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INTERNATIONAL POST DOCTORAL RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP
PROGRAMME

FINAL REPORT

TITLE OF THE RESEARCH : Understanding of Psychological Dynamics of
Citizenship to 21st Century Pluralist Societies.

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GENERAL INFORMATION

RESEARCH TITLE	Understanding of Psychological Dynamics of Citizenship to 21st Century Pluralist Societies
RESEARCHER NAME	Dr Ahmet Çoymak
RESEARCH FIELD	Psychology
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1. Introduction

From the 20th century on, many social issues have emerged as a consequence of changes in the political culture throughout the world. For example, the last 50 years or more have seen the escalation as well as the conciliation of the conflict between the Catholic and Protestant communities in Northern Ireland, the fall of colonialism in Africa and of communism in Eastern Europe followed by the emergence of atrocious inter-ethnic conflicts in Rwanda, Bosnia, and Kosovo, the intensification of an antagonistic relationship between Muslims and Jews in the Middle East, the current migration crisis driven wars in Middle East, as well as the problematization of multiculturalism in North America and Europe. Many of these conflicts have revolved around territorial and nationalistic claims made by groups sharing the same geographical space, yet having different social and political identities. Recognizing the multi-dimensional nature of these conflicts, scholars in psychology and other social sciences have focused in particular on the role of *identity* not as a source of acrimony between groups, but, more importantly, as a source of cooperation and tolerance.

The current project has two main objectives. First, it focuses not only on intergroup processes of identity formation in an individual, generally based on a single categorization, but also on *intra-individual* processes of multiple identities to understand identity processes in the context of politically conflictual intergroup relations. Second, it assesses the role of identity content in the relationship between identification with a nation and various behaviours, emotions, and cognitions such as support for nations' foreign policy, involving political ideology, party political engagement, development of particular portrait human values, and emotions to outgroups.

The term 'social identity' means that when individuals belong to a particular group, their group memberships become internalized in their self-concept. Therefore, people often view themselves and others via their group memberships (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). However, group behaviour and in-group identity are category-based intergroup-oriented phenomena in Social Identity Theory (SIT). Hence, in-group representation is discussed as a shared social category or a depersonalized whole (Hymans, 2002; Pfeifer, Ruble, Bachman, Alvarez, Cameron, & Fuligni, 2007). Yet, individuals engage in various social identities in reality. Individuals

organize their multiple social identities within their overall self-concepts because they are simultaneously members of multiple social groups and categories, such as race, religion, gender, nationality, political parties, and their world view (Freeman, 2003; Roccas, 2003). One of the simple, yet adamant assumption in an inter-group conflict that if conflictual groups built up in one common identity, the conflict or hostile attitudes disappears and intergroup relations elevates in positive way (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2012; Sherif, 1958; Sherif, 1967)

Contrary to the expectation of a positive role of a superordinate identity on intergroup relations, empirical studies show inconsistent results about this common ingroup hypothesis. For instance, Ufkes et al. (2012) demonstrated that common identity model had failed the situation in which the subgroups compete over what the ideal type of member of the common ingroup looks like. Additionally, the stability of a superordinate group identity has been found to be rather weak in many conflict situations (Gaertner et al., 2000). According to Ingroup Projection Model (Wenzel, Mummendey, & Waldzus, 2007), superordinate identity provides to a person a background for comparison to define the relative higher-order category. If individuals do not project the futures and values of their ingroup onto superordinate category, they become reluctant to identify their self with the superordinate identity (Wenzel, Mummendey, & Waldzus, 2007), even exacerbate intergroup bias (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2008). Davidio et al. (2008) suggested, therefore, the dual-identity model is superior to common ingroup model for reducing intergroup bias and produce a positive relationship with an outgroup. One of the limitations of this explanation is that it does not explain how an identity group is described as a superordinate at the first place if alleged members of the groups do not see the definition of superordinate identity is inclusive for them. For instance, an Afro-American does not necessary see herself as sharing group membership with other Americans when they consider her American identity. Instead of this, she may involve conflict with others who defines the content of American identity in an exclusive way, which may be a reason for her not to define herself as supposed superordinate identity in the first place. Therefore, people who do not hold dual-identity (e.g. American instead of Anglo-American) has remained as other group members, which it is defined as the foundation of prejudice and intergroup bias by the dual-identity model. Contrary to dual-identity model, Identity Content Model that I claim has focused the content of identity, particularly superordinate identity to reduce prejudice and intergroup bias. Drawing on the framework of SIT and Dual-Identity Model, Identity Content Model suggests that if individuals who categorized their self with superordinate identity perceive the content of the superordinate identity as civic instead of traditional understanding of the identity (e.g., group homogeneity, prototypicality), they show less intergroup bias and more positive intergroup outcomes towards their former outgroup members. Thus, the definition of what superordinate national identity is amongst its members has become important to understand how superordinate identity works in intergroup situations, which requires in-depth understanding, attention, and debate.

