

CONTENTS OF TURKISH IDENTITY,
NATIONAL-SOCIAL IDENTIFICATIONS, AND
INTER-GROUP RELATIONS
IN TURKEY

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT
FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

NOVEMBER 2013

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ABSTRACT

CONTENTS OF TURKISH IDENTITY, NATIONAL-SOCIAL IDENTIFICATIONS, AND INTER-GROUP RELATIONS IN TURKEY

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November 2013, 167 pages

This thesis investigated the relationships between contents of Turkish identity, national social identifications, and perceptions of inter-group relations in Turkey. 64 university students participated in Study 1, which explored contents of Turkish identity as Definitions of Turkish In-group Boundaries, Characteristics of Turkish Identity, Meanings of Having a Turkish Identity, and Turkish In-group's Relations with Others. 324 university students participated in Study 2, which showed that National Participation predicted Kurdish group evaluation and perceived Cultural, Realistic, and Esteem threats and Conflict. National Essentialism was not a significant predictor. View of Turkish Identity as Unprejudiced predicted Turkish group evaluation and perceptions of Cultural and Realistic threats and Conflict. Turkish Identity as a Superordinate Identity predicted perceptions of Cultural and Esteem threats and Conflict. Distinctiveness of Turkish Identity predicted European group evaluation. Entitativity of Turkish Identity predicted perception of Conflict.

Glorification of Turkish Identity predicted Kurdish group evaluation and perceptions of Cultural and Realistic threats and Conflict. Power and Independency of Turkish Identity predicted Turkish group evaluation. Negative Attributes of Turkish Identity predicted Turkish group evaluation and perception of Esteem threat.

Power, Independency, and Continuity of Turkish identity interacted with Turkish identification in the prediction of perception of Conflict. Negative Attributes and Power of Turkish Identity interacted with Turkish identification in the prediction of Turkish group evaluation.

Results showed significant indirect effects through perceived conflict from National Participation, Glorification of Turkish Identity, and European identification to Kurdish group evaluation. The relationship between View of Turkish Identity as Unprejudiced and Turkish group evaluation was significantly and partly mediated by perceived Cultural and Realistic threats.

Keywords: Contents, Turkish Identity, Inter-group Relations, Boundaries, Meanings

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE'DE TÜRK KİMLİĞİ İÇERİKLERİ, ULUSAL-SOSYAL KİMLİKLENMELER VE GRUPLAR ARASI İLİŞKİLER

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Kasım 2013, 167 sayfa

Bu tez Türkiye’de Türk kimliği içerikleri, ulusal sosyal kimliklenmeler ve gruplar arası ilişkilerin algılanma biçimleri arasındaki ilişkileri araştırmaktadır. Bu amaca yönelik olarak bu tezde iki çalışma yürütülmektedir. Birinci çalışmaya 64 üniversite öğrencisi katılmıştır ve bu çalışmada Türk kimliğinin içerikleri Türk İç Grubunun Sınırlarının Tanımlanma Biçimleri, Türk Kimliğinin Özellikleri, Türk Kimliğine Sahip Olmanın Anlamları ve Türk İç Grubunun Diğerleriyle İlişkileri olarak bulunmuştur. İkinci çalışmaya 324 üniversite öğrencisi katılmıştır ve bu çalışmada Ulusal Katılım Kürtlerin değerlendirilmesini ve Kültürel, Gerçeğe Uygun ve İtibara Yönelik tehdit ve çatışma algısını öngörmüştür. Ulusal Özcülük herhangi bir bağımlı değişkeni öngörmemiştir. Türk Kimliğinin Önyargısız Olduğu Görüşü, Türk iç grubunun değerlendirilmesini ve Kültürel ve Gerçeğe Uygun tehdit ve çatışma algısını öngörmüştür. Türk Kimliğinin Üst Bir Kimlik Olduğu Görüşü

İtibara Yönelik tehdit ve çatışma algısını öngörmüştür. Türk Kimliğinin Ayırt Ediciliği Avrupalıların değerlendirilmesini öngörmüştür. Türk Kimliğinin Birlik ve Bütünleştiriciliği çatışma algısını öngörmüştür. Türk Kimliğinin Yüceliği, Kürtlerin değerlendirilmesini ve Kültürel ve Gerçeğe Uygun tehdit ve çatışma algısını öngörmüştür. Türk Kimliğinin Gücü ve Bağımsızlığı, Türk iç grubunun değerlendirilmesini öngörmüştür. Türk Kimliğinin Olumsuz Atıfları, Türk iç grubunun değerlendirilmesini ve İtibara Yönelik tehdit algısını öngörmüştür.

Türk Kimliğinin Gücü, Bağımsızlığı ve Sürekliliği, Türk kimliklenmesiyle etkileşerek çatışma algısını öngörmüştür. Türk Kimliğinin Olumsuz Atıfları ve Gücü, Türk kimliklenmesiyle etkileşerek Türk iç grubunun değerlendirilmesini öngörmüştür.

Çatışma algısı, Ulusal Katılımın, Türk Kimliğinin Yüceliğinin ve Kürt ve Avrupalı kimliklenmelerinin, Kürt grubunun değerlendirilmesiyle olan ilişkisine aracılık etmiştir. Ek olarak, Türk Kimliğinin Önyargısız Olduğu Görüşü ile Türk iç grubunun değerlendirilmesi arasındaki ilişkiye Kültürel ve Gerçeğe Uygun tehdit algısı kısmen aracılık etmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İçerikler, Türk Kimliği, Gruplar Arası İlişkiler, Sınırlar Anlamlar

To me and my family...

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor Prof. Dr. Bengi Öner Özkan, who has been with me from the beginning to the end of this project. It was so important and valuable for me to feel her support and guidance with her every time smiling face.

I would like to send my special thanks to Prof. Dr. Tülin Gençöz and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Zahide Karakitapoğlu-Aygün. They were a part of this journey as members of my dissertation committee and their comments, feedbacks, and advices made it possible for me to write the thesis up.

I am so grateful to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Türker Özkan and Assist. Prof. Dr. Gülseli Baysu. They joined this journey at the end as committee members and provided me with their interest, encouragement as well as admiration. Their views on this project were so crucial for me particularly in order to improve this research further in the future.

I would like to send my particular thanks to Vivian Vignoles at the University of Sussex. His comments, advices, and feedbacks were invaluable in the completion of this project. He led me to attach more importance to this project and to be fonder of it.

I wish to send my thanks also to Prof. Dr. Reyhan Bilgiç, who also got involved in this journey by listening, thinking about and attempting to answer my endless questions.

Indeed, I am grateful to other people in Department of Psychology at METU, Prof. Dr. Nebi Sümer, Prof. Dr. Nuray Sakallı Uğurlu, and Prof. Dr. Olcay İmamođlu for their general encouragement and support during my postgraduate education in social psychology.

Finally, I would really love to appreciate the contributions of my dear friends for this project. Without them this project would not have ended so beautiful. Thank you very much to you all Emine Özgüle, Burçin Cihan, İlker Dađlar, Birgöl Çakır, Fulya Kula, Öznur Öncöl, Canan Büyükaşık, Ayşen Gündüz, Duygu Erdoğan, Heyla Selim, Özgür Bal, and Bushra Hassan.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the world, inter-group conflicts are among the most important social problems. In social psychology, social identities are given particular attention in the investigation of inter-group relations. National-social identity is one of the most prevalent social identities in a contemporary world of nations. The present thesis investigates the relationships between contents of Turkish identity, national-social identifications, and perceptions of inter-group relations among university students in Turkey.

Regarding the relationships between national-social identifications and perceptions of inter-group relations, researchers generally question how the importance given to specific national identity has an influence in the evaluations of in-group and out-group. Social Identity Theory (SIT) (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) asserts that defining themselves as group members; people are motivated to evaluate their in-groups positively relative to the out-groups. Referring to SIT, some of researchers suggest that there is a positive relationship between national identification and in-group evaluation and negative relationship between national identification and out-group evaluation. In other words, they argue that the importance attached to a given national identity should increase the differentiation of in-group from the out-group (see Turner, 1999).

Some other researchers, however, claim that social identification does not necessarily lead to more in-group evaluation (compared to out-group evaluation). Mlicki and Ellemers (1996), for example, showed that people could express both negative national in-group stereotypes and strong national identification at the same time. Using data from 31 different countries, Pehrson, Vignoles and Brown (2009)

reported that the relationship between national identification and anti-immigrant prejudice ranged from a weak negative relationship to a moderate positive relationship.

Turner (1999) suggested that in addition to the strength of in-group identity, in-group members' beliefs about the nature of group boundaries, collective ideologies, and perceived differences of inter-group status all interactively influence the individuals' strategies to achieve a positive social identity. Reicher and Hopkins (2001) argued that because groups as well as group members may differ in the definitions of national in-groups, the investigation of a relationship between national identification and perceptions of inter-group relations should regard the contents of a given national identity. Thus, in order to examine the processes of national-social identification and inter-group relations in Turkey, the present thesis firstly aims at exploring the contents of Turkish identity, e.g., the diverse ways in which university students define the concept of Turkish identity.

The Republic of Turkey was found in 1923 following the collapse of the multicultural Ottoman Empire and the independence war. It has still a multiethnic composition. Besides Turkish people, which constitute most of the population, groups such as Kurdish, Arab, Laz, Circassian, and Armenian live in Turkey. Turkey is a country officially candidate for European Union (EU) since 1999. It is also a country in a process of globalization since the 1980s. Accordingly, in addition to 'Turk' identity, there seem other nationally significant social identities in Turkey, such as citizen of the world, European, and citizen of the Turkish Republic. Thus, the present thesis considers different national social identifications in relation to the contents of Turkish identity and perceptions of inter-group relations in Turkey, which is conceptualized in terms of perceived inter-group threats and conflict and inter-group evaluations of Turkish, Kurdish, European, and American groups.

In the present thesis, Chapter 1 consists of introduction including the theoretical background, the national context of Turkey, and previous theoretical and empirical studies. In chapter 2, Study 1 is presented, which explores the contents of Turkish

identity in a qualitative manner. In chapter 3, Study 2 is presented, which examines the relationships between contents of Turkish identity, national-social identifications, and perceptions of inter-group relations in a quantitative manner.

1.1. Theoretical Background

1.1.1. Social Identity and Inter-group Relations

Social Identity Theory (SIT) (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) is one main approach to the understanding of the processes of social identity and inter-group relations. This theory attempts to explain perceptions of inter-group relations with respect to individuals' social identity. SIT theorists argued that inter-group behavior is “any behavior displayed by one or more actors toward one or more others that is based on the actors' identification of themselves and the others as belonging to different social categories” (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 40).

In SIT, inter-group evaluation is seen as a function of individuals' desire for a positive social identity. Arguing this, SIT researchers assume that social groups are associated with positive or negative value connotations; that is, social identities define in-group members in terms of how they are better or worse than out-group members. While explaining inter-group evaluation, SIT focuses on three psychological concepts: social identification, social comparison, and psychological distinctiveness. It is argued that firstly individuals must come to perceive themselves as group members; that is, they must be subjectively identified with the in-group. Secondly, it is suggested that social situation must involve groups that enable individuals to make inter-group comparisons on relevant evaluative attributes. Thirdly, it is suggested that individuals must perceive the out-group as a relevant comparison group (e.g., proximal, similar, or salient), which should increase the individuals' strive for positive in-group distinctiveness in order to achieve a positive social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

SIT was actually developed while attempting to explain people's in-group favoring tendency in the studies of Minimal Group Paradigm (Turner, 1999). With this paradigm it was aimed to explore the minimal conditions necessary for positive differentiation of in-group from the out-group. In this paradigm, participants were divided into two groups on the basis of trivial criterion. The results of these experiments showed that when participants made a choice between in-group and out-group members for resource allocation, they favored in-group members over the out-group members (Tajfel, Flament, Billig, & Bundy, 1971). According to Tajfel and Turner (1979), these studies evidenced that minimal group condition; that is, in the absence of interaction within or between the groups, the mere social categorization of participants was sufficient for individuals to define themselves in terms of a social identity and to evaluate the in-group more positively compared to the out-group.

The underlying cognitive mechanism of inter-group evaluation was explained by Self-Categorization Theory (SCT) (Turner et al., 1987), which actually extends SIT. SCT focuses on the concepts of "accessibility" and "fit". "Accessibility" is related to individuals' past experiences, present expectations, and current goals, motives, values, and needs, which influence the use of a particular social category. "Fit" takes two forms. The first, "comparative fit", is explained by meta-contrast principle. It is suggested that any collection of individuals in a given situation is likely to categorize themselves as a group when they perceive the differences among them less than the differences between them and other people in the same situation. Accordingly, when the value of meta-contrast ratio is large, that is, inter-group differences are greater than the intra-group differences; people are assumed to define themselves in terms of a social identity. The second, "normative fit", shows the degree of consistency between category's social meaning and the nature of the stimuli, which increases the likelihood of social categorization. That is, to the extent the nature of stimuli corresponds with the normative beliefs about the social meaning of a given social category, it is easier for people to categorize the stimuli. To categorize a group of people as Turkish, for example, as opposed to European, they do not only need to show more between group differences from Europeans (comparative fit), but also

they need to show behaviors and attitudes consistent with the normative beliefs about being Turkish (Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994).

SCT proposes that to the extent the conditions for “accessibility” and “fit” are met, individuals define themselves in terms of their social identities. That is, the formation of in-group and out-group prototypes (i.e., the characteristics of one group that distinguish it from other groups) depersonalizes individual self and people come to perceive themselves as “we” and the others as “they”. This self-categorization, subsequently, leads individuals to perceive their social environment as consisting of an in-group and various out-groups (Turner et al. 1994).

Researchers generally considered social identity as an individual difference variable and interpreted the propositions of social identity tradition in a way that there is a positive relationship between social identification (i.e., the importance of the in-group to one’s self-concept) and more in-group evaluation (see Turner, 1999). However, regarding the national identification, using data from 31 different countries, Pehrson, Vignoles and Brown (2009) reported that the relationship between national identification and negative evaluation of immigrants ranged from a weak negative relationship to a moderate positive relationship across the national groups. In a supporting way, in a review study, Hinkle and Brown (1990) did not indicate that there is a consistent positive relationship between in-group identification and more positive evaluation of in-group.

Indeed, Turner (1999) argued that not only in-group identification, but also in-group members’ beliefs about the nature of group boundaries, collective ideologies, shared beliefs about the nature of social system, and perceived differences of inter-group status all interactively influence individuals’ strategies to achieve a positive social identity and thus all play important role in the examination of processes of social identity and inter-group relations. Focusing on the national identity, Hopkins (2001) argued that the affects, thoughts, and behaviors related to national identification are complex and people developing national attachment and pride do not have to develop more negative inter-group attitudes. Thus, Reicher and Hopkins (2001) suggested

that because groups as well as group members may differ in the definitions of national in-groups, the investigation of a relationship between national identification and inter-group attitudes should regard the contents of a given national identity.

Thus, it seems important to consider the contents of Turkish identity in a way to explore the processes of national-social identification and inter-group relations in Turkey. In the following part, literature about the contents of national-social identity and perceptions of inter-group relations is reviewed.

1.1.2. Contents of National-Social Identity and Inter-group Relations

Social identity is not just an awareness of group membership but it is also an understanding of in-group's historical, cultural, and political context and relationships with other groups. Social identities, especially large-scale ones such as national, ethnic, or gender identities, have particular contents or the subjective meanings, which derive from the wider social context (Huddy, 2001; Reicher & Hopkins, 2001).

According to Cinnirella (1996), national identity is characterized by the heterogeneity of norms, prototypes, and stereotypes and it is not static and fixed but rather it is abstract, diffuse, and complex form of social identity. Hopkins (2001) claimed that the meaning of national identity is a site of contest and takes place in a competition of definitions. Breakwell (1996), for example, claimed that being British is different for different subgroups in Britain as well as for different individuals within each subgroup.

According to Reicher and Hopkins (2001), national identities are dynamically constructed by group members in a context of public debate and general rhetoric. They are not "given" or "natural" but are structured and restructured through the processes of social interactions. Thus, conceptions of national identity vary across time and place and it is mostly a matter of power which content of national identity dominates the others.

Reicher and Hopkins (2001) argued that the particular definition of national identity reflects an attempt to realize what the nation and its relations with others should be. In this sense, the boundary and content of nation is construed purposefully in a way that makes the desired changes in the social structure possible. Cinnirella (1996, 1997), for example, reported that the definitions of Italian and British national identity differ depending on whether or not participants support European integration.

The contents of national identity reflect the ways in which people understand who they are, the nature of the world they live in, how they relate to others, and what is important for them. In this manner, conceptions of nationality are expected to determine how national identification impacts on perceptions of inter-group relations, because they also represent the position of the out-group whether it is supportive, harmful, or irrelevant to national interests (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001). According to Billig (1996), contents of national identity include people's imagination of the in-group, out-group, and the world of nations and thus people can perceive "ourselves" as a national "us". Hopkins (2001) suggested that in order to understand the relationships between national identification and perceptions of inter-group relations, researchers should investigate the different constructions of the nation's boundaries (who belongs to the in-group and who does not), content (what it means to belong to the in-group), and relations with others.

Thus, it seems that processes of national identification and inter-group attitudes should not be considered independent from how individuals understand national identities. In one study, Pehrson, Vignoles and Brown (2009) hypothesized that national identification and prejudice relationship should be the weakest in countries where the civic definition of nationality (i.e., in terms of more voluntary terms such as citizenship and institutional commitments) is widely endorsed but should be the strongest in countries where the ethnic or cultural definitions (i.e., in terms of shared ancestral, linguistic and/or cultural homogeneity) are widely endorsed. They found that in contexts where the definition of national belonging based on language prevailed, the relevant relationship was stronger than the contexts where the national

belonging was defined in terms of citizenship. Pehrson, Vignoles and Brown (2009) explained that identification with a nation defined in a cultural or ethnic way implied more negative attitudes towards immigration than identification with a nation defined based on shared citizenship (at the national level). Notably, to measure the national definitions, Pehrson, Vignoles and Brown (2009) asked participants to rate the importance of a variety of criteria for national belonging, such as having a citizenship in the country (for civic definition), speaking the language of the country (for cultural definition), having ancestry of the nationality (for ethnic definition), being born in the country, living most of one's life in the country, respecting institutions, and feeling nationality, although they only considered first three of these criteria in their study.

In another study in Belgium, Billiet, Maddens, and Beerten (2003) investigated how the relationships between national identifications and out-group attitudes change depending on the meanings of national-social identities in different socio-political contexts. Billiet et al. (2003) described Belgian identity as the most obvious official identity and Flemish and Walloon identities as sub-national identities in Belgium. They found that in Flanders participants who score high in Flemish identity tend to be more negative toward foreigners whereas those who score high in Belgian identity tend to be more positive. In Wallonia, however, the more Walloon identity resulted in more positive attitude and the more Belgian identity resulted in more negative attitude. Billiet et al. (2003) explained that in Flanders social representation of Flemish identity is associated with the protection of cultural heritage and thus perception of foreigners as threatening, but Belgian identity is associated with civic or republican representation that citizens with different cultural background can live together in harmony. On the other hand, regarding Wallonia, they explained that Walloon identity is defined with respect to civic terms but Belgian identity is defined with respect to ethnic-cultural terms.

Meeus, Duriez, Vanbeselaere, and Boen (2010) investigated the role of national identity content as a potential moderator (i.e., highly identified individuals can endorse different contents) or mediator (i.e., highly identified individuals can endorse

a specific content) in the relationship between national identification and prejudice in the Flemish context. They distinguished between ethnic (e.g., “Flemish culture should be protected against change” and “someone can only be truly Flemish when having Flemish parents) versus civic representation (e.g., “someone who resides in Flanders and who keeps to all legal obligations, has to be considered as a fully-fledged Flemish citizen”) of national identity. Meeus et al. (2010) found positive relationships between Flemish identification, prejudice, and ethnic representation of Flemish identity. They indicated that the positive effect of Flemish identification on prejudice is mediated rather than moderated by ethnic representation. Furthermore, using longitudinal design, Meeus et al. (2010) showed that Flemish identification increases the ethnic representation of national identity, which in turn increases the prejudice.

Pehrson, Brown, and Zagefka (2009) argued that perceptions of out-groups vary depending on “what nationality is based on” and “who can potentially belong to it”. They reported a moderation effect. That is, when English participants endorsed the essentialist or “ethnic” national group definition (e.g., “from our ancestry, something deep in the heart clearly distinguishes the English from other nations” and “the Englishness in our blood makes us prefer to stick together”), there was a positive relationship between national identification and negativity towards immigrants, but there was no relation when participants rejected the essentialist definition. Referring to Smith (2001), researchers argued that the content of national identity is crucial because it determines how a given out-group has an influence over the national projects of autonomy, unity, and identity (cited in Pehrson, Brown, & Zagefka, 2009).

In another study, Livingstone and Haslam (2008) conceptualized national identity content in terms of perception of relationships between in-group and out-group. They argued that in environments of chronic social conflicts (e.g., Northern Ireland), individuals are more likely to define the in-group identity in terms of negative inter-group relations, and thus to perceive derogatory attitudes towards out-group as normative. They added that in such contexts social identity content functions as a

theory of inter-group relations, which reflects how one's in-group relates to the out-group. Livingstone and Haslam (2008) hypothesized that the content of in-group identity would moderate the relationship between national identification and negative behavioral intentions towards out-group (e.g., objection if offspring married out-group member) and showed that when scores on the scale of antagonistic identity content (emphasizing a negative relationship with the out-group) were high, in-group identification was a significant predictor but when scores were low, it was not a significant predictor.

In the light of above literature review, it seems that there have been only a few studies concerned about the role of national identity content in the processes of national identification and inter-group relations. Also, it seems that these few available studies (e. g., Meeus et al. 2010) conceptualize national identity content only with respect to the civic and ethnic/cultural distinction and one study does only with respect to the perceptions of relations between in-group and out-group (Livingstone & Haslam, 2008). It is worth noting that these studies have only utilized quantitative approach and forced participants to think about the previously defined national dimensions (Pehrson, Vignoles & Brown, 2009). However, as described earlier, researchers argue that contents of national identity cannot be taken for granted, because they are constructed in the context of public debate and change across time and place (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001). In this sense, the present thesis makes use of the qualitative approach to explore the possible contents of Turkish identity. For this aim, the next part reviews the national context of Turkey.

1.2. The National Context of Turkey

Turkey is a country in which the concepts, such as national identity and nationalism are highly discussed. The modern Turkish nation-state was found in 1923 following the collapse of the multicultural Ottoman Empire and the independence war. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk played a leading role in the emergence of modern Turkish Republic. Turkey has still a multiethnic composition. In addition to Turkish people, which

constitute most of the population, groups, such as Kurdish, Arab, Laz, Circassian, and Armenian live in Turkey.

In the period of Ottoman Empire, there was a “millet” system in which different ethnic groups were organized according to their religious affiliations. Thus, Turks perceived themselves as Muslim rather than Turk. After the war of independence, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk aimed to create a unitary nation. Citizens of Turkish Republic were considered to be Turkish. The official version of national identity focused, at the same time, on modern, secular, and Western aspects of Turkish identity. Thus, it involved both citizenship- territoriality and ethnicity based conceptions of nationality. Official formation emphasized power of the nation-state and represented the Republic of Turkey as having eternal existence (Bora, 2003).

Radical nationalist formation of Turkish identity emerged during the World War II years and developed especially in the 1970s and early 1980s. It emphasized the Turkish ethnic identity, Turkish language and Islamic religiosity. At the ideological level, it developed towards the conceptualization of nationalism based on the cultural-historical essentialism rather than racism. In the 1990s, Turkey experienced a new transformation period. With the rising Kurdish national movement, radical nationalism came to be perceived more “rationale”. It improved its relationship with the official nationalism by supporting both the pan-Turkism and the state as well as reacting against the Kurdish movement. As a result, the radical nationalism lost its “extremist” aspect and became more popular (Bora, 2003).

Kemalist nationalism is another formation of national identity in Turkey. Neo-Kemalist nationalism flourished especially in the 1990s among the social democratic environment. It was based on the conceptualization of nationality in terms of territoriality and citizenship. This formation of national identity constructed Turkish identity in a way that supported the modernization process, which resulted in using the term “ulusçuluk” instead of “milliyetçilik”. In the 1960s and 1970s, the basic principles of Kemalist nationalism were anti-imperialism and the stand for national independence. Although in the 1990s, the principle of secularism gained importance,

in the 2000s anti-imperialism and independence of the nation were again emphasized because of the influence of anti-globalist discourse (Bora, 2003).

Turkey is a country in a process of globalization since the 1980s, which has brought about various economic, cultural, and political system-transforming changes. Within this context, the issues like human rights, democratic definition of citizenship, and claims of identity have been commonly discussed in Turkey (Kancı, 2009). The globalization (and Europeanization) processes, however, have been faced with reactions from some segments of society. Indeed, globalization process caused all nation-states in the world being in a vulnerable position. To counter the effects of globalization, Turkey, similar to many other nations, experienced the increased utilization of the nationalist language. During these times, concepts such as common language, history, homeland, culture, and ideals (e.g., men are to risk and sacrifice their lives for the homeland which is “the most loved one”) were particularly stressed in the definition of nationality for “saving the state”. Even, in the 1990s, the governments’ policy included the pan-Turkish attempts with respect to the new Turkic states in Central Asia and attempts to promote Turkey as the leader of the Turkic world (Kancı, 2009).

With the increases in nationalism, security concerns have also increased in Turkey. Within these years, parallel to the growth of civil society, identity movements have also started to gain strength, especially with the rising demands of Kurdish identity. Among others Kurdish identity seemed to have a more defensive attitude towards the Turkish identity. They presented themselves to be concerned about the protection of Kurdish cultural heritage, particularly the Kurdish language. All these factors together put the Turkish nation-state on a more defensive position. During these times, the concept of threat in a frame of “internal and external threats directed to Turkey” has been introduced as a subject to study even in the primary schools. The threats were explained using the arguments like “geopolitical significance of Turkey”, “the other countries’ dislike of a strong Turkey” and “the other states’ attempts to divide Turkey in order to expand their own borders”. Accordingly, regarding the importance of Turkey’s geopolitical location, the need for national

“strength, awareness, unity, and solidarity” was particularly emphasized (Kancı, 2009).

Turkey is a country officially candidate for European Union (EU) since 1999. Within this period, Turkey also experienced important economic, political, and social changes, and reforms, such as the utilization of other languages. Especially, during the times when there was a close relationship between Turkey and the EU, the Europeanization process influenced Turkey in a more positive way. This encouraged Turkey for separating the security concerns from the nationalist concerns, for the formation of more democratic definition of citizenship, and for the accomplishment of democratization process. In this manner, attempts to improve the multicultural and pluralistic viewpoints rather than ethnic ones were recognized as important (Öniş, 2007).

However, with the American occupation of Iraq in the context of the post-9/11 world (where Muslim people have been presented as the dangerous “other”), anti-Western thoughts and feelings gained strength, which caused the rising of nationalism among Turkish people. This nationalism particularly increased in 2007 within the context of approached presidential elections and the increased attacks of PKK (Kurdistan Worker’s Party) on the south-eastern border of Turkey (Kancı, 2009). It is notable that the “Kurdish issue” is generally discussed in the context of PKK, which has been in conflict with the Turkish state since 1984 (Dixon & Ergin, 2010).

Thus, it seems that the globalization and Europeanization processes have had both positive and negative effects in Turkey. On the one hand, democratization became more important issue in Turkey. The political authorities in general represent Turkey as a civic nation, assign social importance to the value of cultural diversity in the country, and expect the citizens with different cultural backgrounds to live together in harmony. On the other hand, regarding the unstable post-Cold-War international context and especially post-9/11 world, there have been concerns for preserving the status quo and for “saving the state” by ensuring its unity. At the end of summer 2009, the policy known as the “opening” was introduced in Turkey. It was called,

firstly, as the “Kurdish opening” followed by the “democratic opening” and lastly as “the national unity project” by the prime minister. Turkish government initiated this project to address the continuing “Kurdish problem” (Çandar, 2009).

In such a context of Turkey, the present thesis firstly aims at exploring the diverse ways in which university students define the concept of Turkish identity. For this aim, Study 1 is conducted, which utilizes the qualitative method. Before this study, in the following section, the literature on different factors influencing the processes of national-social identification and inter-group relations is considered further.

1.3 Previous Theoretical and Empirical Studies

In order to derive hypotheses about the links between (possible) contents of Turkish identity, national-social identifications, and perceptions of inter-group relations, it seems necessary to focus on the relevant theoretical and empirical research further. In this part, the processes of national identification and inter-group relations are considered with respect to the boundaries, meanings/motivations, and attitudinal manifestations of national identity, and perceived inter-group threats or conflict, respectively.

1.3.1. Different National-Social Identities/National Boundaries and Inter-group Relations

Keane (1994) (cited in Hjerm, 1998) defined national identity as knowledge of affiliation with the nation that leads people to define themselves in relation to others and to feel themselves at home. According to Pakulski and Tranter (2000), national identities are the macro-social identities (i.e., they can be defined in more abstract ways) and still constitute core social identities, which “involves a sense of attachment, bond, belonging to, feeling a part of, and solidarity with a collectivity, an imagined or real social grouping or category” (p.208).

According to Self-Categorization Theory (SCT), social identities vary with the social context. This theory proposed that social identities do not represent fixed, absolute characteristics of the individuals but relative, varying, and context dependent characteristics, because self-categories are social comparative and relative to a frame of reference (Turner et al., 1994). More recently, referring to SCT, Dovidio, Gaertner, Hodson, Houlette, and Johnson (2005) also argued that the process of social categorization shows variation. They noted that social identities are hierarchically organized; that is, higher-level identities (e.g., citizen of the world) are more inclusive than lower level ones (e.g., nation), and depending on individuals' goals, motives, perceptions of past experiences, and present time expectations and social context in general, it is possible to change the level of identity inclusiveness in a given situation. Dovidio et al. (2005) argued that the changeability in the level of identity inclusiveness is important because it strongly affects the ways people think about who are members of in-groups and out-groups and thus the nature of inter-group relations. Thus, they claimed that the definitions of national in-group boundaries reflect who is included in one's own group ("We") and who is excluded ("They") and thus, influence the nature of relationships between national identification and perceptions of inter-group relations.

Based on the propositions of SCT, Mummendey and Wenzel (1999) focused on the superordinate identity (i.e., more inclusive identity) in order to explain inter-group attitudes. They argued that in some contexts, people perceive the in-group and out-group as equal in terms of their inclusion in the relevant superordinate identity, but in some other contexts, they perceive the in-group and out-group as different. They argued that in-groups and out-groups are compared according to the prototype of superordinate identity (i.e., norms, attributes, and values of inclusive identity) and the group, which is seen as more similar to the prototype, is evaluated more positively. Mummendey and Wenzel (1999) suggested that when the out-group's difference is perceived negatively; that is, when the difference is seen as a threat to the validity of in-group's norms and values, people tend to have negative attitudes towards out-group, but when the out-group's difference is seen positively (e.g., as

enrichment), people tend to have positive attitudes. They noted that the evaluation of inter-group difference changes depending on the social context.

The in-group qualities, however, are likely to determine the definition of prototypical superordinate identity. Wenzel, Mummendey, Weber, and Waldzus (2003) showed that people tend to perceive the in-group as more prototypical for the superordinate identity than the out-group. Put differently, people tend to project their in-group's norms, values, and attributes onto the inclusive identity, particularly when they identify with both the in-group and inclusive identity. Wenzel et al. (2003) showed that there is a negative relationship between perceived relative prototypicality of the in-group and attitudes towards the out-group. They argued that when the in-group is perceived as more prototypical for the inclusive category, it is regarded as conforming to the norms of inclusive identity but the out-group is perceived as deviating from these norms and thus, as deserving negative attitudes. In a similar way, Turner (1999) claimed that high status group members are more likely to be discriminatory under conditions when they perceive their legitimate superiority as threatened by the low status group, but were less likely to be discriminatory under conditions when they perceive their superiority as illegitimate.

Lödén (2008) argued that national identity can be regarded as a superordinate or inclusive identity if it represents the identification with the nation-state, which may incorporate two or more ethnic sub-groups. According to Jones and Smith (2001), "nation-state" as a term refers to the intersection between nation and state and thus to conditions where the boundaries of the state (as a political entity) correspond more or less with the boundaries of a culturally/ethnically homogeneous group. Spinner-Halev and Theiss-Morse (2003) argued that a superordinate identity (or identification with a nation-state) can have two important positive effects. It can lessen the differences people perceive between the in-group and out-group and it can also motivate people to be less concerned about the relative gains and losses of in-group versus the out-group.

Lödén (2008) investigated the relationships between different national identifications and definitions of national in-group boundaries in Sweden. Researcher argued that superordinate national identity should be relatively inclusive and sub-group national identity should be relatively exclusive in Sweden. Löden claimed that inclusive superordinate identity could lead individuals to base national belonging on the criteria, which can be controlled personally, such as to be able to speak the dominant language of the country where you live (thus citizens can communicate equally in a democratic state), to respect the country's political institutions and laws, and to feel as a member of the country where you live. On the other hand, exclusive national identity can lead individuals to base national belonging on the criteria, which cannot be controlled personally, such as to have been born in the country where you live, to have lived in that country for most of your life, and to be a follower of the dominant religion. Regarding these specified criteria, Löden (2008) investigated "what is important for being a 'real Swede'?" among self-identified Swedes and non-Swedes. Researcher reported that overall participants give more importance to each of the three inclusive criteria than each of the three exclusive criteria and Swedes score significantly higher on the criteria of "respect Swedish political institutions and laws", "to feel Swedish" and "being a Christian" than non-Swedes.

Pakulski and Tranter (2000) also distinguished between different national identifications in terms of definitions of national in-group boundaries in Australia and investigated how these identifications were related to out-group attitudes. They suggested three national identities in the context of Australia: civic, national (ethno), and denizen. Civic identification reflected strong attachment to Australia in the sense of "a collectivity of shared rules, norms, and commitments", "a large-scale voluntary association", and "a community of choice". On the other hand, national (ethno) identification reflected strong attachment to Australia in the sense of "collectivity sharing a specific and shared culture, traditions, and customs". Pakulski and Tranter argued that national (ethno) identity is less inclusive than civic identity, because to be a member of Australian nation, it requires "one has to be born in it" or "at least live in it long enough to absorb the core elements of its cultural traditions, values,

norms, and customs”. Different from these identities, denizen (or citizen of the world) identification reflected a weak sense of attachment to the nation.

Pakulski and Tranter (2000) reported a negative relationship between inclusiveness of national identity and out-group attitudes. They classified subjects (with close attachment to Australia), who focus on “being born in Australia” and “living in Australia most of one’s life” (and who focus on sharing Australian customs) for “being truly Australian”, as having national (ethno) identification and subjects, who focus on “feeling Australian” and “respect political institutions and laws” (and who not focus on sharing Australian customs), as having civic identification and subjects with low attachment to Australia as denizens. Pakulski and Tranter showed that larger proportion of Australians hold civic identity (e.g., voluntary, open, and inclusive) and compared to national (ethno) identification, civic and denizen identifications are more likely to be related to positive attitudes towards immigrants.

Hjerm (1998) examined how different forms of national identity and national pride are related to xenophobia (e.g., negative attitudes towards immigrants). Hjerm conceptualized national identity in terms of ethnic, civic, multiple, and pluralist national identity and questioned how important different factors were in the description of who could become member of a nation among Australian, British, German, and Swedish participants. The six factors proposed by Hjerm were to have been born in a nation, to have been lived in a nation for most of one’s life, to have a nation’s citizenship, to be able to speak nation’s language, to respect nation’s political institutions and laws, and to feel nationality.

