-related thoughts instigates negative reactions to dissimilar others or challenging worldviews and positive reactions to similar others or validating worldviews. However, personality characteristics (e.g., authoritarian personality, tolerance) can mediate the MS effects on worldview defense. TMT offers insights into areas of conflict like headscarf crisis in Turkey that lead to

serious polarizations in the society since divergent worldviews cannot come to terms with each other.

## **1.2 Headscarf Debate in Turkey**

Since 1960s especially during 1980s, Turkey has faced a debate about the allowance of headscarf in the universities (Aksoy, 2005; Hortaçsu, 2000; Kalaycıoğlu, 2005; Saktanber & Çorbacıoğlu, 2008; Şanlı, 2005). In fact, this hot debate focused on *türban*, which is a different style of covering hair that emerged recently, than *başörtüsü*, a customary way of covering hair common in Anatolia. As Göle (1997a) and İlyasoğlu (1999) put, the women donning *türban* are different from the women who are donning *başörtüsü* in that they are active participants of the politics and modern life rather than passive adopters of tradition. They are urban, modern, and well educated and they blame women donning *başörtüsü* for misinterpreting Islam. Confirming Göle's and İlyasoğlu's points, Erdem (2007)'s study revealed that custom and usage was cited as the second important reason for covering hair by participants who don *başörtüsü* (14, 9%) higher than participants who don *türban* (4, 9%). What made *türban* but not *başörtüsü* a deadlock for Turkish society is these women's active participation in politics, political Islam, which is interpreted as a threat to the main block of Turkish Republic, namely secularism.

### **1.2.1 History of the Conflict over Headscarf**

Although headscarf debate seems to be a recent event in Turkish history, indeed, it started to be a matter of strife starting from the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Ottoman

Empire was trying to strengthen its position in the world by adopting reforms that aim to close the gap between West and Ottoman Empire (Aksoy, 2005; Göle, 1997a; Özdalga, 1998). Reforms attempts mainly focused on the statues of non-Muslims and women, which brought about hot discussions about modernization. Historically, supporters of two distinct modernization projects, Westernists and Islamists, differed mainly on the position of women in the society. While Westernists, or modernists, put the emphasis on the equality between sexes, education and participation of women in the society; Islamists argue that existence of women in public sphere would hinder the morality of the society. Building on this, Westernists support the abolishment of veiling and polygamous marriages, which are considered as crucial for the moral fabric of the society for Islamists. On the one hand, Westernists thought that women should gain an independent identity, which is going to free women from the role of mother and wife, and in turn raise the kids of the society to attain civilization. On the other hand, Islamists wanted to pursue with Ottoman cultural and moral inheritance that depended on Sheri'a and accommodate Western civilization in other fields. Indeed, Westernists were longing for a full modernization package based on Western civilization, independent of religion and tradition. It is important to point out that there was a continuum on the extremity of the opinions maintained by Westernists and Islamists.

Starting from Tanzimat Period, women's visibility in the public realm increased signifying the attempts to bring about civilization based on Westernization (Aksoy, 2005). Women started to express their views regarding

their existence in the society via magazines and associations, attend schools and work in organizations. Building on the reforms taken place since Tanzimat Period, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk established the new republic based on Western civilization in order to leave the Ottoman Empire behind and women were considered as the main transmitters of the modernization (Göle, 1997b; Saktanber & Çorbacıoğlu, 2008). Nationalism was superseded with religion, which formed the base of *millet* (nation) system in Ottoman Empire and paved the way for secularization (Şanlı, 2005). Secularism was the main block of new republic, which is separation of religion and the state. The transformation of an empire into a republic was implemented by the abolition of caliphate, dervish lodges, madrasahs, religious titles, cloths and courts, Arabic alphabet, and fez; and adoption of a new civil code, Latin alphabet, western time, calendar and metric system, and hat. Women, mothers of the new generation, attained coeducation rights with men from elementary school, political rights, and equal rights with men in the family via civil code (Göle 1997a; Arat, 1997).

Nonetheless, the conflict between different views concerning modernization continued to prevail in Turkish society. In 1968, the case of Hatice Babacan, who wanted to enter into Ankara University with headscarf and was disciplined from the university, fired the protests for the allowance of headscarf in the universities. In 1970, Islamists came into political arena by National Order Party (MNP), which was closed by Constitutional Court because of anti-secular activities. Afterwards, in 1972, they identified themselves as *Milli Görüş* (National Outlook) movement and formed National Welfare Party (MSP), which was politically active until 1980

military intervention. In 1996, Welfare Party (RP), which is main representative of political Islamist movement in Turkey, made a coalition government with True Path Party (DYP) with the support of 21, 4% of Turkish people in 1995 elections, which made secular people feeling uneasy about the future of Turkey (Arat, 2005; Özdalga, 1998). Indeed, political ruling style and controversies during the RP-led coalition government resulted in a huge polarization in the society and strengthened the conflict between religious and secular segments of the society. This polarization exacerbated by the headscarf dispute. RP prepared a law proposal to lift the headscarf ban in the universities, yet failed to pass it in the parliament. Starting from 1968, outlawing of headscarf had been subject to contradictory court decisions and legislations depending on religion and conscience freedom or a threat to secular republic (Aksoy, 2005). For instance, Leyla Şahin appealed to the European Court of Human Rights to abolish the ban on headscarf in the universities and the court had a final decision by stating that there is no violation of religion and conscience freedom. RP was closed by February 28th process and Justice and Development Party (AKP), which was formed by young members of RP, came into power as a single-party government with 34, 28% of the votes in November 3 2002 elections. However, the tension pertinent to headscarf has lingered on.

### **1.2.2 Attitudes towards Allowance of Headscarf in the Universities**

Political parties and groups have divergent attitudes regarding the allowance of headscarf in the universities (Arat, 2005; Göle, 1997a; Özdalga; 1998; Saktanber & Çorbacioğlu, 2008). The supporters of religious view see headscarf as a matter of religious and conscience freedom and call it *başörtüsü* (Aksoy, 2005). In a

follow-up study, Çarkoğlu and Toprak (2006) conducted an in-depth analysis with 1494 people concerning the religion, society and politics in Turkey. When women were asked about why they cover their hair, they found that a significant portion of participants (71, 5%) reported that it is the command of Islam, which was stated by 78, 8% of the participants who don *türban*. Likewise, in Erdem (2007)'s study, 73% (63, 4% in 2003) of the participants reported that they, their mother or their sister cover their hair due to their religious beliefs and the participants who don *türban* had the highest percentage (89%) of all. Taken together, studies converge on the conclusion that women donning *başörtüsü* or *türban* specify the command of Islam as the main reason for covering. People who supporter religious view predicate their pretensions on Koran that they are meeting the standards of Islam prescribed for women.

On the contrary, people who support secular view, so called laics or seculars, see headscarf as a political symbol of opposition to secularism and call it *türban* (Aksoy, 2005; Göle, 1997a). They think that the people who don *türban* are potential threats to Turkish Republic based on secular tenets and their hidden agenda was returning to Sheri'a (Çarkoğlu & Toprak, 2006; Saktanber, 2006; Saktanber & Çorbacıoğlu, 2008). In support of this claim, Erdem (2007) found that 16, 7% (19, 2% in 2003) of the participants reported that *türban* was a symbol of opposition to laicism. Thus, they do not believe in the sincerity of the people who support the allowance of headscarf in the universities by the notion of religion and conscience freedom and blame them by *takiyye* (hypocrisy) (Saktanber, 2006). Supporting the suspects of secular people, the results of Kalaycıoğlu (2005)'s study



indicated that especially urban lower class who want to be ruled under Sheri'a consider *türban* a major issue in terms of religious discrimination. In addition to this suspect, supporters of secular view think that there is a difference between *başörtüsü* and *türban*. According to them, *türban* is a political symbol while *başörtüsü* is the headscarf Anatolian women don in their daily lives while preparing dinner, cleaning the house in order to keep their hair clean. While women in Anatolia pose no threat to the secular regime, female students donning *türban*, Islamic headscarf, who want to enter the castles of the enlightenment, universities, are bothering secularists (Göle, 1997a; Saktanber, 2006). Regarding the distinction maintained by secular people, Erdem (2007) asked participants about why they don *türban* rather than *başörtüsü* and found that command of Islam (68%) and display of their political inclination (14, 9%) were mainly stated reasons. Although command of Islam dominated the other reasons, the ranking of political inclination as second points out that *türban* considered as a political symbol by secular people is not an illusion.

Since laicism and threat of Sheri'a are main concerns of secular people, Çarkoğlu and Toprak (2006) asked participants to answer whether laicism was under threat and there was an increase in religious fundamentalism. Of participants, 22%, who are mainly laic, had university and higher education level, higher income and property owners, not religious, ideologically left oriented, and vote for Republican People's Party (CHP), reported that laicism was under threat. As for religious fundamentalism, 32% of the participants answered affirmatively and based their judgment on the increase of women covering themselves (34, 6%) and

Islamist's power in politics (29, 4%). In sum, for secular people, threat for the Republican regime was linked to *türban*, a political symbol against laicism.

While religious and secular views seem to dominate the dispute on the headscarf, there is another group called 'liberals', who are against state's intrusion in individual's private lives and the ban on headscarf in the universities by stating that it is a matter of freedom or free will (Göle, 1997a). On March 2008, a group of students at Bosphorus University reacted to the prohibition against headscarf in the universities by stating:

“Our grief since the university gate was shut harshly on our face made us learn something: Our real problem was the prohibitory mentality which considers the right to intervene in people's lives, appearances, expressions, and thoughts belonging to him. Without completely abolishing the prohibitory mentality, which sustains the unjust order by spreading the fear that we are threats for each other and by setting at odds, no freedom is complete freedom. As people who know what freedom restriction means, from now on as well we will be against every discrimination, violation of right, force, and imposition.”(Milliyet, 2008)

Although headscarf is one of the main conflicts in the political arena that has been widely discussed on the media, Kalaycıoğlu (2005)'s findings demonstrated that when participants were asked about the most important problem in Turkey, *türban* was cited by 0, 4% of the people. However, regarding the pressure on pious people, 40% in October 2002 and 33% in February 2003 thought that there was a pressure on pious people and 67% and 74% of them named the pressure as *türban* and *tesettür*, respectively. Similarly, Çarkoğlu and Toprak (2006) found that among the top five problems, *türban* ranked fourth by 5, 7% of the participants. Yet, when participants were asked about identity problems that

government has to deal with, 43% of the participants reported *türban*, with 22, 8% missing. Furthermore, among 17% (42, 4% in 1999) of the participants who reported that there was a pressure against religious people, 65, 1% (64, 8% in 1999) of them gave *başörtüsü- türban* imposition as an example of pressure. Although *türban* was not regarded an important problem for Turkey, it appears to be an identity problem and a matter of discrimination for pious people.

Regarding the headscarf ban, Çarkoğlu and Toprak (2006) asked participants to rate the statement such as ‘Female university students must be allowed to don headscarf if they want’. Of participants, 71% (76% in 1999) agreed with the allowance of headscarf in the universities. Likewise, Erdem (2007) found that 78% (75, 5% in 2003) of people are against *türban* ban in the universities. In conclusion, it can be argued that headscarf does not constitute an important agenda for Turkey and the majority of the people in Turkey support the allowance of headscarf in the universities.