If groups are competing against each other, managing identities for an individual requires more effort to reduce conflict among her or his multiple identities (Brewer, 2001). Therefore, if the individual tries to manage her or his conflicting identities by setting the same

dimensions of meaning (e.g. ethnic and national identities), she or he has to change her or his identity structure to reduce identity conflict. Yet, if the dimensions of the meaning of these identities are not shared by the individual, he or she holds these identities independently (Burke, 2006). For example, Cassidy and Trew's (2004) longitudinal study showed that members of minority group had not an increased in the salience of ethnic and national identity compared to majority group in one year in the context of the heterogeneous environment for these groups. Coll and Szalacha (2004) argue that children who are not part of mainstream society be influenced negatively by differentiation between institutional ideologies and cultural or familial values. Hence they may experience conflict between cultural identities (e.g. race, religion, gender) and national identities (e.g. citizenship).

In the recent literature, citizen and national identities have been clearly distinguished by scholars whereby civic engagement of the citizen's groups seems like an essential element to enhance and reinforce pluralist democracy in society (Bourdieu, 2011; Habermas, 1997). On the one hand, different than the legal definition, national identity can be defined as individuals' sense of unity among themselves, which members perceive a set of shared beliefs and attitudes (e.g., vernacular language, religion, common decedent). On the other hand, it can also be defined as civic identification as individuals' sense of political institutions, rights, and duties in society. Therefore, the content of national identity, which is one's attachment to society as a common unity, can be constructed either as citizens' identification or national identification, as well as both of them together. Tajfel's (1969) earlier study on nationalism suggested that nationalism is attitudes, and a nation is a large number of people who share these attitudes. Thus national identification is an entity, are formed by both emotional and cognitive aspects that individuals share the idea of nationalism to which individuals holds at various degrees. Clearly the definition of Tajfel's national identity refers what I call essentialist content of social identity which includes the definition of national identity in terms of patriotism (affective) and traditional content (cognitive); based on ideas about nationhood as determined by myth of national homogeneity, common descent, culture and history as well as a common language. Contrary to essentialist content, the civic content refers as citizens who are holding different belief systems, ethnic background, and cultural understanding shares a political culture, which focuses on a common identity meaning mutual co-existence and interacts on equal terms amongst citizen groups.

Drawing from Tajfelian criterial versus correlative distinction, Boski (1991) showed among Polish immigrants in Canada that there is a variety of understandings of the content of national identity, which should be an integral part of analysis to the researcher. Rothi et al. (2005) also found two distinct contents of national identity among British sample such as traditional-cultural and civic. However, to my ultimate knowledge, there is no study about the dynamics of the content of social identities, bringing the understanding of these dynamics in both individual and national level; and their consequences of individuals' political behaviours and cognitions such as political trust, development of core human values, and attitudes towards foreign policy.

2. Studies in report terms

Submitted original work plan (a year)

Work plan to 2017-2018 academic calendar	
August	Settle in the university and reading towards deepening literature
S	Preparation, data collection and entering for the first pilot study
October	Analyse and write up the results from the pilot study
November	Presenting results of pilot study, evaluation of pilot study
December	Visiting to Turkey for the Christmas break, reading towards final study
January	Collecting feedbacks for the pilot results through various academic meeting (congress, symposium, departmental meeting); and develop final survey based on the results of the pilot study
February	Preparation of final survey scales, and data collection
March	Writing up psychometric properties of measurement and pilot results for a publication
April	Complete data collection to final survey and starting descriptive statics and data preparation to final analyses such as data accuracy, additivity, missing values.
May	Conducting main analyses, meeting with colleagues to debate results; and to further publication decisions.
June	Prepare report publication(s)
July	Consulting and re-evaluation for publication(s)

Accomplished work plan (granted 6 months)

Work plan to 2017-2018 academic calendar	
October(12)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Getting Ethic Committee approval for the research from Kingston University where research grant has been provided to collect data from external panel company
November	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Collecting data from the USA, the UK, and Turkey for the pilot study.
December	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Analysing the data and evaluation of pilot study
January	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Collecting feedbacks for the pilot results through various academic meeting (congress, symposium, departmental meeting); Project involvement and data gathering for political trust and system fairness.
February	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Paper submission, detailed in section 5, titled Outputs
March	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Collecting feedbacks for research analysis. Data analysis for system fairness study1, detailed in section 5, titled Outputs
April	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Prepare report publication(s), detailed in section 5, titled Outputs
May (10)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Data analysis for system fairness study2, Consulting and re-evaluation for publication(s).