Hjerm (1998) classified the first two factors (with the importance of birth into a nation and common descent) as ethnic dimension and the last four factors (with more voluntary bases) as civic dimension and suggested people scoring high on ethnic dimension as having ethnic national identification, people scoring high on civic dimension as having civic national identification, people scoring high on both dimensions as having multiple national identification, and people scoring low on both dimensions as having pluralist national identification (i.e., a weak sense of

national identification). Notably, Hjerm (1998) discussed that “to be able to speak nation’s language” can be included in both dimensions depending on how it is interpreted in a given context. Researcher argued that if language is perceived as a part of cultural heritage, it is relevant to the ethnic dimension but if language is considered as necessary for being citizen of a nation, it is relevant to the civic dimension.

Regarding the relationships, Hjerm (1998) showed that national identifications associated with different definitions of national in-group boundaries predict the out-group attitudes in all four countries. More specifically, multiple-national identification (having much more categories to base the exclusion of others) was the most associated one with xenophobia, whereas pluralist national identification was the least associated one. Ethnic identification (and national-cultural pride) was more likely to increase with the increase of xenophobia than civic identification (and political national pride). Thus, Hjerm suggested that multiple-national identity was the most exclusive type of national identity and pluralism was the most inclusive type.

In a cross-cultural study, Jones and Smith (1999) investigated the pattern of relationships between varying criteria for national belonging. They questioned how the criteria, “to have been born in a nation”, “to have a nation’s citizenship”, “to have lived in a nation for most of one’s life”, “to be able to speak nation’s language”, “to be a Christian”, “to respect nation’s political institutions and laws” and “to feel nationality” are important for being truly a member of nation in twenty countries. Jones and Smith showed that in most countries, country of birth, extended residence, and dominant religious faith (an indicator of ethnicity) come together and constitute ascribed/objective or ethnic dimension whereas to have a citizenship, to respect political institutions and laws, feeling nationality, and speaking the dominant language (perceived with civic terms in a relevant context) come together and constitute the voluntary or civic dimension. Notably, participants scored higher on ascribed dimension than voluntary dimension. In some of the countries, however, the pattern of relationships between criteria for national belonging were different. In

Spain, religion was separate from all other items, in the Czech Republic, felling nationality was together with country of birth and long residence, and in Germany the scores taken from voluntary dimension were higher than scores taken from the ascribed dimension (Jones & Smith, 2001).

In addition, Jones and Smith (2001) hypothesized that nation-state's degree of globalization, post-industrialism, and internal cultural differentiation should increase voluntary form of national identity but militarism should increase more restrictive ascribed form. They showed that globalization and internal cultural differentiation tend to lead a weak sense of national attachment (i.e., weaken both forms of national identification) and post-industrialism tend to increase civic or open national identification whereas militarism tend to increase closed, ascribed or ethnic national identification.

To summarize, it seems that previous studies in general conceptualized national identities or national identity content in terms of definitions of national in-group boundaries (i.e., who can belong to national in-group and who cannot) and distinguished between civic (more inclusive national identity) and ethnic/cultural dimensions (more exclusive national identity) (e.g., Jones & Smith, 2001). There have been also studies, which considered national identity in terms of whether it is a superordinate identity (i.e., more inclusive identity) or sub-group/ethnic identity (i.e., more exclusive identity) (e.g., Löden, 2008). Notably, these all studies focused on the inclusiveness of a given national identity or definitions of national in-group boundaries. There has also been research, which paid attention to the functions, meanings, or motives of social identities for the individuals. The literature about this research is reviewed below.

1.3.2. Meanings/Motives of National-Social Identities and Inter-group Relations

According to Self-Categorization Theory, individuals' past experiences, present expectations, and current goals, motives, values, and needs influence the activation of a given social identity (Turner et al., 1987). This implies that social identities have a meaning for individuals and function in a way to satisfy their needs. As described earlier, in SIT, inter-group evaluation is seen as a function of individuals' desire for a positive social identity. This theory proposed that in order to feel better about their self or motivated by self-esteem, individuals strive for positively evaluated in-group memberships (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Considering national-social identities, for example, Lyons (1996) argued that in the definition of their national identity, people could emphasize the famous scientists as members of their national in-group in order to enhance their self-esteem.

Recently, researchers suggested that in addition to self-esteem, other motives, such as distinctiveness, belonging, efficacy, and continuity play important role in the construction of social identities (Vignoles, Gollidge, Regalia, Manzi, & Scabini, 2006). The distinctiveness motive refers to the motivation to maintain or establish a sense of differentiation from others. According to Optimal Distinctiveness Theory (ODT) (Brewer, 1991, 1993), people tend to identify with optimally distinctive groups, which can meet people's need for both inter-group distinctiveness and intragroup belonging or inclusion. ODT proposed that "social identity and group loyalty are hypothesized to be strongest for those self-categorizations that simultaneously provide for a sense of belonging and a sense of distinctiveness" (Brewer, 1991, p.475). Brewer and Weber (1994) showed that participants in the majority group (non-distinctive group) satisfied their need for distinctiveness through within group interpersonal comparison and participants in the minority group (distinctive group) satisfied their need for belonging through assimilation within group (Brewer & Weber, 1994).

To be member of a nation can provide people with a sense of distinctiveness. Anderson (1983) argued that national identity may lead people to imagine themselves as uniquely different national members, deserving their own independent state (cited in Billig, 1996). Billig (1996) noted that with such imagination in their mind, people can perceive their nation as “the unity of people” in a world of other nations and thus, the power of “we” can separate “us” from “them”. Hopkins and Reicher (1996) argued that the nation as a concept has a meaning that makes it distinctively powerful and gives a sense of togetherness and comradeship to all members. Lyons (1996), for example, suggested that Jew people’s definition of themselves as God’s chosen people is likely to be guided by the motive for distinctiveness. Thus, considering also ODT, it seems that thinking of their nation as unique and different from others in a variety of ways, people may develop a sense of in-group distinctiveness.

The belonging motive was defined as reflecting people’s need to enhance the feelings of closeness to, or acceptance by, other people (Vignoles et al., 2006). This motive was argued as representing a fundamental human need (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). According to ODT (Brewer, 1991, 1993), social identities or groups may satisfy people’s need for belonging. Pickett and Brewer (2001) showed that both threatened inter-group distinctiveness and in-group belonging increased participants’ perceptions of in-and out-group homogeneity (i.e., inter-group differentiation). Yzerbyt, Castano, Leyens, and Paladino (2000) argued that to the extent people perceive in-group entitativity; they are more likely to satisfy their need for a belonging. In-group entitativity was defined as “that property of a group, resting on clear boundaries, internal homogeneity, social interaction, clear internal structure, common goals, and common fate” (Hogg, Sherman, Dierselhuis, Maitner and Moffitt, 2007, p. 136).

Gaertner and Schopler (1998) showed that when the interaction between in-group members was high, participants perceived more in-group entitativity, which, in turn, lead participants to display more positive in-group evaluation. Castano, Yzerbyt, Paladino, and Sacchi (2002) indicated the role of death related thoughts (as being

threat to belonging or existence) in the perceived in-group entitativity, which increased participants' tendency to favour in-group over the out-group. Researchers explained that perception of in-group entitativity served for in-group belonging, and thus caused participants to express more positive in-group evaluation. Thus, research seems to suggest that perception of in-group entitativity is related to a sense of in-group belonging (e.g., Castano et al., 2002), which, in turn, is related to positive differentiation of in-group from the out-group (e.g., Pickett & Brewer, 2001).

The continuity motive refers to the motivation to maintain a sense of connection across time and situation. People tend to perceive their in-groups, such as nations and religious communities, as enduring entities that exist forever. Accordingly, social groups can provide members with a sense of transcendence across time and space (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001). Sani, Bowe, Herrera, Manna, Cossa, Miao, and Zhou (2007) argued that perceived collective continuity (PCC) has important consequences for national in-group perception. They conceptualized PCC in terms of perceived cultural continuity (e.g., "shared values, beliefs and attitudes of Italian people have endurance across time") and perceived historical continuity (e.g., "Italian history is a sequence of interconnected events") and found that PCC is positively associated with a set of social identity variables, such as in-group identification, collective self-esteem, and perceived group entitativity.

Recently, researchers have begun to investigate the role of perceived in-group continuity in the prediction of inter-group attitudes. Smeekes and Verkuyten (2013) investigated perception of in-group continuity in relation to inter-group attitudes in the Netherlands. They suggested that when Dutch people perceive higher cultural continuity (rather than narrative continuity), they are more concerned about the preservation of their national culture and identity, and thus more likely to perceive continuity threats from Muslim immigrants. They showed that perceived continuity threat mediated the positive relationship between perceived cultural continuity and more negative attitudes towards Muslim immigrants. In line with Smeekes and Verkuyten (2013), Jetten and Hutchison (2011) argued that the more people perceive in-group continuity, the more they likely to be concerned about losing historical

continuity. Researchers indicated that expectation of break with past mediated the positive relationship between perceived historical continuity and resistance to the merger (with the group). In an experimental study, on the other hand, Jetten and Wohl (2012) found that participants with higher English identification (but not with lower English identification) expressed more concern for the in-group's future and more opposition to immigration, when they were presented with discontinuity of English history compared to continuity of it. In addition, concern for England's future mediated the interaction effect of identification and perceived historical continuity on intergroup attitudes.

The other important motive underlying social identity processes is an efficacy motive, which refers to the motivation to enhance the feelings of competence, control, or power (Breakwell, 1996). People attempt to manage a sense of self-efficacy or to defend it when it is undermined or threatened (Vignoles, 2011). Social identities may increase people's sense of effectiveness (Riketta, 2008). Breakwell (1996), for example, argued that the efficacy motive guided directly some constructions of European identity, such as European Community having the control of financial markets and the attempts to create a Euro-army. Lyons (1996) suggested that in order to perceive their national in-group as efficacious, people tend to remember sporting victories but forget sporting defeats. Cinnirella (1996) argued that motivations of power and control play important role in the construction of national and European identities among British people. He reported that in open-ended responses British participants displayed a concern for matters of national sovereignty and having control over the world affairs. Cinnirella also reported that when British participants were asked to demonstrate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with a variety of motives, which might be related to their national and European identities, they mostly indicated the motives for control, autonomy, and distinctiveness. Cinnirella concluded that these were the most primary motives about British identity in the context of European integration. As seen, researchers emphasized the importance of efficacy motive in the construction of social (national)

identities; however, to my knowledge, there haven't yet been research examining its role in the prediction of inter-group attitudes (see also Vignoles, 2011).

To summarize, above literature review have suggested that national-social identities may have different meanings for the individuals and satisfy their different needs, which may play important role in the prediction of perceptions of inter-group relations. Up to now, the literature about the definitions of national in-group boundaries and the meanings or motives underlying construction of social identities has been reviewed. There has also been a line of social psychological research, which focused on the concepts like patriotism and nationalism in the examination of national identification and perceptions of inter-group relations, as presented below.

1.3.3. Attitudinal Manifestations of National-Social Identities and Inter-group Relations

Social psychological studies mostly interested in the concepts of patriotism and nationalism as different manifestations of national-social identity. Nationalism involves the aspects, such as a perception of national superiority, idealization of the nation, definition of nation based on race, descent, or culture, supporting homogeneity within the nation, and an orientation towards national dominance. On the other hand, patriotism involves the aspects, such as supporting heterogeneity within nation, emphasizing temporal comparisons (rather than inter-group comparisons), being critical towards the nation, feeling belongingness and responsibility for the nation, internationalism, and supporting democratic principles. Accordingly, in order to achieve a positive social identity, nationalism implies a significant relationship between positive in-group evaluation and negative out-group evaluation but positive feelings towards one's in-group are seen as independent from the out-group negativity in patriotism (Blank & Schmidt, 2003).

Mummendey, Klink, and Brown (2001), for example, assumed that making inter-group comparison (e.g., with other nations) uncovers nationalism but making

temporal comparison (e.g., with former times) uncovers patriotism and investigated the relationships between national pride (with national history, culture etc.), national identification, and rejection of national out-groups in inter-group and temporal comparison conditions. They found a positive relationship between national pride and identification regardless of any comparison condition. However, there was a positive relationship between national-pride and out-group derogation and between national identification and out-group derogation when participants were primed with an inter-group comparison orientation. Importantly, Mummendey et al. (2001) also showed that in-group identification played an important mediating role in the relationship between national pride and out-group derogation in the inter-group comparison condition.

Blank and Schmidt (2003) conducted a study in Germany where they explained that national identity is discussed in terms of whether Germany should be a multicultural society consisting of different ethnic groups (which share a common citizenship) or it should be ethnically homogenous country. In such a context, Blank and Schmidt described nationalism and patriotism as two types of attitudes towards the nation, which should be distinct from, related to, and consequence of national identification. They proposed and confirmed empirically a model in which nationalism (e.g., “for me, Germany is the best country in the world) mediated the positive relationship between German identification and devaluation of minority groups (e.g., “foreigners living in Germany should be prohibited from any political activity in Germany”) but patriotism (e.g., “if one feels allegiant to one’s country, one should strive to mend its problems”) mediated the negative relationship between them. Blank and Schmidt suggested that nationalism lead to the discrimination of out-groups because it supports homogeneity within country and dominance over other nations, but patriotism lead to tolerance because it supports heterogeneity and humanism.

Karasawa (2002) proposed nationalism (e.g., “the Japanese people are among the finest in the world”), patriotism (e.g., “I love this country of Japan”) and internationalism (e.g., “it helps Japan that we try to learn from foreign cultures”) as etic aspects and commitment to national heritage (i.e., respect for cultural and

historical heritage along with national symbols) as emic aspect of Japanese national attitudes. Researcher reported that knowledge in the international domain negatively predicts nationalism and commitment to national heritage and there is a moderate negative relationship between nationalism and internationalism. Karasawa also found the relationship of nationalism and commitment to national heritage with the out-group evaluation (i.e., Russia) as negative but not of patriotism.

Li and Brewer (2004) distinguished between essentialist and goal-based conceptions of American unity, the former emphasizing in-group distinctiveness and superiority, the latter emphasizing shared in-group attachment and group welfare. They found that when essentialist in-group pride/superiority was primed, the relationship of patriotism with nationalism and prejudice was relatively high and positive but when common goal-based national unity was primed, patriotism was less associated with nationalism and unrelated to prejudice. On the other hand, in both conditions nationalism was positively related to the prejudice. Notably, Li and Brewer conceptualized prejudice in terms of intolerance for diversity, distance to a given out-group, and exclusionary representation of the nation (i.e., based on being born American, speaking English, and being Christian).

Roccas, Klar, and Liviatan (2006) suggested glorification of the national group and attachment to the national group as two modes of national identification, the first referring to nationalism and the latter referring to patriotism. Glorification was defined perceiving national in-group as superior to other nations and having respect for the symbols of the in-group, such as nation's flag, rules, and leadership. Attachment was defined feeling positive emotional attachment to the nation and having a desire to contribute to it. Roccas et al. (2006) argued that these two modes of national identification were related but distinct from each other; that is, high attachment (e.g., "it is important for me to serve my country") was associated with low glorification (e.g., "Israel is better than other nations in all respects") or low attachment was associated with high glorification. Roccas et al. reported that attachment to the nation was positively related but glorification of the nation was negatively related to group-based guilt for past wrongdoings of the nation.

Esses, Dovidio, Semanya, and Jackson (2005) described nativist/civic definitions and patriotism/nationalism as different dimensions of national identification and internationalism as a dimension of superordinate national identity (i.e., identification with a world community). Esses et al. showed that nativist national identification (e.g., belief that national identity is based on birth) and nationalism predicted negative attitudes towards immigrants in Canada. On the other hand, civic national identification (e.g., belief that national identity is based on a feeling of being a member of the nation), patriotism, and internationalism (e.g., concern for global welfare) predicted positive attitudes towards immigrants. They also reported a weak negative relationship between nationalism and internationalism and suggested that national and international identification represented two different types of social identification. In addition, Esses et al. argued that cross-national differences may influence the role of patriotism in predicting attitudes towards the out-groups. As an example, researchers noted that in Germany where nativist national identity is valued, patriotism might be related to more exclusionary attitudes towards the out-groups, but in Canada where civic national identity is valued, patriotism tend to be associated with more inclusive attitudes.

To summarize, above literature review have suggested that national identification or national attachment can take the form of patriotism, nationalism, and internationalism, which have different associations with inter-group attitudes. Overall, they have suggested that patriotism reflects the national attachment with more inclusive and thus more positive attitudes towards the out-groups, nationalism does the national attachment with more exclusive and thus more negative attitudes towards the out-groups, and internationalism reflects a weak sense of national attachment with more inclusive attitudes towards the out-groups. The section below considers the inter-group threats and conflict as important factors in the processes of social identification and inter-group relations.

1.3.4. Inter-group Threats or Conflict, National-Social Identification, and Inter-group Relations

Researchers defined inter-group threat in the way that a given social group's actions, values, beliefs, or characteristics put the other group's welfare at risk. It is now well-established that perceived inter-group threat or conflict is the crucial factor influencing the dynamics of social identification and inter-group relations (Rick, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006). A variety of theories suggested that people can perceive inter-group threats in different ways. One important theory focusing on the role of inter-group threats in the perceptions of inter-group relations is the Realistic Conflict Theory (RCT) (Sherif, 1966). This theory conceptualized people's tendency for positive differentiation of in-group from the out-group in terms of incompatible group interests and proposed that inter-group hostility arises when groups compete for the scarce material resources. The Instrumental Model of Group Conflict by Esses, Jackson and Armstrong (1998) expanded original RCT. This model proposed that the mere perception of competition between groups for material resources is an important determinant of more negative inter-group attitudes.

There have also been researchers arguing that inter-group threat can arise from the conflicting cultural values in addition to the perceived competition over resources (Rick et al., 2006). According to Symbolic Racism Theory, for example, the conflicting values and beliefs between groups bring about the racism. Biernat, Vescio, and Theno (1996) tested the idea that Whites' negative attitudes towards Blacks result from the belief that Blacks violate Whites' cherished values. Researchers found that when Whites perceived Blacks as not supporting their values, they had relatively more negative attitudes towards Blacks, but when they perceived Blacks as supporting their values, they had relatively less negative attitudes. Dunbar, Saiz, Stela, and Saez (2000) also found a positive relationship between perceived in-group/out-group value dissimilarity and more positive evaluation of in-group.

In another study, Zarate, Garcia, Garza, and Hitlan (2004) showed cultural threat and perceived realistic group conflict as dual predictors of more negative inter-group attitudes. They found that when cultural interpersonal traits were made salient, perceived inter-group difference increased more negative attitudes. However, when work-related realistic conflict traits were made salient, inter-group similarity increased more negative attitudes towards Mexican immigrants in the USA.

More recently, Integrated Threat Theory (ITT) (Stephan et al. 2002) considered inter-group threats as causes of positive differentiation of in-group from the out-group. ITT brought together the approaches that have been suggested to explain the role of inter-group threats in perceptions of inter-group relations. This theory described four types of inter-group threats: realistic threat, symbolic threat, threat stemming from inter-group anxiety, and threat arising from negative stereotypes. Realistic threat was similar to the threat conceptualized by RCT and included threats to the very existence of the in-group (e.g., through warfare), threats to the political and economic potency of the in-group, and threats to the physical or material welfare of the in-group (Stephan et al. 2002). Symbolic threat was similar to the threat conceptualized by Symbolic Racism Theory and referred to the perception of in-group and out-group differences in values, morals, beliefs, norms, and attitudes. Symbolic threats put at risk the worldview of the in-group, which is likely to function as a construction of reality for in-group members.

In ITT, inter-group anxiety constituted another type of inter-group threats because of people's tendency to encounter uncertainty about how to behave towards out-group members. It reflected the feelings of uneasiness and awkwardness people experience during the inter-group interactions. Negative stereotypes referred to the negative expectations of in-group members in their relations with out-group members. When, for instance, people stereotype out-group members as untrustworthy, aggressive, or ignorant, they are likely to have negative emotions (e.g., fear) towards them, which, in turn, are likely to be associated with more negative inter-group attitudes (Stephan et al. 2002).

In a review study, recently, Rick et al. (2006) suggested another model of perceived inter-group threats. They argued that in addition to threats involved in ITT, group esteem threat influence the perception of inter-group relations. According to Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, and Doosje (1999), group esteem threat occurs when the out-group poses threat to the value of in-group in the form of discrimination or devaluation. Branscombe, Spears, Ellemers, and Doosje (2002) showed that when participants thought that the members of another group made negative evaluations about their group, they allocated fewer rewards to the threatening out-group. In their study, Rick et al. (2006) indicated that each type of inter-group threats had a significant and unique effect in the out-group attitudes. In addition, they proposed a model, which suggested that inter-group anxiety threat (an individual level variable) should be regarded as a mediator in the prediction of out-group attitudes from the symbolic, realistic, and group esteem threats. Notably, Rick et al.'s model suggested negative stereotypes threat (together with in-group identification and in-group distinctiveness threat) as an antecedent variable for other types of inter-group threats.

Verkuyten (2009) investigated how national identification, symbolic threat (e.g., "Muslims are a threat to the Dutch culture"), realistic or safety threat (e.g., "I am afraid of terrorist attacks of Muslims in the Netherlands"), and support for multiculturalism (e.g., "Turks and Moroccans may keep their own traditions and culture") are related to each other in the Netherlands. Researcher tested three different models and suggested that national identification predict positively perception of threats from the out-group, which, in turn, predict negatively the support for multiculturalism.

Here, it is worth noting that positive differentiation of in-group from the out-group or people's in-group serving tendency can take the form of in-group positivity and/or out-group negativity (Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002). Brewer (1999, 2001) argued that people's tendency to favor the in-group over the out-group does not necessarily result in the negativity towards out-group and explained that in order to negativity towards out-group take place, people should perceive the out-group as threatening the very existence of in-group or its goals and values. In other words,

Brewer claimed that when the interests of the in-group and out-group are perceived in a conflict, in-group identification or in-group membership may be associated with the out-group negativity. To summarize, above literature review have suggested that inter-group threats or conflict can be perceived in different ways and they play crucial role in the prediction of inter-group attitudes, which can take the form of more positive in-group evaluation and/or more negative out-group evaluation. Following the consideration of relevant literature, in the next section, Study 1 is presented.

CHAPTER 2

STUDY 1

2.1. Generation of Hypotheses

As described earlier, definitions of national identity is likely to change across time and space (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001) and national identity has been represented in a variety of ways throughout the history of Turkey (Bora, 2003). Thus, it is expected that participants in Study 1 would mention about the Turkish identity in different ways. In line with previous studies, participants may define Turkish identity in terms of boundaries (who can belong to Turkish in-group), meanings (what does it mean to have a Turkish identity), and inter-group relations (Turkish identity's relations with significant others).

Considering definitions of Turkish in-group boundaries, it is expected that definitions based on both culture and territoriality may emerge. As noted, Kemalist nationalism emphasized both living in Turkey and having a Turkish citizenship for national belonging in Turkey. In addition to these, official nationalism focused at times on the cultural aspects, such as speaking Turkish and adopting Turkish culture. Given that Atatürk played a leading role in the foundation of Turkish Republic and his principles have been important throughout the history of Turkey, definitions related to Atatürk's principles may also emerge. Since, Turkey is a Muslim country and Turkish national identity is associated with being a Muslim (Hortaçsu & Cem-Ersoy, 2005), it is also expected that participants may mention about being a Muslim as a criterion for belonging to Turkish group.

Considering meanings attributed to having a Turkish identity or motives underlying constructions of Turkish identity, it is expected that meanings reflecting motives for self-esteem, distinctiveness, continuity, efficacy, and belonging may emerge.

Researchers argued that universally people have motives for self-esteem, distinctiveness, continuity, efficacy, and belonging, which were defined as the most important motives underlying identity construction (Vignoles et. al. 2006; Vignoles, 2011). As described earlier, the Republic of Turkey was found following the independence war and power of the nation-state and its eternal existence were emphasized. Indeed, stand for national independence and anti-imperialism have been basic values related to Turkish identity (Bora, 2003). In this context, the concepts, such as common language, history, homeland, culture, national unity, strength, and solidarity were also stressed (Kancı, 2009). Thus, participants are expected to mention about the meanings, such as independency, power, unity, solidarity, strength, and continuity in relation to having a Turkish identity.

Considering Turkish identity's relations with others, the relations with Kurds inside and Europeans outside have been significant in the history of Turkey (Hortaçsu & Cem-Ersoy, 2005; İnaç 2004; Kancı, 2009) and arguably have influenced the definitions of Turkish identity. Thus, participants may mention about the relations with these groups, which can be regarded as out-groups vis-à-vis Turkish identity.

METHOD

2.2.1. Participants

Sixty-four university students (21 males, 43 females) participated in the study. They were between 18-24 years old. In order to recruit a heterogeneous sample of university students, the data were collected from different departments during class in three different universities in Ankara, Middle East Technical University, Bilkent University, and Gazi University. All participants were Turkish-speaking and citizens of Turkey. The data were collected in 2010 between October 7 and November 11.

2.2.2. Questionnaire

First part of the questionnaire consisted of introduction of the study. In the second part, university students were asked to answer a set of open-ended questions related to the (possible) contents of Turkish identity. The questions were 1) What do you think about the Turkish identity? 2) What are the aspects of Turkish identity? 3) What does it mean to have a Turkish identity? Who can have a Turkish identity? 4) Is there any threat to Turkish identity? 5) What do you think about the relationships between Turkish identity and the different identities? 6) How do you judge the position of Turkish identity in a frame of Turkey's international relationships? 7) What do you think about the country we live in? 8) What are the benefits of having a Turkish identity for the individuals? All questions included "please explain" at the end. The Turkish versions of questions can be seen in Appendix A. The third part asked about background information, such as gender, age, school, department, class, birthplace, native language, parental education, political view, and religiosity.

2.2.3. Procedure

At the beginning of data collection, university students were told that the study is about the perceptions of national-social identities among university students in Turkey and the participation is voluntary. They were also told that most of the questions are open-ended and may take approximately 40 minutes to answer.

RESULTS

2.3.1. Data Management

The length of responded essays varied from very short (a couple of sentences for each question) to long (a number of sentences for each question). Firstly, completed questionnaires were examined and open-ended responses were read for each participant separately by the researcher. Then, each participant's responses were transcribed by the researcher. The transcribed essays were read and reread in order to extract some common points across essays. This process resulted in the realization of some key words or phrases (e.g., citizen of Republic of Turkey, culture, multicultural, distinctive, homeland etc.), which had been frequently used by the participants. To handle huge amount of qualitative data, initially word software program was used to automatically search for these key words or phrases. The statements including a given key word or phrase (e.g., citizen of Turkey) were clustered together if they had a similar meaning. Through this analysis, almost all of the statements referring to Turkish identity were clustered according to their meaning. This process first revealed the sub-categories and then the broad categories. After assigning the statements to the relevant sub-categories, each cluster of statements were reread separately to make sure that they were all representing a given sub-category. Within this process, several statements were replaced. Inter-rater reliability (i.e., reproducibility) was calculated by asking an independent coder to match the sub-categories with the statements of participants. The percentage of agreement was found 84.57 %. Stability (i.e., coding of the same material by the same researcher more than once) was found 81.38 %.

2.3.2. Contents of Turkish Identity

The examination of clustered statements (i.e., sub-categories) resulted in the determination of five broad categories. As seen in Table 1, these were “Definitions of Turkish In-group Boundaries”, “Characteristics of Turkish Identity”, “Meanings of Having a Turkish Identity”, “Turkish In-group’s Relations with Others”, and “Turkish In-group Stereotypes”.

“Definitions of Turkish In-group Boundaries” included 9 sub-categories, which were 1) Citizens of Republic of Turkey (29) (e.g., “all citizens of Republic of Turkey are Turks”), 2) People who adopt and advocate Turkish culture (69) (e.g., “All Kurds, Laz, or Circassians can have a Turkish identity, because they all enjoy the same geography, the same mentality, and the same elements of culture”), 3) People who are willing to feel Turkish (33) (e.g., “everyone who are willing to feel Turkish can have a Turkish identity”), 4) People who live in Turkey (17) (e.g., “people settled in Turkey all have a Turkish identity”), 5) People who contribute to Turkey (45) (e.g., “whether ethnic origin is Kurd or Turk it is not important, all people who make something beneficial for Turkey can be Turk”), 6) People who speak Turkish (9) (e.g., “people speaking Turkish can have a Turkish identity”), 7) People who adhere to Atatürk’s doctrine (11) (e.g., “people who care for Atatürk can have a Turkish identity”), 8) People who are Muslim (2) (e.g., “Turks are Muslim people”), and 9) people who have a Turkish family (20) (e.g., “people having a Turkish family can have a Turkish identity”).

“Characteristics of Turkish Identity” included 3 sub-categories, which were 1) Turkish identity as a super-ordinate identity (or Turkish identity as the representative of subcultures) (41) (e.g., “Turkish identity means the togetherness of different identities”), 2) A view of Turkish identity as unprejudiced (27) (e.g., “Turkish identity is respectful to every other different identities”), and 3) A view of Turkish

identity as assimilating (19) (e.g., “I think that Turkish identity assimilates and extinguishes other identities in Turkey”).

“Meanings of Having a Turkish Identity” included 8 sub-categories, which were 1) Distinctiveness of Turkish identity (13) (e.g., “Turkish identity differentiates and distinguishes Turks from other identities”), 2) Indistinctiveness of Turkish identity (34) (e.g., “that to have a Turkish identity means nothing for me”), 3) Entitativity of Turkish identity (23) (e.g., “Turkish identity provides solidarity and unity in society” and “that to have a Turkish identity means saying ‘all-for-one’”), 4) Glorification of Turkish identity (56) (e.g., “having a Turkish identity means to be proud of being a Turk” and “Turkish identity is one of the most beautiful identities in the world”), 5) Power of Turkish identity (12) (e.g., “I think Turkish identity as a concept means having power to rule over the world”), 6) Continuity of Turkish identity (15) (e.g., “there has been a past and present of Turkish identity and so there will be future for it”), 7) Independency of Turkish identity (12) (e.g., “Turkish identity represents our independence since the Republic of Turkey is an independent country”), 8) Negative Attributes of Turkish identity(19) (e.g., “unfortunately having a Turkish identity is not creditable nowadays”).

“Turkish In-group’s Relations with Others” included three broader sub- categories: “Turkish in-group’s relations with Western Groups”, “Turkish in-group’s relations with Eastern Groups and “Turkish in-group’s relations with the Kurdish group”. The first included three sub-categories: “Perceived Cultural Threat with West” (22) (e.g., “it is apparent that Europeans are trying to impose their culture, customs, and traditions on us”), “Perceived Realistic Threat with West” (37) (e.g., “developed countries wish to make Turkey a colony and to use her resources”), and “Perceived Esteem Threat with West” (32) (e.g., “Turkish identity has always been disadvantaged in the West”).

The second and third broader categories each included only one sub-category. The second included “Turkish In-group’s positive relations with Eastern Groups”(6) (e.g., “if one have a Turkish identity, less developed countries like and want to imitate

him/her”). It should be noted that this construct of the present thesis is not further considered. Investigating perceptions of inter-group relations, the present thesis focuses on the significant or relevant out-groups vis-à-vis Turkish in-group, as suggested by SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The third included “Kurdish subgroup’s conflicting relations with Turkish superordinate group caused by external forces” (38) (e.g., “we forgot that we all belong to Turkish identity without taking into account being Laz, or Kurd and started to divide ourselves inside which is caused by external forces”).

“Turkish In-group Stereotypes” had two sub-categories: “positive Turkish in-group stereotypes” and “negative Turkish in-group stereotypes”. Positive stereotypes were hospitable (11), loyal-to-family-ties (10), warm (7), indulgent(5), tolerant (4) helpful(3), clean(3), sincere(1), diligent(5), trustworthy(2), nationalist (5), conservative (2), courageous (4), clever (2), intelligent (3), quirky (2), lissome (1), ethical (2), warrior (1), peaceable (3), adherent to customs (10), humanitarian (1), devoted to own freedom (2), sentimental (1), forgetful (1), patriotic (2), successful (1), productive (1), talented (1), trusting (1), determined (1), fair (2), loving solidarity(1), loving neighboring (1), optimistic(1), universalist (1), non-racist (1), valuing hierarchy (1), valuing unity and solidarity (2), keeper of promise (1), respecting the elders (4), loving the youngsters (1), caring for palate taste (1), open to change (1), cute (1), friendly (1). Negative stereotypes were warrior (2), adherent to customs (2), short-tempered (1), uneducated (8), lazy (1), rude (1), lacks of manners (1), bigot (1), inconsiderate (6), fanatic (1), dependent (1), paranoid (1), pro-militarist (1), arrogant(3), aggressive (1), disorganized (1), egocentric (2), hedonistic (1), being susceptible to be guided (7), sexist (3), oppressive (1), non-ethical (1), unprofessional (2), intolerant (1).

Table 1. *Contents of Turkish Identity*

Category	Frequency	Example
Definitions of Turkish In-group Boundaries		
Citizens of Republic of Turkey	29	All citizens of Republic of Turkey are Turks
People who adopt and advocate Turkish culture	69	All Kurds, Laz, or Circassians can have a Turkish identity because they all enjoy the same geography, the same mentality, and the same elements of culture
People who are willing to feel Turkish	33	Everyone who are willing to feel Turkish can have a Turkish identity
People who live in Turkey	17	People settled in Turkey all have a Turkish identity
People who contribute to Turkey	45	Whether ethnic origin is Kurd or Turk it is not important, all people who make something beneficial for Turkey can be Turk
People who speak Turkish	9	People speaking Turkish can have a Turkish identity
People who adhere to Atatürk's doctrine	11	People who care for Atatürk can have a Turkish identity
People who are Muslim	3	Turks are Muslim people
People who have a Turkish family	20	People having a Turkish family can have a Turkish identity
Characteristics of Turkish Identity		
Turkish identity as a superordinate identity	41	Turkish identity embodies the big sub-identities
A view of Turkish identity as unprejudiced	27	Turkish identity is respectful to each different identity
A view of Turkish identity as assimilating	19	I think that Turkish identity assimilate and exclude other identities in Turkey
Meanings of Having a Turkish Identity		
Distinctiveness of Turkish identity	17	Turkish identity differentiates and distinguishes Turks from other identities
Indistinctiveness of Turkish identity	34	That to have a Turkish identity mean nothing for me
Entitativity of Turkish identity	23	Turkish identity provides solidarity and unity in society

Table 1. (continued)

Glorification of Turkish identity	52	Turkish identity is one of the most beautiful identities in the world
Power of Turkish identity	12	I think Turkish identity means having power to rule over the world
Continuity of Turkish identity	15	There has been a past and present of Turkish identity and so there will be future for it
Independency of Turkish identity	12	Turkish identity represents our independence since the Republic of Turkey is an independent country
Negative Attributes of Turkish identity	19	Unfortunately having a Turkish identity is not creditable nowadays
Turkish In-group's Relations with Others		
Turkish In-group's relations with Western Groups		
-Perceived Cultural Threat with West	22	It is apparent that Europeans are trying to impose their culture, customs, and traditions on us
-Perceived Realistic Threat with West	37	Developed countries wish to make Turkey colony and to use her resources
-Perceived Esteem Threat with West	32	Turkish identity has always been disadvantaged in the West
Turkish In-group's relations with Eastern Groups		
-Turkish In-group's positive relations with Eastern Groups	6	If one belongs to Turkish identity, less developed countries like and want to imitate him/her
Turkish In-group's relations with the Kurdish group		
- Kurdish subgroup's conflicting relations with Turkish super-ordinate group caused by external forces	38	We forgot that we all belong to Turkish identity without taking into account being Laz, or Kurd and started to divide ourselves inside, which is caused by external forces
Turkish in-group stereotypes		
Positive Turkish in-group stereotypes		Loyal-to-family-ties
Negative Turkish in-group stereotypes		Uneducated

2.4. DISCUSSION

Study 1 showed that contents of Turkish identity can be conceptualized in terms of “Definitions of Turkish In-group Boundaries”, “Meanings of Having a Turkish Identity”, “Characteristics of Turkish Identity”, “Turkish In-group’s Relations with Others”, and “Turkish in-group stereotypes”. In a parallel way, Hopkins (2001) suggested that different constructions of the nation’s boundaries (who can belong to the in-group and who cannot), content (what it means to belong to the in-group), and relations with others should be considered in the investigation of the dynamics between national identification and inter-group relations. In addition, contents of Turkish identity found in Study 1 mostly reflected the representations of nationality in Turkey (Bora, 2003) and provided support for the idea that national identities are dynamically constructed by group members in a context of public debate and general rhetoric (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001).