### **1.3 The Problem of ‘Death’ and ‘Headscarf’**

Since Tanzimat period, Turkey has gone through a modernization period in which the society has experienced a tremendous social change and has not reached a consensus on the political direction they should follow. With the advent of Turkish Republic by Atatürk, Westernist values were adopted, leaving Islamists uneasy about the morality of the society, especially concerning women. The question of women’s existence in the society emerged again with the RP’s rising power in Turkish politics in 1990s. University students with headscarves have become the symbol of conflict, which further polarized the society as religious and

secular. In 2008, Turkish government had passed a change in the Constitution to enable students wear headscarf in the universities. However, this measure was not approved by Constitutional Court. Considering that defending worldview with its implications on symbolic immortality, it is assumed the issue of attitudes towards allowance of headscarf in the universities can be examined from the perspective of TMT. Specifically, it is expected that reminders of mortality may have a different and polarizing effect on the supporters of divergent views regarding headscarf.

As mentioned previously, from a TMT standpoint, belief in an internalized cultural worldview, which imbues the life with meaning, order and permanence, is an anxiety buffer mechanism used by human beings in the face of death. With regard to attitudes towards allowance of headscarf in the universities, religious, secular and liberal view were different versions of individualized worldviews people use to repress their existential anxiety. As such, three views are based on divergent conceptions of world, thus, people with different worldviews regarding headscarf ban in the universities symbolically threaten each other such that different death-denying worldviews adopted by others weaken the validity of the endorsed worldview, which in turn increases the existential anxiety.

In one of the rare studies on veiling, Hortaçsu (2000) studied the impact of the municipal victory of RP in 1996 and 28 February military intervention in 1998, which ended RP period, on intergroup relations between veiled and unveiled university students. Participants filled the measures of interaction (frequency, pleasantness, and anxiety), perceived in-group and out-group homogeneity, in-group bias and individuation. The results of the factor analysis on measures yielded

three factors namely, negative contact conditions (infrequency, unpleasantness, and anxiety of interaction), tolerance (in-group bias, perceived out-group homogeneity, individualization), and identification (identification with the group, perceived in-group homogeneity). The results indicated that veiled group reported less negative contact conditions than unveiled group in 1996, whereas the opposite was found in 1998. In addition, more tolerance was reported by the unveiled students than the veiled students in 1996 and by the veiled than the unveiled in 1998. The results of the study revealed that the contact quality and tolerance for the out-group depended on the critical political events in Turkey. To put it differently, municipal victory, favoring veiled students, and 28 February military intervention, favoring unveiled students, played an important role in the perceptions of out-group members. Similarly, the studies of intergroup conflict using TMT perspective showed that activation of death-related thoughts increases preference for in-group member over out-group member and favorable rating of in-group member over out-group member (e.g., Castano, 2004; Castano et al., 2002; Harmon-Jones et al, 1996; Greenberg et al., 1990).

In conclusion, the aim of the present study was to investigate the attitudes of university students towards allowance of headscarf in the universities from the perspective of TMT. As noted earlier, there are three main views regarding prohibition against headscarf in the universities, namely religious, secular and liberal views. Religious view is against the headscarf ban in the universities by claiming that headscarf is a religion and conscience freedom and there is no difference between *türban* and *başörtüsü*. Contrary, the supporters of secular view

are against the allowance of headscarf in the universities by asserting that it is the symbol of political Islam and it has nothing to do with religion and conscience freedom. Furthermore, they argue that there is a difference between *türban* and *başörtüsü*, which Anatolian women don in their daily lives. Finally, the supporters of liberal view are against the headscarf ban in the universities by maintaining that it is a matter of freedom and state should stop interfering in people's lives, wearing styles, attitudes and beliefs.

Given that, MS strengthens people's positive reactions to similar worldviews and negative reactions to dissimilar worldviews; the hypothesis of the current study was as follows:

*Hypothesis:* MS would significantly increase participants' positive evaluation of an essay supporting their attitude towards allowance of headscarf in the universities and negative evaluation of an essay confronting their attitude. Specifically, supporters of headscarf would become more favorable to religious and liberal essays and unfavorable to secular essay while opponents would become more favorable to secular essay and unfavorable to religious and liberal essays following MS.

## CHAPTER II

### METHOD

#### 2.1 Participants

Two hundred and eight students participated in the current study. The students were selected through a convenience sampling procedure from Middle East Technical University ( $N = 120$ ) and Gazi University ( $N = 88$ ). All but six of the participants reported their age, which ranged from 18 to 29 ( $M = 21, 64$ ;  $SD = 1, 82$ ). There were 123 (59%) males and 85 (41%) females. Participants were from the departments of faculty of engineering (49, 3%), faculty of administrative sciences (34, 3%), faculty of arts and sciences (11, 6%), and faculty of education (4, 8%). Data were collected from 20 first year (9, 6%), 50 second year (24%), 72 third year (34, 6%), 38 fourth year (18, 3%), 2 fifth year (1%), and 5 master (2, 4%) students. Twenty- one participants (10, 1%) did not report their grade. Participants reported that they spent most of their childhood in metropolis (52, 7%), city (23, 6%), county (15, 8%), town (2, 5%), and in village (5, 4%). Participants reported that they were members of upper income class (5, 8%), 82, 2% from middle income class, 10, 6% from lower income class and 1% from poor income class, with 0, 5% from between middle and lower income class. Of participants, 61% reported that they live at home (50, 3% with family, 4, 6% with friends, 3, 6% with relatives, 2% alone, 0, 5% with brother) and 39% in dormitories (22, 3% in METU dormitories, 15, 2% in private dormitories, 1% state dormitories,

0, 5% youth hostel). Majority of the participants (84, 6%) reported that they believe in a religion. Among believers, all participants but one reported that they believe in Islam.

Of the participants, 195 (94, 2%) reported that they were going to vote in the next general election. As presented in Table 2.1.1, participants reported that they will vote mainly for Republic People’s Party (CHP; 55, 9%), Nationalist Movement Party (MHP; 15, 9%) and Justice and Development Party (AKP; 8, 7%).

Table 2.1.1 Distribution of Votes to Political Parties in Percentages in the Next General Election

Attitude	Political Parties								
	AKP	BBP	CHP	DSP	MHP	SP	ÖDP	TKP	Other
<b>Supporters*</b>	<b>21,5</b>	7,6	<b>17,7</b>	2,5	<b>25,3</b>		2,5	1,3	7,7
<b>Opponents**</b>			<b>81,9</b>	0,9	9,5	0,9	1,7	2,6	
<b>Total***</b>	<b>8,7</b>	3,1	<b>55,9</b>	1,5	<b>15,9</b>	0,5	2,1	2,1	3,0

\* 1, 3% for independent candidate, 8, 9% empty vote, with 3, 8% missing.

\*\* 0, 9% empty vote, with 1, 7% missing.

\*\*\* 0, 5% for independent candidate, 4, 1% empty vote, with 2, 6% missing.

The sociopolitical identity scale was intended to group participants as ‘extreme right, moderate, extreme left’ in terms of political orientation (Hasta & Dönmez, 2009). The preference of political parties and marked sociopolitical identities were combined to group participants in terms of political orientation. However, multiple sociopolitical identities being chosen made it difficult to group the participants. Thus, political party preferences were used as the criterion for political position.

Regarding attitudes towards the allowance of headscarf in the universities, 86 (41, 3%) participants responded affirmatively while 122 (58, 7%) did not.



Mother education level of opponents (0, 8% illiterate, 0, 8% incomplete elementary school, 9% elementary school, 8, 2% secondary school, 38, 5% high school, 6, 6% senior high school, 31, 1% university, 4, 1% master and 0, 8% doctorate) was higher than supporters (2, 3% illiterate, 3, 5% incomplete elementary, 41, 9% elementary, 8, 1% secondary, 22, 1% high, 1, 2% senior high, 18, 6% university, and 2, 3% master). Likewise, the level of father education was higher for opponents (6, 6% elementary, 8, 2% secondary, 23, 8% high, 8, 2% senior high, 45, 1% university, 4, 1% master and 4, 1% doctorate) relative to supporters (20, 9% elementary, 11, 6% secondary, 25, 6% high, 8, 1% senior high, 27, 9% university, 3, 5% master and 2, 3% doctorate).

As depicted in Table 2.1.1, the votes for political parties differ depending on the attitude towards allowance of headscarf in the universities. On the one hand, supporters reported that they would vote mainly for MHP (25, 3%), AKP (21, 5%), and CHP (17, 7%); on the other hand, majority of the opponents (81, 9%) reported that they would vote for CHP.

Two hundred and eight participants were randomly assigned to MS and control conditions. Table 2.1.2 shows the distribution of participants in the MS and control condition.

Table 2.1.2 Distribution of Participants across Conditions

		<b>Attitude</b>		
		<b>Supporters</b>	<b>Opponents</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Control</b>	Female	3	35	38
	Male	40	26	66
<b>Mortality Salient</b>	Female	13	34	47
	Male	30	27	57

## **2.2 Instruments**

Questionnaire package administered to the participants included the questions on demographic characteristics and the measures of political attitude, attitude towards allowance of headscarf in the universities, self-esteem, manipulation (MS/ control), positive and negative affect, word-search puzzle and rating of three essays representing three main views in the headscarf debate.

### **2.2.1 Demographic Information**

Participants answered a series of questions on the demographic characteristics such as birth date, gender, university, department, place they spent most of their childhood, level of their mother and father education, residence and economic status. They also answered the questions on their religious status and beliefs (e.g., ‘Do you believe in a religion?’, ‘Which religion do you believe in?’) (see Appendix B).

### **2.2.2 Political Attitude Measure**

Political attitude of the participants was measured by two questions and via the sociopolitical identity scale (Dalmış & İmamoğlu, 2000). First, participants answered if they were going to vote in the next general election and which party they would vote if there were a general election today. The sociopolitical identity scale consists of 13 items (e.g., liberal in terms of liberties, religious against secularism, social democrat, liberal in terms of sexuality, socialist, nationalist, liberal in terms of economy, religious, conservative, spiritual, secular religious, secular, and statist). In the present study, ‘liberal in terms of sexuality’ was not

included and ‘communist’ and ‘other’ items were added (Hasta & Dönmez, 2009). Participants were asked to mark the sociopolitical views that reflect them the most (See Appendix C).

### **2.2.3 Attitude towards Allowance of Headscarf in the Universities Measure**

Participants’ attitude towards allowance of headscarf in the universities was assessed by their response in ‘yes’ and ‘no’ format to a statement (i.e., ‘I support the entrance of female students donning headscarf into universities’). In order to obscure the true purpose of the study, the statement about headscarf was placed among five statements about different areas of disputes in Turkey (e.g., ‘I support Turkey’s receipt of funds from IMF’, ‘I support private universities’ receipt of subsidy from the government’, ‘I support the establishment of nuclear plants in Turkey’, ‘I support the selling of banks to foreign companies’, and ‘I support Turkey’s joining the European Union’) (see Appendix D).

### **2.2.4 Self-Esteem Scale**

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES; Rosenberg, 1965) was used to measure self-esteem. The scale consists of 10 items. Participants were instructed to complete the scale considering how they typically or generally feel about themselves. Participants responded on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from “1 = strongly disagree” to “7 = strongly agree” (see Appendix E). Higher scores indicate high levels of self-esteem. The RSES was adapted to Turkish by Çuhadaroğlu (1986). In this study, the cronbach alpha reliability for the scale was satisfactory (.84).