3. Studies, results and discussions

STUDY1 (REGARDING ATTITUDES TOWARDS FOREIGN POLICY ATTITUDES):

Method

Using online participant panels, such as MTurk, is now a very common method of participant recruitment in psychological research. Recent studies on MTurk samples suggest that there are many similarities between MTurk data and reliable external data sources (e.g., Cooperative Congressional Election Survey in the USA) in terms of age, gender, race, and geographical distributions (for further discussion, see Huff & Tingley, 2015; Paolacci & Chandler, 2014), and that 'MTurkers' have both extrinsic and intrinsic motives to complete surveys (Paolacci, Chandler, & Ipeirotis, 2010). Therefore, for the current study, data were collected online, using an external panel company between April and May 2016. Participants took part in the study for credit, which could then be exchanged for vouchers. The survey took an average of 18 (with outliers 60.47) minutes to complete.

Participants and Sampling Strategy

The raw sample was composed of 2820 participants from three countries – the USA ($N=714$), UK ($N=818$), and Turkey ($N=705$). These countries were selected due to their differing levels of exposure to and take-up of drone technology. The USA is the most extensive and controversial user of armed drones in the world. The UK, on the other hand, while possessing and using armed drones, does so to a lesser extent. Finally, Turkey was selected because of its relatively late adoption of drone technology (it has recently acquired drones with strike capabilities), but also due to its proximity to areas in which armed drones have been used. Only participants who were citizens of these countries participated in the survey.

We firstly carefully screened the data for any issues with accuracy, inspecting response time, missing value patterns and univariate and multivariate outliers. To see whether there were systematic patterns of missing values on the survey variables, a series of Little's MCAR tests with EM algorithm was performed, by considering how much time subgroups of the sample defined by gender and age spent on the survey. Univariate analysis showed that the value items had the greatest number of cases with a missing value (ranging from 8.9% to 9.1%), while age had the least (2.1%). Therefore, separate t-tests were performed for each of the variables which had more than 5 per cent missing values to identify variables whose patterns of missing values may have been influencing the other variables. This revealed that younger respondents were less likely to report their attitudes towards armed drones. When these attitude items ($N=3$) were missing, the mean ages of participants from the USA, the UK, and Turkey were 38.66, 38.92, and 38.23, compared to 48.84, 48.88, and 48.97 when these items remained in the dataset. Therefore, through careful inspection of the data's accuracy, the final sample was composed of 1858 citizens of the USA (594), UK (657), and Turkey (607), fifty-one per cent of which was male. All participants were aged 18 years or over ($M=40.88$, $SD=15.51$).

Measurements

Participants could select in which language (English or Turkish) they wished to complete the survey via a drop-down menu. The Turkish translation of the survey was provided by the second author. All Turkish participants completed the survey in Turkish.

Morality. The survey contained a short form of the Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ) (e.g., Davidov, 2008), which includes 21 items measuring ten motivational values (Schwartz, 1992): power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity, security.

Foreign policy attitudes. This was measured using a three-item scale (adapted from Crawford, Wiley, & Ventresco, 2014). Participants were asked to respond to three items about using armed drones in Middle East on a 6-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 6 = strongly agree).

Analytic Strategy

Measurement equivalence of values and attitudes towards the use of armed drones.

In order to ensure the conceptual equivalence of values and attitudes towards armed drones across the countries, a multigroup confirmatory factor analysis was performed using R and the Lavaan software package (Rosseel, 2012). To examine invariance across national groups, a series of models were tested to focus on the equivalence of factor loadings, factor covariances, and structural regression paths. Before testing these models, the model for each country was tested separately. In the configural invariance model, all items of the corresponding measure were freely estimated. Following that, we compared sequentially more constrained models to a less constrained model. These models were: a weak factorial model, in which the factor loadings were constrained to be equal across national groups, a strong invariance model in which both the factor loadings and intercepts of items were constrained to be equal, and a strict invariance model in which error variances were constrained along with factor loadings and intercepts.

Although the relative chi-square test has been suggested as a global test for testing the congruence between the data and the theoretical model (e.g. Carmines & McIver, 1981; Marsh & Hocevar, 1985), several other fit indices were also used to assess model fit given its sensitivity to sample size, which were root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) (Steiger & Lind, 1980), comparative fit index (CFI) (Bentler, 1990), Tucker-Lewis index (TLI) (Tucker & Lewis, 1973), Akaike's relative goodness of the fit index (AIC) (Akaike, 1973) and standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) (Jackson, Gillaspay, & Purc-Stephenson, 2009). After conceptual and statistical equivalence of measurements were established, latent variables were calculated by predicting their means and standard deviations based on the invariance model.

Each of the measurements, except the PVQ, was found to be conceptually equivalent across the national groups, thus the weighted scores were calculated to obtain the predicted latent means and standard deviations in terms of the strict invariance model. The partial strict invariance model was applied to obtain the predicted latent means and standard deviations for the PVQ since measurement invariance was partially supported.

Initial Results and Discussion

Descriptive statistics for the whole sample as well as by country are presented in Table 1. Participants reported relatively high levels of support for the use of armed drones, yet the mean values of self-transcendence and conservatism were lower than the scale mid-point. Knowledge about armed drones was also relatively high; mean values of knowledge about drones for Turkey, the UK, and the USA were 3.60, 4.56, and 4.60 respectively.

Table 1: Descriptive statistics values and attitude towards the use of armed drones

Variable	Turkey Mean(<i>SD</i>) N=524	The UK Mean(<i>SD</i>) N=576	The USA Mean(<i>SD</i>) N=488	Total Sample Mean(<i>SD</i>)
Support	4.47(1.07)	3.68(1.11)	4.01(1.09)	4.04(1.14)
Age	33.95(10.63)	44.52(15.47)	44.11(15.35)	40.91(14.84)
Year of education	14.79(2.99)	15.00(4.10)	15.27(3.07)	15.01(3.46)
Knowledge	3.60(1.27)	4.56(1.20)	4.60(1.17)	4.26(1.30)
Self-enhancement	2.81(1.13)	3.42(0.98)	3.26(0.96)	3.17(1.06)
Universalism	2.22(1.26)	2.73(1.00)	2.55(1.09)	2.51(1.14)
Openness	2.75(1.24)	3.55(0.97)	3.42(1.01)	3.25(1.13)
Conservation	2.36(1.16)	2.95(0.89)	2.75(0.97)	2.69(1.04)

Table 2: Correlations between value dimensions and support for the use of armed drones

	Attitude	self-enhancement	self-transcendence	openness to change	conservation
Attitude	1.00				
self-enhancement	-0.14***	1.00			
self-transcendence	-0.03	0.41***	1.00		
openness to change	-0.10***	0.66***	0.68***	1.00	
conservation	-0.21***	0.52***	0.73***	0.59***	1.00

*** $p < .001$

The results of a multilevel model of support for the use of armed drones in the USA, UK and Turkey revealed that there were country differences in attitudes, with the Turkish participants most supportive of their use, followed by the US and UK participants. In line with our predictions, across each of the countries, the basic human value dimensions of conservation and self-transcendence were, respectively, positively and negatively related to support, and women were less likely to support armed drones. Openness to change and self-enhancement were not related to support. Additionally, we postulated that values needed to be conceptualised as contextual as well as individual predictors, and when we specified this in our model, it resulted in a significant increase in model fit.

STUDY2 (REGARDING COMMON GROUP IDENTITY AND INTERGROUP CONFLICT):

Method

The current study consisted of 224 people from various cities in Turkey. Among this sample, there were 111 men and 113 women. The mean age of participants was 24.55 (SS = 5.80).

Measurement

Societal Identification Scale (SIS). The scale was developed by Çoymak and Gheorghiu (2007) as a part of Cultural Role of the Political Trust and Political Power on National Identification Project (CRPTP) to measure domains of societal identification: patriotism with 7 items, civic responsibility with 9 items, civic solidarity with 5 items, and cultural identification with 4 items. The domains of the societal identification have sufficient internal consistency; patriotism (Cronbach alpha = .90), civic responsibility (Cronbach alpha = .81), civic solidarity (Cronbach alpha = .64), cultural identification (Cronbach alpha = .73).

Ethnic Identification Scale. Ethnic identification was measured by adopting Phinney and Ong's (2007) Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM_R). It was based on the two indicators with five subscales, one of the indicators was the cognitive component of ethnic identification, and the other indicator was the affective components of ethnic identity. For the reliability, the alpha score of exploration, importance to identity, commitment, and public collective self-esteem subscales were .93, .84, .93, and .79 respectively. For the reliability of other subscales, the alpha score of public collective self-esteem and private collective self-esteem subscales were .69 and .81 respectively.

Religious and Secular Identification Scales. Laic (laik) identity was measured with adopted importance of identity subscale of Luhtanen and Crocker's Collective Self-Esteem Scale (1992). it has highly internal consistency (Cronbach alpha = .89). Muslim identity was also measured by adopted to the same scale (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992).

Religious Identification Scale. Religious identification was measured based on the two indicators with three subscales regarding adapted and extended Luhtanen and Crocker's (1992) Collective Self-Esteem Scale (CSE). It also showed a high internal consistency (Cronbach alpha = .91)

Perceived Discrimination Scale (PDS). Perceived discrimination was measured based on its two domains, one of the domains was perceived group discrimination with five items, and the other was perceived individual discrimination with four items. While perceived collective discrimination measured how often people perceive discrimination about their ethnic group in some situations, perceived individual discrimination measured how often the individuals are faced with discrimination. Perceived group discrimination and individual discrimination have high internal consistency; Cronbach alphas were .94 and .90 respectively.

Glance at the results

Demographic properties of the sample, namely, sex, religion, ethnicity, native languages, level of graduation were examined through their mean and standard deviation. The

demographics will further support the result of differences or similarity among groups and provide the exploration of potential statistical questions about the issues.

Citizens' identification of Turkey. Many of the proposed hypotheses were confirmed through ANOVA and SEM. To see whether there is a significant relationship both between Turkish and Kurdish and within these group in terms of their societal (national) identification, a 2(group: Kurdish, Turkish group) X 4 (domains of societal national identification: patriotism, civic responsibility, civic solidarity, cultural identification) mixed-design ANOVA with repeated measure on second factor was conducted.

The sphericity assumption was not met so the Huynh-Feldt correction was applied (Huynh, 1978; Huynh, & Feldt, 1970). Analysis of simple main effects revealed that in general, there was a significant main effect of ethnic group, $F(1, 228) = 4.30$, $p < 0.0391$, $\eta^2 = .02$ and it was also a significant main effect of all four indicators of societal identity, $F(2.486, 566.811) = 132.203$, $p < .0001$, $\eta^2 = .37$. Moreover, a significant ethnic groups X indicators of societal identity interaction, $F(2.486, 566.811) = 32.338$, $p < .0001$, $\eta^2 = .13$, qualified this effect. Compare to majority Turkish group ($M = 4.94$, $SD = 1.45$), disadvantaged Kurdish group ($M = 4.94$, $SD = 1.45$), Kurds had low score on patriotism than Turks, but no differences in all other dimensions of national identification with Turkey such as civic solidarity, civic responsibility, and cultural engagement.

Ethnic identification. A 2(group; majority ethnic group and disadvantaged ethnic group) X 3 (indicators of ethnic identification, exploration, importance to identity, and public collective self-esteem) mixed-design ANOVA with repeated measure was performed on second factor in order to examine the differences between majority and disadvantaged (minority) ethnic groups in terms of endorsement of dimensions of ethnic identification and also examine differences among dimensions of ethnic identification within groups. The sphericity assumption was not met so the Huynh-Feldt correction was applied (Huynh, 1978; Huynh, & Feldt, 1970). Analysis of simple main effects revealed that in general, there was a significant main effect of ethnic group, $F(1, 227) = 18$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .07$ and also a significant main effect of all four indicators of ethnic identity, $F(1.96, 444.69) = 23.21$, $p < .001$. However, this effect was qualified by a significant group x dimensions of ethnic identity interaction, $F(1.96, 445.692) = 66.41$, $p < .001$. Post hoc paired comparisons were made using Tukey's HSD test with p set at .05. The Huynh-Feldt corrected mean square error, and degrees of freedom were used in calculating the HSD critical value. As can be seen in Table 2., Turkish participants had higher score on public collective self-esteem ($M = 4.94$, $SD = 1.14$) than exploration ($M = 4.30$, $SD = 1.71$). On the other hand, Kurdish participants had lower score on public collective self-esteem ($M = 3.92$, $SD = 1.53$) than exploration ($M = 5.69$, $SD = 1.32$) and importance to identity ($M = 5.65$, $SD = 1.11$).

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

Quick overview on discussion

Many results of the current study supported the hypotheses and expectations stemming from Social Identity Model (Çoyamak, 2015). The comparisons of domains of ethnic identity may designate that ethnic identification is more salient for disadvantaged groups than majority

ethnic groups in Turkey. According to ODT, assimilation or national commitment leads to a distinctiveness threat for disadvantaged groups (Brewer, 2001) and out-group threat leads to an increase in identity salience (e.g. Pickett & Brewer, 2001; Simon, 1992; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). By hypothesis 1, the results indicated that compared to Turks, Kurdish people care more about their ethnic identity and strive for exploring their ethnic identity. Political discourses and institutional norms on assimilation or national commitment throughout the history of the Republic of Turkey may lead to an increased perception of threat, and this threat may cause an increase in the salience of ethnic identity for members of disadvantaged ethnic groups.