Participants claimed that “citizens of Republic of Turkey”, “people who adopt and advocate Turkish culture”, “people who are willing to feel Turkish”, “people who live in Turkey”, “people who contribute to Turkey”, “people who speak Turkish”, “people who adhere to Atatürk’s doctrine”, “people who are Muslim”, and “people who have a Turkish family” can have a Turkish identity. As described earlier, previous studies generally considered definitions of national in-group boundaries in terms of Civic and Ethnic/Cultural distinction. They proposed that Civic definition includes the criteria related to feeling nationality, having a citizenship, respect the political institutions, and speaking a dominant language whereas Ethnic/Cultural definition includes the criteria related to being born in the country, living most of life in the country, and having a membership of a dominant religion (e.g., Jones & Smith, 1999). Notably, however, there have been studies, which considered the criterion related to speaking a language as a part of Ethnic/Cultural definition (because of its connection with the cultural heritage of a nation) (e.g., Pehrson et al., 2009).

Accordingly, some of the criteria found in Study 1 were different from the criteria suggested by previous researchers (e.g., Jones & Smith, 1999). Those different criteria were “people who adhere to Atatürk’s doctrine”, “people who contribute to Turkey”, “people who have a Turkish family”, and “people who adopt and advocate Turkish culture”. Considering the relationships between these criteria, consistent with above previous studies, it may be expected that the first two, which are more likely to be controlled personally, reflect the more inclusive or voluntary definition and the last two, which are less likely to be controlled personally, reflect the more exclusive or objectivist definition. Previous researchers suggested the criterion “living most of one’s life in the country” as a part of Ethnic/Cultural or exclusive definition. As an explanation, they noted that this criterion reflect the idea that in order to be a member of national in-group, people should adopt the nation’s culture by spending most of their life in the country. In this context, the relevant criterion may be regarded as reflecting the criterion “people who adopt and advocate Turkish culture” found in Study 1. Accordingly, it seems that these two differently worded criteria, indeed, have the common idea that the transmission of nation’s cultural heritage is important for people in order to be a member of national in-group.

In some way similar to the criterion “to be born in the country” suggested by previous researchers (Hjerm, 1998; Jones & Smith, 1999; Pakulski & Tranter, 2000), participants in Study 1 claimed the criterion “people who live in Turkey”. It will be interesting to explore the pattern of relationships with respect to this criterion (in Study 2). It may represent either more exclusive or Ethnic/Cultural definition (since living in Turkey may be interpreted as resulting in people’s adoption of Turkish culture) or more inclusive or Civic definition (since living in Turkey may mean having a Turkish citizenship) among Turkish participants. Considering the relationships between other criteria, however, consistent with previous studies (e.g., Jones & Smith, 1999), “people who have a Turkish family”, “people who are Muslim”, and “people who adopt and advocate Turkish culture” may be associated because of their relatively ethnic/cultural nature. On the other hand, “citizens of Republic of Turkey”, “people who are willing to feel Turkish”, “people who

contribute to Turkey”, and “people who adhere to Atatürk’s doctrine” may come together because of their relatively inclusive, voluntary or civic nature.

Researchers seemed in disagreement whether the criterion related to speaking a language should be a part of Civic definition (e.g., Jones & Smith, 1999) or Ethnic/Cultural definition (Pehrson, Vignoles, & Brown, 2009). Considering the criterion “people who speak Turkish” found in Study 1, it may reflect both the more inclusive and more exclusive definition. On the one hand, this criterion may be a part of more Ethnic/Cultural definition because of its association with Turkish culture, as particularly emphasized by Turkish nationalism. On the other hand, it may also be a part of more Civic definition because of its association with having a Turkish citizenship, as particularly emphasized by Kemalist nationalism (Bora, 2003). At the same time, this may reflect the consideration of civic involvement in a democratic state (Lödén, 2008). Notably; however, being conducted in Turkey and initially utilizing the qualitative method, the present thesis seems the first study. Thus, it will be interesting to explore the pattern of relationships between the criteria (for national belonging in Turkey) found in Study 1.

In Study 1, participants also claimed that having a Turkish identity provide people with the meanings, such as distinctiveness, entitativity, glorification, power, continuity, independency, negative attributes, and indistinctiveness. Considering the national context of Turkey, it may be argued that these meanings mostly reflect the ideals, principles, and aims emphasized in the construction of Turkish identity and in the creation of unitary nation since the foundation of Turkish Republic (Bora, 2003). Considering Entitativity of Turkish Identity, for example, it may reflect the need for national “strength, awareness, unity, and solidarity” particularly emphasized in a context of relatively negative relationships with others (Kancı, 2009). Considering Power, Independency, and Continuity of Turkish Identity, they may reflect the national context of Turkey in which the stand for national independence, power of the nation-state, and its eternal existence were emphasized, particularly in the official representation of national identity (Bora, 2003).

More importantly, the meanings found in Study 1 seem mostly consistent with the motives underlying construction of identities: self-esteem, distinctiveness, belonging, continuity, and efficacy (Vignoles et al., 2006; Vignoles, 2011). Accordingly, Study 1 implied that having a Turkish identity may function to satisfy some needs and motives of Turkish people. Glorification of Turkish Identity (e.g., “Turkish identity is one of the most beautiful identities in the world”), for example, may embody people’s need for self-esteem or function to satisfy their motive for self-esteem. That is, in order to feel better about themselves, Turkish people may glorify Turkish identity or evaluate it (much) more positively compared to other groups, as postulated by SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Power (e.g., “I think Turkish identity means having a power to rule over the world”) and Independency of Turkish Identity (e.g., “Turkish identity represents our independence since the Republic of Turkey is an independent country”) may embody the motive for efficacy, which is associated with the feelings of competence, control, and power. As described earlier, Cinnirella (1996), for example, argued that motives for power and control play important role in the construction of national identities among British people (see also Vignoles, 2011). Continuity of Turkish Identity may embody people’s need for a sense of continuity or for a sense of transcendence across time and space. As noted, national groups provide people with a sense of continuity (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001). Entitativity of Turkish Identity (e.g., “Turkish identity provides solidarity and unity in society”), on the other hand, may embody the motive for belonging. As described earlier, the perception of in-group entitativity is closely associated with a sense of belonging to the in-group (e.g., Yzerbyt et al. 2000).

Moreover, Study 1 showed that participants may attribute negative meanings or no meaning at all to having a Turkish identity. Some participants perceived Turkish identity negatively and mentioned its disturbing aspects, which were named Negative Attributes of Turkish Identity (e.g., “unfortunately that belong to Turkish identity is discreditable nowadays”). Some others claimed that having a Turkish identity make no sense to them, is meaningless for them, and not distinctive from having any other

national identity. Such views were termed Indistinctiveness of Turkish Identity (e.g., “that to have a Turkish identity means nothing for me”). In an interview study, Fenton (2007) questioned how seriously English young adults consider their national identity and reported that some participants’ disinterest in national identity, hostility towards national labels, and rejection of the nation reflect their indifference to or disregard for a national identity and their lack of enthusiasm for British or English identity. Consistent with this, Study 1 suggested that some of Turkish people may disregard Turkish identity and for them Turkish identity may have nothing meaningful and is not different from any other national identity.

In Study 1, participants also claimed some characteristics about Turkish identity. These were named Turkish Identity as a Superordinate Identity, A View of Turkish Identity as Unprejudiced, and A View of Turkish Identity as Assimilating. The first one (e.g., “Turkish identity embodies the big sub-identities”) referred to the explanation of Turkish identity as incorporating different ethnic groups in Turkey, such as Turks, Kurds, and Lazs. According to this view, all groups in Turkey should be regarded as having a Turkish identity. In such a context of Turkey, participants also claimed some contrasting characteristics about (superordinate) Turkish identity. Although some participants described Turkish identity as unprejudiced (e.g., “Turkish identity is respectful to each different identity”), some others described it as assimilating (e.g., “I think that Turkish identity assimilate and exclude the other identities in Turkey”). These different views may be seen as reflecting the context of Turkey related to “Kurdish problem” (Çandar, 2009), in which it is discussed whether (superordinate) Turkish identity regard only Turks and disregard others or not.

Considering Turkish In-group’s Relations with Others, Study 1 showed that these relations can be defined in terms of Perceived Cultural Threat with West, Perceived Realistic Threat with West, and Perceived Esteem Threat with West. Consistent with these findings, İnaç (2004) argued that although in the past a distinction was made between the “west as the political and military enemy” and the “west as civilization”, the West in general was perceived as threatening the existence and unity of the

Turkish state. According to Kancı (2009), especially, during times of tension between Turkey and the EU, the Turkish nation-state has had more defensive attitudes towards Western countries, with frequent use of arguments such as “geopolitical significance of Turkey”, “the other countries’ dislike of a strong Turkey”, and “the other states’ attempts to divide Turkey”. It should be noted, however, that the use of “West” instead of the names of given group(s) reflected participants’ tendency to write in this way. In the essays, participants seemed to refer to Europeans and Americans together, which (in addition to Kurds as explained below) are considered as out-groups vis-à-vis Turkish identity in the present thesis.

Turkish In-group’s Relations with Others were also defined in terms of Kurdish Subgroup’s Conflicting Relations with Turkish Superordinate Group Caused by External Forces. This construct was about the relations of Turkish in-group with Kurds. As described earlier, Kurdish identity seemed to have a more defensive attitude towards Turkish identity and Kurds presented themselves concerned about the protection of Kurdish culture. In Turkey, people generally discussed “Kurdish problem” in the context of PKK, which has been in conflict with the Turkish state since 1984 (Dixon & Ergin, 2010). Notably, participants mostly referred to “external forces” as causing the conflict between Turkish superordinate identity and Kurds. This may be seen consistent with the representations of inter-group relations in Turkey with respect to “internal and external threats directed to Turkey” (Kancı, 2009). Accordingly, it seems that some of Turkish participants claim the Turkish identity as a superordinate identity, and thus view Kurds as a part of it, and ‘external forces’ rather than Kurds themselves are regarded as causing the conflict inside in Turkey.

CHAPTER 3

STUDY 2

3.1. Generation of Hypotheses

In the light of above literature review, to understand the dynamics of inter-group relations better, it seems necessary to consider the in-group identity in a variety of ways, including definitions of in-group boundaries, attitudinal manifestations of a given social identity, and meanings or motives associated with having a given social identity (see also Yzerbyt et al., 2000). Consistent with this, in Study 1, it was found that Turkish identity has different contents, which may play an important role in the prediction of dynamics of inter-group relations in Turkey. Accordingly, the aim of Study 2 is to examine how national-social identifications and relevant contents of Turkish identity predict perceptions of the Turkish In-group's Relations with Others and inter-group evaluations in Turkey. In addition to this, Study 2 aims to examine how relevant contents of Turkish identity interact with Turkish identification in predicting the dependent variables of the study. In the following way, firstly hypotheses are generated in regard to national-social identifications; secondly, they are generated in regard to Definitions of Turkish In-group Boundaries; thirdly, in regard to Characteristics of Turkish identity; and fourthly, in regard to Meanings of Having a Turkish Identity. Finally, Turkish In-group's Relations with Others are proposed as mediators in the relationships between (relevant) Contents of Turkish Identity and inter-group evaluations.

3.1.1. Predicting Turkish In-group's Relations with Others and Inter-group Group Evaluations in Turkey

3.1.1.1. National-Social Identifications as Predictors

According to SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), people are motivated to evaluate their in-groups positively. This theory proposed that people defining themselves in terms of group memberships have a tendency to perceive their social identities in a positive way. In line with this theory, in the present study, it can be hypothesized that Turkish identification (i.e., “Turk” and “citizen of Turkish Republic”) would be positively related to Turkish in-group evaluation. On the other hand, European identification would be positively related to European group evaluation. Citizen of the world identification, however, would be unrelated to any group evaluation, since it reflects people's tendency to disregard any given nation or national identity (e.g., Pakulski & Tranter, 2000).

Considering the out-group evaluations, on the other hand, researchers generally showed a non-significant relationship between in-group identification and out-group evaluation (Cairns et al. 2006; Levin & Sidanius, 1999; Voci, 2006), although there has been research indicating a negative significant relationship between these variables. In one study among a variety of different status groups, for example, Levin and Sidanius (1999) showed a negative relationship between Latino in-group identification and out-group affect towards Whites. They explained that in USA where inter-group hierarchy is considered unstable and illegitimate, lower status highly identified Latinos may try to establish positive sense of social identity by exhibiting more negative out-group affect.

Levin and Sidanius (1999) reported a positive relationship between other in- and out-group evaluations apart from a non-significant relationship between Arab in-group evaluation and Jews out-group evaluation. They argued that the low correlation between these variables might result from the intensity of the intergroup conflict between Arabs and Jews in Israel. In a consistent way, in the present thesis, it can be hypothesized that there would be a non-significant relationship between Turkish identification and out-group evaluations (rather than a positive significant relationship). As a reason, it seems arguable that in the present study, as found in Study 1, the out-groups are the relevant and significant out-groups (vis-à-vis Turkish in-group), which played important role in the history of inter-group relations in Turkey (e.g., Hortaçsu & Cem-Ersoy, 2005).

Considering the perceptions of inter-group relations, however, researchers seem in agreement upon the idea that people, who score higher in in-group identification, are more likely to express higher levels of perceived inter-group threat than people, who score lower in in-group identification (see Rick et al., 2006). They explained that when an in-group is important for people's self-definition, they are likely to be concerned about the existence of the in-group. They further explained that when the in-group is important for individuals, they are likely to be sensitive towards anything that could harm the in-group. In Study 1, participants claimed Perceived Cultural Threat with West, Perceived Realistic Threat with West, and Perceived Esteem Threat with West. Accordingly, in study 2, it can be hypothesized that Turkish participants who score higher in Turkish identification would be more likely to perceive inter-group threats against Turkish identity.

On the other hand, Turkish participants, who define themselves with other national-social identities in Turkey, would be less likely to perceive threats directed to Turkish identity. It can also be hypothesized that Turkish identification would predict positively Kurdish Subgroup's Conflicting Relations with Turkish Superordinate Group Caused by External Forces. As noted earlier, in environments of social conflict, individuals are more likely to define in-group identity in terms of negative

inter-group relations (Livingstone & Haslam, 2008). In a consistent way, Jackson (2002) showed positive associations between different dimensions of social identity and perceived inter-group conflict.

3.1.1.2. Definitions of Turkish In-group Boundaries as Predictors

As described earlier, researchers generally categorized definitions of national in-group boundaries in terms of exclusive or Ethnic/Cultural and inclusive or Civic definitions. They argued that the former definition, being more exclusive in nature, is more likely to predict negative out-group attitudes and/or perception of inter-group threats than the latter definition (Jones & Smith, 2001; Hjerem, 1998; Löden, 2008; Meeus et al. 2010; Pakulski & Tranter, 2000; Pehrson et al., 2009). Notably, in these studies researchers mostly examined the attitudes towards immigrants as out-groups and assumed that Civic definition of national belonging (e.g., “people who have a citizenship in a country”) implies the inclusion of immigrants as members of national in-group; on the other hand, Ethnic/Cultural definition (e.g., “people who lived most of their life in a country”) implies the exclusion of immigrants as non-members.

In a parallel way with above studies, in the present thesis, it may be expected that the criteria, which are relatively exclusive in nature (e.g., “People having a Turkish family can have a Turkish identity”), would be more likely to predict negative out-group evaluations and perceived inter-group threats or conflict than the criteria, which are relatively inclusive in nature (“people who live in Turkey can have a Turkish identity”). It should be noted, however, that different from above studies, which were mostly conducted in Western European countries, and thus considered the immigrants as out-groups, the present thesis is conducted in Turkey, where the definitions of national identity is less likely to be discussed in terms of Civic and Ethno/Cultural distinction (see Löden, 2008). In addition, as described earlier, Study 1 suggested some different criteria(e.g. “People who care for Atatürk can have a Turkish identity”) in a context of Turkey that were not considered by previous

studies (Jones & Smith, 2001; Hjerem, 1998; Löden, 2008; Pakulski & Tranter, 2000). Accordingly, it should also be noted that depending on the pattern of relationships between the criteria (found in Study 1), or dimensions of Definitions of Turkish In-group Boundaries (explored in Study 2), the relevant relationships may change.

As mentioned before, there have also been studies investigating the role of definitions of national in-group boundaries in interaction with national identification (e.g., Meeus et al., 2010). Pehrson, Brown, and Zagefka (2009), for example, reported moderation effect and suggested that when highly identified English people scored higher levels of ethnic national group definition, they were more likely to indicate negative inter-group attitudes than highly identified English people, who scored lower levels of ethnic national definition. Thus, in addition to main effects, it seems worthy to test interaction effects of the definitions of Turkish in-group boundaries (with Turkish identification) in the context of Turkey.

3.1.1.3. Characteristics of Turkish Identity as Predictors

Wenzel et al. (2003) showed that people tend to project their in-group's norms, values, and attributes onto the inclusive identity, i.e., superordinate identity, particularly, when they identify with both in-group and inclusive identity. As noted before, political authorities in general assign social importance to the value of cultural diversity in Turkey and expect the citizens with different cultures to live together in harmony. Accordingly, it can be hypothesized that Turkish participants who score higher in Turkish Identity as a Superordinate Identity and A View of Turkish Identity as Unprejudiced (which reflects the norms and attributes in regard to Turkish identity) would be more likely to express positive Turkish group evaluation.

On the other hand, these characteristics of Turkish identity would be less likely to predict positive out-group evaluations. Especially, regarding the Kurds, it was noted that they seemed to have a defensive attitude towards the norms and attributes about

Turkish identity. In accordance with Wenzel et al. (2003), thus, it may also be expected that Turkish participants who score higher in the relevant characteristics of Turkish identity would be less likely to express positive Kurdish group evaluation. In a consistent way, these researchers indicated a negative relationship between perceived relative prototypicality of the in-group (for superordinate identity) and attitudes towards the out-group. In addition, it seems important to investigate how relevant Characteristics of Turkish Identity interact with Turkish identification in the prediction of outcome variables. Depending on the levels of Turkish identification, relevant Characteristics of Turkish Identity may differently predict particularly Turkish and Kurdish group evaluations and perceived Conflict from Kurds (see Wenzel et al., 2003).

3.1.1.4. Meanings of Having a Turkish Identity as Predictors

In Study 1, participants attributed the meanings of Glorification, Power, Independency, Entitativity, Distinctiveness, Continuity, Negative Attributes, and Indistinctiveness to having a Turkish identity. The examination of these meanings suggests that the first six of them in general consider Turkish identity in a positive regard (see also Golec de Zavala, 2011). In this sense, it can be hypothesized that they all would be positively related to positive evaluation of Turkish group. Consistent with this, researchers generally showed positive associations of in-group identification and positive in-group evaluation with the perceptions of in-group entitativity (Gaertner & Schopler, 1998), in-group distinctiveness (Pickett & Brewer, 2001), in-group continuity (Sani et al. 2007), and in-group glorification (Roccas et al. 2006). Including these variables all together, however, the present thesis is the first study. Thus, it would be exploratory to see which meaning(s) would have a more significant 'added value' (above the others) in the prediction of Turkish group evaluation.

Considering the out-group evaluations, on the other hand, it can be hypothesized that the meanings of having a Turkish identity like Glorification and Distinctiveness would be more likely to predict (negatively) the out-group evaluations than the meanings like Continuity, Entitativity, Power, and Independency. It is notable that research findings on out-group evaluation did not seem as consistent as the research findings on in-group evaluation (Golec de Zavala, Eidelson, Cichocka, & Jayawickreme, 2009). However, in regard to in-group glorification, for example, Roccas et al. (2006) argued that “an individual who is highly identified in this sense believes that the in-group is better and more worthy than other groups and that group members should adhere to all the group’s rules and regulations and feels insulted if others do not show the utmost respect for the group’s symbols” (p.700).

It seems also appropriate to suggest that the aspects of national identity, such as the idealization of the nation (related to glorification), perceived distinctiveness of a nation, and supporting homogeneity within the nation (related to distinctiveness) are more likely to predict the negative out-group evaluation than the aspects of national identity, such as emphasizing temporal comparisons (related to continuity), feeling belongingness (related to entitativity) and responsibility (maybe related to power), and supporting democratic principles (maybe related to independency) (Blank & Schmidt, 2003). Moreover, as noted earlier, Li and Brewer (2004) demonstrated that when participants were primed with distinctiveness of American identity, they expressed negative attitudes towards the out-group but when they were primed with shared in-group attachment and group welfare (related to entitativity) national identification was unrelated to the negative out-group attitudes.

Considering the perceptions of inter-group relations, it was also argued that the idealization of a given national in-group (e.g., national collective narcissism) has an important impact on the perceptions inter-group threat or conflict. As a reason, researchers suggested that when the positive image of the in-group is excessive, it is difficult to confirm this image and thus, people are likely to interpret the signs of inter-group problems as threatening the in-group. Researchers further explained that

when the idealization of an in-group is exaggerated, people need more recognition of the in-group by the out-group, particularly the out-group, which took place in the history of in-group with some wrongdoings and mutual grievances (Golec de Zavala et al. 2009).

Accordingly, regarding that the out-groups in the present thesis are important and significant out-groups vis-à-vis Turkish in-group, it may be hypothesized that Glorification of Turkish Identity (e.g., “Turkish identity is one of the most beautiful identities in the world”), reflecting more the idealization about Turkish identity, would be more likely to predict the perceptions of inter-group threats and conflict than the other meanings of the study. However, it is worth noting that the present thesis considers more than one out-group (vis-à-vis Turkish in-group), which seem to have a different significance in the history of inter-group relations in Turkey (as found in Study 1). Accordingly, it seems valuable to explore how the relevant meanings of having a Turkish identity would differ in their prediction of evaluations of different out-groups as well as different perceptions of inter-group threats and conflict in Turkey.

Considering the other two meanings attributed to having a Turkish identity in Study 1, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that Negative Attributes of Turkish Identity, which represented the negative evaluation of Turkish identity by focusing on the disturbing aspects of it, would be significant and negative predictor for Turkish group evaluation. Indistinctiveness of Turkish Identity (e.g., “to have a Turkish identity means nothing for me”), on the other hand, seems unlikely to be a significant predictor for the outcome variables of the study. As noted earlier, this construct represented some Turkish participants’ disregard for, or indifference towards, Turkish identity. Accordingly, Turkish participants, who score higher in this construct, may consider the in-and out-group evaluations and inter-group relations about Turkish in-group as unimportant and/or meaningless for them (Fenton 2007).

Finally, it should be noted that in addition to main effects, the interaction effects of Meanings of Having a Turkish Identity (with Turkish identification) are considered in the prediction of outcome variables. It seems important to investigate how the effect of Turkish identification may change depending on the meanings attributed to having a Turkish identity in the prediction of perceptions of inter-group relations (e.g., Hopkins, 2001).

3.1.2. Turkish In-group's Relations with Others as Mediators

In the following way, it seems possible to represent the above hypothesized relationships of the present thesis as shown in Figure 1. As seen, it is proposed that National-social identifications, Definitions of Turkish In-group Boundaries, Characteristics of Turkish Identity, and Meanings of Having a Turkish Identity are the antecedent variables in the prediction of Turkish In-group's Relations with Others as well as in the prediction of inter-group evaluations. In addition, given previous findings that perceived inter-group threats or conflict play a central role in the prediction of inter-group evaluations (Curşeu, Stoop, & Schalk, 2007; Stephan et al., 2002; & Sherif, 1966), and that they mostly mediate the relationships of in-group identification and different perceptions of in-group with the inter-group evaluations (e.g., Stephan & Stephan, 2010), it is expected that Turkish In-group's Relations with Others may mediate the relationships between the relevant contents of Turkish identity and inter-group evaluations.

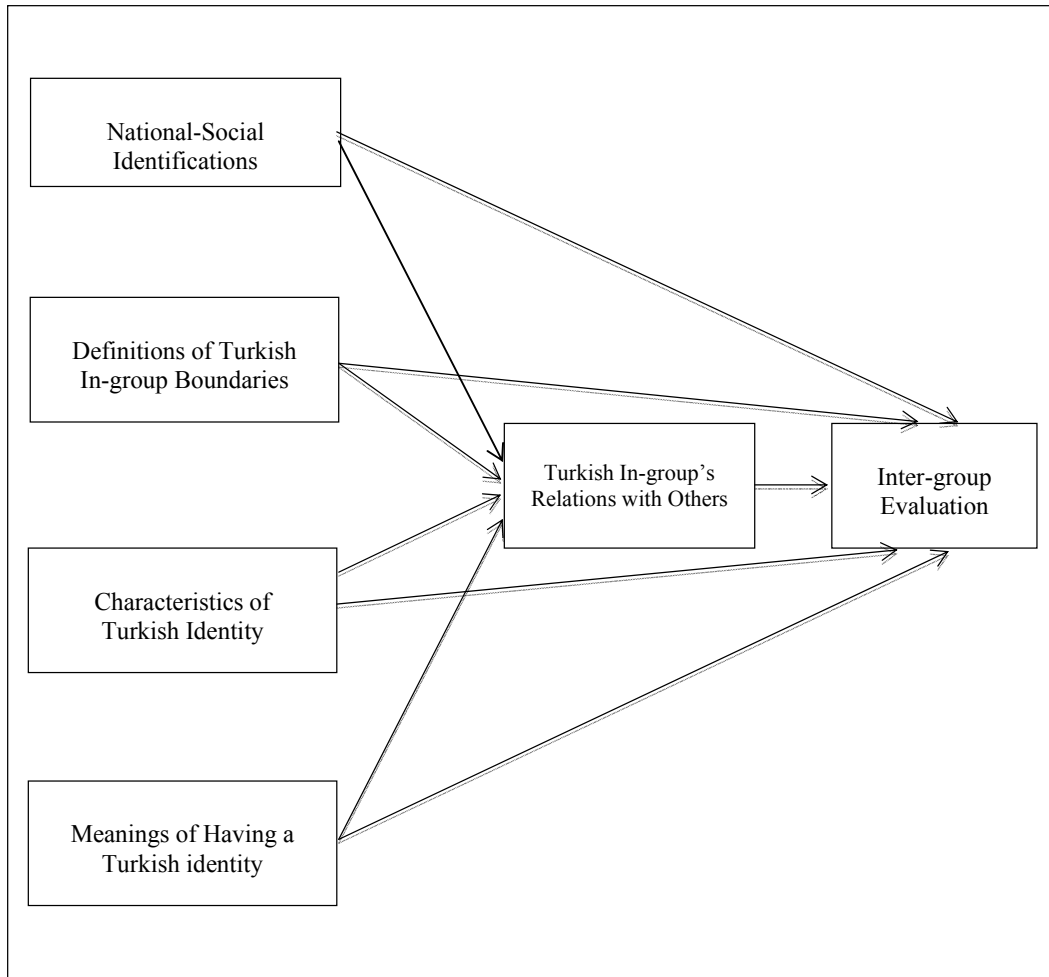


Figure 1. *Turkish In-group's Relations with Others as Mediators in the Relationship between (relevant) Contents of Turkish Identity and Inter-group Evaluations*

METHOD

3.2.1. Participants

324 university students participated in the study. There were 205 women and 118 men; one student did not indicate gender. They were from different classes and departments at Middle East Technical University. The age of participants ranged between 17 and 36. The mean score for age was 21.17.

3.2.2. Measurement Construction

Most of the measures of the present thesis were developed based on the findings of Study 1. The items were produced through the content analysis of open-ended answers given to the open-ended questions by university students. To measure Definitions of Turkish In-group Boundaries, 10 items were constructed according to the relevant 9 contents (2 items were constructed for “people who have a Turkish family”). To measure Characteristics of Turkish Identity, 9 items (three for each of contents) were constructed according to the relevant 3 contents. To measure Meanings of Having a Turkish Identity, 25 items (three for each of 7 contents and four for one of them) were constructed according to the relevant 8 contents.

Perceptions of inter-group relations were measured in terms of Turkish In-group’s Relations with Others and inter-group evaluations. To measure Turkish In-group’s Relations with Others, 13 items (three for each of 3 contents and four for one of them) were constructed according to the relevant 4 contents. In these measures, participants were asked to indicate their degree of endorsement on a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 4 = neither agree nor disagree, 7 = strongly agree). To measure inter-group evaluations, participants responded to a cluster of questions referring to different groups, which were Americans, Turks, Europeans, and Kurds, respectively. Firstly, participants were asked “how positive or negative do you feel toward a

(group)” on a 7-point scale ranging from “I feel strongly negative” (1) to “I feel strongly positive” (7) (see Esses et al., 2005). Secondly, participants were asked how close they feel toward a (group) on a 7-point scale ranging from “I feel very distant” (1) to “I feel very close” (7) (see Li & Brewer, 2004). Scores on these items were averaged to create scores for in-and out-group evaluations. The relationships between the items were .61 for European Group, .64 for American group, .72 for Kurdish group, and .70 for Turkish group.

In the following part, participants reported on their demographic qualities and their political and religious beliefs. The last part asked participants to indicate their degree of endorsement of various national-social identities in Turkey in the form of “I see myself as ...” on a 7-point scale for each identity (1 = strongly disagree, 4 = neither agree nor disagree, 7 = strongly agree). The national-social identities were citizen of the world, European, citizen of the Turkish Republic, and Turk. Turkish versions of the measures can be seen in Appendix B, C, D, E, F, G and H.

3.2.3. Procedure

University students responded to the questionnaire of the study in their classrooms. Participation was voluntary. Most of the questionnaires (246) were administered between September 27 and November 3 in 2011. 78 of them were administered between July 15 and August 15 in 2011.

RESULTS

3.3.1 Factor Analyses and Discussion

A series of factor analyses with Oblimin rotation were performed to test the factor structure (i.e., discriminant validity) of the items derived from Study 1.

3.3.1.1. Factor Analysis for Definitions of Turkish In-group Boundaries

For items measuring Definitions of Turkish In-group Boundaries, the scree plot suggested either a two- or three-factor solution. Of these a two-factor solution explaining 46% of total variance showed simple structure, with all items loading above .30 on their respective factors and no item cross loading above .30. The first factor explained 29 % of variance and had an eigenvalue of 2.899. The second factor explained 17 % of variance and had an eigenvalue of 1.732.

As shown in Table 2, items related to contributing to Turkey, adopting Turkish culture, speaking Turkish, adhering to Atatürk's doctrine, living in Turkey, and having a citizenship loaded on Factor 1. As described earlier, previous studies indicated the criteria related to speaking language, having a citizenship, respect for political institutions, and feeling a nationality as reflecting the Civic definition of national belonging (e.g., Jones & Smith, 2001; Heath& Tilley, 2005). In a different way, the present results suggested that in Turkey the criteria reflecting Civic and Cultural definitions are closely related to each other. Furthermore, results suggested that the criteria related to contributing to Turkey and adhering to Atatürk's doctrine is closely associated with the criteria reflecting Cultural and Civic definitions in Turkey. It is fact that Kemal Atatürk and his doctrines played important role throughout the history of Turkish Republic and his dictum "Turk, be proud, be confident, work" is associated with the perception of national identity in Turkey (Hortaçsu & Cem-Ersoy, 2005).

It seems also true that after the war of independence, it was aimed to create a unitary nation and citizens of Turkish Republic were considered to be Turkish. Accordingly, official definition of national identity emphasized both citizenship- territoriality and culture based conceptions of nationality (Bora, 2003). In this context of Turkey, thus, results suggested that the criteria “People who adhere to Atatürk’s doctrine”, “People who contribute to Turkey”, “People who speak Turkish”, “People who live in Turkey”, “People who have a Turkish citizenship”, and “People who adopt and advocate Turkish culture” may come together to define boundaries of Turkish in-group. Hence, reflecting the importance of both civic and cultural involvement as well as contribution to the country, it seems more suitable to consider the first factor to be measuring the importance of National Participation.

On the other hand, items related to having a Turkish family, being Muslim, and feeling Turkish (with negative loading) constituted the second factor. This factor can be regarded as reflecting a more exclusive definition of Turkish in-group boundaries than Factor 1, because, as shown in Table 2, it included the criteria that are less likely to be under personal control. However, this factor seems different from the exclusive or Ethnic/Cultural dimension of the previous studies, in which researchers have generally focused on the culture-based components (e.g., living most of one’s life in a country) to define the exclusive dimension of national belonging (e.g., Jones & Smith, 2001; Heath & Tilley, 2005; Lödén, 2008). Considering the items loading on Factor 2, they arguably seem to reflect an ancestry-based or essentialist definition of national belonging (Meeus et al., 2010; Pehrson, Brown, & Zagefka, 2009). Accordingly, it seems more suitable to label this factor as measuring National Essentialism.

It should be noted, however, that unlike previous studies (e.g., Jones & Smith, 2001), where researchers viewed the criterion of feeling a nationality as representing Civic or inclusive definition, in the present thesis the relevant criterion loaded (highly and negatively) on the more exclusive dimension of National Essentialism. This result seems consistent with the results discussed above, which suggested that more inclusive definition in terms of National Participation nevertheless involved some

criteria (e.g., “To have a Turkish identity it is necessary for people to adopt Turkish culture”), which were regarded as exclusive by previous researchers (e.g., Jones & Smith, 2001). Finally, it was found that reliability scores for National Participation and National Essentialism were .67 and .71, respectively and thus relatively satisfactory.

Table 2. *Factor Analysis of Definitions of Turkish In-group Boundaries*

	F1	F2
5. Türk kimliğine ait olabilmek için vatana ve millete karşı sorumluluk sahibi olmak gereklidir	.772	-.117
7. Turk kimligine ait olabilmek için Ataturk ilke ve inkılaplarına bağlı kalmak gereklidir	.746	-.171
6. Türk kimliğine ait olabilmek için Türkçe konuşmak gereklidir	.557	.233
1. Türk kimliğine ait olabilmek için T. C. Vatandaşı olmak gereklidir	.537	.032
2. Türk kimliğine ait olabilmek için Türk kültürüne sahip olmak gereklidir	.519	.121
4. Türk kimliğine ait olabilmek için Türkiye’de yaşamak gereklidir	.425	.035
10. Türk kimliğine ait olabilmek için Türk babaya sahip olmak gereklidir	.063	-.867
9. Türk kimliğine ait olabilmek için Türk anneye sahip olmak gereklidir	.101	-.853
3. Kendini Türk hissetmek isteyen herkes Türk kimliğine ait olabilir, başka herhangi bir önkoşul gerekli değildir	.109	.639
8. Turk kimligine ait olabilmek için Müslüman olmak gereklidir	.192	-.483
Eigenvalues:	2.899	1.732
Explained Variance %:	.29	.17
Cronbach Alpha:	.67	.71

3.3.1.2. Factor Analysis for Meanings of Having a Turkish Identity

For items measuring Meanings of Having a Turkish Identity, the scree plot suggested either a seven- or eight-factor solution. Of these an eight-factor solution explaining 83 % of total variance showed clearer structure; except for item 9, all items loading above .30 on their respective factors and only three items cross loading above .30.