## **2.2.5 Manipulation Measures**

### **2.2.5.1 Mortality Salience Measure**

MS was manipulated with two open-ended questions concerning thoughts and feelings about one's own death. The questionnaire was a "projective life attitude assessment" and asked participants to, "Please briefly describe the emotions that the thoughts of your own death arouses in you," and "Jot down, as specifically as you can, what you think will happen to you as you physically die and once you are physically dead." (e.g., Rosenblatt et al., 1989; Yavuz, 2007, see Appendix F)

### **2.2.5.2 Television Salience Measure**

Television salience was manipulated with two parallel questions such as "Please briefly describe the emotions that the thoughts of watching television arouses in you," and "Jot down, as specifically as you can, what you think will happen to you physically as you watch television and once you physically watched television." (see Appendix G)

## **2.2.6 Positive and Negative Affect Scale**

To assess the affective consequences of mortality salience manipulation, positive affect and negative affect were measured by using Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS; Watson & Tellegen, 1988). Participants were instructed to complete the scale on a 7-point Likert scale considering their present mood. The scale consists of 20 items that load on two factors such as positive and negative affect (see Appendix H). The scale was translated into Turkish by Gençöz (2000),

who reported a coefficient alpha of  $\alpha = .86$  for positive affect and a coefficient alpha of  $\alpha = .83$  for negative affect. In the current study, cronbach alpha reliabilities for positive affect (.86) and negative affect (.85) were satisfactory.

### **2.2.7 Word Search Puzzle**

In order to provide a delay and distraction between MS manipulation and dependent variable assessment, a word search puzzle was used as a distractor task (e.g., Greenberg et al., 1994). Participants were asked to find ten neutral words (in order; book, table, film, paper, telephone, train, school, beer, actor, shelf) hidden in a 10 x 10 letter matrix and rate the difficulty of the puzzle on a 9-point Likert scale ranging from “1 = very easy” to “9 = very difficult” (Kökdemir & Yeniçeri, 2010, see Appendix I). Words in the puzzle were placed by the author.

### **2.2.8 Essays**

Religious, secular and liberal views regarding allowance of headscarf in the universities were manipulated by three bogus essays purportedly written by a person. The statements in the religious and secular essay were developed from a pilot work on the development of attitude towards *türban* scale conducted by the author. One hundred and twenty-nine (41 male, 88 female) METU students participated in that pilot study. Of participants, twenty-one female students were donning *türban*. In the questionnaire, participants answered ‘According to your view, is there a difference between *türban* and *başörtüsü*?’. The given answers formed the statements in the religious and secular essay. The religious (see Appendix J) and secular essays (see Appendix K) were as follows:

‘I am not against the head covering of female university students. This is a matter of religious and conscience freedom. Women’s head covering was ordered in Koran. In this case, there is nothing more natural than the demand of a Muslim woman to cover her head. Headscarved female students’ inability of entrance into universities or inadmission to courses is meaningless. While everyone can enter into university, not admitting headscarved female students into universities is not fair. I could not understand the difference between türban and başörtüsü. The two are the same things. I cannot understand and tolerate people who do not want the admission of headscarved female students to universities.’

‘I am against the head covering of female university students. This is not a matter of religion and conscience freedom. On the contrary, this is nothing but taking refuge in the religion by the donners and supporters of headscarf. Türban is a symbol of political Islam and a threat to secularism, which is one of the main principles of the Republic. When headscarved female students are allowed to enter into universities, I think they will put a serious pressure on the ones who do not don headscarf. Türban is not one with başörtüsü of our young girls, mothers, and grandmothers in Anatolia. I cannot understand and tolerate people who want the admission of headscarved female students to universities.’

For liberal essay (see Appendix L), the announcement of students at Bosphorus University provided a vantage point for the development of the statements. The liberal essay stated the following:

‘I am not against the head covering of female university students. This is completely an individual’s own choice. I think that universities should be liberal not prohibitor attitude taking institutions against individual liberties and most basic human rights such as education. The prohibitory and oppressive mentality, which considers the right to intervene in people’s lives, appearances, expressions, and thoughts belonging to him, should be abandoned and all kinds of freedom should be allowed. I believe that all students in universities should be recognized clothing freedom without discrimination. Thus, I believe that universities should not interfere in these matters and should be the environment of complete freedom.’

The format and tone of the essays were adjusted according to the essays in McGregor et al. (1998)’s study given below. The essay in conflict with the worldview of the liberal was as follows:

“Don’t even get me started. Liberals are the cause of so many problems in this country, it is not funny. Not only that, but they get in the way of decent Americans who are trying to solve all those problems that they created in the first place. The bleeding heart stance they take, of trying to help everyone is a joke and incredibly stupid. How can they help the world when they can’t even help themselves?! Do Liberals put any thought into what they believe? I do not think so. If they did, they would realize that they are ruining the country. Thankfully, there are people in power that agree with me who can, and will control the whiny Liberals, and put them in their place. The best place for a Liberal is out of my sight. They make me sick.” (p.593)

Twenty university students evaluated the content of the essays and modifications were done based on the criticisms. The religious and secular essay ended with a remark such as ‘I cannot understand and tolerate people who want/ do

not want the admission of headscarved female students to universities'. This remark was not included in the liberal essay since some of the critics asserted that liberal view does not embrace intolerance. The length of each essay was eighty-three words. Order of presentation of essays was counterbalanced.

### **2.2.9 Rating of Essay Measure**

The rating of dependent measure was based on the responses to five questions typically used in TMT studies (e.g., Greenberg et al, 1992; Greenberg et al., 1994; McGregor et al., 1998; Yavuz, 2007). Specifically, participants were asked following questions; 'How much do you like the author?', 'How intelligent do you think the author is?', 'How knowledgeable do you think the author is?', 'How much do you agree with the author's opinions?', and 'From your perspective, how true do you think the author's opinion is?' One more question, used in Greenberg et al. (1990)'s study 3, such as 'From your perspective, how disturbing do you think the author's opinion is?' was added by the author. Participants answered six questions using 9- point Likert scale, from (1) not at all to (9) totally (see Appendix M).

### **2.3 Procedure**

Following the approval received from Human Participants Ethical Committee at Middle East Technical University, the study was conducted in classroom settings in both universities. The experiment was presented ostensibly as three separate studies, the first one was on political attitudes, the second was on the aspects of personality, and the third was paragraph evaluations for a preliminary



study. Participants were asked to fill out three booklets in the order in which it appeared to make sure that they fill out MS manipulation before PANAS and word search puzzle. Participants were informed that they were not required to report their names and to assure their anonymity they were provided envelopes. They were told to put the completed booklets into envelopes.

Three booklets were organized considering the purpose of the study. In the first booklet, participants received informed consent (see Appendix A), demographic information, political attitude measure, and attitude towards allowance of headscarf in the universities measure. When they completed the first booklet, they were given the second booklet. The second booklet consisted of Self-esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965), manipulation measure (MS/ TS), Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988), and word search puzzle. When participants completed the second booklet, finally, the third booklet, which consisted of the assessment of dependent variables, was given. In the third booklet, participants read three essays (religious, secular, liberal) about attitudes towards allowance of headscarf in the universities and rated the essays by answering six questions. Finally, participants were asked to write about an event that made them happy recently (see Appendix N). The final question was recommended by the ethical committee in order to make participants feel good after MS. After completing the booklets, participants were probed for their suspicion and debriefed; none showed any suspicions.

## CHAPTER III

### RESULTS

#### 3.1 Rating of Essays

The last question (i.e., From your perspective how disturbing do you think the author's opinion is?) was reversed for each essay. For each of three essays, a principal- components factor analysis was conducted on six questions. Six items loaded highly on one factor for three essays ( $> .70$ ). Thus, the mean of six items was used as the rating of essay measure. Cronbach alpha was .94 for religious essay, .95 for secular essay, and .93 for liberal essay.

Table 3.1.1 ANOVA: The Effects of Attitude and Condition on Ratings of Essays

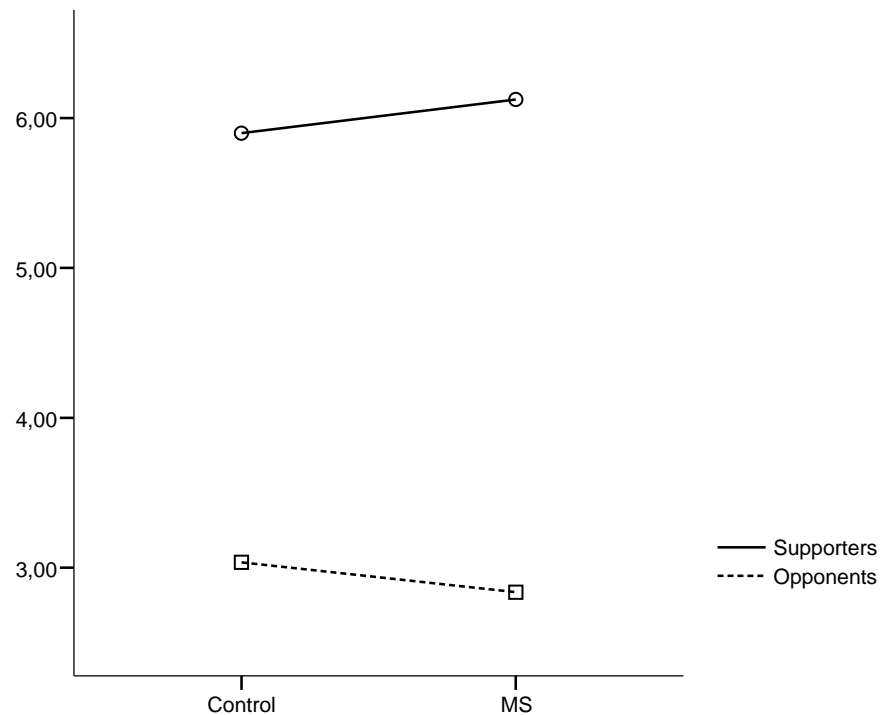
		Rating of essays		
		Religious	Secular	Liberal
Attitude	<u>MS</u>	477.223	647.762	339.561
	<u>F</u>	164.02	233.042	136.944
	<u>p</u>	.001	.001	.001
Condition	<u>MS</u>	.008	6.252	10.391
	<u>F</u>	.003	2.249	4.191
	<u>p</u>	.96	.13	.04
Attitude X Condition	<u>MS</u>	2.27	.095	1.218
	<u>F</u>	.78	.034	.491
	<u>p</u>	.38	.85	.48

*Hypothesis:* MS would significantly increase participants' positive evaluation of an essay supporting their attitude towards allowance of headscarf in the universities and negative evaluation of an essay confronting their attitude. Specifically, supporters of headscarf would become more favorable to religious and liberal essays and unfavorable to secular essay while opponents would become more favorable to secular essay and unfavorable to religious and liberal essays following MS.

In order to test the Hypothesis, 2 (Attitude; Supporters, Opponents) X 2 (Condition; MS, Control) Analyses of Variance (ANOVAs) were performed separately on the ratings of the religious essay, secular essay and liberal essay.

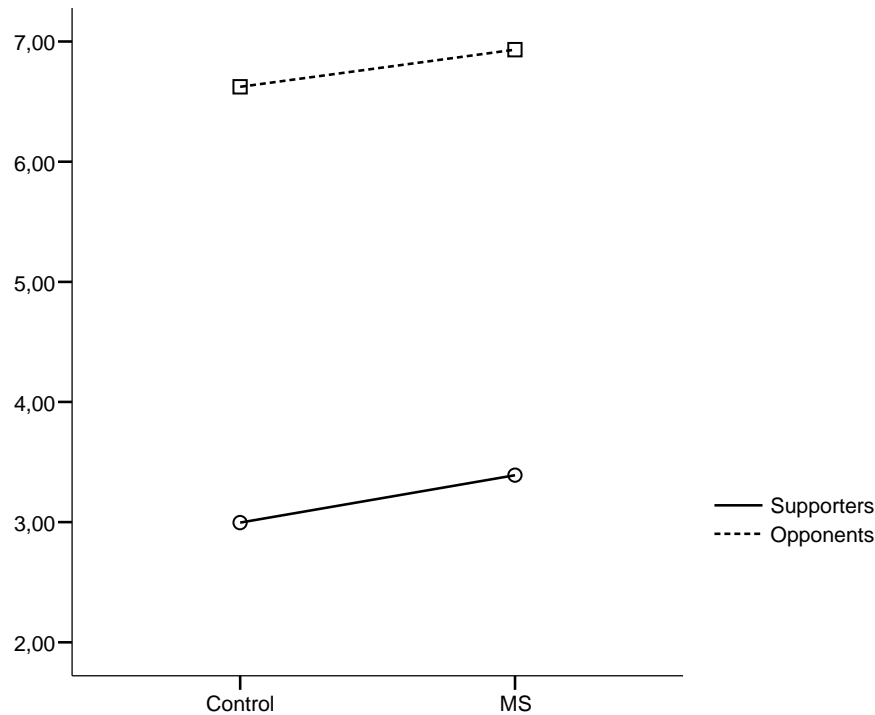
The results of the ANOVA on religious essay revealed a significant main effect of attitude,  $F(1, 204) = 164.020, p \leq .001, \eta^2 = .45$ , indicating that supporters of headscarf ( $M = 6.01, SD = .18$ ) evaluated the religious essay more positively than opponents did ( $M = 2.94, SD = .15$ ). No significant main effect of condition,  $F(1, 204) = .003, p > .05$  and interaction effect between attitude and condition,  $F(1, 204) = .78, p > .05$  (see Table 3.1.1) were found. Plotted means (Figure 3.1.1) indicated that although the changes in mean scores after MS for supporters were in the expected direction that they became more favorable to religious essay, these increments in mean scores were not enough to reach statistical significance. In addition, as seen in Table 3.1.2, although it was not significant, opponents rated the religious essay less positively in the MS condition ( $M = 2.84, SD = .22$ ) than in the control condition ( $M = 3.04, SD = .22$ ).

Figure 3.1.1 Means for Rating of the Religious Essay



Two-way ANOVA on secular essay yielded a significant main effect of attitude,  $F(1, 204) = 233.042, p \leq .001, \eta^2 = .53$ , such that opponents ( $M_{Opponents} = 6.78, M_{Supporters} = 3.19$ ) evaluated the secular essay more favorably than supporters did. There was no significant main effect of condition,  $F(1, 204) = 2.249, p > .05$  and interaction effect,  $F(1, 204) = .034, p > .05$ . As can be seen in Figure 3.1.2, although the interaction effect was not statistically significant, opponents became more favorable to secular essay after MS. Contrary to expectations, MS not significantly but increased supporters' positive evaluation of the secular essay ( $M_{MS} = 3.39, M_{Control} = 3.00$ ).

Figure 3.1.2 Means for Rating of the Secular Essay



ANOVA results on liberal essay revealed that there was a significant main effect of attitude,  $F(1, 204) = 136.944, p \leq .001, \eta^2 = .40$ , indicating that supporters ( $M = 7.29, SD = .17$ ) rated the liberal essay more favorably than opponents did ( $M = 4.70, SD = .14$ ). The main effect of condition was also significant,  $F(1, 204) = 4.191, p < .05, \eta^2 = .02$ , such that participants in the MS condition ( $M = 5.77, SD = .16$ ) evaluated the liberal essay less positively relative to control condition ( $M = 6.22, SD = .16$ ). The interaction effect was not significant,  $F(1, 204) = .491, p > .05$ . Interestingly, as Figure 3.1.3 shows, the favorability of the liberal essay insignificantly decreased after MS for supporters. As expected, MS insignificantly decreased opponents' positive evaluation of the liberal essay ( $M_{MS} = 4.39, M_{Control} = 5.00$ ).

Figure 3.1.3 Means for Rating of the Liberal Essay

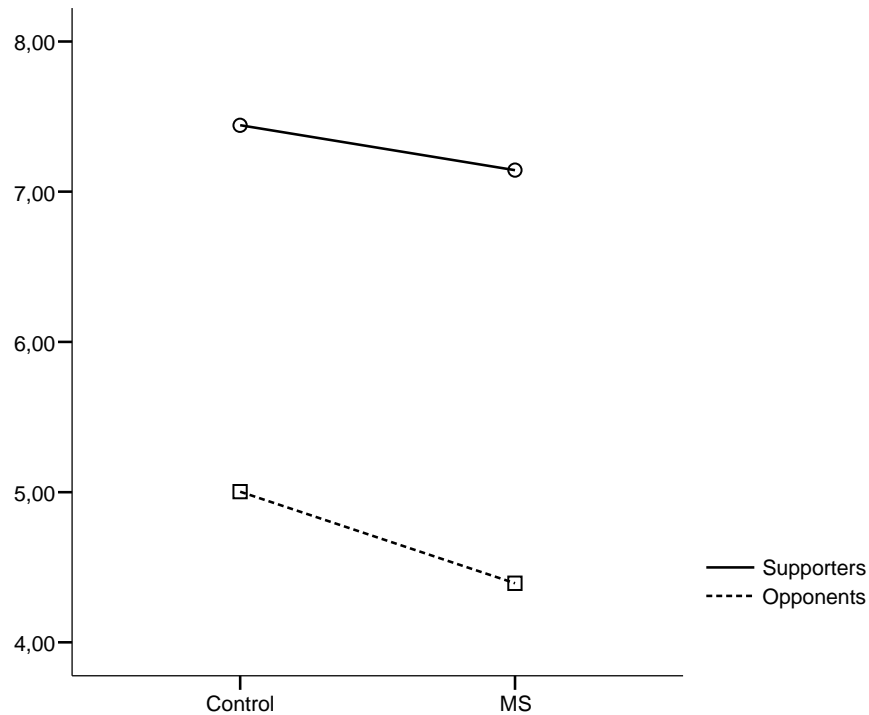


Table 3.1.2 Cell Means and Standard Deviations for the Attitude x Condition Interaction on Ratings of Essays

		Religious		Secular		Liberal	
		<i>X</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>X</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>X</i>	<i>SD</i>
<b>Supporters</b>	MS	6.12	.26	3.39	.25	7.14	.24
	Control	5.90	.26	3.00	.25	7.44	.24
<b>Opponents</b>	MS	2.84	.22	6.93	.21	4.39	.20
	Control	3.04	.22	6.62	.21	5.00	.20

In addition to the global analyses using the aggregated rating scores, a series of analyses of variances (ANOVAs) were conducted on each of six questions to better understand the effect of MS on the ratings of essays.

2 X 2 ANOVAs were performed on the first question (i.e., How much did you like the author?) of each essay. The results of the ANOVA on religious essay revealed a significant main effect of attitude,  $F(1, 204) = 130.437, p \leq .001, \eta^2 =$

.39, such that supporters ( $M_{Supporters} = 5.98$ ,  $M_{Opponents} = 2.66$ ) liked the author of the religious essay more than opponents did (see Table 3.1.3). Both main effect of condition,  $F(1, 204) = .088$ ,  $p > .05$ , and interaction effect between attitude and condition,  $F(1, 204) = .604$ ,  $p > .05$  were non-significant. As presented in Table 3.1.4, although the interaction effect was insignificant, MS increased supporters' ( $M_{MS} = 6.05$ ,  $M_{Control} = 5.91$ ) but decreased opponents' ( $M_{MS} = 2.51$ ,  $M_{Control} = 2.82$ ) liking of the author. The ANOVA on secular essay yielded a significant main effect of attitude,  $F(1, 204) = 177.881$ ,  $p \leq .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .47$ , indicating that opponents ( $M_{Opponents} = 6.84$ ,  $M_{Supporters} = 2.96$ ) liked the author of the secular essay more than supporters did. The main effect of condition,  $F(1, 204) = .59$ ,  $p > .05$ , and interaction effect,  $F(1, 204) = .279$ ,  $p > .05$  were not significant. MS not significantly but increased both opponents' ( $M_{MS} = 7.03$ ,  $M_{Control} = 6.66$ ) and supporters' ( $M_{MS} = 3.00$ ,  $M_{Control} = 2.93$ ) liking of the author. The results of the ANOVA on liberal essay indicated a significant main effect of attitude,  $F(1, 204) = 129.604$ ,  $p \leq .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .39$ , such that supporters ( $M_{Supporters} = 7.64$ ,  $M_{Opponents} = 4.52$ ) liked the author of the liberal essay more than opponents did. The main effect of condition yielded an F ratio of  $F(1, 204) = 4.71$ ,  $p < .05$ ,  $\eta^2 = .02$ , indicating that MS decreased participants' liking for the author of the liberal essay ( $M_{MS} = 5.78$ ,  $M_{Control} = 6.38$ ). Even though there was no significant interaction effect,  $F(1, 204) = 1.135$ ,  $p > .05$ , MS decreased both supporters' ( $M_{MS} = 7.49$ ,  $M_{Control} = 7.79$ ) and opponents' ( $M_{MS} = 4.08$ ,  $M_{Control} = 4.97$ ) liking of the author.

Table 3.1.3 ANOVA: The Effects of Attitude and Condition on Six Questions for Religious, Secular and Liberal Essay

	Question	Attitude			Condition			Attitude X Condition		
		MS	F	p	MS	F	p	MS	F	p
<b>Religious</b>	1	553.59	130.437	.001	.373	.088	.77	2.565	.604	.44
	2	142.747	39.572	.001	.636	.176	.67	3.405	.944	.33
	3	233.05	57.804	.001	.384	.095	.76	3.769	.935	.33
	4	859.597	231.837	.001	.154	.042	.84	.789	.213	.64
	5	770.2	194.813	.001	1.83E-006	.0	.99	3.923	.992	.32
	6	540.984	98.577	.001	1.862	.339	.56	.612	.112	.74
<b>Secular</b>	1	759.044	177.881	.001	2.518	.59	.44	1.191	.279	.60
	2	224.856	58.884	.001	6.451	1.689	.19	1.585	.415	.52
	3	337.469	86.893	.001	6.28	1.617	.20	2.126	.547	.46
	4	1093.114	274.424	.001	12.63	3.171	.08	.168	.042	.84
	5	1049.249	300.156	.001	13.902	3.977	.05	.055	.016	.90
	6	693.604	128.896	.001	1.182	.22	.64	.182	.034	.85
<b>Liberal</b>	1	489.436	129.604	.001	17.785	4.71	.03	4.285	1.135	.29
	2	72.31	24.914	.001	9.058	3.121	.08	.135	.046	.83
	3	111.456	37.598	.001	22.402	7.557	.01	.075	.025	.87
	4	718.787	176.012	.001	6.891	1.687	.19	3.237	.793	.37
	5	600.741	166.111	.001	2.701	.747	.39	9.797	2.709	.10
	6	326.126	63.823	.001	9.688	1.896	.17	1.034	.202	.65



For the second question (i.e., How intelligent do you think the author is?), the results of the ANOVA on religious essay revealed a significant main effect of attitude,  $F(1, 204) = 39.572, p \leq .001, \eta^2 = .16$ , such that supporters ( $M_{Supporters} = 5.39, M_{Opponents} = 3.71$ ) rated the author of the religious essay more intelligent than opponents did. Both main effect of condition,  $F(1, 204) = .176, p > .05$  and interaction effect,  $F(1, 204) = .944, p > .05$  were not significant. Supporters tended to rate the author of religious essay more intelligent in the MS condition compared to control condition ( $M_{MS} = 5.58, M_{Control} = 5.21$ ) while opponents tended to rate the author less intelligent ( $M_{MS} = 3.64, M_{Control} = 3.79$ ). ANOVA results on secular essay indicated a significant main effect of attitude,  $F(1, 204) = 58.884, p \leq .001, \eta^2 = .22$ , such that opponents ( $M_{Opponents} = 6.12, M_{Supporters} = 4.01$ ) evaluated the author of the secular essay more intelligent than supporters did. No significant main effect of condition,  $F(1, 204) = 1.689, p > .05$  and interaction effect,  $F(1, 204) = .415, p > .05$  were found. MS tended to lead both opponents ( $M_{MS} = 6.21, M_{Control} = 6.03$ ) and supporters ( $M_{MS} = 4.28, M_{Control} = 3.74$ ) to evaluate the author of the secular essay more intelligent. The results of the ANOVA on liberal essay yielded a significant main effect of attitude,  $F(1, 204) = 24.914, p \leq .001, \eta^2 = .11$ , indicating that supporters ( $M_{Supporters} = 6.42, M_{Opponents} = 5.22$ ) viewed the author of the liberal essay more intelligent than opponents did. There was also a marginally significant main effect of condition,  $F(1, 204) = 3.121, p < .10, \eta^2 = .01$ , such that participants in the MS condition evaluated the author of the liberal essay less intelligent relative to control condition ( $M_{MS} = 5.61, M_{Control} = 6.03$ ). Although the interaction effect was non-significant,  $F(1, 204) = .046, p >$

.05, both supporters ( $M_{MS} = 6.23$ ,  $M_{Control} = 6.60$ ) and opponents ( $M_{MS} = 4.98$ ,  $M_{Control} = 5.46$ ) viewed the author of liberal essay less intelligent after MS.

Concerning the knowledgeability of the author, ANOVA results on religious essay indicated a significant main effect of attitude,  $F(1, 204) = 57.804$ ,  $p \leq .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .22$ , such that the author of the religious essay was found more knowledgeable by supporters ( $M_{Supporters} = 5.39$ ,  $M_{Opponents} = 3.25$ ) than opponents. Both main effect of condition,  $F(1, 204) = .095$ ,  $p > .05$  and interaction effect,  $F(1, 204) = .935$ ,  $p > .05$  were not significant. Supporters tended to evaluate the author more knowledgeable after MS ( $M_{MS} = 5.49$ ,  $M_{Control} = 5.30$ ) whereas opponents tended to evaluate the author less knowledgeable ( $M_{MS} = 3.07$ ,  $M_{Control} = 3.43$ ). The results of the ANOVA on secular essay revealed a significant main effect of attitude,  $F(1, 204) = 86.893$ ,  $p \leq .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .30$ , indicating that opponents ( $M_{Opponents} = 6.24$ ,  $M_{Supporters} = 3.65$ ) appraised the author of the secular essay more knowledgeable than supporters did. There was no significant main effect of condition,  $F(1, 204) = 1.617$ ,  $p > .05$  and interaction effect,  $F(1, 204) = .544$ ,  $p > .05$ . Both opponents ( $M_{MS} = 6.31$ ,  $M_{Control} = 6.16$ ) and supporters ( $M_{MS} = 3.93$ ,  $M_{Control} = 3.37$ ) had a tendency to appraise the author of secular essay more knowledgeable following MS. ANOVA on liberal essay yielded a significant main effect of attitude,  $F(1, 204) = 37.598$ ,  $p \leq .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .16$ , such that the author of the liberal essay was rated more knowledgeable by supporters ( $M_{Supporters} = 6.59$ ,  $M_{Opponents} = 5.11$ ) than opponents. The main effect of condition yielded an F ratio of  $F(1, 204) = 7.557$ ,  $p \leq .01$ ,  $\eta^2 = .04$ , indicating that MS led participants ( $M_{MS} = 5.52$ ,  $M_{Control} = 6.18$ ) to rate the author of the liberal essay less knowledgeable. In spite

of the insignificant interaction effect,  $F(1, 204) = .025, p > .05$ , supporters ( $M_{MS} = 6.28, M_{Control} = 6.91$ ) and opponents ( $M_{MS} = 4.75, M_{Control} = 5.46$ ) rated the author of the liberal essay less knowledgeable in the MS condition relative to control condition.

On agreement with the author's opinions, ANOVA results on religious essay yielded a significant main effect of attitude,  $F(1, 204) = 231.837, p \leq .001, \eta^2 = .53$ , indicating that supporters ( $M_{Supporters} = 6.27, M_{Opponents} = 2.14$ ) had greater agreement with the author of religious essay than opponents had. No significant main effect of condition,  $F(1, 204) = .042, p > .05$  and interaction effect,  $F(1, 204) = .213, p > .05$  were found. MS insignificantly increased supporters' ( $M_{MS} = 6.30, M_{Control} = 6.23$ ) but decreased opponents' ( $M_{MS} = 2.05, M_{Control} = 2.23$ ) agreement with the author's opinions in the religious essay. ANOVA on secular essay revealed a significant main effect of attitude,  $F(1, 204) = 274.424, p \leq .001, \eta^2 = .57$ , such that opponents ( $M_{Opponents} = 7.07, M_{Supporters} = 2.42$ ) had higher agreement with the author of the secular essay than supporters had. There was also a marginally significant main effect of condition,  $F(1, 204) = 3.171, p < .10, \eta^2 = .01$ , indicating that MS increased participants' agreement with the secular essay ( $M_{MS} = 5.00, M_{Control} = 4.50$ ). The interaction effect,  $F(1, 204) = .042, p > .05$  was non-significant. MS tended to lead to an increase in both opponents' ( $M_{MS} = 7.29, M_{Control} = 6.85$ ) and supporters' ( $M_{MS} = 2.70, M_{Control} = 2.14$ ) agreement with the author's opinions in the secular essay. The results of the ANOVA on liberal essay yielded a significant main effect of attitude,  $F(1, 204) = 176.012, p \leq .001, \eta^2 = .46$ , such that supporters ( $M_{Supporters} = 7.71, M_{Opponents} =$

3.93) had greater agreement with liberal essay than opponents had. Both main effect of condition,  $F(1, 204) = 1.687, p > .05$  and interaction effect,  $F(1, 204) = .793, p > .05$  were not significant. MS tended to decrease both supporters' ( $M_{MS} = 7.65, M_{Control} = 7.77$ ) and opponents' ( $M_{MS} = 3.62, M_{Control} = 4.25$ ) agreement with the author's opinions in the liberal essay.

For the fifth question (i.e., From your perspective, how true do you think the author's opinion is?), ANOVA results on religious essay indicated a significant main effect of attitude,  $F(1, 204) = 194.813, p \leq .001, \eta^2 = .49$ , such that supporters ( $M_{Supporters} = 6.33, M_{Opponents} = 2.42$ ) rated the author's opinions in the religious essay truer than opponents did. No significant main effect of condition,  $F(1, 204) = .0, p > .05$  and interaction effect,  $F(1, 204) = .992, p > .05$  were found. Supporters had a tendency to rate the opinions in the religious essay truer after MS ( $M_{MS} = 6.46, M_{Control} = 6.19$ ) whereas opponents tended to rate less true ( $M_{MS} = 2.28, M_{Control} = 2.56$ ). ANOVA on secular essay revealed a significant main effect of attitude,  $F(1, 204) = 300.156, p \leq .001, \eta^2 = .59$ , indicating that opponents ( $M_{Opponents} = 7.05, M_{Supporters} = 2.49$ ) evaluated the author's opinions in the secular essay truer than supporters did. The main effect of condition yielded an F ratio of  $F(1, 204) = 3.977, p < .05, \eta^2 = .02$ , indicating that participants rated the author's opinions in the secular essay truer after MS ( $M_{MS} = 5.03, M_{Control} = 4.51$ ). Although the interaction effect was not statistically significant,  $F(1, 204) = .016, p > .05$ , both opponents ( $M_{MS} = 7.29, M_{Control} = 6.80$ ) and supporters ( $M_{MS} = 2.77, M_{Control} = 2.21$ ) rated the author's opinions in the secular essay truer after MS inducement. The results of the ANOVA on liberal essay showed a significant main

effect of attitude,  $F(1, 204) = 166.111, p \leq .001, \eta^2 = .45$ , such that supporters ( $M_{Supporters} = 7.64, M_{Opponents} = 4.19$ ) appraised the author's opinions in the liberal essay truer than opponents did. The main effect of condition,  $F(1, 204) = .747, p > .05$  was non-significant. There was a marginally significant interaction effect,  $F(1, 204) = 2.709, p \leq .10, \eta^2 = .01$ , indicating that author's opinions in the liberal essay were appraised as truer by supporters ( $M_{MS} = 7.74, M_{Control} = 7.53$ ) and less true by opponents ( $M_{MS} = 3.85, M_{Control} = 4.52$ ) in the MS condition relative to control condition.

For the sixth question (i.e., From your perspective, how disturbing do you think the author's opinions?), ANOVA results on religious essay indicated a significant main effect of attitude,  $F(1, 204) = 98.577, p \leq .001, \eta^2 = .33$ , such that author's opinions in the liberal essay was evaluated as less disturbing by supporters ( $M_{Supporters} = 6.57, M_{Opponents} = 3.29$ ) than opponents. No significant main effect of condition,  $F(1, 204) = .339, p > .05$  and interaction effect,  $F(1, 204) = .112, p > .05$  were found. After MS, author's opinions in the religious essay was evaluated insignificantly less disturbing by both supporters ( $M_{MS} = 3.14, M_{Control} = 3.44$ ) and opponents ( $M_{MS} = 6.52, M_{Control} = 6.61$ ). ANOVA on secular essay revealed a significant main effect of attitude,  $F(1, 204) = 128.896, p \leq .001, \eta^2 = .39$ , indicating that opponents ( $M_{Opponents} = 2.66, M_{Supporters} = 6.37$ ) rated the author's opinions in the secular essay less disturbing than supporters did. Both main effect of condition,  $F(1, 204) = .22, p > .05$  and interaction effect,  $F(1, 204) = .034, p > .05$  were non-significant. MS tended to lead both opponents ( $M_{MS} = 2.56, M_{Control} = 2.77$ ) and supporters ( $M_{MS} = 6.33, M_{Control} = 6.42$ ) to evaluate the author's

opinions in the secular essay less disturbing. The results of the ANOVA on liberal essay showed a significant main effect of attitude,  $F(1, 204) = 63.823, p \leq .001, \eta^2 = .24$ , such that supporters ( $M_{Supporters} = 2.24, M_{Opponents} = 4.79$ ) viewed the author's opinions in the liberal essay less disturbing than opponents did. No significant main effect of condition,  $F(1, 204) = 1.896, p > .05$  and interaction effect,  $F(1, 204) = .202, p > .05$  were found. The author's opinions in the liberal essay were evaluated as insignificantly more disturbing by supporters ( $M_{MS} = 2.53, M_{Control} = 1.95$ ) and opponents ( $M_{MS} = 4.93, M_{Control} = 4.64$ ).

In sum, the ANOVAs on six questions for each essay yielded significant main effects for attitude. There were also significant main effects of condition on the liberal essay (1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> question) and the secular essay (5<sup>th</sup> question) and marginally significant main effects of condition on the liberal essay (2<sup>nd</sup> question) and secular essay (4<sup>th</sup> question). No significant interaction effect between attitude and condition was found except the fifth question on the liberal essay.

Table 3.1.4 Cell Means and Standard Deviations for the Attitude x Condition Interaction on Six Questions for Religious, Secular and Liberal Essay

		<b>Supporters</b>				<b>Opponents</b>			
		MS		Control		MS		Control	
		<i>X</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>X</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>X</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>X</i>	<i>SD</i>
<b>Religious</b>	1	6.05	.31	5.91	.31	2.51	.26	2.82	.26
	2	5.58	.29	5.21	.29	3.64	.24	3.79	.24
	3	5.49	.31	5.30	.31	3.07	.26	3.43	.26
	4	6.30	.29	6.23	.29	2.05	.25	2.23	.25
	5	6.46	.30	6.19	.30	2.28	.25	2.56	.25
	6	3.14	.36	3.44	.36	6.52	.30	6.61	.30
<b>Secular</b>	1	3.00	.31	2.93	.31	7.03	.26	6.66	.26
	2	4.28	.30	3.74	.30	6.21	.25	6.03	.25
	3	3.93	.30	3.37	.30	6.31	.25	6.16	.25
	4	2.70	.30	2.14	.30	7.29	.26	6.85	.26
	5	2.77	.28	2.21	.28	7.29	.24	6.80	.24
	6	6.33	.35	6.42	.35	2.56	.30	2.77	.30
<b>Liberal</b>	1	7.49	.30	7.79	.30	4.08	.25	4.97	.25
	2	6.23	.26	6.60	.26	4.98	.22	5.46	.22
	3	6.28	.26	6.91	.26	4.75	.22	5.46	.22
	4	7.65	.31	7.77	.31	3.62	.26	4.25	.26
	5	7.74	.29	7.53	.29	3.85	.24	4.52	.24
	6	2.53	.34	1.95	.34	4.93	.29	4.64	.29

To assess the possibility that negative affect may have mediated mortality salience effects, 2 X 2 ANCOVAs were performed on the ratings of three essays, with negative affect as a covariate. The results of ANCOVAs did not reveal a significant main effect of negative affect.

TMT posits that people use two anxiety buffers (namely, cultural worldview and self-esteem) to assuage existential anguish. To put it differently, human beings can either use self-esteem or worldview defense in order to ward off death-related thoughts. To ensure that the ratings of essays were not mediated by self-esteem, 2

X 2 ANCOVAs were conducted with self-esteem as a covariate. No significant main effect of self-esteem was found.

Due to uneven number of male and female participants, 2 X 2 ANCOVAs were performed with gender as a covariate. There was no significant main effect of gender.

Out of participants who reported that they would vote in the next general election, voters of AKP, MHP and BBP were grouped as right political wing ( $N = 56$ ) while voters of CHP and DSP were grouped as left political wing ( $N = 115$ ), considering their political tendencies. 2 (political position; rightist, leftist) X 2 (condition; MS, control) ANOVAs were conducted separately on the ratings of religious, secular and liberal essay.

Table 3.1.5 ANOVA: The Effects of Political Position and Condition on Ratings of Essays

		<b>Rating of Essays</b>		
		<b>Religious</b>	<b>Secular</b>	<b>Liberal</b>
<b>Political Position</b>	<u>MS</u>	354.322	426.915	184.604
	<u>F</u>	108.882	128.688	60.856
	<u>p</u>	.001	.001	.001
<b>Condition</b>	<u>MS</u>	.002	5.07	3.587
	<u>F</u>	.001	1.528	1.183
	<u>p</u>	.98	.22	.28
<b>Political Position X Condition</b>	<u>MS</u>	1.179	.568	2.805
	<u>F</u>	.362	.171	.925
	<u>p</u>	.55	.68	.34



ANOVA results on religious essay revealed a significant main effect of political position,  $F(1, 167) = 108.882, p \leq .001, \eta^2 = .39$ , such that rightists ( $M = 6.16, SD = .24$ ) evaluated the religious essay more positively than leftists did ( $M = 3.10, SD = .17$ ). As shown in Table 3.1.5, no significant main effect of condition,  $F(1, 167) = .001, p > .05$  and interaction effect between political position and condition,  $F(1, 167) = .362, p > .05$  were found. MS led to an insignificant increase in rightists' favorable evaluation ( $M_{MS} = 6.26, M_{Control} = 6.07$ ) and leftists' unfavorable evaluation of the religious essay ( $M_{MS} = 3.01, M_{Control} = 3.18$ , see Table 3.1.6).

Two way ANOVA on secular essay yielded a significant main effect of political position,  $F(1, 167) = 128.688, p \leq .001, \eta^2 = .43$ , indicating that secular essay was rated more favorably by leftists ( $M_{Leftists} = 6.66, M_{Rightists} = 3.29$ ) than rightists. There was no significant main effect for condition,  $F(1, 167) = 1.528, p > .05$  and interaction effect,  $F(1, 167) = .171, p > .05$ . Although the interaction between political position and condition was not significant, MS increased both leftists' ( $M_{MS} = 6.91, M_{Control} = 6.42$ ) and rightists' ( $M_{MS} = 3.42, M_{Control} = 3.17$ ) positive rating of the secular essay.

The results of the ANOVA on liberal essay indicated a significant main effect of political position,  $F(1, 167) = 60.856, p \leq .001, \eta^2 = .27$ , such that rightists ( $M = 7.11, SD = .23$ ) were more favorable to liberal essay than leftists ( $M = 4.89, SD = .16$ ). Both main effect of condition,  $F(1, 167) = 1.183, p > .05$  and interaction effect,  $F(1, 167) = .925, p > .05$  were non-significant. MS tended to

decrease both rightists' ( $M_{MS} = 7.09$ ,  $M_{Control} = 7.12$ ) and leftists' ( $M_{MS} = 4.60$ ,  $M_{Control} = 5.18$ ) favorability of the liberal essay.

Table 3.1.6 Cell Means and Standard Deviations for the Political Position x Condition Interaction on Ratings of Essays

		<b>Religious</b>		<b>Secular</b>		<b>Liberal</b>	
		<i>X</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>X</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>X</i>	<i>SD</i>
<b>Rightists</b>	MS	6.26	.34	3.42	.34	7.09	.33
	Control	6.07	.34	3.17	.34	7.12	.33
<b>Leftists</b>	MS	3.01	.24	6.91	.24	4.60	.23
	Control	3.18	.24	6.42	.24	5.18	.23

## CHAPTER IV

### DISCUSSION

The main goal of the current research was to examine unconscious motivations underlying attitudes towards allowance of headscarf in the universities. Based on the theoretical framework of TMT, participants' evaluation of three main views, namely religious, secular and liberal views, pertinent to allowance of headscarf in the universities were addressed. First, composite scores of six questions for evaluating each essay were tested between MS and control conditions. Second, six questions were analyzed separately. Third, the effect of political position was tested on the ratings of each essay between experimental conditions. After discussing the main findings, main contributions and limitations of the current study, and suggestions for future research will be presented.

#### **4.1 Demographic Differences between Supporters and Opponents**

In the present study, the majority of the participants were not against the headscarf ban in the universities. Contrary to Çarkoğlu and Toprak (2000, 2006)'s and Erdem (2007)'s studies, which indicated that allowance of headscarf in the universities was supported by the majority of Turkish people, more than half of the current sample were supporting the prohibition against headscarf in the universities. However, it should be kept in mind that this study is not representative of all university students in Turkey.

Hortaçsu (2000) found that parental education level of veiled students was lower than parental education of unveiled students. Consistent with Hortaçsu (2000)'s finding, the level of opponents' parental education was higher than that of the supporters in the current study.

#### **4.2 Does Concerns about Mortality Result in Worldview Defense?**

The present research showed that, although there was a trend in the expected direction, MS did not significantly increase supporters' positive evaluations of the religious essay. Thus, the result is partially consistent with the hypothesis that MS increases supporters' positive ratings of the religious essay, which support their standing on the headscarf ban in the universities.

Inconsistent with predictions, although the difference was not statistically significant, supporters evaluated the secular essay more favorably while they evaluated the liberal essay less favorably after MS suggesting that supporters may have become more tolerant of the opposing view (secular essay), but less tolerant of the supporting view (liberal essay). Furthermore, the main effect of condition was significant only for liberal essay, indicating that MS resulted in less favorable ratings of the liberal essay. These results can be explained by supporters' endorsement of the liberal view because both in the control condition ( $M_{Religious}= 5,90$ ,  $M_{Secular}= 3,00$ ,  $M_{Liberal}= 7,44$ ) and in the MS condition ( $M_{Religious}= 6,12$ ,  $M_{Secular}= 3,39$ ,  $M_{Liberal}= 7,14$ ), supporters had higher ratings for the liberal essay compared to the religious and secular essay (see Table 3.1.2).

These findings are in line with Greenberg et al. (1992; Study 1) which revealed that MS significantly increased liberal students' favorability of the dissimilar target but nonsignificantly decreased favorability of the similar target. In other words, liberal students evaluated the similar target less positively but the dissimilar target more positively after MS. In the present study, there was a similar tendency that MS led supporters to evaluate the liberal essay, validating worldview, less positively but the secular essay, threatening worldview, more positively. As a result, participants' liberal stance towards headscarf ban in the universities may have resulted in favorable ratings for the secular essay and unfavorable ratings for the liberal essay following MS.

As mentioned earlier, MS hypothesis states that if a cultural worldview protects against anxiety engendered by existential concerns, reminding people of their mortality should increase their need to bolster their own worldview and derogate the other worldviews. The liberal essay in the current study emphasizes the equal treatment of people without discrimination. For a person who endorses liberal values, activation of death related thoughts might not brought about more positive rating of the own worldview (liberal essay) and negative rating of the challenging worldview (secular essay). To put it differently, engaging in unfavorable evaluations of the secular essay and favorable evaluations of the liberal essay contradict with value of equality. Concerning the evaluations on the religious essay, even though both religious and liberal essays are against the headscarf ban in the universities, they are not similar. Consequently, supporters of liberal view may

have considered the religious essay as a dissimilar worldview and tended to rate the religious essay more positively after MS.

In contrast to supporters, opponents became insignificantly more favorable to secular essay but less favorable to religious and liberal essay. As expected, in line with the assertions of TMT, opponents had a tendency to evaluate the essay supporting their worldview more positively and the essays threatening their worldview more negatively following MS.

Besides composite scores of six questions, each question was analyzed separately for each essay. On the one hand, although it was not statistically significant, there is slight tendency that MS increased supporters' positive evaluation of six questions on both religious and secular essay, and negative evaluation of six questions on the liberal essay (except 5<sup>th</sup> question). On the other hand, for opponents, MS tended to result in an increase in the favorable ratings of six questions on the secular essay but unfavorable ratings of the six questions on both the religious (except 6<sup>th</sup> question) and liberal essay.

Evaluations of the essays were also analyzed according to political position and condition. Similar to the results on attitude towards the allowance of headscarf, the ANOVAs yielded main effects for the political position. However, both main effects of condition and interaction effect were not significant. Although the interactions between the political position and condition were not significant, whereas those with a rightist political view evaluated the religious and secular essay more favorably and the liberal essay less favorably following MS, those with a leftist political view rated the secular essay more positively and the religious and

liberal essay less positively. These results however should be interpreted cautiously considering that students from two different universities with an unbalanced ratios of gender and political views were selected.

The present study failed to find main effects of condition, except for the liberal essay, and interaction effects between attitude and condition. The first possible reason for insignificant main effects for condition and interaction effect may be that extremely polarized attitudes considering headscarf in the universities override mortality salience effects. As shown previously, on the ratings of the religious, secular and liberal essays, the main effect of attitude was robustly significant with strong effects, constituting the significant portion of the variance, whereas the main effect of condition and interaction effect between attitude and condition were non-significant. As a result, it can be argued that reactions to three essays were represented by participants' attitude towards allowance of headscarf in the universities dominating concerns about mortality.

Second plausible explanation may be that participants are unwilling, hesitant or scared to report their real evaluations of the essays since headscarf debate is a sensitive issue. There had been several arrests under a special lawsuit called Ergenekon and people started to think that AKP government were arresting people who did not share the same worldview with them during the period in which this study was conducted in Turkey. In the current study, after the completion of third booklet, some participants were observed to erase their birthdates or completely change their birthdates and department information (not included in the current sample). During the debriefing, they reported that they were afraid of being

identified. Since AKP was against the headscarf ban in the universities, the political context of Turkey may have threatened participants, especially opponents, such that they are reluctant to express their views. These unexpected and uncontrolled effects might have influenced the validity of the obtained findings.

Since AKP has been in power from 2002, Toprak, Bozan, Morgül, and Şener (2008) conducted interviews with 401 people (mainly women, Alevis, laics, leftists, Kurds, etc) in 12 cities to investigate the patterns of pressure and otherization caused by religiosity and conservatism in Turkey. Twelve cities were selected based on their development levels and vote rates for AKP. In more conservative cities, members of *Atatürkçü Düşünce Derneği (ADD)*, which consists of secular people, stated that their access to public services were blocked by public authorities and people hesitated to join them or give their support explicitly since they were afraid of being discriminated (i.e., losing their jobs or power in commercial life). Thus, the recent political context of Turkey may have interfered with opponent's evaluations of the essays with regard to headscarf.

It is possible that findings of the current study may be another insignificant effect of MS that has been observed in some of published or unpublished past studies on TMT. Burke et al. (2010) reviewed 164 articles testing the MS hypothesis of TMT in order to examine its effects size and variations across conditions. They found that effects sizes ranged between -.48 and .99, with a standard deviation of .19. Due to high variation in effect sizes, they tested the impact of potential moderators (e.g., sample size, mean age of the population, college versus noncollege participants, region of the study, MS manipulation,



control group topic, dependent variable (DV), delay between the administration of MS and the dependent variable, participant gender and participant self-esteem) on MS effects. The results of multiple regressions yielded three variables (college sample, DV and delay) which significantly moderate MS effect sizes. Concerning the DV, MS was found to affect attitudes towards people (e.g., attitude towards the author of the essay, support for a particular politician or leader) significantly more than other attitudes (e.g., attitude towards an essay only, a country or a sports team). In other words, dependent variables assessing attitude towards a worldview threatening or supporting person lead to higher MS effects compared to other attitudes.

In this study, first three questions assessing the dependent variable were related to the author of the essay, whereas last three questions were concerning the opinions in the essay. To assess the difference between the composite scores of six questions and author ratings, the mean of first three questions were computed for each essay and 2 X 2 ANOVAs were conducted separately. The main effect of condition on the composite of six questions for the liberal essay ( $p = .04$ ) became more significant ( $p = .01$ ) on the author-related questions. Although there was no difference for religious and secular essay, asking questions aimed to evaluate the opinions in the essays may have resulted in insignificant MS effects in the current study.

Lastly, there is another motivational perspective that posits uncertainty playing a guiding role in intergroup processes and reactions to validating or threatening cultural norms and values (for uncertainty reduction hypothesis, see

Hogg, 2000; for uncertainty management model, see Van den Bos, 2004; Van den Boss & Lind, 2002). In an investigation to compare the effect of mortality and uncertainty salience on reactions to violations and bolstering of cultural worldviews, Van den Bos, Poortvliet, Maas, Miedema and Van den Ham (2005, Experiment 3) asked participants to read either a positive or a negative article about their university written by a foreign student and report their anger and sadness. The findings revealed that the main effect of article on feelings of sadness was stronger in the uncertainty salience condition compared to MS condition. In Experiment 4, participants answered two questions regarding their agreement with articles, namely worldview defense, after reading either a positive or a negative article about their university. The results revealed that on worldview defense, the main effect of article was three times as large in the uncertainty salience condition relative to MS condition. In another study, Yavuz and Van den Bos (2009) explored the impact of uncertainty and mortality on negative affect reactions to either a positive or a negative essay written by an Iranian woman about the Turkish civil law. The results indicated that the effect of essay manipulation was more than twice as large in the uncertainty condition compared to MS. In addition to stronger effects of being uncertain exceeding concerns about mortality, Van den Bos et al. (2005) and Yavuz and Van den Bos (2009) examined what participants wrote down during salience manipulations. Findings on manipulation check showed that some of the participants in the MS condition (45% in Experiment 1 and 37% in Experiment 4, Van den Bos, 2005; 20, 8%, Yavuz & Van den Bos, 2009) had been thinking about the same uncertainty-related issues as participants in the uncertainty salience condition had and mortality participants who thought about uncertainty

had higher reactions than mortality participants who wrote about death and did not write about uncertainty. The authors concluded that mortality is an indirect manipulation of uncertainty and a direct manipulation of uncertainty, namely uncertainty salience, result in stronger reactions to cultural belief systems. Building on the uncertainty management model as an alternative explanation, future studies should test if uncertainty salience rather than MS may yield significant main effect of condition and interaction effect between attitude and condition.

### **4.3 The Main Contributions of the Current Study**

Although headscarf debate was profoundly elaborated by sociologists, it is rarely investigated by social psychologists. The present study contributes to social psychology literature by examining an important social and political conflict in Turkey.

As mentioned earlier, the assertions of TMT have been addressed by a limited number of studies in the Turkish sample. These studies investigated the impact of MS on social transgressions (Aslıtürk, 2001), group identification (Kökdemir & Yeniçeri, 2010) and conservatism (Koca-Atabey & Öner-Özkan, in press). None of these studies explored a controversial issue in Turkey. The current study contributes to TMT literature by focusing on a hot debate that has kept the political context of Turkey busy since Tanzimat period and polarized different segments of Turkish society.

The present study revealed that supporters tended to evaluate the religious and secular essay more favorably but the liberal essay less favorably following MS

inducement. The inconsistent findings were explained by the possibility of supporters' espousal of liberal view. With this finding, the current study made its own contribution to TMT literature that worldview defense can be mitigated if people adopt liberal view or values. In line with Greenberg et al (1992)'s findings, supporters insignificantly became more tolerant of different worldviews (religious and secular essay) but less tolerant of their own worldview (liberal essay) after reminders of mortality. Consistent with TMT, it was shown that opponents had a tendency to defend their own worldview (secular essay) and condescend incompatible worldviews (religious and liberal essay).

#### **4.4 Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research**

Besides its contributions to the current literature, the present study has a number of limitations regarding the characteristics of the sample used, the procedure of sampling, the degree of control during administration of the measures, the content of the secular essay, and the psychometric quality of the scales used. First, as seen in Table 2.1.2, the distribution of gender across conditions and attitude was unbalanced. In METU, data were collected from introductory psychology courses and the department of modern languages, which consist of students from various departments. However, in Gazi University, data collection was conducted mainly from the department of civil engineering and public administration. The male dominancy in the department of civil engineering resulted in unbalanced gender distribution in the current sample. Rather than using a strict representative sampling procedure, sampling of the participants was based on the

conveniences of the students in both universities. Future studies should be careful at the sampling procedure they employ.

Second, data were not collected in strictly experimental conditions in which small group of participants are invited into separate cubicles. Third, ‘headscarved female students’ were used in each essay in order to create congruity. However, as noted before, people who support secular view maintain that there is a difference between *başörtüsü* and *türban*. As a result, using ‘female students donning *türban*’ for the secular essay might be more appropriate to better capture the view advocated by secular people.

Finally, sociopolitical identity scale was not a valid measure of political attitudes since participants were instructed to mark several identities. The combination of political party preferences and chosen sociopolitical identities did not permit to classify participants into the mutually exclusive well-defined groups. Future investigations should use additional measures that enable to classify participants into different political orientations with a precise distinction.

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## Appendix A. Informed Consent

### Siyasi Tutum ve Kişilik Anketi

Bu üç araştırma kişilik özelliklerinin ve politik görüşlerin dinamiğini anlamak için yürütülmektedir. Sizden üç ayrı anketteki soruları cevaplandırmanız istenmektedir. Hiçbir sorunun tam doğru ya da yanlış cevabı yoktur. Önemli olan sizin ne düşündüğünüzdür. Bu nedenle, *sadece kendi duygu ve düşüncelerinizi yansıtacak şekilde içtenlikle* cevaplamanız araştırma için çok önemlidir. Lütfen ankette bulunan tüm soruları ilgili açıklamaları dikkatlice okuyarak ve boş soru bırakmadan cevaplayınız.

Üç ankete verilen cevaplar ayrı olarak değerlendirilecektir. Bu nedenle anket üzerine isim yazmanıza gerek yoktur. Lütfen her anketi doldurduktan sonra size verilen zarfa koyunuz.

Araştırmaya katıldığınız için çok teşekkür ederiz.

Şeyda Çamlı

ODTÜ Psikoloji Bölümü

## Appendix B. Demographic Information

Doğum tarihiniz (Gün/Ay/Yıl) : \_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_/19\_\_

Cinsiyetiniz: \_\_\_ Erkek \_\_\_ Kadın

Okulunuz: \_\_\_\_\_

Bölümünüz: \_\_\_\_\_ Sınıfınız: \_\_\_\_\_

Çocukluğunuz sırasında en uzun süre kaldığınız yerleşim birimini nasıl tanımlarsınız?

Metropol(İzmir, İstanbul, Ankara) Şehir(Lütfen yazınız):\_\_\_\_\_

İlçe Kasaba Köy

Anninizin en son bitirdiği okul nedir?

Okuryazar değil  İlkokulu bitirmedi  İlkokul  Ortaokul  
 Lise  Yüksek okul  Üniversite  Yüksek lisans  
 Doktora

Babanızın en son bitirdiği okul nedir?

Okuryazar değil  İlkokulu bitirmedi  İlkokul  Ortaokul  
 Lise  Yüksek okul  Üniversite  Yüksek lisans  
 Doktora

Nerede yaşıyorsunuz?:

Evde (ailele birlikte)  Evde (arkadaşlarımla)  Akrabamın yanında  
 Devlet yurdunda  Özel yurttta  ODTÜ yurdunda  
Diğer(Lütfen yazınız):\_\_\_\_\_

Ekonomik durumunuzu en iyi hangi seçenek yansıtıyor?

Yüksek sınıf  Orta sınıf  Dar gelirli Yoksul-Fakir

Herhangi bir dine inanıyor musunuz?:  Evet  Hayır

Hangi dine inanıyorsunuz? \_\_\_\_\_

### Appendix C. Political Attitude Measure

Önümüzdeki genel seçimlerde oy verecek misiniz? Evet Hayır

Bugün genel seçim olsa hangi partiye oy verirdiniz? (Alfabetik olarak sıralanmıştır.)

AKP

BBP

CHP

DSP

MHP

SP

ÖDP

TKP

Diğer(Lütfen yazınız): \_\_\_\_\_

Aşağıdaki seçeneklerden sizin sosyopolitik görüşünüze en uygun olanları işaretleyiniz.

1. Özgürlükler açısından liberal

8. Dindar

2. Laikliğe karşı olan dindar

9. Muhafazakâr

3. Sosyal demokrat

10. İnançlı

4. Komünist

11. Laik dindar

5. Sosyalist

12. Laik

6. Milliyetçi

13. Devletçi

7. Ekonomik açıdan liberal

14. Diğer (Lütfen yazınız): \_\_\_\_\_

**Appendix D. Attitude towards Allowance of Headscarf in the Universities  
Measure**

Aşağıdaki Türkiye’de son yıllarda tartışma konusu olan bazı konular sıralanmıştır. Lütfen her bir ifade ile ne derece hem fikir olduğunuzu ‘Evet’ ya da ‘Hayır’ seçeneğini işaretleyerek belirtiniz. Görüşünüz tam olarak ‘Evet’ ya da ‘Hayır’ kategorisine girmiyorsa bile en yakın olabilecek seçeneği işaretleyiniz.

İfadeler size uygun ise ‘Evet’ uygun değilse ‘Hayır’ ifadesini yuvarlak için alınız.	<b>EVET</b>	<b>HAYIR</b>
1. Türkiye’nin IMF’den kaynak almasını destekliyorum.	EVET	HAYIR
2. Vakıf üniversitelerinin devletten yardım almasını destekliyorum.	EVET	HAYIR
3. Türkiye’de nükleer santrallerin kurulmasını destekliyorum.	EVET	HAYIR
4. Başörtülü kız öğrencilerin üniversitelere girmesini destekliyorum.	EVET	HAYIR
5. Bankaların yabancı şirketlere satılmasını destekliyorum.	EVET	HAYIR
6. Türkiye’nin Avrupa Birliği’ne girmesini destekliyorum.	EVET	HAYIR

## Appendix E. Self-Esteem Scale

Aşağıda kendinizle ilgili birtakım ifadeler yer almaktadır. Her bir ifadenin sizi ne kadar tanımladığını size verilen ölçekteki rakamları kullanarak belirtiniz.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle			Ne Katılıyorum			Kesinlikle
Katılmıyorum			Ne Katılmıyorum			Katılıyorum

- \_\_\_ 1. Kendimi en az diğer insanlar kadar değerli buluyorum.
- \_\_\_ 2. Birçok olumlu özelliğimin olduğunu düşünüyorum.
- \_\_\_ 3. Genelde kendimi başarısız bir kişi olarak görme eğilimindeyim.
- \_\_\_ 4. Ben de çoğu insan gibi işleri iyi yapabilirim.
- \_\_\_ 5. Kendimde gurur duyacak fazla bir şey bulamıyorum.
- \_\_\_ 6. Kendime karşı olumlu bir tutum içindeyim.
- \_\_\_ 7. Genel olarak kendimden memnunum.
- \_\_\_ 8. Kendime karşı daha fazla saygı duyabilmeyi isterdim.
- \_\_\_ 9. Bazı zamanlar, kesinlikle bir işe yaramadığımı düşünüyorum.
- \_\_\_ 10. Bazı zamanlar, hiç de yeterli biri olmadığımı düşünüyorum.



## Appendix F. Mortality Salience Measure

Aşağıdaki iki madde kişiliği değerlendirmek amacıyla oluşturulmuştur. Yapılan araştırmalar yaşama dair duygu ve düşüncelerin kişilik hakkında çok önemli miktarda bilgi sağladığını göstermektedir. Bu nedenle aşağıdaki sorulara vereceğiniz yanıtlar kişiliğinizin bazı boyutlarını değerlendirmek için analiz edilecektir. Lütfen, söz konusu maddeleri tam olarak cevaplayınız.

**1. Lütfen, kendi ölümünüzü düşünmenin sizde uyandırdığı duyguları kısaca açıklayınız.**

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**2. Lütfen, fiziksel olarak ölmekte olduğunuzda ve fiziksel olarak artık ölü olduğunuzda size ne olacağını düşündüğünüzü olabildiğince açık bir biçimde yazınız.**

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## Appendix H. Positive and Negative Affect Scale

Aşağıda birtakım duygu ifadeleri bulunmaktadır. Lütfen, söz konusu ifadelerin şu an içinde bulunduğunuz duygu durumunu ne derece yansıttığını aşağıdaki dereceleme ölçeğinde belirleyiniz. Bunu yaparken ifadenin yanında bulunan rakamlardan birini yuvarlak içine alınız.

	Hiç Yansıtmıyor	Yansıtmıyor	Pek Yansıtmıyor	Ne Yansıtıyor Ne Yansıtmıyor	Kısmen Yansıtmıyor	Yansıtmıyor	Tamamen Yansıtmıyor
1. İlgili	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Sıkıntılı	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Heyecanlı	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Mutsuz	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Güçlü	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Suçlu	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Ürkmüş	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Düşmanca	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Hevesli	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Gururlu	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. Asabi	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. Uyanık	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. Utanmış	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. İlhamlı	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. Sinirli	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. Kararlı	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. Dikkatli	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. Tedirgin	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. Aktif	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20. Korkmuş	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

## Appendix I. Word Search Puzzle

Aşağıda gördüğünüz 10 x 10'luk tabloda, listede sıralanmış olan 10 kelime gizlenmiştir. Lütfen bu 10 kelimeyi bulup işaretleyiniz ve daha sonra yapacağımız uygulamalarda bize geribildirim olabilmesi amacıyla, bu bulmacının zorluk derecesini belirtiniz.

Kelimeler:

Kitap, Masa, Film, Kağıt, Telefon, Tren, Okul, Bira, Aktör, Raf

G	F	İ	R	T	R	A	V	L	D
O	A	S	A	M	Z	Ö	U	K	B
I	N	O	F	E	L	E	T	İ	Ğ
S	K	E	C	Z	N	P	R	K	M
J	N	U	R	Ğ	A	A	H	Ş	A
R	B	D	L	T	P	Y	K	E	İ
G	O	Ü	İ	E	L	A	J	Ö	M
Ü	F	K	Ö	R	Ğ	A	Ş	F	L
S	R	Y	U	I	M	B	T	V	İ
C	İ	P	T	L	A	E	O	H	F

Zorluk Derecesi:

Çok kolay (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) Çok zor

## Appendix J. Religious Essay

**Gelecekte yapılacak bir araştırmanın ön çalışması olarak aşağıda üniversitelerde başörtüsü ile ilgili üç paragraf yer almaktadır. Lütfen paragrafları dikkatlice okuyup soruları size en uygun olan rakamı yuvarlak içine alarak cevaplayınız.**

‘Üniversiteye giden kız öğrencilerin başını örtmesine karşı değilim. Bu bir din ve vicdan özgürlüğü meselesidir. Kuran-ı Kerim’de kadınların başını örtmesi buyrulmuştur. Bu durumda Müslüman olan bir kadının başını örtmek istemesinden daha doğal bir şey yoktur. Başını örten kız öğrencilerin üniversitelere girememesini ya da derslere alınmamasını anlamsız buluyorum. Herkes üniversiteye girebiliyorken, başını örten kız öğrencilerin üniversiteye alınmaması haksızlıktır. Türban ile başörtüsü arasındaki farkı anlayabilmiş değilim. İkisi de aynı şeydir. Başını örten kız öğrencilerin üniversiteye alınmasını istemeyen insanları anlayamıyorum ve bu tip insanlara tahammül edemiyorum.’

## **Appendix K. Secular Essay**

‘Üniversiteye giden kız öğrencilerin başını örtmesine karşıyım. Bu bir din ve vicdan özgürlüğü meselesi değildir. Aksine, başörtüsü takanların ve başörtüsünü destekleyenlerin dinin arkasına sığınmalarından başka bir şey değildir. Türban siyasal İslam’ın simgesidir ve Cumhuriyet’in temel ilkelerinden olan laikliğe karşı bir tehdittir. Başörtülü kız öğrencilerin üniversiteye girmelerine izin verildiğinde başörtülü olmayanlar üstünde ciddi bir baskı oluşturacaklarını düşünüyorum. Türban Anadolu’da başını örten genç kızlarımız, annelerimiz ve ninelerimizin başörtüsüyle bir değildir. Üniversiteye başını örten kız öğrencilerin alınmasını isteyen insanları anlayamıyorum ve bu tip insanlara tahammül edemiyorum.’

## **Appendix L. Liberal Essay**

‘Üniversiteye giden kız öğrencilerin başını örtmesine karşı değilim. Bu tamamen kişinin kendi seçimidir. Üniversitelerin kişisel özgürlükler ile eğitim ve öğretim gibi en temel insan hakları karşısında, yasadışı değil özgürlükçü bir tavır alması gereken kurumlar olduğunu düşünüyorum. İnsanların hayatlarına, görüşlerine, sözlerine ve düşüncelerine müdahale edebilme hakkını kendinde gören yasadışı ve baskıcı devlet anlayışından vazgeçilmeli, her türlü özgürlüğe izin verilmelidir. Üniversitelerde kılık-kıyafet serbestliğinin hiçbir ayırım yapılmaksızın bütün öğrencilere tanınması gereğine inanıyorum. Bu nedenle üniversitelerin bu işlere karışmaması ve tam bir özgürlük ortamı olması gerektiğine inanıyorum.’

## Appendix M. Rating of Essay Measure

1. Bu yazıyı yazan kişiden ne kadar hoşlandınız?

1 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 4 \_\_\_\_\_ 5 \_\_\_\_\_ 6 \_\_\_\_\_ 7 \_\_\_\_\_ 8 \_\_\_\_\_ 9 \_\_\_\_\_

Hiç Kararsızım Tamamen  
hoşlanmadım hoşlandım

2. Sizin bakış açımıza göre, bu yazıyı yazan kişi ne kadar zeki?

1 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 4 \_\_\_\_\_ 5 \_\_\_\_\_ 6 \_\_\_\_\_ 7 \_\_\_\_\_ 8 \_\_\_\_\_ 9 \_\_\_\_\_

Hiç Kararsızım Çok  
zeki değil zeki

3. Sizin bakış açımıza göre, bu yazıyı yazan kişi ne kadar bilgili?

1 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 4 \_\_\_\_\_ 5 \_\_\_\_\_ 6 \_\_\_\_\_ 7 \_\_\_\_\_ 8 \_\_\_\_\_ 9 \_\_\_\_\_

Hiç Kararsızım Çok  
bilgili değil bilgili

4. Yazarın paragrafta belirttiği görüşlerine ne kadar katılıyorsunuz?

1 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 4 \_\_\_\_\_ 5 \_\_\_\_\_ 6 \_\_\_\_\_ 7 \_\_\_\_\_ 8 \_\_\_\_\_ 9 \_\_\_\_\_

Hiç Kararsızım Tamamen  
katılmıyorum katılıyorum

5. Size göre, yazarın görüşleri ne kadar doğru?

1 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 4 \_\_\_\_\_ 5 \_\_\_\_\_ 6 \_\_\_\_\_ 7 \_\_\_\_\_ 8 \_\_\_\_\_ 9 \_\_\_\_\_

Hiç Kararsızım Tamamen  
doğru değil doğru

6. Size göre, yazarın görüşleri ne kadar rahatsız edici?

1 \_\_\_\_\_ 2 \_\_\_\_\_ 3 \_\_\_\_\_ 4 \_\_\_\_\_ 5 \_\_\_\_\_ 6 \_\_\_\_\_ 7 \_\_\_\_\_ 8 \_\_\_\_\_ 9 \_\_\_\_\_

Hiç Kararsızım Çok  
rahatsız edici değil rahatsız edici



## Appendix N

**Son zamanlarda başınızdan geçen güzel bir olayı anlatır mısınız?**

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