In a similar vein, Rejection-Identification Model claimed that members of the disadvantaged groups increase their identification with the disadvantaged group to deal with the pain of perceived discrimination (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999). Hence, it was also shown that the scores of the endorsement of the ethnic identity were higher on both perceived collective and individual discrimination, as compared to Kurdish group (Hypothesis 2). Thus, high level of perceived discrimination may have also led to an increase in identity salience for Kurdish people. It can be claimed that the politics of the modernization project of the Republican elite on ethnic groups (see detailed discussion, Toprak, 1996; Smith, 2005) may have triggered disidentification from secularism because Kurdish people may satisfy their self-esteem based on their religious identity which is a superordinate identity in public sphere. However, Baysu, Coşkan, and Duman (in press) demonstrated that a strong identification with Muslim identity is associated with positive emotion towards the outgroup, yet a strong Kurdish identity affect the otherwise. Besides, Çoyamak (2009) showed that religious identity does not have a role when the issues is associated ethnic identity for Kurdish people. Therefore, more depth research seems to be requiring to understand whether the religious identity can contribute reconciliation of the conflict.

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

STUDY 3 (REGARDING MEANING OF IDENTITY AND CITIZENSHIP) :

Method

Participants and procedure.

We adopted a cross-sectional survey data to test the conceptual equivalence in the meanings of national identity across various political contexts. Data were collected online, using an international external panel company between April and May 2016. Participants were members of an online survey website, which rewarded survey participants with credit on the website, which could then be exchanged for retail vouchers. The external panel company sent participation invitations to potential participants in the three countries, which they could then accept or reject. The survey took an average of 18 minutes (with outliers 60.47) to complete. The Turkish version of the scale provided to participants from Turkey. The sample was composed of 1825 participants from three countries – the USA (N = 579), UK (N = 638), and Turkey (N = 568). Eight hundred ninety-four of the participants were women, 921 of them were men, 4 of them indicated as other, and 6 of them did not prefer to define their gender. All participants were at least 18 years old and above age (M=40.88, SD=15.51).

For the purpose of the current study, 15 items short version of Civic Identification and Citizenship Scale, CICS (Coymak, 2015) were adopted by including *Patriotism*, *Traditional content*, *Civic Responsibility*, and *Civic Inclusiveness* dimensions to measure essentialist and civic engagement contents of a national attachment. *Ascriptive citizenship* measures the extent to which people attach meanings to their national identity, which are not necessarily defined by state and laws (e.g. “Being proud of living in [country]”, “Supporting the interests of [country] whether right or wrong”) and the extent to which they report love and devotion to country (e.g., “I sacrifice everything that I have for the [country]”). *Voluntary citizenship* measures the extent to which people attach pluralist meanings to being a member of their nation (e.g. “Respecting the different cultures of [country].”, “Believing that everybody should be treated equally no matter who they are or where they originally came from”), and peoples’ attachment to their country by taking into account their roles within the nation, interests, and responsibilities (e.g., “Being knowledgeable about the social issues faced by [country].”, “Feeling that I have a duty to do something if I am dissatisfied with government policy”).

All items of national identity content were examined in detail. The number of missing cases per dimension of national identification was checked. No missing value was found over 5% of all national identification items, 0.91% of missing value in Item three was the highest rate of missing value among the variables. However, examining individual cases, fourteen participants were found to have missing values on the two to three of the items on the national identification scale, then, by using the pairwise technique, they were excluded from further analyses, which would include dimensions of national identification. For the rest of the data (N=1825), Little’s MCAR test suggested that the missing values at random, $\chi^2(484)=470.81$, $p=.658$. Therefore, missing values were replaced by EM algorithm.

Analytic strategy.

In order to ensure the conceptual equivalence of the meanings of national identity across the countries, a multigroup confirmatory factor analysis was performed using R and the Lavaan software package (Rosseel, 2012). To examine invariance across national groups, a series of models were tested to focus on the equivalence of factor loadings, factor covariances, and structural regression paths. Before testing these models, the model for each country was tested separately. In the configural invariance model, all items of the corresponding measure were freely estimated. Following that, we compared sequentially more constrained models to a less constrained model. These models were: a weak factorial model, in which the factor loadings were constrained to be equal across national groups, a strong invariance model in which both the factor loadings and intercepts of items were constrained to be equal, and a strict invariance model in which error variances were constrained along with factor loadings and intercepts.

Although the relative chi-square test has been suggested as a global test for testing the congruence between the data and the theoretical model (e.g. Carmines & McIver, 1981; Marsh & Hocevar, 1985), several other fit indices were also used to assess model fit given its sensitivity to sample size, which were root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) (Steiger & Lind, 1980), comparative fit index (CFI) (Bentler, 1990), Tucker-Lewis index (TLI) (Tucker & Lewis, 1973), Akaike's relative goodness of the fit index (AIC) (Akaike, 1973) and standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) (Jackson, Gillasp, & Purc-Stephenson, 2009). After conceptual and statistical equivalence of measurements were established, latent variables were calculated by predicting their means and standard deviations based on the invariance model.

Results & Discussion

The scale structure for respondents' identity content was tested for two primary factors such as ascriptive meaning (including ten items derived from patriotism and traditional content items) and civic meaning (including eight items derived from responsibility and civic inclusiveness items of the CICS) by using R statistical programming environment. The independence model testing indicated that proposed model could be tested, χ^2 (153, N= 1825) = 23924.393, $p < .001$. The hypothesized two factors measurement model did not fit the data with the satisfactory goodness of fit indexes, χ^2 (134, N= 1825) = 5598.855, $p < .001$; CFI=.77, TLI=.73, SRMR=.12, and RMSEA=.15. According to modification indices, the largest error terms were between items 21-22 and items 1-2. The correlations between the error were also theoretically possible, for instance, item1 "Being proud of living in [country]" and "Being proud of having born in [country]" are highly correlated items, yet theoretically, differ. Item 7, "My religious beliefs" was also highly cross loaded with essentialism dimension while Item 11, "Being a citizen of [country]" was also highly cross loaded with civic engagement dimension of identity content. Finally, item 23, "Being able to speak different languages (e.g., Spanish, French, Turkish, Arabic)" was under the cutoff point (.32). Therefore, these three items were dropped, and errors between items1 and 2, and between 21 and 22 were set free. After applying the modifications, the model fitted data well and reached satisfactory goodness of fit indexes, χ^2 (87, N= 1825) = 1086.951, $p < .001$; CFI=.95, TLI=.94 SRMR=.05, and RMSEA=.08.

The current study contributes future research in a way that ascriptive and civic meanings of national identity may explain underpinning dynamics of the psychology of individuals on political matters such as the social movements towards equality of opportunity, domestic or foreign policy

decisions, trust in politicians and system, attitude towards institutionalised applications and political discourse.

To summarize, it may be the case that these variations in the meaning of national identity have an essential role in explaining how to build enhanced plural democracies for a better society in which citizens group have lived and exchanged in harmony. What extent an individual construes a meaning for their social identities around the civic and ascriptive dimension may also lead us to an empirical examination of macro-level social problems from a micro perspective to provide applicable solutions in contemporary democracies.

STUDY 4 & 5 (REGARDING CITIZENSHIP, TRUST and SYSTEM FAIRNESS): IN PROGRESS

From Power Basis Theory, we predicted that people judge their political systems to be fair to the extent people can obtain necessities, which depends jointly on environmental assets and access to assets. Using two surveys of over 20 nations/regions each, we conducted multi-level models, measuring attainment of assets and affordances for attainment, at both individual participant and national levels, as predictors of participants' perceived fairness of their domestic political systems. Both studies tested an "economic" model, using GDPPP to gauge assets for the nation/area and GINI to measure affordance (with more inequality indicating more restricted access to assets). We also tested objective political measures of affordance, such as the Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index, Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index, and the Factionalized Elites subscale of Fragile States Index, predicting that they would moderate the influence of individual level variables on perceived system fairness. Study 4 focused on corruption as a negative affordance, and showed that objective and subjective corruption measures corresponded highly. Within countries, participants' whose personal/family needs were more met perceived lower corruption, and both variables contributed to perceiving the political system as fair. However, these relationships were weaker in stronger democracies and in countries with more equality. Study 5 expanded the participant-level measures of Study 4 by measuring participants' perception of their society's survival assets and affordances. At the participants' level, personal/family needs were predicted both by societal assets and societal affordances, and all three predicted perceived political system fairness. Economic and political measures of affordances moderated results.

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4. Conclusion and Comments

Studying the relationships among people's multiple identities (e.g., religious, ethnic, and societal/national) and their consequences on attitudes towards other communities and the government certainly has both theoretical and practical implications. Theoretically, this is the first study to consider the issue of multiple identities in people at both individual, group, and national level. Little is known about the construction of various contents for a social identity and, therefore, this project will open a new line of research. Second, the project will go beyond the given an intergroup context, by considering the experience of various political context at the national level.

Regarding its practical implications, the findings from this project will contribute to a more sophisticated understanding of how citizens live side by side peacefully with fellow citizen groups who do not hold the same political and/or religious ideals as themselves. Moreover, more importantly, how people, despite the fierce power struggle about their identities in society, have found a way to maintain their spiritual beliefs while also valuing the freedoms and benefits of the national government. These questions are of central importance in today's climate of contested immigration policies and peace-building among groups with different political aspirations. Understanding how people negotiate their identities developed through the various political environments and the effects on trust building among communities and their leaders may contribute to the prevention of racist attacks, outgroup hatred, intergroup discrimination as those has risen in today world.

Furthermore, the findings from the proposed study will be of great use for scholars, educators, and professionals who work with social identity and civic engagement in particular. Lastly, the multidisciplinary nature of the proposed project makes it possible for me to incorporate psychological, cultural, political, and sociological perspectives into the understanding of identity. Psychology indeed has moved a great deal towards studying identity in context, and I believe this project has the potential to contribute further to expanding the boundaries of "psychological research."

I can conclude that the project was successfully achieved, yet there had to be a lot of changes from the original plan and timeline on the way due to many obstacles. One of the main obstacles was to cut of the project grant six months instead of a year which originally suggested. It is highly unlikely a psychology studies can be achieved and complete within six-months. Therefore, I had to use external data and rely on the data was collected by external panel. Some studies which I submitted in the original application are in progress. I had to leave an experiment either for the future. Second obstacle was that the grant only covers living expenses, therefore, there was no budget to use for the research itself. I came over this obstacle by using my colleague's grant to collect data. The project and related works will continue by collaborating with Professor Felicia Pratto and Professor Colin Wayne Leach. Finally, it was a great opportunity for an early career researcher who want to build international relationships and extending research capacity across globe, although it was a highly challenging process and hard to complete the project such this. Thank you for providing this excellent opportunity for me.

5. Outputs (Publications, presentations, etc.)

Publications:

- Çoymak, A. & O'Dwyer, E. (Working paper). Psychological construction of ascriptive/essentialist or constructive/civic national identity contents in comparative political contexts.
- Çoymak, A. (Inpress). Who is the separatist: Untangling the dynamics of multiple social identities in the intractable Turkish-Kurdish conflict in Turkey. *Turkish Psychological Articles*.
- Çoymak, A., Leach, W.C., & Gheorghiu, A. M. (Working paper). Intergroup trust and national identities: An application of social identity content model to the peace processes
- O'Dwyer, E. & Çoymak, A (Revised and resubmit). Basic human values and their contexts: A multilevel analysis of support for the use of armed drones in the USA, UK, and Turkey. *Political Psychology*.

Paper presentations

- Felicia Pratto; **Ahmet Coymak**; Fouad Bou Zeineddine; Joseph Sweetman; Orla Muldoon; Ines Myer; Kevin Durrheim; I-Ching Lee; Liu Li; Aleksandra Chiocka; Patricio Saavedra Morales; Roberto Gonzalvez; Igor Petrovic; Jacqueline van Stekelenburg; Francesca Prati; Monica Rubini; Antonio Aiello ; Hamdi Muluk; Maria Aranda; Xenia Chrysouucchou; Gerasimos Prodromitis; Stamos Papastamou; James Liu; Nebojsa Petrovic; Augustin Espinosa; Mathias Schmitz; Angela Leung; Laysee Ong; Benjamin Giguere; Laurent Licata; Christopher Cohrs; Davide Morselli; Veronique Eicher; Zick Andreas; Hector Carvacho; Samer Halabi; Christie Sio; Ilito Achumi; Elena Zubieta; Gisele Delfino; Brianne Hastie; Simon Lahan; Greg Boese; Rashmi Nair; Manisha Gupta; Magdalena Bobowik; Dario Paez; Gulnaz Ajum; Serge Guimond; Clermont Ferrand. "Our government is fair if we can get to what we need: Political restrictions on access to assets delegitimizes governments". 2018 Annual Scientific Meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology (ISPP), in July 3-7, 2018, San Antonio, USA.
- Çoymak, A. (2018 July) "Disentangling the various conceptualisations of political trust: Identity based political trust in conflictual intergroup context". 2018 Annual Scientific Meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology (ISPP), in July 3-7, 2018, San Antonio, USA.
- Yalcindag, B., Ozkan, T., & Çoymak, A. (2018 July) "The Effect of Moral Values on Predicting Attitudes Towards Different Social Groups". 2018 Annual Scientific Meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology (ISPP), in July 3-7, 2018, San Antonio, USA.
- Çoymak, A. (2017 December). "Conflict and identity: Human Nature in Political Psychology" invited presentation at the Intergroup Relation Lab at Psychology Department of Connecticut University.
- Çoymak, A. (2018 April). "At the heart of the intractable intergroup conflict: Identity and Nation" invited presentation at the Sociology Department of Yale University.

Note: The accrued rate of the proposed study should be reflected to the report.

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