The first factor explained 50 % of variance and had an eigenvalue of 12.482. The second factor explained 8 % of variance and had an eigenvalue of 2.026. The third factor explained 6 % of variance and had an eigenvalue of 1.481. The fourth factor explained 6 % of variance and had an eigenvalue of 1.381. The fifth factor explained 4% of variance and had an eigenvalue of 1.096. The sixth factor explained 3 % of variance and had an eigenvalue of .852. The seventh factor explained 3 % of variance and had an eigenvalue of .728. The eighth factor explained 3 % of variance and had an eigenvalue of .614.

As can be seen in Table 3, items constructed for Glorification loaded on Factor 1. Items constructed for Negative Attributes loaded on Factor 2. Items constructed for Distinctiveness and one item (9) constructed for Indistinctiveness (negatively) loaded on Factor 3. This result is not surprising, because, as seen in Table, the meaning of item 9 was contrary to the meanings of items (especially item 1) on Factor 3. Two other items constructed for Indistinctiveness loaded on Factor 4. Items constructed for Continuity and one item (15) constructed for Power loaded on Factor 5. Item 15 had also loading (with other items constructed for Power) on Factor 8. Thus, it is used in further analyses to measure Power of Turkish Identity. Items constructed for Entitativity loaded on Factor 6. Factor 7 included items constructed for Independency. Items constructed for Power loaded on Factor 8. It should be noted that items 14 and 16 had cross loadings, on Factors 1 and 5, respectively. However, as having higher loadings on their respective factor (8), they are used to measure Power of Turkish Identity.

In addition, to confirm 8-factor solution, confirmatory factor analysis was conducted using Mplus (version 6). Overall model fit was assessed with the comparative fit index (CFI), the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) and its 90% confidence interval, and the standardized root-mean-square residual (SRMR). The following criteria were used as cut offs for good fit: CFI > 0.90 (with > 0.95 being excellent), RMSEA < 0.08, RMSEA 90% CI < 0.08, and SRMR < 0.06. The model provided a good fit to the data ($X^2(248) = 571.017$, CFI = .955, RMSEA = .063, RMSEA 90% CI = .057 – .070, and SRMR = 0.041). Thus, consistent with Study 1, the results of Study 2 showed that the Meanings of Having a Turkish Identity can be defined in terms of Glorification, Negative Attributes, Indistinctiveness, Distinctiveness, Continuity, Entitativity, Independency, and Power. Reliability scores of these factors changed between .74 and .94 and were satisfactory.

Table 3. Factor Analysis of Meanings of Having a Turkish Identity

	F 1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6	F7	F8
12.Türk kimliğine ait olmak övünülecek bir şeydir	.716	-.032	-.155	-.037	.008	-.008	-.165	.099
11.Türk kimliğine ait olmak ayrıcalıktır	.713	-.032	-.115	-.042	.082	-.097	-.170	.102
10. Türk kimliğine ait olmak Türk olmaktan gurur duymaktır	.670	-.039	-.035	-.062	-.231	-.241	.068	-.137
13.Türk kimliği dünya üzerindeki en güzel kimliklerden birisidir	.615	-.058	-.041	-.085	-.046	-.077	-.177	.144
24.Türk kimliğine ait olmanın utanılacak yanları bulunmaktadır	.053	.858	.004	.083	.018	.218	-.103	.046
23. Türk kimliğine ait olmak küçümsenme sebebidir	-.211	.753	.059	-.142	.040	-.177	.056	.151
25.Türk kimliğine ait olmanın dezavantajları vardır	.063	.748	-.036	.012	-.035	-.009	.137	-.276
9. Türk kimliğinin Türkleri diğerlerinden ayırt edici bir niteliği yoktur	.018	.105	.885	.071	.081	-.071	.019	.109
1. Türk kimliği Türkleri diğerlerinden ayıran/farklı kılan bir kimliktir	.157	.058	-.692	.003	-.078	-.057	-.034	-.004
2. Türk kimliğinin kendine has farklı özellikleri vardır	-.014	.093	-.651	.045	.070	-.298	.013	.231
3. Türk kimliğinin dünyadaki diğer kimlikler arasında ayrı bir yeri vardır	.253	.124	-.376	-.040	-.035	-.171	-.141	.230
7. Türk kimliğinin dünyadaki diğer kimliklerle ortak pek çok özelliği vardır	-.099	-.002	-.138	.931	-.009	-.030	-.024	.057
8.Türk kimliği dünyadaki diğer kimliklere benzemektedir	.082	-.017	.221	.822	.020	.010	.056	-.055
18.Türk kimliği geçmişi ve bugünü olduğu gibi geleceği de olacak bir Kimliktir	-.072	.014	-.025	-.001	-.939	-.060	-.036	-.011
19.Türk kimliği dünya var oldukça varlığını devam ettirecek bir kimliktir	.022	.028	.032	-.048	-.878	.014	-.088	.020
67 r zaman var olabilecek bir kimliktir	.002	-.025	-.068	.018	-.874	-.011	-.046	-.008
inyaya sesini duyurabilecek güçtedir	.137	-.054	-.122	.013	-.475	-.028	.019	.457
6. Türk kimliğine ait olmak kişiye üzüntüleri ve sevinçleri paylaşma hissi Yaşatır	.052	.062	.012	.023	-.091	-.747	-.138	.043
5. Türk kimliğine ait olmak kişiye kendini birlik ve beraberlik içinde Hissettirir	.117	-.068	-.058	-.036	-.065	-.714	-.153	-.031
4. Turk kimligine ait olmak kisiye kendini bir butunun parcasi olarak Hissettirir	.124	-.029	-.178	-.029	-.067	-.644	-.103	-.037
22. Türk kimliğine ait olmak başka ülkelerin etkisi altında kalmadan yaşamak demektir	-.054	-.070	-.033	-.080	.014	.020	-.917	.042
21. Türk kimliğine ait olmak bağımsız ve özgür olmak demektir	-.043	.040	.022	.022	-.094	-.100	-.862	-.045
20. Türk kimliği bağımsızlığın simgesidir	.101	.046	.029	.048	-.101	-.092	-.821	-.081
16. Türk kimliği dünyaya lider olabilecek güçtedir	.191	-.121	.003	-.037	-.358	-.081	-.060	.545
14. Turk kimligi dunyaya hakim olabilecek guctedir	.371	-.094	-.035	-.088	-.185	-.039	-.069	.519

Table 3. (continued)

	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6	F7	F8
Eigenvalues:	12.482	2.026	1.481	1.381	1.096	.852	.728	.614
Explained Variance %:	50	8	6	6	4	3	3	3
Cronbach Alpha:	.93	.74	.85	.75	.94	.92	.94	.93

Note: Glorification: 12, 11, 10, 13; Negative Attributes: 24, 23, 25; Dstinctiveness: 9, 1, 2, 3; Indistinctiveness: 7, 8; Continuity: 18, 19, 17; Entitativity: 6, 5, 4; Independency: 22, 21, 20; Power: 16, 14, 15.

3.3.1.3. Factor Analysis for Characteristics of Turkish Identity

For items measuring Characteristics of Turkish Identity, the scree plot suggested a two-factor solution explaining 77% of total variance. The first factor explained 59% of variance and had an eigenvalue of 5.29. The second factor explained 18% of variance and had an eigenvalue of 1.59. As presented in Table 4, items developed to measure A View of Turkish Identity as Unprejudiced and items developed to measure A View of Turkish Identity as Assimilating loaded on Factor 1. This finding was expected because these views represented the contrasting views in the socio-political context of Turkey. Thus, Factor 1 is labeled View of Turkish Identity as Unprejudiced, higher scores pointing to Turkish identity as being unprejudiced and lower scores pointing to Turkish identity as being assimilating or prejudiced. On the other hand, items developed to measure Turkish Identity as a Superordinate Identity loaded on Factor 2. Reliability scores for these two factors were .92 and .90, respectively, and thus satisfactory.

Table 4. *Factor Analysis of Characteristics of Turkish Identity*

	F1	F2
5. Türk kimliği farklı kimliklere karşı saygılıdır	.882	.120
6. Türk kimliği farklı kimliklere karşı ayrımcı değildir	.877	.071
7. Türk kimliği farklı kimlikleri dışlamaktadır	-.861	.017
4. Türk kimliği farklı kimliklere karşı hoşgörülüdür	.848	.153
8. Türk kimliği farklı kimlikleri asimile etmek/sindirmek istemektedir	-.838	-.026
9. Türk kimliği farklı kimliklerin yaşamasına karşı bir tutum sergilemektedir	-.660	.132
1. Türk kimliği içerisinde bir sürü farklı etnik kökeni barındıran kimliğe verilen isimdir	-.066	.927
2. Türk kimliği denilince Türkler, Kürtler, Lazlar hepsi bir arada düşünülmelidir	.067	.892
3. Türk kimliği farklı alt kimlikleri içeren bir üst kimliktir	.067	.880
Eigenvalues:	5.290	1.590
Explained Variance %:	59	18
Cronbach Alpha:	.92	.90

Note: View of Turkish Identity as Unprejudiced: 5, 6, 4; A View of Turkish Identity as Assimilating: 7, 8, 9; Turkish Identity as a Superordinate Identity: 1, 2, 3.

3.3.1.4. Factor Analysis for Turkish In-group's Relations with Others

For items measuring Turkish In-group's Relations with Others, the scree plot suggested either a three- or four-factor solution. Of these a four-factor solution explaining 68 % of total variance showed simple structure, with all items loading above .30 on their respective factors and only one item (7) cross loading above .30. The first factor explained 48% of variance and had an eigenvalue of 6.502. The second factor explained 11% of variance and had an eigenvalue of 1.668. The third factor explained 6% of variance and had an eigenvalue of 1.777. Fourth factor explained 3 % of variance and had an eigenvalue of .697.

As seen in Table 5, items for Perceived Realistic Threat with West loaded on Factor 1. Items for Kurdish Subgroup's Conflicting Relations with Turkish Superordinate Group Caused by External Forces loaded on Factor 2. This factor is labeled further Kurdish Subgroup's Conflicting Relations with Turkish Superordinate Group. As seen in Table, items for this construct do not involve wording related to "external forces". They reflect only the idea that although Kurdish group is a part of superordinate Turkish identity, they do not follow the norms and principles about Turkish identity and cause the conflict. Items for Perceived Esteem Threat with West emerged on Factor 3. Lastly, items for Perceived Cultural Threat with West loaded on Factor 4. Reliability scores for perceived Realistic threat, Conflict from Kurds, and perceived Cultural threat were .90, .93, and .82, respectively, and thus satisfactory. Reliability score for perceived Esteem threat was .72 and thus relatively satisfactory.

Table 5. Factor Analysis of Turkish In-group's Relations with Others

	F1	F2	F3	F4
6. Gelişmiş batılı ülkeler Türkiye'nin jeopolitik konumunu kıskanmaktadır	.915	.077	-.020	-.085
4. Gelişmiş batılı ülkelerin Türkiye'nin topraklarında gözü bulunmaktadır	.813	.016	-.018	.103
5. Gelişmiş batılı ülkeler Türkiye'nin kaynaklarını kullanmak istemektedir	.640	-.059	.107	.095
7. Gelişmiş batılı ülkelerin Türk kimliğini parçalamaya dönük hedefleri vardır	.495	.082	.055	.351
12. Türk kimliği Kürtleri de içeren bir üst kimlik olmasına rağmen Kürtler bu duruma uygun düşmeyen davranışlar göstermektedir	.006	.991	-.007	-.017
11. Kürtler Türk kimliğinin bir parçası olmalarına rağmen Türklerle çatışma çıkarmaktadır	.048	.846	-.011	.027
13. Kürtler bir üst kimlik olarak Türk kimliğinin norm ve değerlerine aykırı davranmaktadır	-.037	.821	.055	.029
9. Gelişmiş batılı ülkeler Türk kimliğini hor görmektedir	.017	-.071	.885	.084
8. Gelişmiş batılı ülkeler Türk kimliğine karşı önyargılıdır	.174	.085	.586	.009
10. Gelişmiş batılı ülkeler arasında Türk kimliği dezavantajlı konumdadır	-.049	.036	.498	-.032
2. Gelişmiş batılı ülkeler Türk kültürünün varlığına yönelik tehdit oluşturmaktadır	-.068	.062	-.044	.915
3. Gelişmiş batılı ülkeler kendi kültürlerini Türk milletine dayatmak istemektedir	.123	-.057	.091	.616
1. Gelişmiş batılı ülkeler Türk kimliğini sindirmeye çalışmaktadır	.145	.113	.070	.551
72	6.502	1.668	1.777	.697
ce %:	48	11	6	3
Cronbach Alpha:	.90	.93	.72	.82

Note: Perceived Realistic Threat with West: 6, 4, 5, 7; Kurdish Subgroup's Conflicting Relations with Turkish Superordinate Group: 12, 13, 11; Perceived Esteem Threat with West: 9, 8, 10; Perceived Cultural Threat with West: 2, 3, 1.

3.3.2. Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics of mean and standard deviation for the variables of study are presented in Table 6. Considering Definitions of Turkish In-group Boundaries, mean score for National Participation was around the midpoint. On the other hand, mean score for National Essentialism was relatively low. Mean scores for Meanings of Having a Turkish Identity were relatively high, but only the mean score for Negative Attributes of Turkish Identity was relatively low. Mean scores for Characteristic of Turkish Identity indicated that Turkish participants generally perceived Turkish identity as superordinate and unprejudiced identity.

According to mean scores for Turkish In-group's Relations with Others, it was found that participants generally perceived Realistic, Cultural, and Esteem threats from Western countries against Turkish identity and they perceived relatively low levels of Conflict from Kurds. Considering national-social identities, mean scores showed that participants generally identified with "Citizen of Turkish Republic", "Turk" and "Citizen of the world". The level of identification with "European" identity was around the midpoint of the scale.

Table 6. *Means and Standard Deviations of the Study Variables*

Variable	Mean	Std. dev.	Min.	Max.
National Participation	3.99	1.25	1.00	7.00
National Essentialism	1.95	1.12	1.00	5.75
Glorification of Turkish Identity	3.94	2.05	1.00	7.00
Distinctiveness of Turkish Identity	4.84	1.66	1.00	7.00
Power of Turkish Identity	4.02	2.04	1.00	7.00
Continuity of Turkish Identity	5.19	1.81	1.00	7.00
Entitativity of Turkish Identity	4.40	1.88	1.00	7.00
Independency of Turkish Identity	4.46	2.06	1.00	7.00
Negative Attributes of Turkish Identity	2.58	1.32	1.00	6.67
Indistinctiveness of Turkish Identity	4.39	1.28	1.00	7.00
Turkish Identity as a Superordinate Identity	5.44	1.85	1.00	7.00
View of Turkish Identity as Unprejudiced	5.29	1.60	1.00	7.00
Perceived Realistic Threat with West	5.47	1.54	1.00	7.00
Perceived Cultural Threat with West	4.62	1.62	1.00	7.00
Perceived Esteem Threat with West	5.14	1.27	1.00	7.00
Kurdish Subgroup's Conflicting Relations with Turkish Superordinate Group	4.39	2.10	1.00	7.00
Citizen of Turkish Republic	6.04	1.60	1.00	7.00
Turk	5.77	1.86	1.00	7.00
Citizen of the World	5.47	1.75	1.00	7.00
European	3.51	1.82	1.00	7.00
Turkish group evaluation	5.53	1.28	1.00	7.00
Kurdish group evaluation	3.77	1.58	1.00	7.00
European group evaluation	4.20	1.23	1.00	7.00
American group evaluation	3.36	1.37	1.00	7.00

The simple correlations between Contents of Turkish Identity are presented in Table 7. National Participation and National Essentialism were moderately and positively related to each other. In general, they were both positively related to the meanings attributed to having a Turkish identity, but negatively related to the meanings of Indistinctiveness and Negative Attributes. Notably, the average correlations of National Participation were higher compared to the average correlations of National Essentialism. In addition, National Participation was more likely to be positively and significantly related to perceptions of Realistic, Cultural, and Esteem threats from Western countries and Conflict from Kurds.

Distinctiveness, Glorification, Entitativity, Continuity, Power, and Independency of Turkish identity were positively related to each other and they were in general associated with perceptions of Realistic, Cultural, and Esteem threats and Conflict from Kurds. On the other hand, Indistinctiveness and Negative Attributes of Turkish identity were in general negatively related to above cherished meanings of having a Turkish identity and perceptions of inter-group threats and conflict. Considering Characteristics of Turkish Identity, they were overall positively associated with the cherished meanings of having a Turkish identity; negatively associated with Indistinctiveness and Negative Attributes of Turkish identity; and positively associated with perceptions of inter-group threats and conflict. Notably, perceptions of Realistic, Cultural, and Esteem threats and Conflict from Kurds were positively associated with each other.

The simple correlations of Contents of Turkish Identity with national-social identifications and in-and out-group evaluations are presented in Table 8. “Citizen of the world” was negatively related to Definitions of Turkish In-group Boundaries (National Participation and National Essentialism) and Distinctiveness, Glorification, Entitativity, Power, and Independency of Turkish identity. It was unrelated to Continuity of Turkish Identity; positively related to Indistinctiveness of Turkish Identity, and negatively related to perceived Cultural threat. European identification was positively related to Negative Attributes and Independency of Turkish identity and perceived Conflict from Kurds.

“Turk” and “citizen of Turkish Republic” were both positively related to all dimensions of Contents of Turkish Identity except for Negative Attributes and Indistinctiveness (to which they were negatively related to). Parallel to this, Turkish in-group evaluation was positively associated with all dimensions of Contents of Turkish Identity except for Negative Attributes and Indistinctiveness (to which it was negatively related to). Kurdish group evaluation was negatively associated with all dimensions of Contents of Turkish Identity except for National Essentialism and Characteristics of Turkish Identity (to which it was unrelated). American and European group evaluations were negatively related to perceived Cultural, Realistic,

and Esteem threats. In addition, European group evaluation was negatively related to Distinctiveness, Glorification, and Power of Turkish identity.

“Turk” and “citizen of Turkish Republic” were highly correlated to each other ($r = .72$; $p < .01$). Thus, they will be merged and regarded as one variable called Turkish identification, in the rest of the thesis. “Turk” and “citizen of Turkish Republic” were both positively and highly correlated to Turkish in-group evaluation, ($r = .67$; $p < .01$), ($r = .61$; $p < .01$), respectively. In addition, “Turk” was positively related to “European” ($r = .18$; $p < .01$) and negatively related to “Citizen of the world” ($r = -.15$; $p < .01$). “European” was positively related to both European group evaluation ($r = .47$; $p < .01$) and American group evaluation ($r = .26$; $p < .01$) but negatively related to Kurdish group evaluation ($r = -.12$; $p < .05$). “Citizen of the World” was related to European group evaluation ($r = .19$; $p < .01$). Lastly, European and American group evaluations were significantly correlated ($r = .49$; $p < .01$).

Table 7. Simple Correlations between Contents of Turkish Identity

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.
1.	1															
2.	.256**	1														
3.	.462**	.335**	1													
4.	.512**	.248**	.694**	1												
5.	.418**	.260**	.633**	.669**	1											
6.	.543**	.290**	.669**	.744**	.762**	1										
7.	.395**	.140*	.527**	.620**	.715**	.625**	1									
8.	.526**	.184**	.533**	.681**	.645**	.714**	.669**	1								
9.	-.173**	.019	-.143**	-.266**	-.363**	-.357**	-.265**	-.284**	1							
10.	-.285**	-.209**	-.290**	-.245**	-.277**	-.302**	-.209**	-.215**	.019	1						
11.	.285**	-.104	.185**	.352**	.283**	.295**	.324**	.339**	-.177**	-.077	1					
12.	.424**	.073	.446**	.548**	.493**	.541**	.484**	.562**	-.317**	-.164**	.483**	1				
13.	.422**	.135	.479**	.485**	.538**	.526**	.460**	.446**	-.088	-.252**	.322**	.445**	1			
14.	.434**	.093	.438**	.473**	.535**	.550**	.464**	.518**	-.168**	-.269**	.321**	.519**	.749**	1		
15.	.304**	.060	.190**	.284**	.223**	.210**	.238**	.257**	.164**	-.108	.268**	.189**	.453**	.489**	1	
16.	.521**	.166**	.353**	.485**	.406**	.511**	.419**	.484**	-.127*	-.240**	.505**	.499**	.466**	.475**	.455	1

1.National Participation 2. National Essentialism 3.Distinctiveness of Turkish Identity 4.Entitativity of Turkish Identity 5.Power of Turkish Identity

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Turkish Identity 7. Continuity of Turkish Identity 8. Independence of Turkish Identity 9. Negative Attributes of Turkish Identity 10.

¶ Turkish Identity 11. Turkish Identity as a Superordinate Identity 12. A view of Turkish Identity as Unprejudiced 13. Perceived Cultural Threat

with West 14. Perceived Realistic Threat with West 15. Perceived Esteem Threat with West 16. Kurdish subgroup's conflicting relations with Turkish superordinate group

Table 8. Simple Correlations of Contents of Turkish Identity with National-Social Identifications and In-and Out-group Evaluations

	Citizen of World	European	Turk	Citizen of Turkey	Turkish Group Evaluation	Kurdish Group Evaluation	European Group Evaluation	American Group Evaluation
1.	-.123*	.108	.309**	.406**	.364**	-.310**	-.014	-.034
2.	-.154**	-.043	.154**	.206**	.230**	-.063	-.071	-.048
3.	-.180**	.058	.377**	.477**	.451**	-.240**	-.144**	-.062
4.	-.176**	.049	.517**	.605**	.581**	-.165**	-.051	-.021
5.	-.119**	-.040	.500**	.547**	.599**	-.127*	-.128*	-.084
6.	-.182**	-.011	.496**	.576**	.600**	-.260**	-.150**	-.033
7.	-.022	.048	.520**	.568**	.564**	-.107	-.056	-.053
8.	-.144**	.132*	.499**	.616**	.589**	-.155**	-.065	-.059
9.	-.043	.210**	-.312**	-.260**	-.406**	-.132*	.094	.022
10.	.132*	-.012	-.129*	-.223**	-.117*	.216**	.095	.087
11.	.005	.010	.335**	.420**	.292**	-.088	-.025	-.072
12.	.012	.048	.486**	.609**	.557**	-.096	.026	.040
13.	-.119*	-.041	.353**	.444**	.357**	-.222**	-.223**	-.187**
14.	-.109	-.021	.394**	.532**	.422**	-.161**	-.145**	-.184**
15.	-.100	.021	.124*	.253**	.152**	-.241**	-.125*	-.156**
78	-.054	.135*	.320**	.497**	.349**	-.401**	-.041	-.054

1. National Essentialism 2. National Essentialism 3. Distinctiveness of Turkish Identity 4. Entitativity of Turkish Identity 5. Power of Turkish Identity 6. Glorification of Turkish Identity 7. Continuity of Turkish Identity 8. Independency of Turkish Identity 9. Negative Attributes of Turkish Identity 10. Indistinctiveness of Turkish Identity 11. Turkish Identity as a Superordinate Identity 12. A view of Turkish Identity as Unprejudiced 13. Perceived Cultural Threat with West 14. Perceived Realistic Threat with West 15. Perceived Esteem Threat with West 16. Kurdish subgroup's conflicting relations with Turkish superordinate group

3.3.3. Multiple Regression Analyses

A series of multiple regression analyses were conducted in order to predict Turkish In-group's Relations with Others and inter-group evaluations from national-social identifications and relevant Contents of Turkish Identity. Firstly, all independent variables were centered (Aiken & West, 1991). In the first step, predictor variables were Turkish identification, European identification, and Citizen of the World identification. In the second step, predictor variables were Definitions of Turkish In-group Boundaries, Characteristics of Turkish Identity, and Meanings of Having a of Turkish identity. In the third step, interaction terms between Turkish identification and relevant Contents of Turkish Identity were added to the analyses. When the interaction(s) was significant the procedure proposed by Aiken and West (1991) was applied. That is, in order to probe the significant interaction(s), the simple slopes were analyzed at one standard deviation below and one standard deviation above the mean of relevant moderator variable.

3.3.3.1. National-Social Identifications as Predictors

As seen in Tables 9, 10, and 11, in the first step the predictor variables were national-social identifications. They explained 48% of variance for predicting Turkish group evaluation, ($F(3,310) = 96.381, p < .001$), 2% of variance for predicting Kurdish group evaluation, ($F(3,309) = 3.241, p < .05$), 23% of variance for predicting European group evaluation ($F(3,310) = 31.305, p < .001$), and 6% of variance for predicting American group evaluation ($F(3,310) = 7.597, p < .001$). Turkish group evaluation was significantly predicted by Turkish identification ($p < .001$); Kurdish group evaluation was negatively and significantly predicted by European identification ($p < .05$). European and American group evaluations were significantly predicted by European identification ($p < .001$).

Table 9. Predicting inter-group evaluations and Turkish In-group's Relations with Others from National-social identifications and Definitions of Turkish In-group Boundaries

Predictor variable	Turkish Group Evaluation β	Kurdish Group Evaluation B	European Group Evaluation B	American Group Evaluation β	Cultural Threat β	Realistic Threat β	Esteem Threat β	Perceived Conflict β
Step 1								
Turkish Identification (TI)	.70***	-.00	-.07	-.02	.44***	.51***	.19**	.43***
European Identification	-.09	-.15**	.46***	.25***	-.09	-.09	.01	.07
Citizen of the World	-.00	.13	.07	.05	-.05	-.03	-.08	-.03
R²	.48***	.02*	.23***	.06**	.19***	.26***	.04**	.20***
Step 2								
Turkish Identification	.65***	.11	-.06	-.01	.34***	.42***	.11	.29***
European Identification	-.10	-.12**	.46***	.25***	-.12	-.12	-.01	.04
Citizen of the World	.02	.10	.07	.04	-.02	-.01	-.06	.01
National Participation (NP)	.09*	-.32***	-.01	-.05	.30***	.29***	.24***	.40***
National Essentialism (NE)	.08	.00	.00	-.01	-.03	-.07	-.04	.02
R²	.02**	.09***	.00	.00	.07***	.07***	.05***	.14***
Step 3								
Turkish Identification	.71***	.08	-.03	-.00	.35***	.42***	.14	.30***
European Identification	-.09	-.13*	.46***	.25***	-.11	-.12	.00	.05
Citizen of the World	.02	.10	.07	.04	-.03	-.01	-.07	.01
National Participation (NP)	.09*	-.31***	-.01	-.05	.29***	.29***	.23***	.39***
National Essentialism (NE)	.07	.02	-.00	-.01	-.04	-.07	-.06	-.01
TI * NP	.07	.01	.09	.00	-.02	.00	-.04	-.05
TI * NE	.05	-.07	-.01	.00	.04	.01	.09	.09
R²	.01	.00	.01	.00	.00	.00	.01	.01

*p< .05; **p< .01; ***p<.001

National-social identifications explained 19% of variance for predicting perceived Cultural threat, ($F(3,311) = 25.792, p < .001$), 26% of variance for predicting perceived Realistic threat, ($F(3,309) = 36.562, p < .001$), 4% of variance for predicting Esteem threat, ($F(3,310) = 5.295, p < .01$), and 20% of variance for predicting perceived Conflict from Kurds, ($F(3,308) = 26.347, p < .001$). Perceived Cultural ($p < .001$), Realistic ($p < .001$), and Esteem ($p < .001$) threats were significantly predicted by Turkish identification. Perceived Conflict from Kurds was significantly predicted by Turkish identification ($p < .001$).

3.3.3.2. Definitions of Turkish In-group Boundaries as Predictors

The addition of Definitions of Turkish In-Group Boundaries, in the second step, resulted in significant increase in R^2 for predicting Turkish and Kurdish group evaluations, ($F_{change}(2,308) = 4.850, p < .01$) and ($F_{change}(2,307) = 14.867, p < .001$), respectively. Turkish group ($p < .05$) and Kurdish group (negatively) ($p < .001$) evaluations were significantly predicted by National Participation. Definitions of Turkish In-Group Boundaries also resulted in significant increase in R^2 for predicting perceived Cultural, Realistic, and Esteem threats from Western groups and Conflict from Kurds ($F_{change}(2,309) = 15.145, p < .001$), ($F_{change}(2,307) = 15.998, p < .001$), ($F_{change}(2,308) = 8.180, p < .001$), ($F_{change}(2,306) = 31.899, p < .001$), respectively. The significant predictor for these variables was National Participation ($p < .001$).

As seen in Table 9, in the third step, the addition of interaction terms between Definitions of Turkish In-Group Boundaries and Turkish identification didn't result in significant increase in R^2 for any of dependent variables. In this step, Turkish identification for Turkish group evaluation, perceived Cultural and Realistic treats and Conflict ($p < .001$), European identification for Kurdish evaluation ($p < .05$), and European and American evaluations ($p < .001$), and National participation for Turkish group evaluation ($p < .05$), Kurdish group evaluation ($p < .001$), Cultural threat ($p < .001$), Realistic treat ($p < .001$), Esteem treat ($p < .001$) and Conflict ($p < .001$) remained significant predictors.

3.3.3.3. Characteristics of Turkish Identity as Predictors

Characteristics of Turkish Identity, in the second step, resulted in significant increase in R^2 for predicting Turkish group evaluation, ($F_{\text{change}}(2,305) = 13.681, p < .001$). Significant predictor was A View of Turkish Identity as Unprejudiced ($p < .001$). They also resulted in significant increase in R^2 for predicting perceived Cultural, Realistic, and Esteem threats and Conflict from Kurds, ($F_{\text{change}}(2,306) = 16.146, p < .001$), ($F_{\text{change}}(2,304) = 20.298, p < .001$), ($F_{\text{change}}(2,305) = 6.555, p < .01$), ($F_{\text{change}}(2,303) = 43.901, p < .001$), respectively. Perceived Conflict from Kurds was predicted by both A View of Turkish Identity as Unprejudiced ($p < .001$) and Turkish Identity as a Superordinate Identity ($p < .001$). Cultural and Realistic threats were predicted by A View of Turkish Identity as Unprejudiced ($p < .001$) and Esteem threat was predicted by Turkish Identity as a Superordinate Identity ($p < .01$).

Table 10. *Predicting inter-group evaluations and Turkish In-group's Relations with Others from National-social identifications and Characteristics of Turkish Identity*

Predictor variable	Turkish Group Evaluation β	Kurdish Group Evaluation β	European Group Evaluation β	American Group Evaluation β	Cultural Threat β	Realistic Threat β	Esteem Threat β	Perceived Conflict β
Step 1								
Turkish Identification (TI)	.70***	-.01	-.07	-.02	.44***	.51***	.21**	.44***
European Identification	-.09	-.14*	.47***	.24***	-.09	-.09	-.01	.07
Citizen of the World	-.01	.13	.07	.05	-.05	-.03	-.07	-.02
R²	.48***	.03*	.23***	.07***	.20***	.25***	.04**	.20***
Step 2								
Turkish Identification	.56***	.10	-.08	-.00	.22**	.28***	.09	.12
European Identification	-.08	-.15*	.47***	.24***	-.06	-.06	.01	.12*
Citizen of the world	-.03	.14	.07	.06	-.09	-.07	-.09	-.07
View of TI as Unprejudiced	.27***	-.13	.05	.09	.29***	.35***	.04	.29***
TI as a Superordinate identity	-.05	-.07	-.05	-.14	.11*	.05	.20**	.33***
R²C	.04***	.02	.00	.02	.08***	.09***	.04**	.18***
Step 3								
83 on tion	.55***	.06	-.07	-.05	.27***	.32***	.16	.16*
	-.08	-.16**	.47***	.23***	-.06	-.07	.02	.12*
Citizen of the world	-.03	.14	.07	.06	-.09	-.06	-.10	-.07
View of TI as Unprejudiced	.26***	-.15	.05	.07	.31***	.36***	.06	.30***
TI as Superordinate identity	-.06	-.08	-.05	-.15	.13*	.08	.24***	.36**
TI * View of TI as Unprejudiced	-.02	-.07	.02	-.06	.12	.02	.07	.02
TI * TI as a Superordinate identity	-.02	-.02	-.01	-.03	.01	.10	.11	.11
R²C	.00	.00	.00	.00	.01	.01	.02	.01

*p< .05; **p< .01; ***p<.001

The addition of interaction terms in the third step did not result in significant increase in R^2 for any of dependent variables. In this step, Turkish identification for Turkish group evaluation, perceived Cultural and Realistic treats ($p < .001$) and Conflict ($p < .05$), European identification for Kurdish group evaluation ($p < .01$), European and American evaluations ($p < .001$), and Conflict ($p < .01$), A View of Turkish Identity as Unprejudiced for Turkish group evaluation, and Cultural and Realistic threats and Conflict ($p < .001$) and Turkish Identity as a Superordinate Identity for Cultural threat ($p < .05$), Esteem threat ($p < .001$) and Conflict ($P < .01$) remained significant predictors.

3.3.3.4. Meanings of Having a Turkish Identity as Predictors

Meanings of Having a Turkish Identity, in the second step, resulted in significant increase in R^2 for predicting Turkish group evaluation, ($F_{\text{change}}(8,292) = 8.630, p < .001$), Kurdish group evaluation, ($F_{\text{change}}(8, 291) = 5.248, p < .001$), Cultural threat, ($F_{\text{change}}(8,293) = 8.968, p < .001$), Realistic threat, ($F_{\text{change}}(8,291) = 7.053, p < .001$), Esteem threat, ($F_{\text{change}}(8,292) = 5.173, p < .001$), and Conflict ($F_{\text{change}}(8,292) = 7.163, p < .001$). Turkish group evaluation was (negatively) predicted by Negative Attributes of Turkish Identity ($p < .01$). Kurdish group evaluation was (negatively) predicted by both Glorification of Turkish Identity ($p < .001$) and Negative Attributes of Turkish Identity ($p < .01$). European group evaluation was predicted by Distinctiveness of Turkish Identity ($p < .05$). Perceived Cultural threat was predicted by Power of Turkish Identity ($p < .05$). Perceived Realistic threat was predicted by Independency of Turkish Identity ($p < .05$) and Glorification of Turkish Identity ($p < .05$). Perceived Esteem threat was predicted by Negative Attributes of Turkish Identity ($p < .001$). Perceived Conflict was predicted by Entitativity of Turkish Identity ($p < .05$) and Glorification of Turkish Identity ($p < .01$).

Table 11. *Predicting inter-group evaluations and Turkish In-group's Relations with Others from National-social Identifications and Meanings of Having a Turkish Identity*

Predictor variable	Turkish Group Evaluation	Kurdish Group Evaluation	European Group Evaluation	American Group Evaluation	Cultural Threat	Realistic Threat	Esteem Threat	Perceived Conflict
	β	β	β	B	B	β	β	β
Step 1								
Turkish Identification (TI)	.71***	-.02	-.08	-.03	.45***	.52***	.22**	.44***
European Identification	-.09	-.14*	.47***	.24***	-.09	-.09	.01	.07
Citizen of the World	-.01	.13	.07	.03	-.04	-.02	-.03	-.01
R²	.48***	.02*	.23***	.06***	.20***	.26***	.04**	.21***
Step 2								
Turkish Identification	.43***	.13	-.04	.02	.17*	.25***	.12	.16*
European Identification	-.04	-.09	.49***	.26***	-.10	-.09	-.08	.05
Citizen of the World	-.01	.05	.03	.01	.02	-.03	.02	.06
Distinctiveness of TI	.02	-.11	-.18*	-.08	.11	.03	-.10	-.11
Entitativity of TI	.08	.02	.17	.08	.08	-.06	.19	.20*
Indistinctiveness of TI	.06	.07	.03	.09	-.05	-.08	.03	-.07
	.07	-.41***	-.11	.13	.15	.18*	.00	.31**
	.10	.18	.04	-.11	.19*	.17	.07	-.09
Independency of TI	.12	.02	-.08	-.12	-.00	.17*	.09	.09
Negative Attributes of TI	-.15**	-.18**	-.03	-.04	.17	.08	.33***	.07
Continuity of TI	.02	-.06	.03	.01	.07	-.01	.11	.07
R²C	.10***	.12***	.03	.02	.16***	.12***	.12***	.13***
Step 3								
Turkish Identification	.39***	.17	-.02	.02	.09	.18	.08	.05
European Identification	-.02	-.07	.50***	.26***	-.11	-.10	-.08	.04
Citizen of the World	-.01	.04	.03	.02	.03	.06	.01	.07

Table 11. *Predicting inter-group evaluations and Turkish In-group's Relations with Others from National-social Identifications and Meanings of Having a Turkish Identity (Continued)*

Predictor variable	Turkish	Kurdish	European	American	Cultural	Realistic	Esteem	Perceived
	Group Evaluation	Group Evaluation	Group Evaluation	Group Evaluation	Threat	Threat	Threat	Conflict
	B	β	β	B	B	B	B	B
Distinctiveness of TI	.00	-.13	-.17*	-.06	.11	.02	-.08	-.11
Entitativity of TI	.09	.03	.18*	.08	.08	-.04	.19	.21*
Indistinctiveness of TI	.03	.03	.02	.08	-.02	-.06	.04	-.03
Glorification of TI	.04	-.37***	-.15	.11	.19*	.29**	.01	.30**
Power of TI	.16*	.19	.04	-.13	.18	.16	.07	-.08
Independency of TI	.14*	-.00	-.07	-.10	-.03	.11	.07	.10
Negative Attributes of TI	-.13**	-.15	-.03	-.03	.13	.06	.30***	.03
Continuity of TI	.01	-.06	.02	-.03	.09	-.01	.13	.09
TI * Distinctiveness of TI	.06	-.07	-.02	-.00	.01	.02	-.05	-.03
TI * Entitativity of TI	-.07	.14	.08	-.10	.10	-.01	.30*	-.06
TI * Indistinctiveness of TI	-.12	-.13	-.10	-.04	.09	.01	.06	.06
TI * Glorification of TI	.14	-.21	.04	.07	-.18	-.36**	-.12	.14
TI * Power of TI	-.22*	.08	.01	.21	-.03	.00	-.04	-.25*
TI * Independency of TI	.01	.15	-.06	-.08	-.11	.16	-.10	-.27*
TI * Negative Attributes of TI	.09*	.04	-.05	-.02	-.07	-.09	-.08	-.08
TI * Continuity of TI	.08	-.10	-.08	-.16	.15	.07	-.02	.35**
R²C	.03**	.03	.01	.02	.03	.03	.03	.05**

*p< .05; **p< .01; ***p<.001

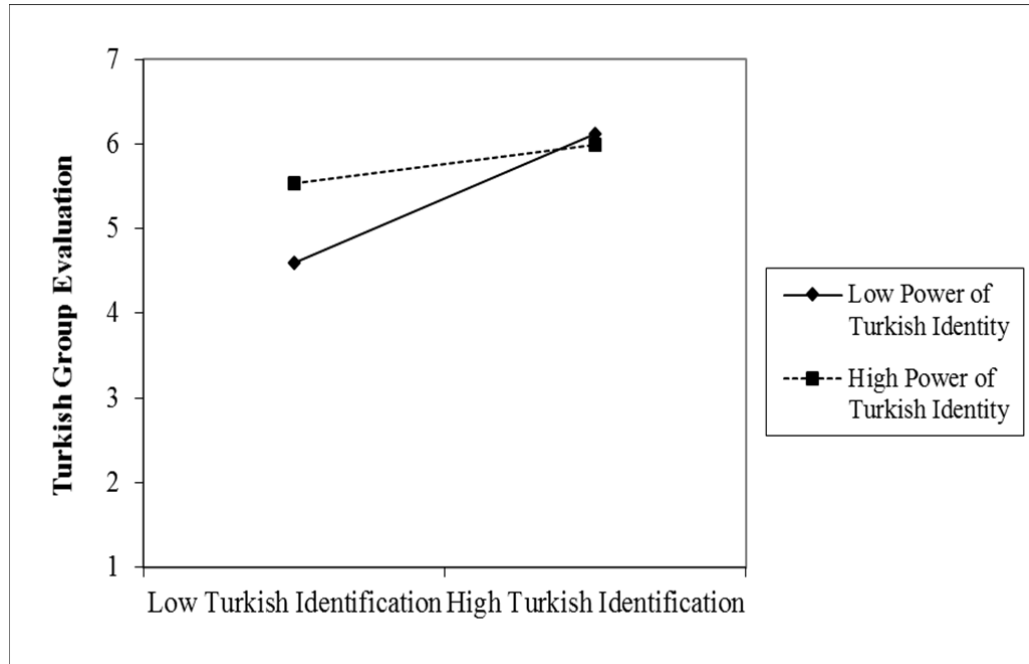


Figure 2a. *Interaction effect of Turkish identification and Power of Turkish Identity on Turkish group evaluation*

The addition of interaction terms in the third step resulted in significant increase in R^2 for predicting Turkish group evaluation, ($F_{\text{change}}(8,284) = 2.737, p < .01$) and perceived Conflict from Kurds ($F_{\text{change}}(8,284) = 2.912, p < .01$). Power of Turkish Identity and Negative Attributes of Turkish Identity interacted with Turkish identification in predicting Turkish group evaluation ($p < .05$). The simple slope tests are presented in Figures 2a and 2b, respectively. Firstly, it was found that on lower levels of Power, the relationship between Turkish identification and Turkish group evaluation was significant and positive ($b = .59, SE = .08, p < .001$) but on higher levels of Power, the relationship was not significant. ($b = .18, SE = .12, ns.$)

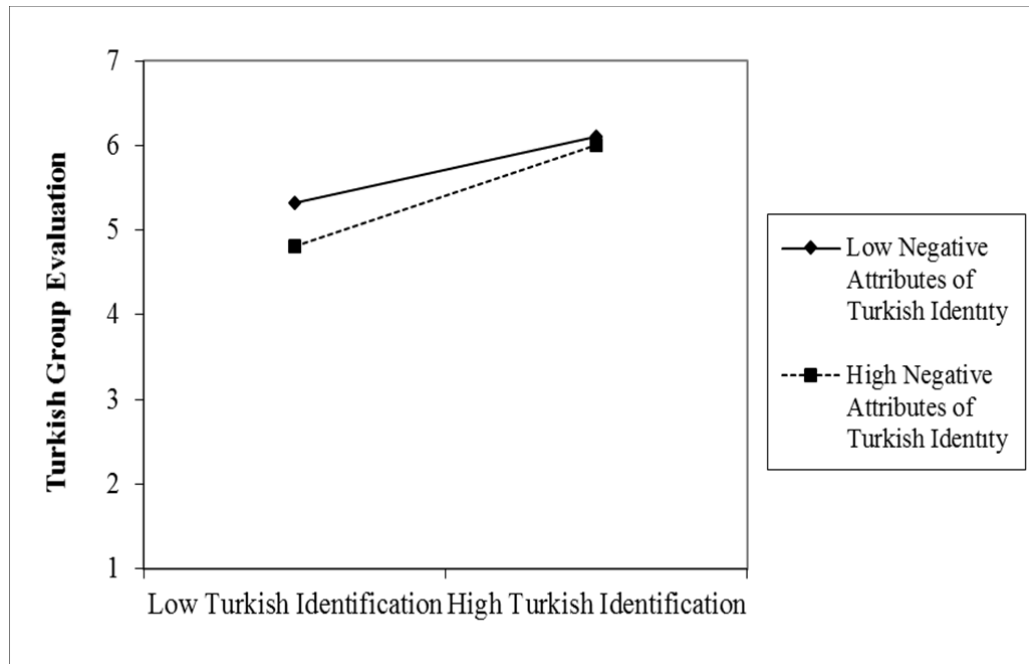


Figure 2b. *Interaction effect of Turkish identification and Negative Attributes of Turkish identity on Turkish group evaluation*

Secondly, it was found that on lower levels of Negative Attributes, the relationship between Turkish identification and Turkish group evaluation was significant and positive ($b = .31, SE = .07, p < .01$) and on higher levels of it, the relationship was also significant and positive ($b = .46, SE = .07, p < .001$).

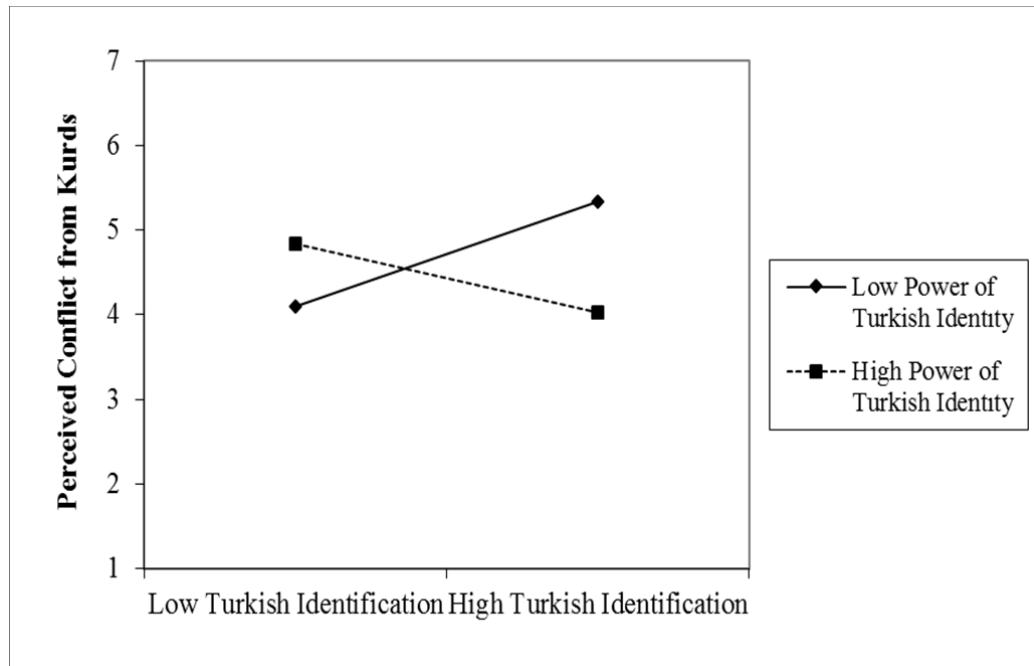


Figure 3a. *Interaction effect of Turkish identification and Power of Turkish identity on perceived Conflict from Kurds*

Power of Turkish Identity ($p < .05$), Independency of Turkish Identity ($p < .05$), and Continuity of Turkish Identity ($p < .01$) interacted with Turkish identification in predicting perceived Conflict from Kurds. The simple slope tests are presented in Figures 3a, 3b, and 3c. Firstly, it was found that on lower levels of Power, the relationship between Turkish identification and perceived Conflict was significant and positive ($b = .30$, $SE = .16$, $p < .05$) but on higher levels of Power, the relationship was not significant ($b = -.20$, $SE = .22$, ns).

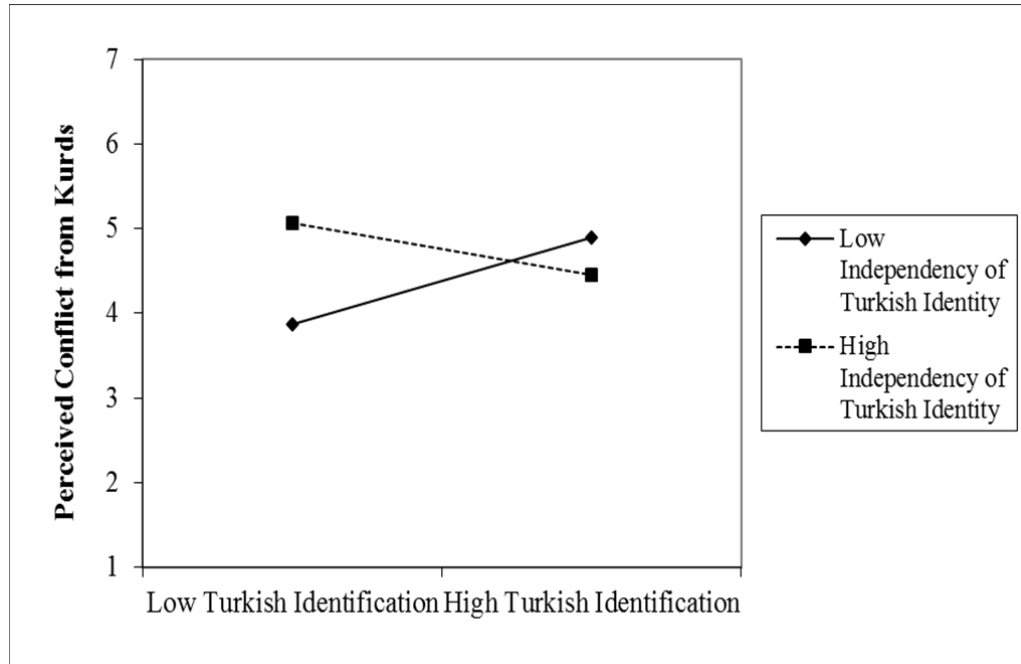


Figure 3b. *Interaction effect Turkish identification and Independency of Turkish Identity on perceived Conflict from Kurds*

Secondly, it was found that on lower levels of Independency, the relationship between Turkish identification and perceived Conflict from Kurds was marginally significant and positive ($b = .25$, $SE = .16$, $p = .05$) but on higher levels of Independency, the relationship was not significant ($b = -.15$, $SE = .19$, $ns.$).

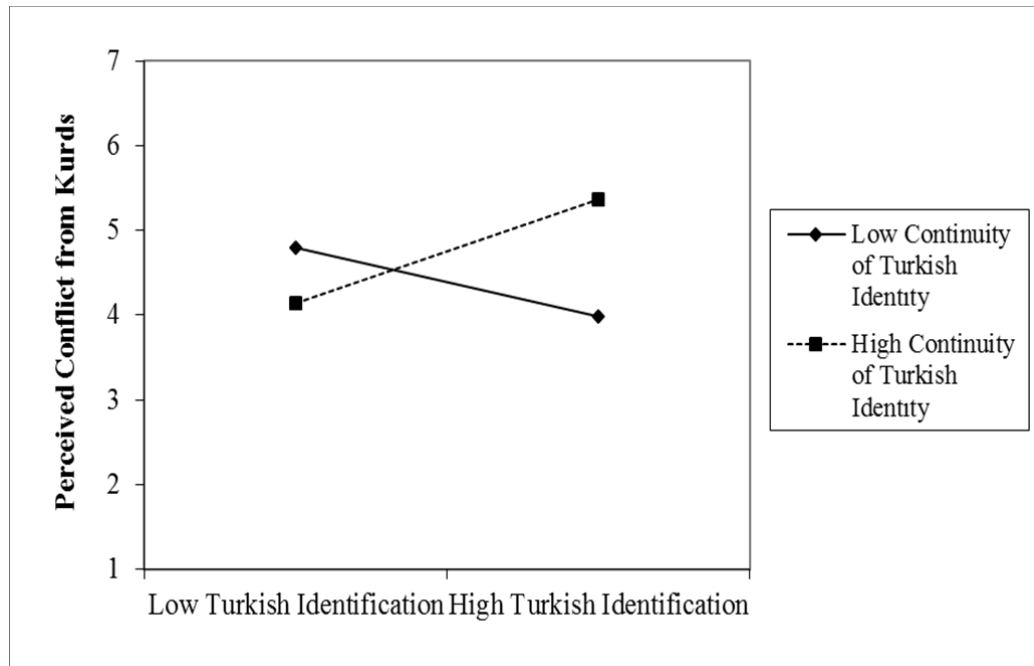


Figure 3c. *Interaction effect of Turkish identification and Continuity of Turkish Identity on perceived Conflict from Kurds*

Thirdly, it was found that on lower levels of Continuity of Turkish Identity, the relationship between Turkish identification and perceived Conflict from Kurds was not significant ($b = -.19, SE = .16, ns.$) but on higher levels of Continuity, it was significant and positive ($b = .29, SE = .16, p < .05$).

In the third step, Turkish identification for Turkish group evaluation ($p < .001$), European identification for European and American group evaluations ($p < .001$), Distinctiveness of Turkish Identity for European group evaluation ($p < .05$), Entitativity of Turkish Identity for perceived Conflict ($p < .05$), Glorification of Turkish Identity for Kurdish group evaluation ($p < .001$), Cultural threat ($p < .05$), Realistic threat ($p < .01$) and Conflict ($p < .01$), Power of Turkish Identity ($p < .05$) and Independency of Turkish Identity ($p < .05$) for Turkish group evaluation, Negative Attributes of Turkish Identity for Turkish group evaluation ($p < .01$) and for Esteem threat ($p < .001$) remained significant predictors.

3.3.4. Testing Mediations

To test Turkish In-group's Relations with Others as mediators in the relationships between (relevant) Contents of Turkish Identity and inter-group evaluations, the procedure described by Baron and Kenny (1986) was followed. According to Baron and Kenny, mediation is tested by estimating three regression equations: 1) regression analysis for predicting the mediator from the independent variable, 2) regression analysis for predicting the dependent variable from the independent variable, 3) regression analysis for predicting the dependent variable from both the independent variable and the mediator. A variable is a mediator when it meets the following conditions: 1) an independent variable significantly predicts the mediator, 2) an independent variable significantly predicts the dependent variable, 3) a mediator significantly predicts the dependent variable, and 4) the effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable must be less in the third regression analysis than in the second one.

Considering national-social identifications, it was tested whether perceived Cultural and Realistic threats from Western Groups and Conflict from Kurds mediate the relationship between Turkish identification and Turkish group evaluation. Perceived Cultural threat ($\beta = .36$; $p < .001$), Realistic threat ($\beta = .42$; $p < .001$) and Conflict from Kurds ($\beta = .35$; $p < .001$) significantly predicted Turkish group evaluation. However, they were not significant as mediators in the relationship between Turkish identification and Turkish group evaluation. In addition, it was tested whether perceived Conflict from Kurds mediates the relationship of European identification with Kurdish group evaluation. The regression model for testing this mediation is presented in Figure 4. The indirect effect of European identification on Kurdish group evaluation through perceived Conflict from Kurds was significant. The Sobel test showed that the mediational path was reliably greater than zero for European identification ($z = -2.28$, $p < 0.5$).

Considering Definitions of Turkish In-group Boundaries, it was tested whether perceived Conflict mediate the relationship between National Participation and Kurdish group evaluation. The regression model for testing this mediation is presented in Figure 5. The indirect effect of National Participation on Kurdish group evaluation through perceived Conflict was significant. The Sobel test showed that the mediational path was reliably greater than zero ($z = -4.86, p < .001$).

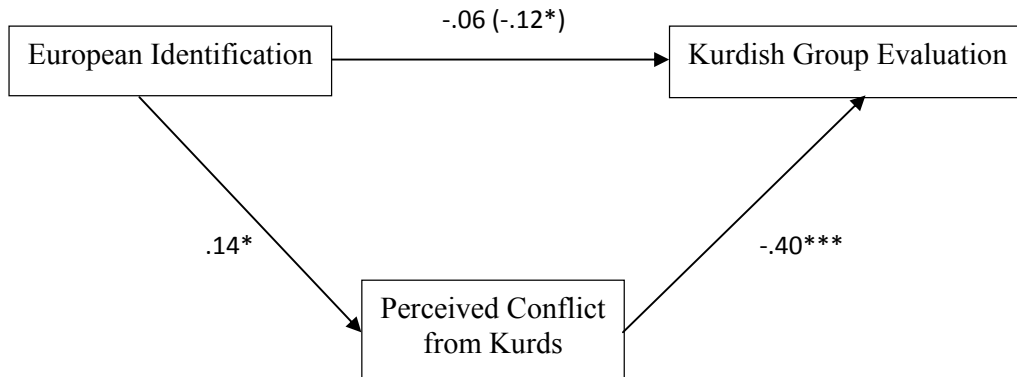


Figure 4. *Testing perceived Conflict as a mediator in the relationship between European identification and Kurdish group evaluation*

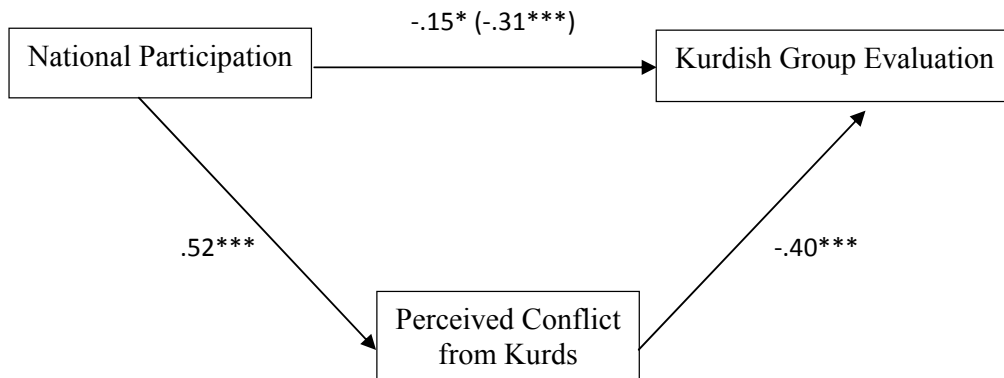


Figure 5. *Testing perceived Conflict as a mediator in the relationship between National Participation and Kurdish group evaluation*

Considering Characteristics of Turkish Identity, it was tested whether perceived Cultural and Realistic threats and Conflict mediate the relationship between View of Turkish Identity as Unprejudiced and Turkish group evaluation. The regression models are presented in Figures 6a and 6b. The indirect effect of View of Turkish Identity as Unprejudiced on Turkish group evaluation through Cultural and Realistic threats was significant. The Sobel test showed that the mediational path was reliably greater than zero for Cultural threat ($z = 2.48, p < .05$) and Realistic threat ($z = 3.23, p < .01$).

Considering Meanings of Having a Turkish identity, it was tested whether perceived Conflict from Kurds mediates the relationship between Glorification of Turkish Identity and Kurdish group evaluation. The regression model for testing this mediation is presented in Figure 7. The indirect effect of Glorification of Turkish identity on Kurdish group evaluation through perceived Conflict was significant. The Sobel test showed that the mediational path was reliably greater than zero ($z = 5.27, p < .001$). In addition, it was tested whether perceived Esteem threat from Western groups mediates the relationship between Negative Attributes of Turkish Identity and Turkish group evaluation. Perceived Esteem threat significantly predicted Turkish group evaluation ($\beta = .15; p < .01$). However, it was not significant as a mediator in the relationship between Negative Attributes of Turkish Identity and Turkish group evaluation.

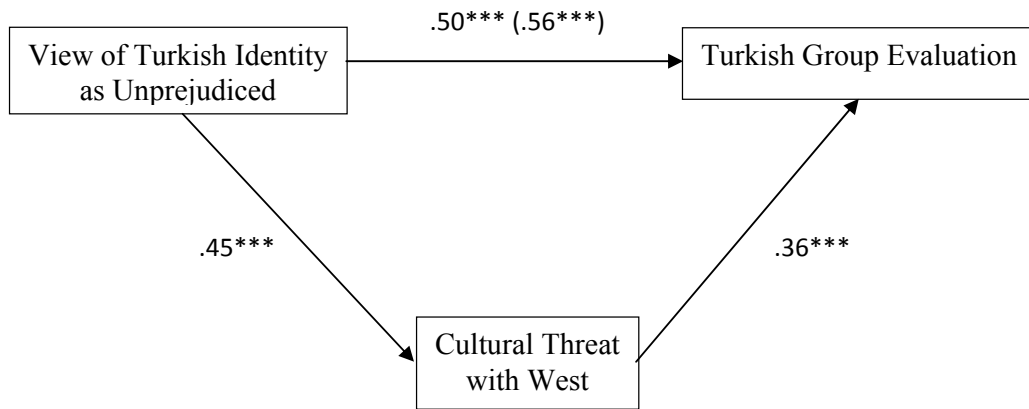


Figure 6a. Testing perceived Cultural threat as a mediator in the relationship between View of Turkish Identity as Unprejudiced and Turkish group evaluation

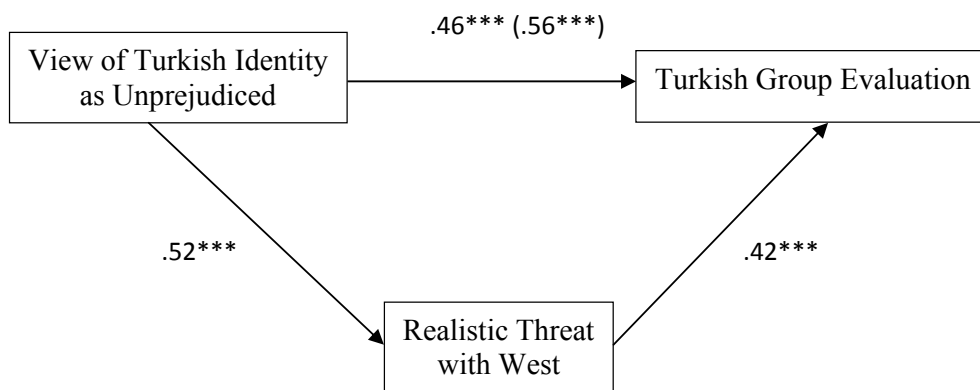


Figure 6b. Testing perceived Realistic threat as a mediator in the relationship between View of Turkish Identity as Unprejudiced and Turkish group evaluation

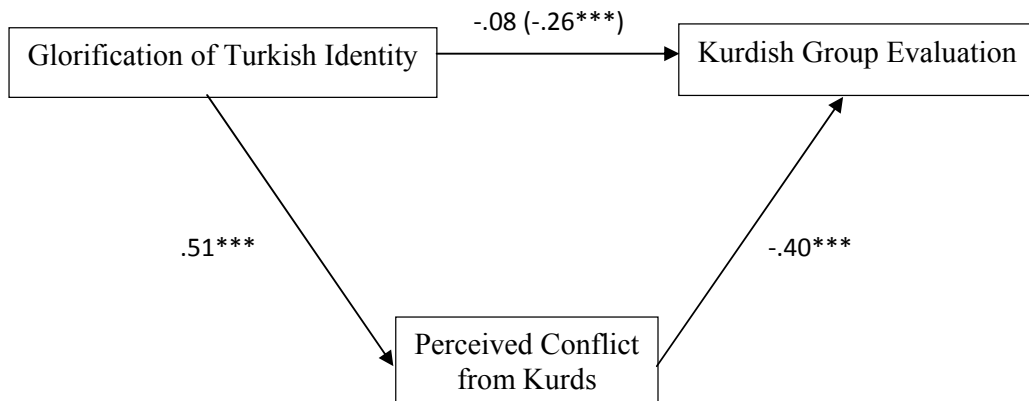


Figure 7. Testing perceived Conflict from Kurds as a mediator in the relationship between Glorification of Turkish identity and Kurdish group evaluation

CHAPTER 4

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The aim of the present thesis was to examine the relationships between Contents of Turkish Identity, national-social identifications, and perceptions of inter-group relations in Turkey. For this purpose, in the present thesis two studies were conducted. Study 1 explored Contents of Turkish Identity by utilizing qualitative approach. It was found that Contents of Turkish Identity can be defined in terms of Definitions of Turkish In-group Boundaries, Characteristics of Turkish Identity, Meanings of Having a Turkish Identity, and Turkish In-group's Relations with Others. Definitions of Turkish In-group Boundaries involved the contents related to living in Turkey, having a Turkish citizenship, feeling Turkish, being Muslim, adopting Turkish culture, speaking Turkish, adhering to Atatürk's doctrine, contributing to Turkey, and having a Turkish family. Characteristics of Turkish Identity involved the contents A View of Turkish Identity as Unprejudiced, A View of Turkish Identity as Assimilating, and Turkish Identity as a Superordinate Identity. Meanings of Having a Turkish Identity involved the contents Glorification, Power, Continuity, Entitativity, Independency, Distinctiveness, Indistinctiveness, and Negative Attributes of Turkish identity. Turkish In-group's Relations with Others involved the contents Perceived Cultural Threat with West, Perceived Realistic Threat with West, Perceived Esteem Threat with West, and Kurdish Subgroup's Conflicting Relations with Turkish Superordinate Group Caused by External Forces.

Study 2 investigated how these contents of Turkish identity and different national-social identifications in Turkey predict the perceptions of inter-group relations, as measured in terms of Turkish In-group's Relations with Others and inter-group evaluations. In addition, Study 2 investigated how relevant contents of Turkish identity interact with Turkish identification in the prediction of perceptions of inter-group relations. Finally, Study 2 tested whether Turkish In-group's Relations with

Others mediate the relationships between relevant contents of Turkish identity and inter-group evaluations. The present thesis suggested that perceptions of inter-group relations in Turkey not only depend on the extent to which people identify with national groups, but also on their conceptions about the definitions of national in-group boundaries, the characteristics of a national identity, and the meanings attributed to having a national identity. In this section, results are discussed by referring to national social identifications and relevant contents of Turkish identity separately. Then, limitations of the thesis and directions for future research are considered.

4.1. National-Social Identifications as Predictors

As described earlier, according to SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), when people define themselves in terms of group memberships, they typically favour their own groups over the relevant out-groups, and previous research has consistently shown a positive relationship between in-group identification and positive in-group evaluation (e.g., Cairns et al., 2006; Jakson, 2002; Levin & Sidanius, 1999; Voci, 2006). Consistent with SIT and previous research, results showed that when Turkish participants define themselves with respect to Turkish identity, they evaluate Turkish group more positively and when they define themselves with respect to European identity, they evaluate European as well as American group more positively (this is consistent with Study 1 in which participants tended to consider these groups interchangeably). On the other hand, Turkish participants who emphasized Citizen of the World in their self-definition did not show systematic differences in inter-group evaluations, nor in their perceptions of inter-group threats and conflict from relevant out-groups.

The only significant negative relationship between national-social identifications and inter-group evaluations emerged between European identification and Kurdish group evaluation. Results showed that Turkish participants who emphasize European identity in their self-definition are less likely to evaluate Kurdish group positively. These results may seem surprising because European identity as a more inclusive or superordinate identity (e.g., compared to Turkish identity) should be less likely to

predict more negative out-group evaluation (Dovidio et al., 2005). However, results seem to imply that in the Turkish context, more superordinate or inclusive identity (i.e., European identity) may negatively predict evaluations of the Kurdish subgroup.

This relationship may be explained by referring to inter-group status differences as well as Turkey's attempt to join European Union (EU). Assuming that Turkish people, who define themselves in terms of European identity, are particularly willing for Turkey to be a member in the EU, they may be more concerned about Turkey's qualifications to meet expectations of EU and they may see "Kurdish issue" in Turkey as causing rejection of Turkey's application (based on human rights criteria). Consistent with this, results also showed that perceived Conflict from Kurds mediates the relation of European identification to more negative evaluation of Kurdish group. Results suggested that Turkish people higher in European identification tend to perceive higher levels of Kurdish Subgroup's Conflicting Relations with Turkish Superordinate Group; thus, more likely to evaluate Kurdish group less positively. This confirmed the studies arguing that perceptions of inter-group threats or conflict play important role in the prediction of inter-group evaluation, particularly in the prediction of out-group evaluation (Brewer, 1999; Curşeu, Stoop, & Schalk, 2007; Stephan et al., 2002; & Sherif, 1966). In addition, it may be argued that Turkish people higher in European identification tend to regard themselves as more prototypic of higher status superordinate European group than Kurds (who are in general lower socio-economic status people in Turkey). This, in turn, may provide them a sense of justification for lower evaluation of Kurdish group (Wenzel 2001). Supporting this argument, Hortaçsu and Cem-Ersoy (2005) showed that Turkish people, who perceive themselves more European, are generally higher socio-economic status people in Turkey (Hortaçsu & Cem-Ersoy, 2005).

Turkish identification was unrelated to evaluations of any of the out-groups. There has been research indicating a significant positive relationship between in-group identification and both in- and out-group evaluations (see Levin & Sidanius, 1999). The present thesis considered the out-groups, which have played a significant role in the history of inter-group relations in Turkey (as found in Study 1). Thus, in

accordance with SIT, Turkish participants higher in Turkish identification evaluated their own group more positively than the (relevant) out-groups; however, they did not show more negative out-group evaluation. This was consistent with the argument that in-group members typically favor their own groups over the out-groups but they don't typically disfavor the out-groups (Brewer, 1999).

Consistent with expectations, Turkish identification positively predicted perceptions of inter-group threats from Western countries, except for perceived Esteem threat. Results showed that Turkish participants, who emphasize Turkish identity in their self-definition, are likely to perceive Cultural and Realistic threats against Turkish identity. This suggested that Turkish participants, who consider Turkish identity as an important part of their self-concept, tend to perceive Western countries as posing a threat to the existence of Turkish identity, wanting to impose their own culture onto the Turkish nation, and trying to assimilate Turkish identity (i.e., Cultural threat); and also, as being envious of the geopolitical position of Turkey, having designs against Turkey's territory, and intending to make use of Turkey's resources (i.e., Realistic threat).

As found in Study 1, these arguments indeed reflected the nature of relationships between Turkey and Europe, as the West in general was perceived as threatening the existence and unity of the Turkish state (İnaç, 2004). In this context, the focus on Turkish identity has increased and concepts, such as common language, history, homeland, and solidarity were particularly emphasized in the definition of Turkish identity (Kancı, 2009). Accordingly, results seemed to provide empirical evidence for how perceptions of inter-group threats from Western countries and emphasis on Turkish identity mutually influenced each other in the history of Turkey. In addition, consistent with previous studies (see Rick et al., 2006), results suggested that the more people give importance to a given social identity, the more they are likely to be sensitive towards, or concerned about, anything that may harm the in-group.

On the other hand, highly identified Turkish participants were not found to be more likely to perceive Esteem threat. Group esteem threat is perceived when the out-

group is seen as posing a threat to the in-group's value (Branscombe, et al., 1999). Results suggested that Turkish participants, who express higher levels of Turkish identification, are not likely to perceive Western groups as undermining Turkish identity, disparaging it, and prejudiced against it. In accordance with SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), this may imply that Turkish participants, who define themselves as Turkish in-group members, are unlikely to see Turkish identity as having a lower status or disadvantaged position among Western European countries. Indeed, researchers indicated a positive relationship between in-group identification and public group esteem (e.g., 'overall my social groups are considered good by others') and argued that in-group members tend to view their in-group as regarded positively by other groups (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). However, as described earlier, European higher status group was questioning the qualifications of Turkey for entrance in the EU (Hortaçsu & Cem-Ersoy, 2005) and Europe in general was perceived as humiliating Turkish identity (İnaç, 2004). Accordingly, in such a context, there seemed no negative relationship (indeed there was a marginally positive relationship) between Turkish identification and perceived Esteem threat from Western groups in the present study. Consistent with expectations, Turkish identification also predicted perceived Conflict from Kurds. It has been noted that Kurds presented themselves as attempting to protect their own culture and language and have been in conflict with Turkish identity (Dixon & Ergin, 2010). Accordingly, regarding that in the contexts of inter-group conflicts, in-group members tend to be concerned about in-group's negative inter-group relations (Livingstone & Haslam, 2008), participants higher in Turkish identification were more likely to view Kurdish group in a conflict with Turkish identity.

4.2. Definitions of Turkish In-group Boundaries as Predictors

After controlling for the effects of national-social identifications, Definitions of Turkish In-group Boundaries predicted additional variance in the perceptions of inter-group relations. Firstly, it was found that National Participation predicted lower inter-group evaluations of Kurdish group, but did not predict evaluations of European or American groups. Thus, when Turkish participants emphasized the

culture, citizenship, territoriality, and contributing to country related conceptions of Turkish nationality all together, i.e., National Participation, they were less likely to evaluate Kurds positively. Mummendey and Wenzel (1999) argued that, in some contexts people perceive the in-group and out-group as equal in terms of their inclusion in the relevant superordinate identity, but in some other contexts they perceive them as different. Mummendey and Wenzel suggested that when people perceive conflict between a sub-group and superordinate group, they tend to have more negative out-group attitudes. As noted earlier, compared with other groups in Turkey, the Kurdish group (representing sub-group identity) have seemed to have a more defensive attitude towards the Turkish culture, presenting themselves as concerned to protect the Kurdish cultural heritage (Kancı, 2009).

Accordingly, Turkish participants emphasizing National Participation may be more likely to perceive conflict between the Turkish superordinate group and the Kurdish sub-group, which does not seem to be involved in the Turkish nationality as defined by National Participation. It may also be suggested that National Participation implies more correspondence between the boundaries of the state and the boundaries of a culturally homogeneous group (Jones & Smith, 2001) and thus more perceived difference between superordinate group and sub-group (Spinner-Halev & Theiss-Morse, 2003). Consistent with these suggestions, those participants who scored higher on National Participation had higher levels of Kurdish Subgroup's Conflicting Relations with Turkish Superordinate Group, which, indeed, partially but relatively highly mediated the relationship between National Participation and lower Kurdish group evaluation. Results implied that because of perceived Conflict from Kurds, Turkish participants, who emphasize cultural, civic, and territorial involvement with Turkish nation in the definition of in-group boundaries, are likely to evaluate Kurdish group less positively.

Secondly, results showed that Turkish participants, who define the boundaries of Turkish in-group in terms of National Participation, tend to perceive more inter-group threats from Western countries and (as mentioned above) conflict from Kurds. As noted earlier, the West in general was perceived as threatening the existence and

unity of the Turkish state (İnaç, 2004). During times of tension between Turkey and the EU, the Turkish nation-state has had more defensive attitudes toward Western countries, with frequent use of arguments such as ‘geopolitical significance of Turkey’, ‘the other countries’ dislike of a strong Turkey’, and ‘the other states’ attempts to divide Turkey’. During these times, concepts such as common language, history, homeland, and culture were particularly emphasized in the definition of Turkish nationality (Kancı, 2009).

Parallel to this, results suggested that Turkish participants, who emphasize civic, cultural, and territorial involvement with Turkish nationality for national belonging have a tendency to protect Turkish identity against cultural, realistic, as well as esteem threats posed by Western groups. That is, the definition of Turkish in-group boundaries based on National Participation seems unlikely to predict positive attitudes toward Western groups, who have been perceived as attempting to change the components of Turkish nationality defined in National Participation, as found in Study 1.

Thus, conceptualizing definitions of Turkish in-group boundaries in terms of National Participation and National Essentialism, the present thesis, firstly, suggested that the common conceptualization of definitions of national boundaries in terms of Civic and Ethnic/Cultural factors do not reflect the dimensionality of conceptions of nationality in Turkey. This is consistent with arguments that contents of national identity cannot be taken for granted, because they are constructed in the context of public debate and they change across time and place (e.g., Reicher & Hopkins, 2001).

Secondly, it was shown that the more inclusive definition of Turkish in-group boundaries (National Participation) predicted less positive out-group attitudes than the more exclusive definition (National Essentialism). This contrasts with previous findings that a more inclusive (or Civic) definition of national boundaries predicted more positive out-group attitudes, whereas a more exclusive (or Ethnic/Cultural) definition predicted more negative out-group attitudes (Heath & Tilley, 2005; Hjern,

1998; Jones & Smith, 2001; Löden, 2008; Meeus et al., 2010; Pakulski, & Tranter, 2000; Pehrson, Brown, & Zagefka, 2009; Pehrson, Vignoles, & Brown, 2009).

It should be noted that National Participation, the more inclusive definition in this study, included criteria related to speaking Turkish, adopting Turkish culture, having a Turkish citizenship, contributing to Turkey, adhering to Atatürk's doctrine, and living in Turkey, whereas in previous studies, researchers measured a more inclusive or Civic definition in terms of having a citizenship, speaking the language, respecting political institutions and laws, and feeling like a national (e.g., Hjerm, 1998; Jones & Smith, 2001). In this sense, the Civic definition of previous researchers viewed the nation as a political community of people, who share the same territory, are the citizens of the same state, have the same legal and social rights, and are committed to specific political institutions. On the other hand, the National Participation definition that found in Turkey emphasizes involvement with the Turkish nationality in terms of cultural 'values', 'norms', 'behavioural patterns' and 'institutional arrangements' together (see Nieguth, 1999). In this sense, National Participation views the nation as a community of people, who not only share the same territory and are the citizens of the same state; but also enjoy the same culture, the same country (by contributing it), and the same important political leader, Atatürk, in the history of Turkey.

Perhaps helping to explain the differences between National Participation and Civic definition, Shulman (2002) argued that to the extent that the civic definition is voluntary and rationalistic, or political, it is unlikely to evoke emotional attachment to the nation; on the other hand, relative cultural homogeneity in a state may function to unite people together into a nation and thus to evoke emotional attachment. In a similar way, Nieguth (1999) argued that a sense of belonging and solidarity is mostly determined by how nations construct their boundaries and suggested that cultural definition more easily provides people with a sense of belonging than does a civic definition. According to Brewer (2001), groups defined in relatively exclusive ways (e.g., in more cultural ways) are more likely to have clear boundaries and thus to satisfy people's need for belonging than groups defined in relatively inclusive ways (e.g., in more civic ways). She further explained that a sense of belonging to the in-

group, in turn, leads people to evaluate their in-group more positively relative to the out-group.

Accordingly, National Participation including not only civic related elements but also culture related elements may be associated with a sense of belonging to the nation for Turkish participants. On the other hand, National Essentialism, which represented currently invalid definitions of Turkish nationality (see Bora, 2002), shown here by its low mean score, may not be associated with a sense of belonging for Turkish participants. In the context of European Western countries, however, where national identity is mostly and strictly conceptualized in terms of Civic and Ethnic/Cultural distinction, the latter definition may be more likely to provide people with a sense of belonging. Considering that nation building was ‘coldly’ civic and territorial among Western European countries, Shulman (2002) argued that ‘Western states for most of the past two centuries have promoted a homogeneous linguistic and cultural identity precisely due to the ability of culture to provide cohesion for populations in an environment in which civic elements of nationhood alone were not up to the task’ (p.580). Thus, according to researchers, in Western societies, people tend to conceive of their nation in terms of common ancestry and culture rather than in terms of territory (see Nieguth, 1999; Shulman, 2002).

According to Smith (1991), the common distinction between Civic and Ethnic/Cultural definitions, represents a pair of ‘ideal categories’, and in reality they coexist together—perhaps as defined by National Participation. In this sense, he defined national identity as ‘a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members, (p.43). Accordingly, accepting the idea that in reality national identity combines civic and ethnic/cultural elements, it is questionable why researchers in Western European countries generally find empirical support for a dichotomy between Civic and Ethnic/Cultural definitions of the identity.

A possible explanation is that, in these countries, where social representations of national identity mostly consist of the relevant dichotomy (e.g., Blank & Schmidt, 2003), people may be already ready to make distinctions between the different criteria for national belonging in terms of civic and ethnic/cultural elements. However, in Turkey, where social representations of national identity are not associated with the relevant dichotomy, people may not readily differentiate among these criteria in terms of civic versus ethnic/cultural relevance, and instead they may think about cultural and civic elements in connection as in reality. At this point, it should be noted that factor analysis not only connected different criteria (e.g., civic and cultural elements) in the construct of National Participation, but by doing this it also separated more ancestry or ethnicity related criteria (represented in National Essentialism) from the culture related criteria. Accordingly, this thesis found empirical evidence for the distinction between ethnic and cultural components which have been problematically conflated into a single category within the Civic and Ethnic/Cultural dichotomy (see Shulman, 2002).

Thus, the present thesis provided an important first look at the role of definitions of national in-group boundaries in predicting inter-group attitudes in the Turkish context and an important qualification of the pattern of results that has emerged from previous studies. Before examining how definitions of national boundaries are related to inter-group attitudes, this thesis firstly explored the possible ways people define boundaries of the Turkish in-group. By doing this, this thesis indicated that there may be other ways to define national in-group boundaries, rather than the common Civic versus Ethnic/Cultural dichotomy, and that the inclusive or exclusive implications of definitions of national boundaries may differ depending on the context.

4.3. Characteristics of Turkish Identity as Predictors

After controlling for the effects of national-social identifications, Characteristics of Turkish Identity predicted additional variance in Turkish In-group's Relations with Others and inter-group evaluations. A View of Turkish Identity as Unprejudiced

positively predicted Turkish group evaluation, perceived Cultural and Realistic threats from Western groups, and perceived Conflict from Kurds. Turkish Identity as a Superordinate Identity predicted perceived Conflict from Kurds and perceived Cultural and Esteem threats from Western groups.

As found in Study 1, View of Turkish Identity as Unprejudiced involved definitions of Turkish identity as respectful for, tolerant towards, and not discriminating against other identities. Contrasting with this view, Study 1 also showed that some other Turkish people define Turkish identity as being exclusive and/or assimilating towards other identities. Regarding these contrasting views in the context of Turkey, Study 2 showed that when Turkish participants characterize Turkish identity as Unprejudiced, they are more likely to evaluate Turkish group more positively and to perceive Cultural and Realistic threats against Turkish identity as well as Conflict from Kurds. These results can be seen interesting because they suggested that when people think that Turkish identity is unprejudiced, they are more likely to have more negative views of others (e.g., “Developed Western Groups take aims at disrupting Turkish identity”, “Developed Western Groups have designs against Turkey’s territory”, and “Developed Western Groups try to assimilate Turkish identity”) and to evaluate the in-group more positively (relative to other groups). Accordingly, results implied that people construing the in-group as being tolerant and respectful towards others may be less tolerant or more prejudiced towards the out-groups.

In order to explain this inconsistency, firstly, it may be argued that regarding the contrasting nature of the relevant views in a context of Turkey, Turkish people having a positive view about their in-group (rather than contrasting negative view) are more concerned about the threats directed against Turkish identity. In addition, it seems possible to refer to the literature interested in the *internal conflict* people feel about the expression of prejudice. According to Allport (1958), for example, people commonly experience prejudice with the *internal conflict*, which results from the discrepancy between their values (e.g., justice and egalitarianism) and prejudiced behavior. Allport suggested different strategies people use to overcome this *internal conflict*, one of which was called an “alternation”. With respect to this strategy,

Allport argued that if people had a chance to express their ethical concerns (or societal values); they would be more likely to feel free to express their prejudice at a later time. He added that this strategy is the most common one because it allows people to have a fair and just self concept and at the same time to respond in a prejudiced way. In this sense, the present results may mean that those Turkish participants, who had a chance to express their societal values about their in-group (which constitutes a part of their self concept), were more likely to feel comfortable with the expression of more negative views of the out-groups.

Moreover, results showed that the relationship between View of Turkish Identity as Unprejudiced and Turkish group evaluation is partly mediated by perceived Cultural and Realistic threats. It was found that Turkish people thinking Turkish identity as unprejudiced tend to perceive Western groups threatening against Turkish identity; thus, they are more likely to evaluate Turkish group more positively. In other words, View of Turkish Identity as Unprejudiced had an indirect effect on Turkish group evaluation thorough perceived Cultural and Realistic threats from Western groups. These findings implied that those people who describe Turkish identity as tolerant and unprejudiced towards others are more likely to express an in-group favoring tendency (or more positive evaluation of in-group), partly, because of their belief that Western groups pose threat to the existence of Turkish identity.

These findings may be interpreted in a parallel way with the findings above. Consistent with Allport's (1958) *internal conflict*, more recently, researchers argued that in the context of normative pressure to respond without prejudice, people may express their prejudice in indirect, subtle, or covert ways (see Devine 2005). Kristiansen and Zanna (1994), for example, claimed that people may use values as ego defensive rationalizations for their inter-group attitudes. Researchers claimed that in order to achieve a positive and distinct social identity as justified or rationalized, people tend to believe that the out-group violates important values of in-group. In a frame of these suggestions, it may be argued that the present participants, who construed their in-group in a socially approved way (by scoring higher on View of Turkish Identity as Unprejudiced), tended to justify the more positive evaluation

of their in-group by claiming that Western groups pose threat to the Cultural and Realistic existence of Turkish identity. In addition, as described earlier, regarding the nature of relationships between Turkey and Europe, it seems possible to suggest that lower status Turkish in-group members may refer to the relations with higher status superordinate Western groups in order to rationalize their in-group favoring tendency resulting from the characterization of Turkish identity as unprejudiced. Supporting this, Allport (1958), for example, argued that lower status group members, especially those who feel themselves victimized (and thus frustrated) for their memberships, may tend to display indirect or displaced prejudice towards higher status out-groups.

Considering Characteristics of Turkish Identity, it was also found that Turkish Identity as a Superordinate Identity significantly predicted perceived Conflict from Kurds. As shown in Study 1, this content of Turkish identity reflected the ideas defining Turkish identity as including different sub-groups and as representing Turks and Kurds together. Perceived Conflict from Kurds was defined in terms of Kurds' offending against the norms and values of superordinate Turkish identity and not behaving adequately as a sub-group. In this context, results seemed to suggest that Turkish participants, who characterize Turkish identity as being a superordinate identity, are more likely to perceive Conflict from Kurdish sub-group, who haven't been seen as accepting Turkish identity as their superordinate identity (Wenzel et al., 2003). Turkish identity as a Superordinate Identity also predicted perceived Cultural threat from Western groups. It seems important to note here that superordinate character of Turkish identity is closely associated with perception of Turkish identity and culture as including and representing different subcultures, such as Kurdish, Arab, Laz, Circassian, Armenian, and Greek. In such a context of Turkey, political authorities in general point the value of cultural diversity in Turkey and expect people with different cultures to live together in harmony (Kanci, 2009). Accordingly, given that perceived Cultural threat involved the ideas, such as Western groups pose threat to the existence of Turkish culture and want to impose their own culture onto Turkish nation, results seemed to suggest that Turkish participants, who emphasize multicultural (or superordinate) character of Turkish identity and culture, are more likely to perceive Western groups as threatening this "mosaic" in Turkey.

4.4. Meanings of Having a Turkish Identity as Predictors

After controlling for the effects of national-social identifications, Meanings of Having a Turkish Identity predicted additional variance in Turkish In-group's Relations with Others and inter-group evaluations. Turkish group evaluation was predicted by Power, Independency, and Negative Attributes of Turkish identity. Results showed that Turkish participants, who scored higher in Power and Independency of Turkish identity, were more likely to evaluate Turkish group positively. As described earlier, people are motivated to manage the feelings of competence, control, and power, which reflect their need for efficacy (Breakwell, 1996). Cinnirella (1996) claimed that British people have a concern for national sovereignty and control over the world affairs because of their need for power and control. According to Lyons (1996), people tend to remember sporting victories of their nation in order to perceive their nation as efficacious. Breakwell (1996) noted that some constructions of European identity (e.g., European Community have the control of financial markets) are directly guided by people's motive for efficacy.

Consistent with these researchers, Study 1 showed that Turkish participants tend to attribute the meanings of Power (e.g., I think Turkish identity means having power to rule over the world) and Independency (e.g., Turkish identity represents our independence since the Republic of Turkey is an independent country) to having a Turkish identity. Additionally, Study 2 indicated that Power and Independency of Turkish identity are more likely to predict Turkish in-group evaluation than other meanings of Turkish identity, such as Glorification, Distinctiveness, Continuity, and Entitativity. Accordingly, assuming that perceptions of collective Power and Independency are expressions of an underlying motive for efficacy, results implied that this motive, at least among Turkish people, plays a more important role in the evaluation of in-group than other motives, such as self-esteem, distinctiveness, continuity, and belonging. It is worth noting here that the Turkish Republic was built as a result of a War of Independence, and throughout the history of Turkey

independency and power of the nation-state have been particularly emphasized in the official definition of national identity (Bora, 2003). Accordingly, given that in different cultural contexts different forms of motives can be most salient and valued (Vignoles, 2011), it may be argued that in the context of Turkey, the perceptions of Power and Independency as features of Turkish identity are particularly likely to be related to more positive evaluation of the in-group because of the value and salience of these aspects of Turkish identity.

Moreover, Power of Turkish Identity significantly interacted with Turkish identification in the prediction of Turkish in-group evaluation. Results showed that Turkish participants with lower levels of Turkish identification were less likely to evaluate Turkish in-group positively when they scored lower on Power of Turkish Identity than Turkish participants who scored higher on it (see Figure 2a). This suggested that depending on their level of Power of Turkish Identity, lower identified Turkish participants may increase or decrease their evaluation of Turkish in-group. Thus, additionally, these results implied that Power of Turkish Identity is particularly important for Turkish people to influence their evaluation of Turkish in-group and lower identified Turkish people may be more likely to evaluate Turkish group positively if they perceive higher levels of Power of Turkish Identity. This, in turn, may imply that having a sense of in-group efficacy from Turkish identity is likely to increase the positive in-group evaluation among lower identified Turkish people. This seems to confirm the idea above that the motive for (in-group) efficacy is particularly important for Turkish people in the evaluation of in-group.

Consistent with expectations, Turkish in-group evaluation was negatively predicted by Negative Attributes of Turkish Identity. Results showed that when Turkish participants attribute negative meanings (e.g., “unfortunately belonging to Turkish identity is discreditable nowadays”) to having a Turkish identity, they are less likely to evaluate the Turkish in-group positively. In a frame of SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), which proposed that in order to have a positive social identity, people favour their own group (over the out-group), results implied that when people think they have a negatively evaluated (or negative) social identity, they are more likely to

disfavour their own group. Indeed, results indicated a significant negative relationship between Turkish identification and Negative Attributes of Turkish Identity (see Table 8). In this context, it seems also possible to suggest that those Turkish participants who score higher in Negative Attributes of Turkish Identity are not willing to accept Turkish group as their in-group, and thus, tend to react against their membership of Turkish group by lowering their evaluation of it.

Negative Attributes of Turkish Identity additionally interacted with Turkish identification in the prediction of Turkish group evaluation. Results showed that Turkish participants with lower levels of Turkish identification expressed less positive evaluation of Turkish in-group, when they scored higher in Negative Attributes of Turkish Identity than Turkish participants who scored lower on it (see Figure 2b). This suggested that lower identified Turkish participants with higher levels of Negative Attributes of Turkish Identity are particularly likely to evaluate Turkish group less positively. Regarding that Negative Attributes of Turkish Identity partly reflects others' view of Turkish identity (e.g., "to have a Turkish identity is a reason for to be looked down on"); it may be argued that lower identified Turkish participants, who are still members of Turkish in-group, are more likely to be influenced by perceptions of others about Turkish identity. Thus, they are particularly less likely to evaluate Turkish in-group positively, when they think that Turkish identity is looked down on, has features to be ashamed of, and some disadvantages.

Kurdish group evaluation was additionally predicted by Glorification of Turkish Identity. Results showed that when Turkish participants attribute the meaning of Glorification to having a Turkish identity, they are less likely to evaluate Kurdish group positively. This suggested that Glorification of Turkish Identity is more likely to predict (negatively) Kurdish group evaluation than other meanings of the study, such as Continuity, Entitativity, Distinctiveness, and Power. As mentioned earlier, research suggested that certain forms of in-group attachment are more likely to predict out-group evaluation than others (see Golec de Zavala et al. 2009). For example, Roccas et al. (2006) argued that, when people identify with a group that

they perceive as better and worthier than other groups, they are more likely to feel insulted if others are not respectful to the in-group. Mummendey et al. (2001) reported a positive relationship between national pride (e.g. “how proud are you of the German/British history?”) and out-group derogation. In addition, researchers noted that identification with national in-group in the form of idealization or excessive evaluation of it is related to more negative attitudes towards the out-groups (Blank & Schmidt, 2003). Thus, in a similar line with these researchers, results seemed to suggest that those Turkish participants, who emphasize the meanings, such as “to have a Turkish identity is privilege”, “to have a Turkish identity means to be proud of being Turk”, and “Turkish identity is one of the most beautiful identities in the World”, tend to express less positive evaluation of Kurdish group.

Moreover, the present results showed that Kurdish Subgroup’s Conflicting Relations with Turkish Superordinate Group mediates the relationship of Glorification of Turkish Identity with Kurdish group evaluation. Results suggested that Turkish people scoring higher on Glorification of Turkish Identity are more likely to perceive Conflict from Kurds; thus, less likely to evaluate Kurdish group positively. Mummendey and Wenzel (1999) argued that in some contexts, people perceive the in-group and out-group as equal in terms of their inclusion in the relevant superordinate identity, but in some other contexts, they perceive the in-group and out-group as different. They claimed that when the out-group’s difference is seen as a threat to the validity of in-group’s norms and values, people tend to have negative attitudes towards out-group, but when the out-group’s difference is seen positively (e.g., as enrichment), people tend to have positive attitudes. Consistent with Mummendey and Wenzel; thus, it may be argued that when they perceive Kurdish group not in harmony with superordinate Turkish identity; instead in conflict with it, those Turkish people, who glorify Turkish identity, tend to evaluate Kurdish group less positively. This, in turn, seems consistent with the idea above that excessive evaluation of in-group is associated with being sensitive towards the others’ consideration of the in-group (Roccas et al., 2006).

Accordingly, results implied that Glorification of Turkish Identity is more related to perceptions of inter-group relations with Kurds rather than with Europeans and Americans. Given that the self-esteem motive underlies Glorification of Turkish Identity, it may be argued that Kurdish group plays more important role for Turkish participants in order to enhance their (collective) self-esteem. Referring to SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), which proposed that for people to strive for positive in-group distinctiveness (or collective self-esteem), there should be a relevant (e.g., salient) comparison group in a given situation, results also seemed to suggest that Kurds as a group are a more significant, salient, or relevant out-group vis-à-vis Turkish identity compared to European and American groups.

In addition to Glorification of Turkish Identity, Kurdish Subgroup's Conflicting Relations with Turkish Superordinate Group was predicted by Entitativity of Turkish Identity and by the interaction terms of Power, Independency, and Continuity of Turkish identity with Turkish identification. Results showed that Turkish participants, who endorse higher levels of Entitativity of Turkish Identity, are more likely to display higher perceptions of Conflict from Kurds. This suggested that Turkish participants who emphasize contents, such as "to have a Turkish identity feels oneself a part of wholeness", "to have a Turkish identity feels oneself unity and solidarity", and "to have a Turkish identity feels oneself to share both sadness and joy", are more likely to perceive Kurds in conflict with Turkish identity.

As known, Kurds played significant role in the history of inter-group relations in Turkey. They were not seen as accepting superordinate Turkish identity as their national identity and presented themselves as concerned about protection of Kurdish language and culture (Kancı, 2009). "Kurdish problem" was mostly discussed in the context of PKK, which has been in conflict with the Turkish state since 1984 (Dixon & Ergin, 2010). In such a context, results seemed to imply that Turkish participants, who perceive Turkish identity as providing the feelings of common fate, solidarity, unity, and wholeness, and thus a sense of belonging (Gaertner & Schopler, 1998; Castano et al., 2002; Yzerbyt et al., 2000), are particularly concerned about

preservation of Turkish identity's entitativity and thus more sensitive towards Conflict from Kurds.

There were also interaction effects of Meanings of Having a Turkish Identity in perceived Conflict from Kurds. Results showed that when Turkish participants perceive lower levels of Power and Independency of Turkish Identity, the relationship between Turkish identification and perceived Conflict from Kurds was higher than when they perceive higher levels of them (see Figures 3a and 3b). This suggested that highly identified Turkish participants are more likely to perceive Conflict from Kurds when they score lower levels of Power and Independency of Turkish Identity. Assuming that underlying motive for Power and Independency of Turkish Identity is an efficacy motive (Cinnirella, 1996; Breakwell, 1996; Lyons, 1996; see also Vignoles, 2011), these results may imply that when highly identified Turkish participants (or Turkish participants for whom Turkish identity is an important part of self concept) think that Turkish identity is not competent or efficacious enough to influence others or to have control over others, they are more likely to be concerned about, or sensitive towards, the Conflict from Kurds against Turkish identity. In addition, regarding the content of Turkish identity that Kurdish Subgroup's Conflicting Relations with Turkish Superordinate Group Caused by External Forces (found in Study 1), it may be suggested that highly identified Turkish participants think that Turkish identity is not powerful and independent enough to deal with "Kurdish problem", when they score lower levels of Power and Independency of Turkish identity.

On the other hand, considering Continuity of Turkish Identity, results showed that with higher levels of perceived Continuity, the relationship between Turkish identification and perceived Conflict from Kurds was stronger than with lower levels of it (see Figure 3c). This suggested that highly identified Turkish participants are more likely to perceive Conflict from Kurds, when they endorse higher levels of Continuity of Turkish Identity than Turkish participants, who perceive lower levels of it. Researchers argued that people need to maintain a sense of connection across time and situation and they tend to perceive their nation as continuous across time

(Reicher & Hopkins, 2001). It has been shown that perceived continuity of in-group is related to more perception of threats towards the in-group's continuity (from the relevant out-groups), which, in turn, have been found as predicting more negative inter-group attitudes (Jetten & Hutchison, 2011; Jetten & Wohl, 2012; Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2013). In the context of Turkey, the present results suggested that Turkish people, particularly those emphasizing Turkish identity in their self definition, are likely to associate Continuity of Turkish Identity with Conflict from Kurds. As described, Kurds as a sub-group were generally seen as offending against the values and norms of Turkish identity as a superordinate identity (Wenzel et al., 2003) and "Kurdish issue" was generally discussed in the context of PKK, which has been in conflict with the Turkish state since 1984 (Dixon & Ergin, 2010). In this context, results seemed to imply that when highly identified Turkish people think that Turkish identity is continuous across time and situation (e.g., "Turkish identity is an identity that will exist forever"), they may perceive the Conflict from Kurds as a threat to the continuity of Turkish identity. It may also be suggested that when Turkish identity provide for highly identified Turkish people with a sense of continuity, they are more likely to be concerned about the preservation of continuity of Turkish identity, and thus, tend to be more sensitive towards Kurdish Subgroup's Conflicting Relations with Turkish Superordinate Group, which seemed to undermine Continuity of (superordinate) Turkish Identity.

European group evaluation, on the other hand, was additionally predicted by Distinctiveness of Turkish Identity. Results showed that when Turkish participants attribute the meanings, such as Turkish identity is an identity that makes Turks distinctive from others and Turkish identity has got its own idiosyncratic different characteristics, to having a Turkish identity, they are less likely to evaluate European group positively. These results suggested that Distinctiveness of Turkish Identity has a more significant 'added value' above other meanings of the study, such as Glorification, Entitativity, Continuity, and Independency, in the prediction of European group evaluation. Consistent with present results, Li and Brewer (2004) indicated that participants primed with distinctiveness of American identity were more likely to express negative inter-group attitudes; on the other hand, participants

primed with shared in-group attachment (related to entitativity) were less likely to express negative inter-group attitudes. In a similar line, Blank and Schmidt (2003) noted that perceived distinctiveness of a nation is more likely to be associated with negative inter-group attitudes than other aspects of national identity, such as emphasizing temporal comparisons (rather than inter-group comparisons), feeling belonging to a nation, and having responsibility for a nation.

In addition, however, the present results suggested that the relationship between perceived in-group distinctiveness and inter-group evaluations may change depending on which out-group(s) is considered in a given context. It was found that in a context of Turkey, perceived in-group distinctiveness is more likely to predict European group evaluation rather than Kurdish or American group evaluations. These results may be explained by referring to perception of European group as a higher status superordinate group (or inclusive group) among Turkish people (Hortaçsu & Cem-Ersoy, 2005). According to SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), people not only need to enhance their self-esteem but also need to maintain a sense of positive in-group distinctiveness. This theory proposed that to the extent people perceive low or threatened in-group distinctiveness, they are more likely to differentiate in-group from the relevant out-group. From this perspective, it may be suggested that Turkish people, who emphasize Distinctiveness of Turkish Identity, or perceive Turkish identity as providing them with a sense of distinctiveness, are more likely to be concerned about the preservation of distinctiveness of Turkish identity. Thus, they tend to perceive European higher status superordinate group as undermining (positive) Distinctiveness of (lower status) Turkish Identity and evaluate European group less positively (Jetten, Spears, & Postmes, 2004). This suggestion also seems consistent with Optimal Distinctiveness Theory (Brewer, 1991, 1993), according to which in order to maintain or establish a sense of in-group distinctiveness people typically evaluate in-group more positively than the out-group.

Perceived inter-group threats from Western groups were additionally predicted by Glorification and Negative Attributes of Turkish Identity. Results showed that Turkish participants who endorse higher levels of Glorification of Turkish Identity

are more likely to perceive Cultural and Realistic threats. This suggested that Glorification of Turkish Identity is more likely to predict perceptions of Realistic and Cultural threats than other meanings of the study. That is, when Turkish people have the ideas, such as having a Turkish identity is privilege and Turkish identity is one of the most beautiful identities in the world, they tend to think that Western groups want to make use of Turkey's resources, have designs against Turkey's territory, and pose a threat to the existence of Turkish culture. Accordingly, results seemed consistent with expectations and confirmed above suggestions that the more excessive the positive image of in-group, the more it is difficult for people to confirm this image and thus they are more likely to perceive problems of inter-group relations as threatening the in-group (Golec de Zavala et al. 2009; Roccas et al., 2006).

Perceived Esteem threat was additionally predicted by Negative Attributes of Turkish Identity. It was found that Turkish participants with higher levels of Negative Attributes of Turkish Identity were more likely to perceive Esteem threat from Western groups. Perhaps unsurprisingly, it seemed that Turkish participants, who emphasize the meanings, such as "Turkish identity is a reason for to be looked down on", "Turkish identity has features to be ashamed of", and "Turkish identity has disadvantages", are more likely to perceive "Developed Western Groups disparage Turkish identity", "Developed Western Groups are prejudiced against Turkish identity", and "Turkish identity is in a disadvantaged position among Developed Western Groups". Accepting that national identities are dynamic and can change in accordance with the socio-political context, and they do not function in isolated from other identities, İnaç (2004) argued that Turkish and European identities can be regarded as "constitutive others" for each other because of very long term relationships between them. He explained that Turkey's long-term attempts at Europeanization and westernization parallel with the perception of Europe as a reference point for her progress and improvement. According to İnaç, this, in turn, reflects the acceptance of Turkey's insufficiency for her own development, which may lead to an inferiority complex and humiliation of Turkish identity among Turkish people. In a parallel way, Hortaçsu and Cem-Ersoy (2005) argued that Turkey as a lower status group was trying to get acceptance from a

higher status superordinate group, which examined her qualifications for group membership. In this context, the present results suggested that some Turkish participants' tendency to attribute negative meanings to having a Turkish identity is closely associated with their perception of Western groups as underestimating and undervaluing the existence of Turkish identity.

Vignoles (2011) argued that people are universally motivated not only to feel better about themselves (the self-esteem motive), but also to believe that their identities are continuous across time and situation (the continuity motive), distinct from other identities (the distinctiveness motive), efficacious or competent enough to influence the others (the efficacy motive); and inclusive or accepting for oneself (the belonging motive). Vignoles added that there may be, however, differences in what forms of these motives are most salient or valued in different cultural context. Vignoles, Regalia, Manzi, Golledge, and Scabini (2006) showed that each of these motives has an influence in the construction and maintenance of social (as well as personal) identities. Consistent with this, the present thesis suggested that Turkish participants construct Turkish identity in terms of Glorification/Negative Attributes (related to self-esteem motive), Power/Independency (related to efficacy motive), Distinctiveness/Indistinctiveness (related to distinctiveness motive), Entitativity (related to belonging motive) and Continuity (related to continuity motive).

Vignoles (2011) noted that identity threats are encountered, when one or more of these motives are at risk of not being satisfied, which lead people to utilize some coping strategies in order to reestablish satisfaction of the relevant motive. Accordingly, the present thesis also suggested that among Turkish people satisfaction of (collective) self-esteem motive (Glorification/Negative Attributes of Turkish Identity) is more related to Turkish in-group and Kurdish group evaluations and perceptions of inter-group threats and conflict; satisfaction of (collective) continuity motive is more related to perception of relationships with Kurdish sub-group; satisfaction of (collective) distinctiveness motive is more related to differentiation of Turkish in-group from European group; satisfaction of (collective) belonging motive (Entitativity of Turkish Identity) is more related to perception of relationships with

Kurdish sub-group; and satisfaction of (collective) efficacy motive (Power and Independency of Turkish Identity) is more related to Turkish in-group evaluation and perception of its relationships with Kurdish sub-group. Notably, American group evaluation was not predicted by any of Meanings of Having a Turkish Identity. This seems consistent with SIT (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) that Kurds (sub-group) and Europeans (superordinate group) are more relevant, salient, and significant out-groups vis-à-vis Turkish identity, whereas Americans can be regarded as a more straightforward or less proximal out-group.

Vignoles (2011) attracted attention to the lack of research investigating the effects of motives for self-esteem, distinctiveness, belonging, continuity, and efficacy in combination as predictors of identity processes. He questioned “Are some motives stronger than others?” and “Are some motives particularly relevant to specific identity domains or processes?”. The present thesis examined the effects of these motives in combination on the processes of social identity and inter-group relations. By doing this, the present thesis considered different out-groups vis-à-vis Turkish identity and different perceptions of inter-group relations in Turkey. The thesis suggested that different motives underlying constructions of Turkish identity are related to different outcome variables of perceptions of intergroup relations, after controlling for the effects of national-social identifications in Turkey.

4.5. Limitations of the Study and Suggestions for Future Work

The present thesis has some important limitations. In this thesis, firstly, Contents of Turkish Identity were explored in order to investigate their relationships with the perceptions of intergroup relations in Turkey. For this purpose, the measures of the thesis were developed based on the analyses of qualitative data in Study 1. Accordingly, variables of the study were computed based on the results of factor analyses, which were conducted to check the discriminant construct validity of Contents of Turkish Identity. For convergent validity, the pattern of relationships between study variables provided evidence, which were mostly consistent with the pattern of relationships between relevant variables in the previous research. Sani et

al. (2007), for example, demonstrated close associations between different perceptions of in-group, such as in-group continuity, in-group entitativity, collective self-esteem, and in-group identification. However, measures of the study were not tested with additional samples for validity and reliability. Thus, it would be worthwhile for future research to replicate the current factor structure of Contents of Turkish Identity.

Secondly, although reliability scores for other variables of the study were satisfactory, the reliability scores for National Participation and National Essentialism were relatively less adequate. Thus, it could be valuable to add some further items to these scales in order to have more reliable measures. In addition, because the present thesis explored firstly the criteria for national belonging in Turkey, further criteria considered by previous researchers were not used. In future research, it could be valuable to see how the criteria used by previous researchers relate to those included in this study.

Thirdly, the present thesis utilized self-report measures for Meanings of Having a Turkish Identity and assumed that the motives for self-esteem, distinctiveness, continuity, belonging, and efficacy underlie these constructions of Turkish identity, based on relevant literature (e.g., Vignoles, 2001). However, it would be valuable for future research to examine how people's constructions of a given national identity change depending on their need for self-esteem, distinctiveness, continuity, belonging, and efficacy in experimental studies. It may also be valuable to investigate the relationships between personal and collective perceptions of self-esteem, distinctiveness, continuity, belonging, and efficacy by utilizing both experimental and cross sectional methods.

In addition, national-social identifications were measured with just one item and Turkish identification with just two items, asking to what extent people saw themselves as a Citizen of the world, European, Kurd, and Turk and a Citizen of Turkey. Some studies have measured national identification with a broader range of items also encompassing emotional and evaluative components of social identity

(e.g., Pehrson, Brown, & Zagefka, 2009). In future research, it may be worthwhile to replicate the current findings, adding affective and evaluative items to the scale of national-identifications in Turkey. Finally, it is worth noting that the present thesis explored contents of Turkish identity among Turkish people and did not consider other groups in Turkey, such as Alevis, Kurds, and Lazs. In order to capture a broader range of contents of Turkish identity, it would be valuable for future research to investigate other groups' conceptions of Turkish identity.

4.6. Conclusions

It is worth noting that the present thesis is important in the way that it explored the contents of a given national identity and then examined their relationships with the perceptions of inter-group relations in a given context. Doing this, the present thesis showed that a given national identity can be defined in terms of boundaries, characteristics, and meanings, which may have different significance in the prediction of different perceptions of inter-group relations, after controlling for the effects of relevant national-social identifications. Accordingly, the present thesis suggested that not only the extent to which people perceive themselves as in-group members, as proposed by SIT; but also their perceptions of what it means to be an in-group member, how the in-group is characterized, and who can belong to the in-group and who can not, all play important complementary and interactive roles in the processes of social identity and inter-group relations.

To summarize, in the present thesis, the outcome variables were predicted by a variety of independent variables. Among national-social identifications, Turkish identification (for Turkish group evaluation and perceived Cultural and Realistic threats and Conflict), European identification (for European, American, and Kurdish group evaluations and perceived Conflict) emerged as significant variables. Among Definitions of Turkish In-group Boundaries, National Participation (for Kurdish group evaluation and perceived Cultural, Realistic, and Esteem threats and Conflict) was a significant variable. Among Characteristics of Turkish Identity, both View of Turkish Identity as Unprejudiced (for Turkish group evaluation and perceived

Cultural and Realistic threats and Conflict) and Turkish Identity as a Superordinate Identity (for perceived Cultural and Esteem threats and Conflict) emerged as significant predictors. Finally, among Meanings of Having a Turkish Identity, Power and Independency of Turkish Identity (for Turkish group evaluation), Entitativity of Turkish Identity (for perceived Conflict), Distinctiveness of Turkish Identity (for European group evaluation), Glorification of Turkish Identity (for Kurdish group evaluation and perceived Cultural and Realistic threats and Conflict) and Negative Attributes of Turkish Identity (for Turkish group evaluation and perceived Esteem threat) emerged as significant predictors. In addition, the interaction effects of Power and Negative Attributes of Turkish Identity in the prediction of Turkish group evaluation and Power, Independency, and Continuity of Turkish Identity in the prediction of perceived Conflict were significant.

Moreover, the present results showed that perception of inter-group relations with Kurds is likely to mediate the relationships of relevant Contents of Turkish Identity and national-social identifications with inter-group evaluation of Kurdish group. It was found that the relationships of National Participation, Glorification of Turkish Identity, and Kurdish and European identifications with Kurdish group evaluation is mediated by Kurdish Subgroup's Conflicting Relations with Turkish Superordinate Group. Accordingly, results suggested that Turkish participants, who have thoughts, such as in order to have a Turkish identity people should be involved with Turkish nation by enjoying its culture, citizenship, country, and great political leader, Ataturk; and having a Turkish identity is a privilege and being proud of Turk, have higher levels of perceptions of Conflict from Kurds and thus, more likely to evaluate Kurdish group less positively. In addition, European identification was found associated with lower evaluation of Kurdish group because of perceived Conflict from Kurds. Accordingly, given that Kurds are regarded as a part of superordinate Turkish identity, or as a part of Turkish in-group (as found in Study 1), results implied that evaluation of Kurdish sub-group is likely to result from, at least in part, the perception of Kurdish Subgroup's Conflicting Relations with Turkish Superordinate Group (Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999; Wenzel et al. 2003), which is

predicted by Definitions of Turkish In-group Boundaries, Characteristics of Turkish Identity, Meanings of Having a Turkish Identity, and national-social identifications. Finally, results showed that relationship of View of Turkish Identity as Unprejudiced with Turkish group evaluation is partly mediated by perceived Cultural and Realistic threats from Western groups.

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APPENDIX A

(Study 1)

Open-ended Questions

- 1) What do you think about the Turkish identity?
(Türk kimliđi hakkında neler düşünöyorsunuz?)
- 2) What are the aspects of Turkish identity?
(Türk kimliđinin özellikleri nelerdir?)
- 3) What does it mean to belong to Turkish identity? Who can belong to Turkish identity?
(Türk kimliđine ait olmak ne demektir? Kimler Türk kimliđine ait olabilir?)
- 4) Is there any threat to Turkish identity?
(Türk kimliđine yönelik herhangi bir tehdit var mıdır?)
- 5) What do you think about the relationship between Turkish identity and the different identities?
(Türk kimliđinin farklı kimliklerle olan ilişkisi hakkında neler düşünöyorsunuz?)
- 6) How do you judge the position of Turkish identity in a frame of Turkey's international relationships?
(Türkiye'nin uluslararası ilişkileri bağlamında Türk kimliđinin durumunu nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?)
- 7) What do you think about the country we live in?
(Yaşadığımız ülke hakkında neler düşünöyorsunuz?)
- 8) What are the benefits of being a member of Turkish identity for the individuals?
(Türk kimliđine mensup olmanın bireyler için faydaları nelerdir?)

APPENDIX B

(Study 2)

Definitions of Turkish In-group Boundaries Scale

- ___ Türk kimliğine ait olabilmek için T.C. vatandaşı olmak gereklidir.
- ___ Türk kimliğine ait olabilmek için Türk kültürüne sahip olmak gereklidir.
- ___ Kendini Türk hissetmek isteyen herkes Türk kimliğine ait olabilir, başka herhangi bir önkoşul gerekli değildir.
- ___ Türk kimliğine ait olabilmek için Türkiye’de yaşamak gereklidir.
- ___ Türk kimliğine ait olabilmek için vatana ve millete karşı sorumluluk sahibi olmak gereklidir.
- ___ Türk kimliğine ait olabilmek için Türkçe konuşmak gereklidir.
- ___ Türk kimliğine ait olabilmek için Atatürk ilke ve inkılâplarına bağlı kalmak gereklidir.
- ___ Türk kimliğine ait olabilmek için Müslüman olmak gereklidir.
- ___ Türk kimliğine ait olabilmek için Türk anneye sahip olmak gereklidir.
- ___ Türk kimliğine ait olabilmek için Türk babaya sahip olmak gereklidir.

APPENDIX C

(Study 2)

Characteristics of Turkish Identity Scale

- ___ Türk kimliđi ierisinde bir sr farklı etnik kkeni barındıran kimliđe verilen isimdir.
- ___ Trk kimliđi denilince Trkler, Krtler, Lazlar hepsi bir arada dřnlmelidir.
- ___ Trk kimliđi farklı alt kimlikleri ieren bir st kimliktir.
- ___ Trk kimliđifarklı kimliklere karřı hořgrldr.
- ___ Trk kimliđi farklı kimliklere karřı saygılıdır.
- ___ Trk kimliđi farklı kimliklere karřı ayrımcı deđildir.
- ___ Trk kimliđi farklı kimlikleri dıřlamaktadır.
- ___ Trk kimliđi farklı kimlikleri asimile etmek/sindirmekistemektedir.
- ___ Trk kimliđi farklı kimliklerin yařamasına karřı bir tutum sergilemektedir.

APPENDIX D

(Study 2)

Meanings of Having a Turkish Identity Scale

- ___ Türk kimliği Türkleri diğerlerinden ayıran/farklı kılan bir kimliktir.
- ___ Türk kimliğinin kendine has farklı özellikleri vardır.
- ___ Türk kimliğinin dünyadaki diğer kimlikler arasında ayrı bir yeri vardır.
- ___ Türk kimliğine ait olmak kişiye kendini bir bütünün parçası olarak hissettirir.
- ___ Türk kimliğine ait olmak kişiye kendini birlik ve beraberlik içinde hissettirir.
- ___ Türk kimliğine ait olmak kişiye üzüntüleri ve sevinçleri paylaşma hissi yaşatır.
- ___ Türk kimliğinin dünyadaki diğer kimliklerle ortak pek çok özelliği vardır.
- ___ Türk kimliği dünyadaki diğer kimliklere benzemektedir.
- ___ Türk kimliğinin Türkleri diğerlerinden ayırt edici bir niteliği yoktur.
- ___ Türk kimliğine ait olmak Türk olmaktan gurur duymaktır.
- ___ Türk kimliğine ait olmak ayrıcalıktır.
- ___ Türk kimliğine ait olmak övünülecek bir şeydir.
- ___ Türk kimliği dünya üzerindeki en güzel kimliklerden birisidir.
- ___ Türk kimliği dünyaya hâkim olabilecek güçtedir.
- ___ Türk kimliği dünyaya sesini duyurabilecek güçtedir.
- ___ Türk kimliği dünyaya lider olabilecek güçtedir.
- ___ Türk kimliği her zaman var olabilecek bir kimliktir.
- ___ Türk kimliği geçmişi ve bugünü olduğu gibi geleceği de olacak bir kimliktir.
- ___ Türk kimliği dünya var oldukça varlığını devam ettirecek bir kimliktir.
- ___ Türk kimliği bağımsızlığın simgesidir.
- ___ Türk kimliğine ait olmak bağımsız ve özgür olmak demektir.
- ___ Türk kimliğine ait olmak başka ülkelerin etkisi altında kalmadan yaşamak demektir.
- ___ Türk kimliğine ait olmak küçümsenme sebebidir.
- ___ Türk kimliğine ait olmanın utanılacak yanları bulunmaktadır.
- ___ Türk kimliğine ait olmanın dezavantajları vardır.

APPENDIX E

(Study 2)

Turkish In-group's Relations with Others Scale

- ___ Gelişmiş batılı ülkeler Türk kimliğini sindirmeye çalışmaktadır.
- ___ Gelişmiş batılı ülkeler Türk kültürünün varlığına yönelik tehdit oluşturmaktadır.
- ___ Gelişmiş batılı ülkeler kendi kültürlerini Türk milletine dayatmak istemektedir.
- ___ Gelişmiş batılı ülkelerin Türkiye'nin topraklarında gözü bulunmaktadır.
- ___ Gelişmiş batılı ülkeler Türkiye'nin kaynaklarını kullanmak istemektedir.
- ___ Gelişmiş batılı ülkeler Türkiye'nin jeopolitik konumunu kıskanmaktadır.
- ___ Gelişmiş batılı ülkelerin Türk kimliğini parçalamaya dönük hedefleri vardır.
- ___ Gelişmiş batılı ülkeler Türk kimliğine karşı önyargılıdır.
- ___ Gelişmiş batılı ülkeler Türk kimliğini hor görmektedir.
- ___ Gelişmiş batılı ülkeler arasında Türk kimliği dezavantajlı konumdadır.
- ___ Kürtler Türk kimliğinin bir parçası olmalarına rağmen Türklerle çatışma çıkarmaktadır.
- ___ Türk kimliği Kürtleri de içeren bir üst kimlik olmasına rağmen Kürtler bu duruma uygun düşmeyen davranışlar göstermektedir.
- ___ Kürtler bir üst kimlik olarak Türk kimliğinin norm ve değerlerine aykırı davranmaktadır

APPENDIX F

(Study 2)

Inter-group Evaluations Scale

Amerikalılara karşı olan hislerimin olumluk/olumsuzluk durumu _____

Türlere karşı olan hislerimin olumluk/olumsuzluk durumu _____

Avrupalılara karşı olan hislerimin olumluluk/olumsuzluk durumu _____

Kürtlere karşı olan hislerimin olumluluk/olumsuzluk durumu _____

Amerikalılara kendinizi ne kadar yakın/uzak bulduğunuzu belirtiniz _____

Türlere kendinizi ne kadar yakın/uzak bulduğunuzu belirtiniz _____

Avrupalılara kendinizi ne kadar yakın/uzak bulduğunuzu belirtiniz _____

Kürtlere kendinizi ne kadar yakın/uzak bulduğunuzu belirtiniz _____

1.a. Amerikalıların özellikleri nelerdir?

1.b. Bu özellikleri ne kadar olumlu/olumsuz bulduğunuzu belirtiniz.

2.a. Türklerin özellikleri nelerdir?

2.b. Bu özellikleri ne kadar olumlu/olumsuz bulduğunuzu belirtiniz.

3.a. Avrupalıların özellikleri nelerdir?

3.b. Bu özellikleri ne kadar olumlu/olumsuz bulduğunuzu belirtiniz.

4.a. Kürtlerin özellikleri nelerdir?

4.b. Bu özellikleri ne kadar olumlu/olumsuz bulduğunuzu belirtiniz.

APPENDIX G

(Study 2)

Demographic Information Form

Cinsiyetiniz: E () K ()

Yaşınız: -----

Okulunuz: -----

Bölümünüz: -----

Sınıfınız: -----

Ailenizin yaşadığı şehir: -----

En uzun süre yaşadığınız
Yerleşim birimi: Köy ()Kasaba ()Şehir ()Büyükşehir ()Yurtdışı
()

Annenizin Eğitim Durumu: -----

Babanızın Eğitim Durumu: -----

Yurtdışında bulundunuz mu? Evet () Hayır ()

Ana Diliniz/Dilleriniz:

Ailenizin Ortalama Gelir Düzeyi:

Dininiz:

Dindarlık durumunuzu belirtir misiniz?

Siyasi görüşünüzü belirtir misiniz?

APPENDIX H

(Study 2)

National-social Identifications Scale

- ___ Kendimi dünya vatandaşı olarak görüyorum.
- ___ Kendimi Avrupalı/Batılı görüyorum.
- ___ Kendimi Türkiyeli olarak görüyorum.
- ___ Kendimi TC. vatandaşı olarak görüyorum.
- ___ Kendimi Türk olarak görüyorum.
- ___ Kendimi Kürt olarak görüyorum.
- ___ Kendimi Arap olarak görüyorum.
- ___ Kendimi Laz olarak görüyorum.
- ___ Kendimi Müslüman olarak görüyorum.
- ___ Kendimi _____ olarak görüyorum (diğer tercihleriniz varsa lütfen belirtiniz).

**APPENDIX I -
Türkçe Özet**

Türkçe Özet

Giriş

Bu çalışma Türkiye’de Türk kimliği içerikleri, ulusal-sosyal kimliklenmeler ve gruplar arası ilişkilerin algılanma biçimleri arasındaki ilişkileri araştırmaktadır. Bu amaç için Türk, Avrupalı ve Dünya Vatandaşı ulusal kimliklenmeleriyle, Türk İç Grubunun Sınırlarının Tanımlanma Biçimleri, Türk Kimliğinin Özellikleri, Türk Kimliğine Sahip Olmanın Anlamları ve Türk İç Grubunun Diğerleriyle İlişkileri ve Türk, Kürt, Avrupalı ve Amerikan gruplarının değerlendirilmesi arasındaki ilişkiler incelenmiştir.

Sosyal Kimlik ve Gruplar Arası İlişkiler

Sosyal Kimlik Kuramı (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) sosyal kimlik ile gruplar arası ilişkileri anlamaya dönük temel kuramlardan bir tanesidir. Bu kuruma göre öz saygılarını korumak için kişiler gruplar arası değerlendirme yaparken kendi iç-gruplarını daha olumlu değerlendirme eğilimindedirler. Daha sonra ki araştırmacılar bu kuramın açıklamalarını grupla olan kimliklenme arttıkça iç-grubun daha olumlu ve/veya dış grubun daha olumsuz değerlendirileceği şeklinde yorumlamıştır (bkz. Turner, 1999). Bununla birlikte çalışmalar bu değişkenler arasında tutarlı olarak anlamlı bir ilişki göstermemişlerdir (örn., Pehrson, Vignoles & Brown, 2009). Çözüm olarak araştırmacılar gruplar arası ilişkilerin algılanma biçimlerini anlamak için sadece grupla kimliklenme düzeyinin değil, aynı zamanda grubun sınırlarını tanımlama biçimlerinin, gruba ilişkin inançların ve atfedilen anlamların da önemli olduğunu vurgulamışlardır (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001; Turner, 1999). Bu bağlamda bu çalışma öncelikli olarak Türk kimliğinin içeriklerini veya tanımlama biçimlerini keşfetmeyi amaçlamıştır.

Ulusal Kimlik İçerikleri ve Gruplar Arası İlişkiler

Sosyal kimliğe sahip olmak sadece belirli bir gruba ait olmanın farkındalığı değil, aynı zamanda grubun tarihine, kültürüne ve ideolojisine dönük anlayış sahibi olmak demektir. Özellikle ulusal kimlikler gibi geniş ölçekli kimlikler soyut oluşumlardır ve sosyal çevreden türetilen farklı anlamlılıkları içlerinde barındırırlar. Böylelikle ulusal kimliklerin içerikleri zamana ve mekâna göre değişim göstermektedir (Huddy, 2001; Reicher & Hopkins, 2001). Ulusal kimlik içerikleri kişilerin kendilerini, yaşadıkları dünyayı ve diğerleriyle olan ilişkilerini anlama biçimlerini yansıtmaktadır. Aynı zamanda ulusal kimlik içerikleri diğer grupların iç-grupla olan ilişkisini açıklamaktadır (örn., destekleyici, zararlı veya ilgisiz). Bu bağlamda grup üyelerinin diğerleriyle olan gruplar arası ilişkileri algılama biçimlerini ve iç-ve-dış grupları nasıl değerlendirdiklerini anlamak için ilgili ulusal kimliğin içeriklerini öğrenmek önem kazanmaktadır. Aşağıda Türkiye’de ulusal kimliğin temsilleriyle ilgili bilgi verilmektedir.

Türkiye’de Ulusal Kimlik

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti 1923 yılında Bağımsızlık Savaşı sonucu kurulmuştur. Çok kültürlü Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun dağılması sonucu kurulan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nde hala farklı etnik gruplar yaşamaktadır. Türk kimliğinin resmi temsilleri vatandaşlık, toprak (bölge, yer) ve kültür temelli kavramları içermiştir. Türk kimliğinin resmi olarak yapılandırılması aynı zamanda bu kimliğin gücüne ve sürekliliğine vurgu yapmıştır. Türk kimliğinin daha köktenci yapılandırılması bu kimliğin kültür, dil ve dinle olan ilişkisine önem vermiştir. 1990`lı yıllarda Türkiye yeni bir döneme geçmiştir. Özellikle Kürt hareketinin yükselmesi ile Türk kimliğine daha köktenci yaklaşım daha rasyonel görülmüştür. Türkiye’de ulus kimliğin Atatürk ilkeleri doğrultusunda yapılandırılması vatandaşlık ve bölge temelli milliyetçiliğe vurgu yapmıştır ve ülkenin bağımsız bir duruşa sahip olması gerekliliğini ön plana çıkarmıştır (Bora, 2003).

Türkiye küreselleşme sürecinde ve Avrupa Bildiğine üyelik için aday bir ülkedir. Bu süreçte Türkiye kültürel, ekonomik ve politik dönüşümler yaşamıştır. Aynı zamanda diğer ulus devletlerde olduğu gibi küreselleşme süreci beraberinde tehdit algısını artırmış ve milliyetçilik yükselişe geçmiştir. Bu dönemde diğer ülkelerin Türkiye'yi sevmediği, bölmeye çalıştığı gibi söylemler ortaya çıkmış ve güvenlikle ilgili endişeler artmıştır. Amerika'nın Irak'ı işgal ettiği ortamda “Müslümanların tehlikeli diğerleri” olarak sunulması, Türkiye’de batı karşıtı görüşlerin artmasına sebep olmuştur. Milliyetçilik aynı zamanda PKK'nın Güney Doğu Anadolu Bölgesinde artan saldırıları paralelinde yükselişe geçmiştir. Böylece küreselleşme sürecinin ve Avrupa Bildiğine üye olma çabalarının Türkiye üzerinde olan olumlu ve olumsuz etkilerinden söz etmek mümkün görünmektedir. Bir taraftan demokratikleşme daha önemli bir mesele haline gelmiştir. Diğer taraftan da ulus devleti korumaya dönük endişeler artmıştır (Kancı, 2009). 2009 yazında Türkiye “Kürt Sorunu” için önerilen öncelikle “açılım” sonrasında “demokratik açılım” ve daha sonrasında da “milli birlik ve kardeşlik projesi” olarak adlandırılan politikalarla tanıştırılmıştır (Çandar, 2009). Ele alınan ortamda bu çalışma Türk kimliğinin tanımlanma biçimlerini keşfetmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu amaca ulaşmak için yürütülen birinci çalışmadan önce ulusal kimliklenmeler ve gruplar arası ilişkilerin algılanma biçimleri arasındaki ilişkileri inceleyen literatür daha detaylı olarak aşağıda anlatılmaktadır.

İlgili Geçmiş Çalışmalar

Çalışmaya ilişkin hipotezler üretebilmek için ilgili kuramsal ve ampirik çalışmaları daha detaylı olarak ele almak önemli görünmektedir. Bu çerçevede aşağıda ulusal kimliklenme ve gruplar arası ilişkileri algılama biçimleri arasındaki ilişkileri farklı yönlerden ele alan ilgili geçmiş çalışmalar sunulmaktadır.

Ulusal Kimliklenmeler/Ulusal Sınırlar ve Gruplar Arası İlişkiler

Keane (1994) (akt. Hjern, 1998) ulusal kimliği ulusla olan bağın bilgisi olarak tanımlamaktadır. Araştırmacı bu bilgi sayesinde kişilerin kendilerini diğerlerine göre konumlayarak tanımladıklarını ve böylece evlerinde olma hissi yaşadıklarını iddia

etmektedir. Pakulski ve Tranter'a (2000) göre ulusal kimlikler makro düzeyde sosyal kimliklerdir ve soyut oluşumları ifade etmektedirler. Aynı zamanda ulusal kimlikler toplulukla dayanışma içinde olma hissi, aitlik hissi ve bağlanma duygusu ile ilişkili bulunmaktadır.

Ulusal kimlikler kapsayıcılıklarına göre farklılık göstermektedir. Bu bağlamda gruplar arası ilişkileri algılama biçimleri değişmektedir. Ulusal kimliklerin kapsayıcılığı veya sınırlarının tanımlanması diğerlerinden kimlerin iç-gruba kimlerin de dış-gruba ait olduğunun algılanmasıyla ilgilidir (Dovidio, Gaertner, Hodson, Houlette, & Johnson, 2005).

Mummendey ve Wenzel (1999) gruplar arası ilişkilerin algılama biçimlerini anlamak için daha kapsayıcı sosyal kimlik olarak tanımladıkları üst kimliklere vurgu yaptılar. Araştırmacılar iç grup ve dış grubun üst kimliğin prototipine göre kıyaslandığını ve bu kıyaslamada ilgili prototipe daha benzer bulunan grubun daha olumlu değerlendirildiğini iddia ettiler. Araştırmacılar aynı zamanda kişilerin kendi iç gruplarını üst kimliğin ilgili prototipine daha benzer algılama eğiliminde olduklarını ifade ettiler. Araştırmacılar çalışmalarında kişilerin kendi iç grubunun norm ve değerlerini üst grubun veya kimliğin norm ve değerleri olarak yansıtma eğiliminde olduklarını gösterdiler. Buna paralel olarak da dış grubun üst kimliğin prototipinden farklı olarak algılanmasının dış grubun daha az olumlu değerlendirilmesiyle sonuçlandığını buldular (Wenzel, Mummendey, Weber, & Waldzus, 2003).

Araştırmacılar ulusal kimliğin sınırlarının tanımlanmasında genellikle vatandaşlık ve etnik köken/kültür temelli tanımlama biçimlerine yer verdiler. Vatandaşlık temelli ulus kimlik tanımına göre ulusal gruba ait olmak için ilgili ülkenin vatandaşı olmak, ilgili ülkede çoğunlukla konuşulan dili konuşmak ve devlete ait kurum, kanun ve tüzüklere saygı duymak gibi kriterleri karşılamak gerekmektedir. Diğer taraftan etnik köken/kültür temelli ulus kimlik tanımına göre ulusal gruba ait olmak için ilgili ülkede doğmuş olmak, ilgili ülkede uzunca bir süre yaşamış olmak (böylece ülkenin kültürünü benimsemiş ve özümsemiş olmak) ve ilgili ülkede geçerli olan dine mensup olmak gibi kriterler önemlidir. Bu bağlamda araştırmacılar vatandaşlık

temelli ulus kimlik tanımının dış grubun (göçmenler) daha olumlu değerlendirilmesiyle, etnik köken/kültür temelli ulus kimlik tanımının ise dış grubun daha az olumlu değerlendirilmesiyle ilişkili olduğunu göstermişlerdir (Hjerm, 1998; Jones ve Smith, 1999; Löden, 2008).

Ulusal Kimliklere Dair Motivasyon Kaynakları/Atfedilen Anlamlar

Daha önce bahsedildiği gibi Sosyal Kimlik Kuramına göre kişiler özsaygılarını korumak amacıyla iç gruplarını dış gruplara göre daha olumlu değerlendirme eğilimindedirler. Diğer bir deyişle kişiler sosyal kimliklerini olumlu görmek ve değerlendirmek isterler (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Daha sonraki araştırmacılar sosyal kimliklerin sadece benlik saygısının korunmasıyla ilgili motivasyon kaynağı içermediğini, aynı zamanda ayırt edicilik, etkililik, süreklilik ve ait olmayla ilgili motivasyon kaynakları da içerdiğini ileri sürmüşlerdir (Vignoles, Gollodge, Regalia, Manzi, & Scabini, 2006). Bu bağlamda ulusal kimliğin de kişilerin zamanda ve mekânda süreklilik hissetme (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001), gruba aitlik duyma (e.g., Castano, Yzerbyt, Paladino, & Sacchi, 2002), diğerleri üzerinde etkili olma (Breakwell, 1996) ve ayırt edici özelliklere sahip olma (Brewer, 1991, 1993) gibi ihtiyaçlarına cevap verebileceği iddia edilmiştir.

Örneğin, araştırmacılar ulusal kimliğe ilişkin süreklilik algısının bu sürekliliğe tehdit oluşturan gruplara karşı daha olumsuz değerlendirmelere yol açabileceğini göstermişlerdir (Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2013). Aynı zamanda iç gruba ilişkin süreksizlik algısının ilgili dış gruba yönelik daha negatif tutumları öngördüğü gösterilmiştir (Jetten & Wohl, 2012). İç gruba aitlik duyma hissiyle dış grubu daha farklı algılama arasında da ilişki gösteren çalışmalar olmuştur (Pickett & Brewer, 2001). Araştırmacılar Britanyalı ve Avrupalı kimliklerinin yapılandırılmasında güce ve kontrol etmeye ilişkin motivasyon kaynaklarının (etkililik motivasyonu) rolüne değinmişlerdir (Cinnirella, 1996). Bununla birlikte gruba ilişkin etkinlik algısının gruplar arası ilişkileri algılama biçimlerine olan etkisini araştıran çalışmalar bulunmamaktadır (bkz. Vignoles, 2011).

Ulusal Kimliklere İlişkin Tutumlar ve Gruplar Arası İlişkiler

Sosyal psikolojide genellikle araştırmacılar ulusal kimliklere ilişkin tutumları açıklamak için vatanseverlik ve milliyetçilik kavramlarıyla ilgilenmişlerdir. Milliyetçilik ulusun üstünlüğüne inanma, ulusu idealleştirme, ulusu ırk, kültür, köken gibi kavramlar temelinde tanımlama ve ulusta homojenliği destekleme gibi özelliklerle ilişkilidir. Vatanseverlik ise ulusta heterojenliği destekleme, ulusu başka uluslar yerine ulusun kendi geçmişiyle kıyaslama, ulusa karşı aitlik ve sorumluluk hissetme, ulusta demokratik kuralları destekleme ve uluslararası yaklaşıma sahip olma gibi özelliklerle ilişkilidir. Bu bağlamda milliyetçilik daha olumsuz gruplar arası tutumlarla, vatanseverlik ise daha olumlu gruplar arası tutumlarla ilişkilendirilmiştir (Blank & Schmidt, 2003).

Gruplar Arası Tehdit ve Çatışma ve Gruplar Arası İlişkiler

Gruplar arası tehdit algısı bir grubun eylemlerinin, değerlerinin, inançlarının ve diğer özelliklerinin başka bir grubun refahına veya iyilik haline tehdit oluşturduğu durumlarda ortaya çıkmaktadır. Araştırmacılar gruplar arası tehdit veya çatışma algısının gruplar arası tutumları belirleyen en önemli etmenler oldukları konusunda sözbirliği içerisinde görünmektedirler (Rick, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006). Gerçekçi çatışma algısı yaklaşımına göre kıt kaynakların paylaşılması için ortaya çıkan gruplar arası yarışmacı ortam gruplar arası negatif tutumlara sebep olabilmektedir (Sherif, 1966). Gruplar arası tehdit algısı kaynakların paylaşılmasıyla ilgili yarışmacı ortamdan kaynaklanabileceği gibi gruplar arası kültürel farklılıklardan da kaynaklanabilmektedir (Zarate, Garcia, Garza, & Hitlan, 2004). Araştırmacılar gerçekçi ve kültürel (sembolik) tehditler dışında gruba ayrımcı davranılması veya grubun değersizleştirilmesi yoluyla gerçekleşen grubun öz saygısına yönelik tehditler de olabileceğini iddia ettiler (Branscombe, Spears, Ellemers, & Doosje, 2002). Verkuyten (2009) gerçekçi tehdit algısı, kültürel tehdit algısı, ulusal kimliklenme ve göçmenlere karşı tutumlar arasındaki ilişkileri araştırmıştır. Araştırmacı gerçekçi ve

kültürel tehdit algılarının birbirleriyle yakından ilişkili olduklarını ve ulusal kimliklenme, tehdit algısı ve göçmenlere karşı negatif tutumlar arasında olumlu bir ilişki olduğunu göstermiştir.

Çalışma 1

Hipotezlerinin Üretilmesi

Birinci çalışma Türk kimliğinin içeriklerini keşfetmeyi hedeflemektedir. Bu çalışmada daha önce bahsedilen Türkiye'nin ulusal kimlikle ilgili ortamında Türk kimliğine ilişkin farklı tanımlama biçimlerinin ortaya çıkması beklenmektedir. Türk kimliğinin sınırlarına ilişkin kültür, toprak, vatandaşlık temelli tanımlamalar beklenmektedir. Atatürk'ün Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kuruluşunda oynadığı önemli rol düşünüldüğünde, Atatürk'e ilişkin tanımlamaların da ortaya çıkması mümkün görünmektedir. Ayrıca Türk kimliğine sahip olmak Müslüman olmakla yakından ilgili olduğu için Türk kimliğinin sınırları Müslüman olmakla da ilişkilendirilebilir (Hortaçsu & Cem-Ersoy, 2005). Türk kimliğine sahip olmamanın bir takım anlamlarla veya motivasyon kaynaklarıyla ilişkilendirilmesi de beklenmektedir. Bu bağlamda Türkiye tarihi boyunca vurgulandığı üzere Türk kimliğinin bazı özelliklerine, örneğin; gücüne, sürekliliğine, bağımsızlığına, vb. değinilebilir (Bora, 2003). Türk kimliğinin diğer gruplarla olan ilişkilerinde ise içerde Kürtlerle olan dışarda ise Avrupalılar ve Amerikalılarla olan ilişkilerden bahsedilebilir.

Yöntem

Katılımcılar

Birinci çalışmaya 64 üniversite öğrencisi katılmıştır. Katılımcılar ODTÜ, Gazi Üniversitesi ve Bilkent Üniversitesinden gelmektedirler.

Ölçüm Araçları

Birinci çalışmada katılımcılara 8 açık uçlu soru sorulmuştur. Bu sorulara örnek olarak “Türk kimliği hakkında neler düşünüyorsunuz?”, “Türk kimliğinin özellikleri nelerdir?” ve “Türk kimliğine mensup olmanın bireyler için faydaları nelerdir?” verilebilir.

Bulgular

Birinci çalışmanın verisi içerik analizi yoluyla analiz edilmiştir. Katılımcıların açık uçlu sorulara verdikleri açık uçlu cevaplar anlamalarına göre sınıflandırılmıştır. Buna göre Türk Kimliğinin İçerikleri Türk İç Grubunun Sınırlarını Tanımlanma Biçimleri, Türk Kimliğinin Özellikleri, Türk Kimliğine Sahip Olmanın Anlamları ve Türk İç Grubunun Diğerleriyle İlişkileri bakımından kavramsallaştırılmıştır. Türk İç Grubunun Sınırlarını Tanımlama Biçimleri, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti vatandaşı olanlar, Türk kültürüne sahip çıkıp savunanlar, Türk hissetmek isteyen herkes, Türkiye’de yaşayan herkes gibi içerikleri içermiştir. Türk Kimliğinin Özellikleri Türk Kimliğinin Önyargısız Olduğu Görüşü ve Türk Kimliğinin Üst Bir Kimlik Olduğu Görüşü olarak kavramsallaştırılmıştır. Türk Kimliğine Atfedilen Anlamlar Türk Kimliğinin Ayırt Ediciliği, Türk Kimliğinin Bağımsızlığı, Türk kimliğinin Birlik ve Bütünleştiriciliği, Türk Kimliğinin Gücü, Türk Kimliğinin Sürekliliği, Türk Kimliğinin Negatif Özellikleri, Türk Kimliğinin İdealleştirilmesi ve Türk Kimliğinin Ayırt Edilmezliği olarak bulunmuştur. Türk İç Grubunun Diğerleriyle İlişkileri Kürt Alt Grubunun Türk Üst Grubuyla Çatışmalı İlişkisi, Batılılardan Algılanan Gerçekçi Tehdit, Batılılardan Algılanan Kültürel Tehdit, Batılılardan Algılanan Özsaygıya Yönelik Tehdit olarak bulunmuştur.

Tartışma

Birinci çalışma beklendiği üzere Türk kimliğine ilişkin farklı tanımlama biçimleri önermiştir. Böylelikle bulgular ulusal kimliklerin dinamik bir şekilde yapılandırıldığı ve bu yapılandırmaların zamana ve mekâna göre değişim gösterebileceği görüşünü desteklemiştir (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001). Türk kimliğinin sınırlarını tanımlama biçimleri olarak katılımcılar, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti vatandaşı olanlar, kendini Türk hissetmek isteyenler, Türkiye`de yaşayanlar, Türkiye`ye katkıda bulunanlar, Türkçe konuşanlar ve Atatürk ilke ve inkılaplarına uyanlar gibi kriterlerden bahsetmişlerdir. Bu tanımlamalar Türk kimliğini tanımlama biçimlerinin görece daha kapsayıcı yönünü göstermiştir. Aynı zamanda katılımcılar Türk kültürünü savunup sahip çıkanlar, Müslüman olanlar ve Türk anne ve babaya sahip olanlar gibi kriterlerden bahsetmişlerdir. Bu kriterler Türk kimliğinin sınırlarını tanımlama biçimlerinin görece daha dışlayıcı yönünü göstermiştir. Daha önceki çalışmalarda daha kapsayıcı veya vatandaşlık temelli ulus kimlik tanımları ilgili ülkenin vatandaşlığına sahip olanlar, ilgili ülkenin dilini konuşanlar ve ilgili ülkenin devlete ait kurum, kanun ve tüzüklerine saygı duyanlar gibi kriterleri içermiştir. Daha dışlayıcı veya kültür/etnik köken temelli ulus kimlik tanımları ise ilgili ülkede doğanlar, ilgili ülkenin dinine mensup olanlar gibi kriterleri içermiştir. Bu çalışmada bulunan Türk kimliğine ilişkin kriterler bazı yönlerden daha önce yurtdışında yapılan çalışmalarda kullanılan kriterlerden farklılık göstermektedir. Bu bağlamda ikinci çalışmada ilgili kriterler arasındaki ilişkilerin keşfedilmesi ve faktör yapılarının anlaşılması önem kazanmaktadır.

Birinci çalışmada katılımcılar aynı zamanda Türk kimliğine sahip olmaya bazı anlamlar atfetmişlerdir. Bunlardan Türk Kimliğinin İdealleştirilmesi kişilerin özsaygıya dönük ihtiyaçlarına karşılık gelebilir. Türk Kimliğinin Bağımsızlığı ve Gücü kişilerin etkililik ihtiyaçlarına, Türk Kimliğinin Ayırt Ediciliği kişilerin ayırt edici olma ihtiyaçlarına, Türk Kimliğinin Birlik ve Bütünleştiriciliği kişilerin aitlik hissi ihtiyaçlarına, Türk Kimliğinin Sürekliliği kişilerin zamanda ve mekanda

süreklilik duyma ihtiyaçlarına karşılık gelebilir (bkz. Vignoles, 2011). Bu bağlamda sonuçlar Türk kimliğine sahip olmanın kişilerin bazı ihtiyaçlarının doyurulmasında önemli bir yer tutabileceğini önermiştir.

Bu çalışmada katılımcılar aynı zamanda Türk kimliğine ilişkin bazı özelliklerden bahsetmişlerdir. Katılımcılar Türk kimliğini diğer gruplara karşı önyargısı olmayan bir kimlik ve başka alt grupları da temsil eden bir üst kimlik olarak tanımlamışlardır. Türk kimliğini diğer grupları dışlayıcı ve asimle edici bir kimlik olarak tanımlayan katılımcılar da olmuştur. Katılımcıların ilgili görüşleri Türkiye'nin sosyal ve politik ortamının yansıması olarak görülebilir.

Türk kimliğinin diğer gruplarla ilişkileri düşünüldüğünde, katılımcılar Kürtlerle ve Batılılarla olan ilişkilerden sıklıkla bahsetmişlerdir. Kürtlerle ilişkileri Kürtlerin Türk kimliğini bir üst kimlik olarak tanımamaları sonucu ortaya çıkan çatışmalı ortam çerçevesinde tanımlamışlardır. Batılılarla ilişkileri ise uzun Türkiye tarihi boyunca Batılıların Türkiye'yi ve Türk kimliğini istemediği, kıskandığı ve tehdit oluşturduğu yönünde ortaya atılan söylemler paralelinde Algılanan Kültürel Tehdit, Gerçekçi Tehdit ve Özsaygıya Yönelik Tehdit bakımından tanımlamışlardır. Böylece bu bulgular da Türkiye'nin sosyal ve politik ortamıyla uyumlu sonuçlar göstermiştir.

Çalışma 2

Hipotezlerin Üretilmesi

Öngörücü Değişken Olarak Ulusal Kimliklenmeler

Sosyal Kimlik Kuramına (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) göre kişiler kendilerini iç grubun bir üyesi olarak tanımladıktan sonra kendi iç gruplarını diğer gruplara göre daha olumlu değerlendirme eğilimi gösterirler. Bu çerçevede kendini Türk kimliği açısından tanımlayan katılımcıların Türk içi grubunu daha olumlu değerlendirecekleri beklenebilir. Kendini Avrupalı kimliği açısından tanımlayan katılımcıların ise Avrupalı grubunu daha olumlu değerlendireceği beklenebilir.

Kendini dünya vatandaşı olarak tanımlayan katılımcıların ise herhangi bir ulusal grubu daha az olumlu veya olumsuz değerlendirmesi beklenmemektedir. Ulusal kimliklenme ile dış grubun değerlendirilmesi arasında olumsuz bir ilişki beklenmemektedir. İç gruba bağlılık veya verilen önem dış grubun olumsuz değerlendirileceği anlamına gelmemektedir (Brewer, 1999). İç grubun ve dış grubun değerlendirilmesi arasında olumlu ilişki gösteren çalışmalar bulunmaktadır (Levin & Sidanius, 1999). Bununla birlikte bu çalışmada ele alınan dış gruplar Türk kimliğinin yapılandırılmasında önemli rol oynamış gruplar olduğu için Türk kimliklenmesiyle ve/veya Türk içi grubunun değerlendirilmesiyle dış grupların değerlendirilmesi arasında olumlu bir ilişki beklenmemektedir.

Kendini Türk kimliği açısından tanımlayan katılımcıların Türk kimliğine karşı daha fazla tehdit ve çatışma algılayacakları da beklenmektedir. Önceki çalışmalar belirli bir kimliğe veya gruba verilen önemle o kimliğe veya gruba karşı algılanan tehdit arasında olumlu bir ilişki olduğunu göstermişlerdir (bkz. Rick, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006). Bununla birlikte Avrupalı ve Dünya Vatandaşlığı kimliklenmesiyle Türk kimliğine karşı tehdit veya çatışma algısı arasında olumlu bir ilişki beklenmemektedir.

Öngörücü Değişken Olarak Türk Kimliğinin Sınırlarını Tanımlama Biçimleri

Daha önce belirtildiği gibi önceki çalışmalar genellikle vatandaşlık temelli ulus kimlik tanımının daha olumlu gruplar arası ilişkiler algısını, kültür/etnik köken temelli ulus kimlik tanımının ise daha olumsuz gruplar arası ilişkiler algısını öngördüğünü göstermişlerdir (örn., Jones & Smith, 2001). Bu çalışmada da daha kapsayıcı tanımlamanın daha olumlu gruplar arası tutumları, daha dışlayıcı tanımlamanın ise daha az olumlu gruplar arası tutumları öngörmesi beklenebilir. Bununla birlikte Türkiye’de ilgili değişkenler arasındaki ilişkileri inceleyen ilk çalışma olması ve Türk kimliğinin sınırlarını tanımlama biçimlerinin faktör yapısını keşfetmesi itibarıyla bu çalışmada ilgili değişkenler arasındaki ilişki örüntüleri farklılık gösterebilir.

Öngörücü Değişken Olarak Türk Kimliğinin Özellikleri

Kişiler kendi iç gruplarının norm ve değerlerini üst grubun norm ve değerlerine yansıtma eğilimindedirler. Kişiler bu eğilimi özellikle kendi iç grupları ve üst grupla özdeşleşme kurduklarında göstermektedirler (Wenzel, Mummendey, Weber, & Waldzus, 2003). Türkiye’de siyasi ve politik düzeyde genellikle ülkenin çok kültürlü yapısının önemi vurgulanmış ve farklı kültürlerden insanların uyum içinde yaşaması beklenmiştir. Bu bağlamda Türk kimliğinin üst bir kimliği temsil ettiği ve önyargısız olduğu yönündeki özelliklerinden yüksek puan alan katılımcıların, Türk iç grubunu daha fazla olumlu değerlendirmeleri beklenmektedir. Diğer taraftan Kürtlerle algılanan ilişki Kürtlerin Türk üst grubunun norm ve değerlerine uyumlu davranmadığı yönünde olduğu için Türk kimliğinin ilgili özelliklerinden yüksek puan alan katılımcılar Kürtlere yönelik daha fazla çatışma algılayabilir ve/veya Kürt grubunu daha az olumlu değerlendirebilirler. Bu bağlamda Türk kimliğinin ilgili özelliklerinin Türk kimliklenmesiyle etkileşimli etkisini araştırmak da önem kazanmaktadır.

Öngörücü Değişken Olarak Türk Kimliğine Atfedilen Anlamlar

Birinci çalışmada katılımcılar Türk kimliğine sahip olmaya ilişkin çeşitli anlamlar yüklemişlerdir. Bu anlamlardan Türk kimliğinin bağımsızlığı, sürekliliği, ayırt ediciliği, birlik ve bütünleştiriciliği, gücü ve idealleştirilmesi ile ilgili olanların Türk iç grubunun olumlu değerlendirmesini öngöreceği beklenebilir. Bu anlamlar Türk kimliğine yönelik olumlu algıların ifadesi olarak görülebilir (bkz. Golec de Zavala, 2011). Buna paralel olarak önceki çalışmalar iç grupla özdeşim kurma (ulusal kimliklenme) ve iç grubu olumlu değerlendirme ile iç grubu sürekli algılama (Sani, Bowe, Herrera, Manna, Cossa, Miao, & Zhou, 2007), ayırt edici bulma (Pickett & Brewer, 2001), birlik ve bütünleştirici görme (Gaertner & Schopler, 1998) ve iç grubu idealleştirme (Roccas, Klar, & Liviatan, 2006) arasında olumlu ilişkiler göstermişlerdir. Diğer taraftan dış grubun değerlendirilmesi konusunda önceki

çalışmalar yeterli veri sağlamamaktadır. Ancak iç grubun idealleştirilmesinin (Roccas, Klar, & Liviatan, 2006) ve ayırt ediciliğinin (Li & Brewer, 2004) dış grubun (olumsuz) değerlendirilmesini görece daha fazla öngördüğü bulunmuştur. Benzer şekilde bu çalışmada da Türk Kimliğinin Ayırt Ediciliğinin ve İdealleştirilmesinin dış gruplara yönelik tutumları daha fazla öngöreceği beklenebilir. Bununla birlikte bu çalışmada farklı dış gruplara yönelik farklı algılama biçimleri ele alındığından gruplar arası farklılıkların görülmesi de beklenebilir.

Gruplar Arası İlişkileri Algılama Biçimlerinin Aracı Değişken Olarak Ele Alınması

Bu çalışmada aynı zamanda iç-ve-dış grup değerlendirmelerini Türk Kimliğinin İçeriklerinden ve Ulusal kimliklenmelerden öngörmeye gruplar arası ilişkileri algılama biçimlerinin aracılık edebileceği beklenmektedir. Daha önceki çalışmalar gruplar arası tehdit ve çatışma algısının gruplar arası değerlendirmeleri öngören önemli değişkenler olduklarını (Curşeu, Stoop, & Schalk, 2007; Stephan ve ark., 2002; & Sherif, 1966) ve bu değişkenlerin iç-gruba yönelik özelliklerle diğer grupların değerlendirilmesi arasındaki ilişkilere aracılık ettiğini göstermişlerdir (Stephan & Stephan, 2010).

Yöntem

Katılımcılar

İkinci çalışmaya yaşları 17 ile 36 arasında değişen 324 üniversite öğrencisi katılmıştır.

Ölçeklerin Yapılandırılması

Çalışmanın ölçekleri birinci çalışmanın bulguları temel alınarak hazırlanmıştır. Türk Kimliğinin Sınırlarını Tanımlama Biçimlerini ölçmek için ilgili içerikleri temsil eden 10 madde hazırlanmıştır. Türk Kimliğinin Özelliklerini ölçmek için 9 madde, Türk Kimliğine Atfedilen Anlamları ölçmek için 25 madde ve Türk Kimliğinin

Diğerleriyle İlişkilerini Algılama Biçimlerini ölçmek için 13 madde geliştirilmiştir. İç-ve-dış grup değerlendirmeleri ilgili gruplara yakınlık derecesi ve ilgili grupları olumlu/olumsuz görme derecesi bakımından ölçülmüştür. İlgili gruplar Türk, Kürt, Avrupa ve Amerika olmuştur. Ulusal kimliklenmeler kişilerin kendilerini ne kadar Türk, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti vatandaşı, Avrupalı ve Dünya Vatandaşı gördükleri sorularak ölçülmüştür. İlgili ölçekler Ekler 'de görülebilir.

Bulgular

Faktör Analizleri

Birinci çalışmada bulunan Türk Kimliği İçeriklerinin faktör yapısını veya ayırt edici geçerliliğini keşfetmek için bir dizi faktör analizi yapılmıştır.

Türk Kimliğinin Sınırlarını Tanımlama Biçimleri için Faktör Analizi

Bu analiz ilk etapta 2 veya 3 faktörlü yapı önermiştir. Tekrar edilen faktör analizi 2 faktörlü yapının daha açıklayıcı olduğunu göstermiştir. Bu faktörler Ulusal Katılım ve Milliyetçi Özcülük olarak isimlendirilmişlerdir. Böylelikle ilgili sonuçlar Türkiye'de ulusal kimliğin sınırlarını vatandaşlık temelli ulus kimlik ve etnik köken/kültür temelli ulus kimlik olarak tanımlamanın uygun olmadığını göstermiştir.

Türk Kimliğine Atfedilen Anlamlar için Faktör Analizi

Bu analiz ilk etapta 7 veya 8 faktörlü yapı önermiştir. Tekrar edilen faktör analizi birinci çalışmayla tutarlı olarak 8 faktörlü yapıyı desteklemiştir. Böylelikle Türk Kimliğine Atfedilen Anlamlar Türk Kimliğinin Bağımsızlığı, Gücü, İdealleştirilmesi, Birlik ve Bütünleştiriciliği, Ayırt Ediciliği, Negatif Özellikleri, Ayırt Edilmezliği ve Sürekliliği olarak tanımlanmıştır.

Türk Kimliğinin Özellikleri için Faktör Yapısı

Bu analiz 2 faktörlü yapı önermiştir. Türk kimliğinin önyargısız olduğu görüşü ile ayrımcı ve asimile edici olduğu görüşü aynı faktörde ters yönlerde yük almışlardır. Türk kimliğinin bir üst kimlik olduğu görüşü ise ayrı bir faktör olarak belirlemiştir.

Türk İç-grubunun Diğer Gruplarla İlişkisi için Faktör Analizi

Bu faktör analizi de birinci çalışmanın bulgularını doğrulamıştır ve Türk iç grubunun diğer gruplarla ilişkisi Batılılardan Algılanan Gerçekçi Tehdit, Batılılardan Algılanan Kültürel Tehdit, Batılılardan Algılanan Öz saygıya Yönelik Tehdit ve Türk Üst Kimliğiyle Kürt Alt Grubunun Çatışmalı İlişkisi olarak tanımlanmıştır.

Regresyon Analizleri

Çalışmanın bağımlı değişkenlerini Türk Kimliğinin İçeriklerinden ve ulusal kimliklenmelerden öngörmek için bir dizi regresyon analizi yapılmıştır. Bu analizler Aiken ve West (1991) tarafından tanımlandığı gibi yapılmıştır. Böylelikle Türk Kimliğinin İçerikleri ve Türk ulusal kimliklenmesi arasındaki etkileşimli etkiler de test edilmiştir.

Öngörücü Değişken Olarak Ulusal Kimliklenmeler

Regresyon analizlerinin birinci basamağında ulusal kimliklenmeler analize sokulmuştur. Bulgulara göre Türk ulusal kimliklenmesi Türk grubunun olumlu değerlendirilmesini, Avrupalı kimliklenmesi Avrupa ve Amerika gruplarının olumlu değerlendirmelerini öngörmüştür. Avrupalı kimliklenmesi aynı zamanda Kürt grubunun değerlendirilmesini (olumsuz yönde) öngörmüştür. Türk kimliklenmesi aynı zamanda Batılılardan algılanan gerçekçi ve kültürel tehdit algısını ve Kürtlerden algılanan çatışmayı öngörmüştür.

Öngörücü Değişken Olarak Türk Kimliğinin Sınırlarını Tanımlama Biçimleri

Regresyon analizlerinin ikinci basamağında Türk Kimliğinin Sınırlarını Tanımlama Biçimleri analize sokulmuştur. Bulgulara göre Ulusal Katılım Kürt grubunun değerlendirilmesini olumsuz yönde, Batılılardan algılanan gerçekçi, kültürel ve özsaygıya yönelik tehditleri ve Kürtlerden algılanan çatışmayı olumlu yönde öngörmüştür. Milliyetçi Özcülük herhangi bir bağımlı değişkeni öngörmemiştir. Ayrıca ilgili değişkenler ile Türk kimliklenmesi arasında anlamlı olarak etkileşimli etki bulunmamıştır.

Öngörücü Değişken Olarak Türk Kimliğinin Özellikleri

Regresyon analizinin ikinci basamağında Türk Kimliğinin Özellikleri analize sokulmuştur. Türk Kimliğinin Önyargısız Olduğu Görüşü Türk iç grubunun olumlu değerlendirilmesini öngörmüştür. Kürtlerden algılanan çatışmayı ve Batılılardan algılanan gerçekçi ve kültürel tehdidi Türk Kimliğinin Önyargısız Olduğu Görüşü öngörmüştür. Türk Kimliğinin Bir Üst Kimlik Olduğu Görüşü Batılılardan algılanan özsaygıya yönelik tehditle birlikte Kürtlerden algılanan çatışmayı öngörmüştür.

Öngörücü Değişken Olarak Türk Kimliğine Atfedilen Anlamlar

Regresyon analizinin ikinci basamağında Türk Kimliğine Atfedilen Anlamlar analize sokulmuştur. Bulgulara göre Türk iç grubunun değerlendirilmesi Türk Kimliğinin Gücü, Bağımsızlığı ve (olumsuz yönde) Negatif Özellikleri tarafından öngörülmüştür. Kürt grubunun değerlendirilmesi ve Batılılardan algılanan gerçekçi tehdit Türk Kimliğinin İdealleştirilmesi tarafından öngörülmüştür. Avrupalı grubunun değerlendirilmesi olumsuz yönde Türk Kimliğinin Ayırt Ediciliği tarafından öngörülmüştür. Batılılardan algılanan özsaygıya yönelik tehdit Türk Kimliğinin Negatif Özellikleri tarafından öngörülmüştür. Kürtlerden algılanan çatışma Türk Kimliğinin İdealleştirilmesi ve Birlik ve Bütünleştiriciliği tarafından ve

Türk Kimliğinin Sürekliliği, Gücü ve Bağımsızlığının (Türk kimliklenmesi ile) etkileşimli etkileri tarafından öngörülmüştür. Bulgular Türk kimliğini sürekli algılayan Türk kimliklenmesi yüksek katılımcıların daha fazla çatışma algıladığını göstermiştir. Diğer taraftan Türk kimliğinin gücü ve bağımsızlığını daha az algılayan Türk kimliklenmesi yüksek katılımcıların daha fazla çatışma algıladığı bulunmuştur.

Aracı Değişkenlerin Test Edilmesi

Aracı değişkenlerin anlamlılıklarını test etmek için Baron ve Kenny (1986) tarafından açıklanan yol izlenmiştir. Bulgular Avrupalı Kimliklenmesi ile Kürt grubunun daha az olumlu değerlendirilmesi arasındaki ilişkiye Kürtlerden algılanan çatışmanın tam olarak aracılık ettiğini göstermiştir. Ulusal Katılım ile Kürt grubunun değerlendirilmesi arasındaki olumsuz ilişkiye de Kürtlerden algılanan çatışma kısmen aracılık etmiştir. Ek olarak Türk Kimliğinin İdealleştirilmesi ve Kürt grubunun değerlendirilmesi arasındaki olumsuz ilişkiye Kürtlerden algılanan çatışma tam olarak aracılık etmiştir. Türk Kimliğinin Önyargısız Olduğu Görüşü ve Türk iç grubunun değerlendirilmesi arasındaki olumlu ilişkiye Batılılardan algılanan gerçekçi ve kültürel tehdit kısmen aracılık etmiştir.

Tartışma

Bu çalışma Türk Kimliğinin İçerikleri, ulusal kimliklenmeler ve gruplar arası ilişkilerin algılanma biçimleri arasındaki ilişkileri incelemiştir. Bu amaç için bu çalışmada öncelikli olarak Türk iç grubunun içeriklerini keşfetmek için nitel yönelimli bir çalışma düzenlenmiştir. İkinci çalışmada ise ilgili değişkenler arasındaki ilişkiler incelenmiştir. Öncelikli olarak ulusal kimliklenmeler öngörücü değişken olarak incelenmiştir. Daha sonra sırasıyla Türk Kimliğinin Sınırlarını Tanımlama Biçimleri, Türk Kimliğinin Özellikleri ve Türk Kimliğine Atfedilen Anlamlar öngörücü değişken olarak incelenmiştir. Ek olarak Türk kimliğinin ilgili içeriklerinin etkisi Türk kimliklenmesiyle etkileşim halinde incelenmiştir. Son olarak gruplar arası algılanan tehditler ve çatışma ilgili değişkenler arasındaki ilişkilerde aracı rol oynayıp oynamadıkları bakımından ele alınmıştır.

Öngörücü Değişken Olarak Ulusal Kimliklenmeler

Öncelikli olarak Sosyal Kimlik Kuramı (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) ile tutarlı olarak bulgular kişilerin kendilerini iç gruba üyelikleri bakımından tanımladıklarında iç grubu daha olumlu değerlendirdiklerini göstermiştir. Diğer taraftan kendilerini dünya vatandaşlığı bakımından tanımlayan katılımcılar herhangi bir grubu daha olumlu değerlendirmemişlerdir ve gruplar arası tehdit veya çatışma algılamamışlardır (Pakulski, & Tranter, 2000).

Ulusal kimliklenmeler ile dış grubu değerlendirme arasında negatif ilişki sadece Avrupalı kimliklenmesi ile Kürt grubu değerlendirilmesi arasında bulunmuştur. Bu bulgu beklentilerle ters yöndedir. Avrupalı kimliği üst bir kimlik ve kapsayıcı bir kimlik olarak düşünüldüğünde daha olumlu gruplar arası tutumları öngörmesi beklenmektedir (Dovidio, Gaertner, Hodson, Houlette, & Johnson, 2005). Fakat Türkiye ortamında bulgular ilgili ilişkinin değişebileceğini önermiştir. Çalışmanın ilgili bulgusunu Türkiye'nin Avrupa Birliğine dahil olma çabası sürecine ve Türkiye'de Avrupalı olmakla Kürt olmak arasında algılanan statü farklılıklarına başvurarak açıklamak mümkün görünmektedir. Kendilik tanımlamalarında Avrupalı kimliğine önem veren kişiler Türkiye'nin Avrupa bildiğine üye olmasını da önemseyip Kürtlerle yaşanan çatışmalı ortamı bu üyeliğe bir engel olarak görebilirler. Bu yoruma destek niteliğinde bulgular aynı zamanda Kürtlerden algılanan çatışmanın ilgili ilişkiye tam olarak aracılık ettiğini göstermiştir. Türkiye'de kendini Avrupalı olarak tanımlayanların daha üst sosyal-ekonomik düzeyi temsil ettiklerini (Hortaçsu & Cem-Ersoy, 2005) ve böylece kendilerini Avrupalı üst kimlik prototipine daha yakın bulduklarını varsayarak, bu kişiler "daha alt sosyal-ekonomik düzeyi temsil eden Kürtleri" ilgili prototipe daha uzak da algılayabilirler (Wenzel, 2001). Beklentilerle tutarlı olarak diğer taraftan bulgular kişilerin kendilik tanımlamalarında Türk kimliğine verdikleri önem arttıkça bu kimliğe karşı algıladıkları tehdit ve çatışma algısında yükselme olduğunu göstermiştir.

Öngörücü Değişken Olarak Türk Kimliğinin Sınırlarını Tanımlama Biçimleri

Bulgular Ulusal Katılımın Kürt grubunun daha az olumlu değerlendirilmesini ve daha fazla gruplar arası tehdit ve çatışma algısını öngördüğünü göstermiştir. Diğer taraftan Milliyetçi Özcülük ilgili hiçbir değişkeni öngörmemiştir. Böylelikle yurtdışında yapılan çalışmalardan (Heath & Tilley, 2005; Hjerm, 1998; Jones & Smith, 2001; Löden, 2008; Meeus, Duriez, Vanbeselaere, & Boen, 2010); Pakulski, & Tranter, 2000; Pehrson, Brown, & Zagefka, 2009; Pehrson, Vignoles, & Brown, 2009) farklı olarak bulgular Türkiye’de daha kapsayıcı tanımlamanın daha az olumlu gruplar arası tutumları öngördüğünü göstermiştir. Yurtdışında yapılan çalışmalar genellikle göçmenlere karşı gruplar arası tutumları incelemiştir. Bu bağlamda vatandaşlık temelli (daha kapsayıcı) ulus kimlik tanımı ulusa vatandaşlık bağı ile bağlı olan göçmenlere karşı daha olumlu tutumları öngörmüştür. Kültür/etnik köken temelli (daha dışlayıcı) ulus kimlik tanımı ise ulusa bu tür bağlarla bağlı olmayan göçmenlere karşı daha az olumlu tutumları öngörmüştür. Bu çalışmada ise daha kapsayıcı tanım sadece vatandaşlık temelli kriterleri değil aynı zamanda kültür ve bölge (toprak) temelli kriterleri içermiştir. Ek olarak bu tanım ülkeye katkıda bulunma ve Atatürk ilke ve inkılaplarına uyma gibi kriterleri de içermiştir. Diğer bir değişle Ulusal Katılım Türk kimliğine ilişkin daha gündemde olan ve daha önemli görülen kavramları temsil etmiştir ve böylece ilgili gruplardan algılanan çatışma ve tehdidi artırmıştır. Bununla birlikte Milliyetçi Özcülük Türk kimliğinin sınırlarına ilişkin çok da gündemde olmayan kriterleri içermiştir (bkz. Bora, 2002) ve böylece gruplar arası tutumları öngörmemiştir.

Öngörücü Değişken Olarak Türk Kimliğinin Özellikleri

Ulusal kimliklenmelerin etkisini kontrol ettikten sonra Türk Kimliğinin Önyargısız Olduğu Görüşü Türk grubunun daha olumlu değerlendirilmesini ve Batılılardan daha fazla gerçekçi ve kültürel tehdit algısını öngörmüştür. Bu bulgular ilginç bulunabilir çünkü Türk kimliğinin önyargısız olduğunu ifade eden katılımcılar dış gruplara karşı

daha fazla önyargı göstermişlerdir. Bu durum kişilerin yaşadıkları ‘içsel çatışma’ kavramına başvurarak açıklanabilir (Allport, 1954). Allport’a göre kişiler değerleri ile önyargılı davranışları arasında çatışma yaşarlar. Bu çatışmayı azaltmanın yollarından birtanesi de ilgili değerleri ifade ettikten sonra önyargılı davranışı ortaya çıkarmaktır. Böylece kişiler değerlerle uyumlu benlik algısını koruyarak olumsuz gördükleri davranışı daha rahat ortaya çıkarırlar.

Bu açıklamalarla paralel olarak bulgular aynı zamanda Türk kimliğini önyargsız olarak tanımlayan katılımcıların kısmen Batılılardan gerçekçi ve kültürel tehdit algıladıkları için Türk iç grubunu daha olumlu değerlendirdiklerini göstermiştir. Buna göre bulgular kişilerin iç gruplarını daha olumlu değerlendirebilmek ve bunu rasyonalize edebilmek için kendi gruplarından yüksek statüsü olan bir grubun (örn., Batılılar) iç grubun varlığını ve kütürünü tehdit ettiğini iddia edebilirler (bkz. Devine, 2005).

Bulgular aynı zamanda Türk kimliğinin bir üst kimlik olduğu görüşünün Kürtlerden algılanan çatışma ve Batılılardan algılanan kültürel tehditle ilişkili olduğunu göstermiştir. Türk kimliğinin üst kimlik olduğu görüşü bu kimliğin farklı alt grupları ve kültürleri temsil ettiği görüşüne dayanmaktadır. Buna göre bu görüşte yüksek puan alan katılımcıların bu çok kültürlülüğe Batılılardan tehdit algıladığı söylenebilir. Aynı zamanda bu kişilerin bu üst kimliğin norm ve değerlerine Kürtlerin uygun davranmadığını düşündükleri iddia edilebilir.

Öngörücü Değişken Olarak Türk Kimliğine Atfedilen Anlamlar

Ulusal kimliklenmelerin etkisini kontrol ettikten sonra Türk Kimliğine Atfedilen Anlamlar çalışmanın bazı bağımlı değişkenlerini öngörmüştür. Türk iç grubunun değerlendirilmesi Türk Kimliğinin Gücü, Bağımsızlığı ve (olumsuz yönde) Negatif Özellikleri tarafından öngörülmüştür. İlgili bulgular Türk kimliğine atfedilen ilgili anlamların (Gücü ve Bağımsızlığı) etkililik motivasyonuna karşılık geldiğini kabul ederek (Breakwell, 1996) Türk katılımcılar için Türk grubunu olumlu değerlendirmede bu motivasyon kaynağının önemine işaret etmektedir. Diğer bir

değişle Türk Kimliğinin Gücü ve Bağımsızlığı, örneğin Ayırt Ediciliği, Sürekliliği, ve Birlik ve Bütünleştiriciliğine göre, Türk iç grubunun olumlu değerlendirilmesi ile yakından ilişkilidir. Sosyal Kimlik Kuramı ile tutarlı olarak aynı zamanda Türk iç grubuyla daha fazla özdeşleşim kuran (Türk kimliklenmesi) katılımcılar Türk Kimliğinin Negatif Özelliklerinden daha düşük puanlar almışlardır.

Kürt grubun değerlendirilmesi, Kürtlerden algılanan çatışma ve Batılılardan algılanan gerçekçi tehdit Türk Kimliğinin İdealleştirilmesi tarafından öngörülmüştür. Buna göre bulgular iç grubun diğer gruplara göre aşırı iyi değerlendirilmesinin iç grubun diğer gruplar tarafından itibarının ve saygınlığının göz ardı edilmesine karşı hassas olmakla ilişkili olduğu görüşünü desteklemiştir (Roccas ve ark., 2006). Bununla tutarlı olarak bulgular aynı zamanda Türk Kimliğinin İdealleştirilmesiyle Kürt grubun daha az olumlu değerlendirilmesi arasındaki ilişkiye Kürtlerden algılanan çatışmanın tam olarak aracılık ettiğini göstermiştir. Diğer bir değişle katılımcılar Kürt grubunun çatışma çıkararak Türk kimliğinin itibarına saygı göstermediklerini düşündükleri için bu grubu daha az olumlu değerlendirmiş olabilirler.

Avrupalı grubunun değerlendirilmesi Türk Kimliğinin Ayırt Ediciliği tarafından öngörülmüştür. Bulgulara göre Türk kimliğinin ayırt edici olduğunu düşünen katılımcılar Avrupalı grubunu daha az olumlu değerlendirmişlerdir. İlgili bulgular Avrupalı grubunun kapsayıcı ve üst bir kimlik olarak Türk kimliğinin ayırt edici olma özelliğini tehdit ettiği görüşüyle açıklanabilir. Böylelikle Türk kimliğinin ayırt edici olma özelliğini vurgulayan ve bunu önemseyen kişiler bu tehdidi daha fazla algılayarak Avrupalı grubunu daha az olumlu değerlendirebilirler.

Batılılardan algılanan özsaygıya yönelik tehdit Türk Kimliğinin Negatif Özellikleri tarafından olumsuz yönde öngörülmüştür. Diğer bir değişle Türk kimliğinin küçümsenme sebebi, Türk kimliğine ait olmanın utanılacak yanları ve dezavantajları bulunduğunu düşünen katılımcılar Batılıların Türk kimliğine karşı önyargılı olduğunu, Türk kimliğini hor gördüğünü ve Batılılar arasında Türk kimliğinin dezavantajlı konumda bulunduğunu iddia etmişlerdir. Bu bulgular Türkiye ile

Avrupa arasındaki tarihsel sürece başvurarak açıklanabilir. Araştırmacılar Türkiye'nin Batılılaşma ve/veya Avrupalılaşma çabaları paralelinde Avrupanın tarih içerisinde Türkiye için önemli bir referans kaynağı olduğunu belirtmişlerdir (İnaç, 2004).

Çalışmanın Sınırlılıkları ve Gelecek Çalışmalar için Öneriler

Bu çalışmanın bazı önemli sınırlılıkları bulunmaktadır. Öncelikli olarak çalışmada kullanılan ölçekler bu çalışmada geliştirilmiştir ve başka örneklem grupları ile test edilmemiştir. İlgili ölçeklerin bu çalışmada bulunan faktör yapısının başka çalışmalarda başka örneklem gruplarıyla doğrulanması önemli görünmektedir.

Bu çalışma Türk kimliğinin ilgili içeriklerinin yapılandırılmasında bir takım motivasyon kaynaklarının (örn., süreklilik) rol oynadığını varsaymıştır. Bununla birlikte kişilerin ilgili motivasyonlarla ilgili ihtiyaçlarına göre ulusal kimliği nasıl yapılandırdıklarının araştırılması literatüre katkısı bakımından değerli olacaktır. Bu çerçevede bireysel ve kolektif motivasyon kaynakları arasındaki ilişkiler de incelenebilir.

Bu çalışmada ulusal kimliklenme veya ulusal iç-grupla özdeşleşme bir veya iki maddeyle ölçülmüştür. Bu değişkeni daha fazla maddeyle ölçen ve kimliklenmenin duygusal yönüne daha fazla yer veren çalışmalar da bulunmaktadır. Bu çalışmada ele alınan değişkenler arasındaki ilişkileri ulusla kimliklenme için bu tarz ölçekleri kullanarak incelemek literatüre katkısı bakımından faydalı olabilir.

Sonuçlar

Sonuç olarak bu çalışmanın gruplar arası ilişkileri algılama biçimlerini öngörmeye ulusla kimliklenmenin veya ulusal iç grupla özdeşleşmenin tek başına yeterli olmayacağını; aynı zamanda kişilerin ulusal kimliğin sınırlarını nasıl tanımladıklarının, ulusal kimliğin özelliklerini nasıl gördüklerinin ve ulusal kimliğe

sahip olmaya nasıl anlamlar atfettiklerinin de önemli rol oynayacağını gösterdiği iddia edilebilir.

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PUBLICATIONS

Taşdemir, N., & Sakallı-Uğurlu, N. (2010). The Relationships between Ambivalent Sexism and Religiosity among Turkish University Students. *Sex Roles*, 62, 420-426.

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SELECTED CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

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Taşdemir, N. (2011). National-Social Identities and National Pride among University Students in Turkey. International Society for Political Psychology, Istanbul, Turkey.

HOBBIES

Novels, Traveling, Yoga, Movies

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

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Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü

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NATIONAL-SOCIAL IDENTIFICATIONS, AND INTER-GROUP
RELATIONS IN TURKEY

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans

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1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: