Ethnic Identity Functioning and Forgiveness as Predictors of Psychological Adaptation in the Context of an Intractable Conflict: An Exploratory Study

By

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DEDICATION

To my family who have been the source of the intrinsic values of hard work, perseverance, and humility throughout my education.

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationships among ethnic identity functioning, interethnic forgiveness, and psychological adaptation (collective self-esteem and psychological stress) in the context of protracted armed conflicts. An observational design was used to test the research hypotheses. The participants were 180 self-identified Kurdish university students in Turkey (M_{age} =23.81, SD_{age} = 4.50, $Median_{age}$ = 23; Gender: Female = 68, Male = 110 and NA = 2). Ethnic identity functioning was examined with the concept of Phinney's Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure and an adaptation of cultural attachment theory. This theory is here called as ethnic attachment (i.e., ethnic attachment anxiety and avoidance) and was tested in comparison with the four acculturation attitudes. Interethnic forgiveness was also examined both in intergroup and interpersonal contexts. Preliminary analyses indicated participants experienced high negative impact from the armed conflicts and rarely perceived interethnic discrimination. The findings provided support for the proposed ethnic attachment construct and showed that ethnic attachment anxiety predicted high scores on assimilation and separation acculturation attitudes whereas ethnic attachment avoidance predicted low scores on integration, and high scores on assimilation and marginalization acculturation attitudes. The benefit of secure ethnic attachment for interethnic forgiveness and psychological adaptation was found in the results while the severity of interethnic transgressions was the most salient predictor of interethnic forgiveness. Ethnic identity achievement was positively related to ethnic collective self-esteem and psychological stress, and negatively related to forgiving interethnic transgressions in interpersonal context. Lastly, results did not yield support for the role of interethnic forgiveness in promoting psychological adaptation.

Chapter I: Introduction

Statement of the Problem

The armed conflicts between the Turkish security forces and the PKK (*Kurdistan Workers' Party*) have marked the daily life of Turkish people for more than over 40 years. As a result of the armed conflicts, thousands of Turkish—ethnic Kurds and Turks—people lost their lives (Bilgin & Sarihan, 2013). The issue is usually called the "Kurdish question" (*kürt sorunu* in Turkish), referring to the armed conflicts as well as Kurds' socio-democratic problems and expectations. Within the influence of the armed struggles, Kurdish people experienced major social, economic, and psychological insecurities, both material—income, possessions, education, health, state-services, and threat to and loss of their lives—and non-material in origin such as language, identity, and belonging (Icduygu, Romano, & Sirkeci, 1999). Although several governmental attempts for peace-making were introduced in the 1990s, these attempts failed to address the issue. The Kurdish question thus became an intractable conflict that strengthened and hardened the intractability of the issue (Bilgin, 2013; Ergil, 2008; Icduygu et al.,, 1999; Yegen, 2004; 2007), which has infused interethnic mistrust in Turkish society (Çelebi, Verkuyten, Köse, & Maliepaard, 2014).

Substantial improvements have been made in removing restrictions on Kurdish ethnic identity expression through the last decade (Celik, 2012). To improve the status of cultural minorities, the Turkish state launched societal reforms in the 2000s. As a part of this "democratic opening," in 2009, the state initiated the Peace Process to disarm the PKK (Keyman, 2016) and to tackle the Kurdish question (Bilgin & Sarihan, 2013; Çandar, 2009; Nykanen, 2013). These reforms were successful to some extent and received considerable support from both Kurds and

Turks, hoping for a peaceful solution to the armed struggles and resolution of the intensified conflict.

The reforms, however, neither addressed the individual Kurd's experience nor their psychological adaptation to an adverse atmosphere. Furthermore, the Peace Process was halted due to the resurgence of the PKK's armed attacks in 2015 (Keyman, 2016). Furthermore, the connection between Kurdish ethnic identity and the coping mechanism of interethnic forgiveness has been neglected in the psychological literature. Counseling psychology may provide a unique perspective to examine this gap and offer new understandings of Kurds' psychological adaptation in context of a conflict process by producing knowledge about their psychological functioning and attending to social justice issues within Kurds' adaptation process. Examination of relationship of perceived ethnic discrimination, ethnic identity, and interethnic forgiveness thus aims to understand Kurds' psychological adaptation within this traumatic history to faciliate societal peace and individuals' wellbeing.

Psychological Adaptation: Ethnic Identity Formation and Interethnic Forgiveness

In the Kurdish question, Kurds have experienced resentment and anger that point to a history of unfair treatment, the traumatic impact of the armed struggles, interethnic and intraethnic oppression. Such incidents of discrimination (e.g., İçduygu et al., 1999; Özdikmenli-Demir, 2014) hence bestow significant minority stress upon Kurds because they carry the risk of ethnic discrimination and interethnic transgressions. Very few studies have paid much attention to Kurds' psychological adaptation within this context despite ongoing armed struggles. Thus, this study hypothesizes that adverse situation in the Kurdish question exposes Kurds in Turkey to psychological problems, and that the correlates of their adaptation should be examined.

Three key areas of study are integrated: perceived ethnic discrimination, ethnic identity formation, and interethnic forgiveness, all three of which are included in order to investigate Kurds' adaptation. This adaptation is measured in terms of Kurds' collective self-esteem and general distress. Across these three areas, two aspects receive particular attention in the present study: (1) Kurds' ethnic identity with special emphasis on their ethnic attachment as a process related to their ethnic identity formation, and (2) Kurds' interethnic forgiveness within interpersonal and intergroup contexts. These two aspects—ethnic identity and interethnic forgiveness—are highlighted in order to understand how Kurds' perceived ethnic discrimination and traumatic history relate to their collective self-esteem and general distress.

Researchers have documented that ethnic minorities face ethnic discrimination—"unfair and differential treatment based on ethnicity or race"—on a regular occasion (Niwa, Way, & Hughes, 2014, p. 1). Such differential treatment may create changes in one's psychological functioning. Incidences of discrimination in a society cause such minority stress and may relate to poor adaptation in minority population (Arbona & Jimenez, 2014; Cheng & Mallinckrodt, 2015; Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999; Landrine, Klonoff, Corral, Fernandez, & Roesch, 2006; Niwa et al., 2014; Pieterse, Carter, Evans, & Walter, 2010; Sellers, Caldwell, Schmeelk, & Zimmerman, 2003; Smith & Silva, 2011; Thoits, 2010; Torres & Taknint, 2015), for example, evidenced by higher psychological distress in minority groups (Arbona & Jimenez, 2014; Landrine et al., 2006; Pieterse et al., 2010; Sellers et al., 2003). These findings thus suggest a relationship between perceived ethnic discrimination and adaptation as such indicated by decreased wellbeing and increased distress (Lee, 2003), severe psychological symptoms (Arbona & Jimenez, 2014; Cheng & Mallinckrodt, 2015), and maladaptive substance use (Cheng & Mallinckrodt, 2015).

Many researchers have concentrated on how ethnic identity is involved in this relationship between ethnic minorities' exposure to unfair treatment and various psychological outcomes. Researchers have documented that ethnic identity alleviates the negative consequences of perceived ethnic discrimination. While exposure to such discriminaiton undermines psychological adaptation (Cassidy, O'Connor, Howe, & Warden, 2004; Iwamoto & Liu, 2010; Yoo & Lee, 2005; Umaña-Taylor, Updegraff, & Gonzales-Backen, 2011), stronger ethnic identity is found as positively related to psychological wellbeing (Smith & Silva, 2011 for a meta-analysis) evidenced by, for example, decreasing psychological distress in longitudinal studies (Rogers-Sirin & Gupta, 2012; Seaton et al., 2006) and higher self-esteem in a National Survey, 3570 partcipants (Hughes, Kiecolt, Keith, & Demo, 2015). These findings extend the discusssion into the nature of this relationship between ethnic identity, perceived ethnic discrimination, and adaptation.

To enhance understanding of these relationships, researchers have scrutinized the underlying mechanisms of ethnic identity in adaptation (Phinney, 1992; Phinney & Ong, 2007; Quintana & McKown, 2008; Roberts et al., 1999). Quintana (2007), for example, suggests that ethnic identity provides a sense of positive affiliation with ethnic community and prepares for adverse interethnic situations (e.g., biases and racism). Studies have emphasized this positive affiliation (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004) as a crucial function for ethnic identity in promoting mental health in adverse interethnic situations (Lee, 2003; Yoo & Lee, 2005; Ghavami, Fingerhurt, Peplau, Grant, & Witting, 2011; Phinney, 1992). For example, the sense of positive affiliation has been emphasized through ethnic identity achievement and affirmation aspects of ethnic identity formation as described in Phinney's model (e.g., Phinney, 1992; 1993; Phinney & Ong, 2007; Umaña-Taylor, Updegraff, & Gonzales-Backen, 2011). In a

relatively recent modification of this conceptualization, Yoo and Lee (2005) stressed the importance of ethnic pride (or ethnic commitment, Phinney & Ong, 2007).

These implications of ethnic identity can be generalized to Kurds' adaptation as well. However, the role of ethnic identity in psychological functioning varies across age cohorts (e.g., Yip, Seaton, & Sellers, 2006), ethnic groups (Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006), sociocultural contexts (e.g., Umaña-Taylor, Yazedjian, & Bámaca-Gómez, 2004), thereby making it harder to draw conclusions for Kurds. For example, Chinese minority adolescents reported higher distress regarding higher perceived ethnic discrimination than African-Americans in one study (Niwa et al., 2015), whereas African-American adolescents reported higher distress than Chinese adolescents in another study, and this study concluded that the results were robust across ethnic groups (Greene et al., 2006). Within the context of the Kurdish question, ethnic identity will be important to Kurds' adaptation, but the results will be subject to those factors of which were mentioned just above. For example, the relationship between ethnic identity and adaptation may derive from the combination of contextual, ethnic, and personal factors. Kurds who face ethnic discrimination and traumatic incidents will need to find safety and make meaning of their experiences; hence, they may explore their ethnic identity. Phinney and Ong (2007) described this identity exploration as an intense ongoing process of immersing in "…a range of activities, such as reading and talking to people, learning cultural practices, and attending cultural events" (p. 272). Other researchers also noticed this influence that ethnic identity exploration is critical for minority groups (Umana-Taylor et al., 2004) and construing adaptation (e.g., Quintana, 2007). Within the Kurdish community, it appears that ethnic identity exploration may increase with community violence and perceived discrimination (Özdikmenli-Demir, 2014). However,

there is not a set guideline for how these aspects of ethnic identity generalize to Kurds or the Kurdish question, which will be examined in this study.

These ethnic identity components play different but crucial roles in psychological outcomes among minority populations (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Phinney & Ong, 2007). Greene et al.' (2006) longitudinal study, for example, illustrated the importance of ethnic identity exploration and affirmation in adverse interethnic situations: adolescents tended to immerse in exploring meaning of their ethnic identity as they perceived higher ethnic discrimination, but this interaction, in turn, heightened the negative consequences of perceived ethnic discrimination on their self-esteem and psychological distress. However, ethnic identity affirmation rather alleviated some of the consequences of perceived ethnic discrimination (Greene et al., 2006). Similar relational patterns are observed in other studies as well (e.g., Pahl & Way, 2006; Torres & Taknint, 2015; Yoo & Lee, 2008) and across age groups (Smith & Silva, 2011). Based on these results, it appears that while ethnic identity exploration motivates one to further search for the meaning of one's ethnic identity, ethnic identity affirmation/commitment provides a sense of safety and reassurance in the context of ethnic discrimination.

Phinney and Ong (2007) re-conceptualized ethnic identity in a relatively recent paper: they suggested that "commitment and attachment" facets are one of the most important components of ethnic identity (p. 278): "A commitment or attachment to one's group is expected to promote interest in exploring one's ethnicity" (Phinney & Ong, 2007, p. 278). They reorganized affirmation and belonging subscales under the commitment function of it. This commitment subscale defines a strong sense of attachment to the ethnic group, which describes an affective identification with significant others in it (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Phinney and Ong (2007) thus proposes that "… commitment has been … to refer to a strong attachment and a

personal investment in a group" (p. 272). This sense of attachment is believed to mediate the relationship between identity exploration and one's wellbeing, in that ethnic identity exploration may enhance positive affiliation and affirmation (Ghavami et al., 2011). These discussions indicate that there is an ongoing effort to describe the attachment/commitment components alongside other aspects of ethnic identity (Roberts et al., 1999).

Drawing from these theoretical discussions, the present study seeks to further examine the role of attachment from a cultural attachment perspective (Hong et al., 2013). Here, it might help to first describe how *attachment* has been conceptualized in ethnic identity (e.g., Phinney, 1992; Phinney & Ong, 2007) and adult attachment theories (e.g., Hazan & Shaver, 1987) so that the purpose of using a cultural attachment perspective can be clarified. In these two theories, attachment means a strong emotional bond to an ethnic group or romantic partner. Cultural or ethnic attachment also defines a sense of belonging and commitment to an ethnic group and a sense of affirmation in that commitment (e.g., Phinney, 1992; Phinney & Ong, 2007). In this process of bonding to the group, a person identifies with a group of people, in which he/she attributes emotional meaning to this identification, and internalizes ethnic experiences into one's ethnic identity (Phinney, 1992; Phinney & Ong, 2007). Similarly, according to adult attachment theory, attachment forms in close relationships outside of conscious awareness: people internalize their attachment experiences in close relationships to form attachment patterns (e.g., Rothbaum & Shaver, 1994; Bowlby, 1988; Hazan & Shaver, 1987).

Cultural attachment theory, which will be further described in chapter 2, generalizes these principles of adult attachment theory into group identity formation (Hong et al., 2013). According to Hong et al., "…social groups can also serve as attachment bases such that the groups can provide emotional support and protection to individuals, comparable to the support

and protection from attachment figures" (Hong et al., 2013, p. 1027). That is, individuals may face fears, rejections, anxiety, resentment, and so forth in their interactions within and between group relations: they internalize their cultural attachment experiences to form cultural attachment patterns, that is, *cultural attachment anxiety and avoidance* (Hong et al., 2013).

The present study therefore seeks to apply this psychological construct of attachment orientations into the ethnic realm by integrating this recent model (Hong et al., 2013) with further reference to adult attachment theory (e.g., Griffin & Bartholomew, 1994; Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Mikulincer, Shaver, & Pereg, 2003), which provides the fundamental principles to Hong et al.'s study. That is, ethnic minorities form attachment to their groups (e.g., collective identity, Ashmore et al., 2004; ethnic identity, Phinney & Ong, 2007) and commit/attach to the meaning of explored ethnic identity (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Furthermore, they internalize their interethnic and intraethnic experiences (Hong et al., 2013) to form what is here called *ethnic attachment orientations, i.e., ethnic attachment anxiety and avoidance.* Resultantly, these two have similarities: some components of attachment theory are applicable to attachment to ethnic groups. As mentioned above, however, this application intends to further define the attachment-relevant strategies (i.e., anxiety and avoidance) of ethnic identity and place further emphases on the "affirmation" and "commitment" aspects by cultivating ideas from the rich theoretical tradition of attachment theory. Examining ethnic identity formation by referring to these attachment patterns allows this study to further define the attachment, sense of belonging, and affirmation in ethnic identity from an affect-based perspective. That is to say, two individuals might have the same score on ethnic identity commitment, but one of them may have formed strong ethnic attachment anxiety and tends to concentrate on ethnic connections, somewhat excessively, while the other person may have formed strong ethnic attachment avoidance and

tends to be self-reliant and minimizes the importance of connection and problems in ethnic relations. Therefore, this concept of ethnic attachment does not aim to replace the sense of ethnic identity commitment, but allows this study to examine affect-based differences in ethnic identity formation. These abovementioned differences are borrowed from the rich tradition of attachment theory and further defined in chapter 2.

The conceptualization of ethnic attachment orientations therefore inform ethnic identity functioning in dealing with problems in ethnic relations (e.g., ethnic discrimination). These orientations involve similar functions of ethnic attachment to those of adult attachment. For example, borrowing from adult attachment theory (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991), anxious people over worry about relational concerns, have difficulty in calming their worries even after the threat has ended, and lack an adequate sense of self-worth, whereas persons who have high attachment avoidance minimize the importance of relationships, have mistrust in others, suppress their problems and worries, and are overly self-reliant (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007; Mikulincer, Shaver, & Pereg, 2003 for a review). When ethnic minorities internalize fear, anxiety, anger, and disappointment that might further intervene with interethnic/intraethnic relations, they will be vulnerable to develop these patterns. Therefore, such conceptualization of ethnic attachment orientations provides a different perspective to ethnic identity: it does not define ethnic identity in positive or negative connotations, but rather hypothesizes that ethnic attachment anxiety and avoidance will explain the psychological adaptation of cultural minorities, including ethnic minorities like Kurds in Turkey, through further defining their affect based strategies. That is, individuals with low levels of anxiety and avoidance in their ethnic attachment will develop higher levels of collective self-esteem and lower levels of general distress.

The function of ethnic attachment will be further examined with respect to ethnic minorities' adaptation in ethnic and mainstream communities. Phinney (1990) argues that an adaptive function of ethnic identity is to maintain connection with inherent and majority cultures. This statement translates well into attachment theory: individuals with secure attachment explore outer world and build connections with others while maintaining a proximity to attachment figure (e.g., ethnic community in this study) (Bowlby, 1988). This pattern may be observed in ethnic attachment with a test of acculturation theory by examining the relationships to ethnic attachment orientations, which are ethnic attachment anxiety and avoidance. Acculturation describes changes in people's attitudes, values, norms, and traditions when two different cultures encounter (Berry, Trimble, & Olmedo, 1986). Berry et al. (1986) described four acculturation attitudes, such as integration, segregation, assimilation, marginalization attitudes. In a more recent model, Berry and Sabatier (2010) reorganized these four attitudes into ethnic (acculturating into inherent culture) and national acculturation attitudes (acculturating into mainstream/majority culture). Referring to acculturation theory, ethnic attachment perspective may explain how ethnic minorities can maintain connections with ethnic and/or mainstream communities. For example, drawing on Berry's (2003) acculturation model and referring to the abovementioned hypothesis of Phinney (1990) as well as the principles of attachment theory (e.g., exploring outer world, Bowlby, 1988), individuals who report ethnic attachment anxiety is likely to report increased tendency to acculturate into ethnic/inherent culture and decreased tendency to acculturate into majority culture, whereas individuals who report higher ethnic attachment avoidance is likely to acculturate more into majority culture and less into ethnic culture.

Another significant process regarding Kurds' adaptation in an ethnic context is interethnic forgiveness. Interethnic forgiveness is examined in this study for three reasons. First, many Kurds have experienced anger and resentment due to the negative impact of the armed struggles. How Kurds heal from the hurts that may have occurred in these adverse situations is viewed as related to interethnic forgiveness within intergroup and interpersonal contexts. Secondly, Quintana (2012) proposed that psychological strength that underlies the development of a healthy sense of self in racial identity is related to the development of interracial forgiveness. Quintana also contended that this strength is rarely acknowledged. Hence, interethnic forgiveness is accepted in this study as a predictor of Kurds' adaptation. Lastly, examination of interethnic forgiveness offers a critical test of ethnic attachment orientations. Previous studies have portrayed forgiveness as developing more readily within secure attachment as a prosocial skill (e.g., Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007; 2015). The present study will test if these previous findings generalize to the context of the ethnic realm.

The Kurdish question shows the characteristics of intergroup conflicts due to the armed struggles. Thus, interethnic forgiveness suggests significant roles in promoting mental health and recovering from hurts caused by interethnic transgressions in this context. Forgiveness in interpersonal relationships has been a significant factor in promoting adaptation and recovery from the hurt caused by transgressions (Enright & the Human Development Study Group, 1991). Researchers suggest that the benefits of forgiveness apply to interethnic conflicts like facilitating the resolution of the pain (Voci, Hewstone, Swart, & Veneziani, 2015) and promoting mental health (Myers, Hewstone, & Cairns, 2009), and it was tested in several interstate and intrastate conflicts (McCann & Pearlman, 1990; Staub, 1998; Staub, 2006; Van Tongeren et al., 2014). Therefore, the relationship of interethnic forgiveness with Kurds' psychological adaptation will

be tested in this study, hypothesizing that Kurds who are more forgiving may report greater psychological adaptation in response to the hurts caused by interethnic transgressions with the help of interethnic forgiveness.

However, interethnic forgiveness is not always the most viable option for the victims of interethnic conflicts (Staub, 2006): indeed, strength of ingroup identification may block the practice of interethnic forgiveness within intergroup context (Van Tongeren, Burnette, O'Boyle, Worthington, & Forsyth, 2014; Voci, Hewstone, Swart, & Veneziani, 2015). In a recent meta-analysis, for example, Van Tongeren et al. (2014) analyzed 43 studies on diverse conflicts in 20 different nations. They demonstrated that strong ingroup identification was inversely related to and the strongest albeit inverse predictor of interethnic forgiveness within intergroup context. These results support the notion that ingroup identification, as an indicator of ethnic identity (Phinney, 1992), may actually keep individuals from forgiving a perceived transgressor (see also, Leach, Baker, & Ziegler-Hill, 2010). A similar relationship of ethnic identity with interethnic forgiveness in intergroup context also appears in interpersonal context, in that racial identity may actually impinge on developing forgiveness of interracial offenses (Quintana, 2012). Quintana (2012) further explains this relationship that while multicultural inclusive interracial attitudes were associated with interracial forgiveness, racial-centric non-inclusive attitudes were associated with an unforgiving attitude toward interracial transgressions in interpersonal context. In addition, in Quintana's study those who have not developed racial consciousness tended to deny both the hurt and the need for a process of forgiveness (i.e., pseudoforgiveness; Quintana, 2012). Drawing on these findings, the relationship between ethnic identity and interethnic forgiveness will be tested in this study.

These abovementioned findings establish a tentative link between ethnic identity and forgiveness in interethnic transgressions, but this link provides limited guidelines regarding the role of ethnic identity. As ethnic identity becomes stronger, Kurds will tend to be less forgiving while ethnic identity achievement will be negatively related to interethnic forgiveness within interpersonal context. Therefore, the relationship of ethnic identity with interethnic forgiveness can help better understand minority groups' response to interethnic transgressions and provides venues to understand their psychological adaptation.

The present study further contends that ethnic attachment dimensions may account for the variations in interethnic forgiveness, particularly referring to the security and insecurity hypotheses of attachment theory (Bretherton, 1985). Attachment theorists propose that secure attachment facilitates forgiveness as a prosocial skill (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2015; Mikulincer, Shaver, & Slav, 2006). Individuals, who experience being helped and cared in attachment relationships, show the tendency to forgive wrongdoings of others (e.g., Chung, 2014; Burnette, Davis, Worthington, & Bradfield, 2009; Mikulincer et al., 2006) and express compassion for one's own and others' pain (e.g., Mikulincer et al., 2006; Mikulincer & Shaver, 2015; Wei, Liao, Ku, & Shaffer, 2011). In the same way, minority groups are likely to develop a stronger ethnic attachment when they experience others as responsive and available to their needs in ethnic attachment. Therefore, while secure ethnic attachment promotes a view of others as responsive and caring, high ethnic attachment anxiety and avoidance promote a view of others as unresponsive and uncaring, thereby possibly showing less altruistic feelings and interethnic forgiveness. Drawing on these findings, ethnic attachment anxiety and avoidance is hypothesized to be negatively related to interethnic forgiveness within interpersonal and intergroup context.

Based on these discussions, the present study entails four major research questions. Each of these research questions is operationalized with following hypotheses and tested within a sample of Kurdish university students in Turkey.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Question 1: What is the relationship between ethnic attachment and acculturation attitudes?

Hypothesis 1: Ethnic attachment anxiety will be positively related to acculturation into ethnic culture subscales and negatively related to acculturation into majority culture subscales while ethnic attachment avoidance will be positively related to acculturation into majority culture subscales and negatively related to acculturation into ethnic culture subscales.

Question 2: What are the relationships among perceived ethnic discrimination, ethnic identity, and ethnic attachment orientations with psychological adaptation?

Hypothesis 2a: Perceived ethnic discrimination will be negatively related to ethnic collective self-esteem and positively related to psychological stress.

Hypothesis 2b: Ethnic identity achievement will be positively related to ethnic collective self-esteem and negatively related to psychological stress.

Hypothesis 2c: Ethnic attachment anxiety and avoidance will predict low levels of ethnic collective self-esteem and high levels of psychological stress.

Question 3: What is the relationship of severity of hurt sustained, perceived ethnic discrimination, ethnic identity achievement and ethnic attachment orientations with interethnic forgiveness within interpersonal and intergroup context?

Hypothesis 3a: Ethnic identity achievement and severity of hurt sustained will predict low levels of situational and pseudo forgiveness in interpersonal context and secure ethnic attachment will predict high levels of situational and low levels of pseudo forgiveness in interpersonal context.

Hypothesis 3b: Ethnic identity achievement and perceived ethnic discrimination will predict low levels of interethnic forgiveness in intergroup context and secure ethnic attachment will predict high levels of interethnic forgiveness in intergroup context.

Question 4: What is the relationship between interethnic forgiveness and psychological adaptation, controlling for perceived ethnic discrimination?

Hypothesis 4a: Interethnic forgiveness in interpersonal context will be positively related to ethnic collective self-esteem and negatively related to psychological stress, controlling for perceived ethnic discrimination.

Hypothesis 4b: Interethnic forgiveness in intergroup context will be positively related to ethnic collective self-esteem and negatively related to psychological stress, controlling for perceived ethnic discrimination.

Chapter II: Review of the Literature

The Research Setting: Turkey

Turkey is located in the crossroad between continents, civilizations, religions and ethnic groups. It is physically located between the Southwestern Asia and Southeastern Europe. The country—the Thrace and Anatolia— is placed at the two sides of the Bosporus and Dardanelles. The bordered countries are Greece and Bulgaria on the Southeastern Europe, and Georgia, Nakhchivan (an autonomous republic of Azerbaijan), Armenia, Iran, Iraq and Syria at the Southwestern Asia. Turkey borders the Aegean Sea and Mediterranean Sea between Greece and Syria, and the Black Sea between Bulgaria and Georgia.

The modern Republic of Turkey was founded in 1923 as a secular parliamentary representative democracy. The Republic of Turkey follows a principle of "separation of power" among executive, legislative, and judicial branches of this power. The prime minister exercises the executive power as head of the Council of Ministers. Legislative power resides in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. As of the date of this study, the political parties, which manage to collect support from at least ten percent of the total voters, send their representatives to the Grand National Assembly and become a part of the legislative power. The representatives can be elected individually independent to the political parties as well. The judicial system is the third pillar of the "separation of power" and has such professions as lawyers, judges, and prosecutors. They serve in the civilian justice—Judicial, Criminal, State Security and Supreme Courts—as well as military courts and the Court of Jurisdictional Disputes. On April 16, 2017, after the data collection Turkish people voted for 18 amendments in Turkish constitution, which brought several changes in judicial power, The Grand National Assembly, deputy eligibility, election period, President's candidacy, election, duties, power and liability, the status of vice presidents

and ministers, emergency situations management, and budget and final account. These amendments are still in progress and the first election will be held in 2019 under this amended constitution (TRTWorld, 2017).

As of 2016, Turkey has approximately 80 million people (The World Factbook, 2016). Between 20 and 25 percent of that population identify with another ethnicity other than Turkic, such as Kurds, Arabs, Bosnians, Georgians, Albanians, Gypsies, Armenians, and Jews. Kurds are the second largest ethno-cultural group. Even though the Kurds and Zazas speak different languages (Kurdish and Zazaki) and have different ethnic origins, the majority of Zazas considers themselves as Kurdish and is often referred as such. Of that total population, 18 percent identifies as Kurdish (Milliyet, 2008; The World Factbook, 2016) and they are mostly populated in the cities located at the Southeast Turkey, bordering Syria, Iraq and Iran.

The democratic environment in any country is vital for the welfare of culturally diverse population, and Turkey struggled to instill one. From 1923 to 1946, the country was governed within a single-party system. Starting from 1946, a multi-political party system was introduced and embraced in the Turkish mainstream political life. However, the democratic development was impeded by the interferences of Turkish army leadership multiple times, such as the army coups in 1960, 1971 and 1980 alongside with a *post-modern coup* in 1997 and another attempted memorandum in 2007. The last coup attempt by a click in the army occurred on July 15, 2016, and caused 249 deaths and hundreds of injuries. The coups suppressed the demands of culturally diverse populations and prevented the development of respect and inclusion of diversity in the country and its governing bodies. For example, the 1980 coup ceased student organizations, political parties, and was blamed for tortures and executions of individuals who were viewed as opposing the status quo.

However, the Kurdish question has its own developmental trend and continues to be a major source of discussions in Turkey's sociopolitical life.

The Research Context

Kurds' ethnic expression and demands for more privileges and rights have constituted the main motives of the Kurdish movement in Turkey. However, Kurds' demands have created conflicts within the state's policy, and these demands were historically blocked by the state. Accordingly, the earlier state policies were challenged. The whole of these issues is named as the *Kurdish question* of Turkey. Kurdish question became even more complicated with the inception of PKK and was often discussed within the armed struggles. From the 1980s until the most recent date, the country witnessed, on and off, intense armed struggles between the Turkish security forces and PKK. The tension still continues and the problem has become protracted. The Kurdish question hence refers to the intractability of the conflict and perplexing nature of the issue as well. Moreover, it is a common belief among Turkish people that the PKK was supported by foreign powers to undermine Turkey (Çelebi et al., 2014; Kirisci, 2011) that further complicates the entrenchment of the armed struggles in addition to the long history of the problem.

The state's policies have influenced the trajectory of the Kurdish question. The Kurdish identity and language were unrecognized (e.g., the 1924 and 1982 Constitutions). They were not permitted to receive services in Kurdish language from state institutions or agencies. The Kurdish movement was resultantly enmeshed into ethno-cultural motives. The Kurdish question had become even more complicated with the insurgency of the PKK in the 1970s. The PKK went to commence a violent campaign in 1984. Turkish state retaliated against the PKK's attacks. In

response to the PKK, the state launched restrictive policies. For example, in the southeast Turkey Turkish government declared a system of emergency rule (OHAL, *Olağanüstü Hal* in Turkish), beginning in 1987, on and off, in 14 different provinces, in order to fight with the increased activity of the PKK. This emergency rule authorized the provincial governor with power and capabilities to impose strict state measures, which was supported by a guard system including pro-government civilians (Çelik, 2012). Human right violations have occurred in the implementation of this system, including tortures and disappearances. In addition, many people in the 14 provinces, where the OHAL was in operation, were obliged to relocate to safer bigger cities, mostly in the west of Turkey—Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Antalya, and Izmit, and to the southeastern cities, such as Diyarbakır, Gaziantep, and Şanlıurfa.

The PKK's attacks targeted Turkish soldiers, the state servants, Turkic civilians, and Kurdish people. According to Bajalan (2013), PKK embraced oppressive attitudes towards Kurds. Bajalan (2013) stated that PKK alienated, coerced, eliminated Kurds, who were opposed PKK leadership. They were considered as traitors. Öcalan, the uncontested leader, removed oppositional movements within PKK and Kurdish community. Therefore, there was a top-to-bottom oppression within the Kurdish community, mostly exercised by PKK (Bajalan, 2013).

With the increased democratic atmosphere in Turkey during the Peace process, the Kurdish question has gained a different dimension and gone through a transformation. Abdulllah Öcalan was captured in 1999 and PKK declared a ceasefire. The ceasefire has not been stable since then. In the 2000s, PKK abandoned its separatist mission and redesigned its cause as gaining a democratic autonomy for Kurdish people, which's meaning is largely unknown (Çandar, 2013). There were periods in the 2000s that PKK resumed its violent campaign, that is, from 2004 until 2010 (Çandar, 2013). Eventually, PKK agreed to cooperate with the state's

effort to resolve the issue with peaceful means. PKK has declared the latest cease fire in 2013. As of August, 2017, PKK resumed its attacks with serious concerns being present in public that armed struggles may continue for a long time and PKK continues to oppress the civilians in the region while many ethnic Turks and Kurds holding the hope and belief that the question must be resolved with peaceful means, acknowledging the success of democratic improvements in the country regarding the issue.

Several factors played a role in the transformation in the Kurdish question during the *democratic opening*. The changes in the state policies may account for some of these factors. Starting in 2002, the state removed the emergency rules in the whole region. Turkey is a country negotiating to enter in the European Union (EU) and its entrance is partly dependent on the status of the Kurdish question (Karakoc, 2010). The Justice and Development Party (AKP or AK Party), which was elected to the Turkish parliament in 2003, took a different route and appropriated a political solution. The state approached the Kurdish question with sociopolitical means (Bacık & Coşkun, 2013), including revoking the OHAL, providing permission for broadcasting in Kurdish, introducing Kurdish courses in schools and Kurdish departments at universities (Bilgin, 2013). The most striking transformation was the effort to moderate a dialogue between the imprisoned Abdullah Öcalan and PKK's headquearter in Kandil, Iraq. As a result of these peace negotiations, in 2013, Öcalan called ceasefire and asked the PKK militants move out of Turkey (Çandar, 2013), however, these calls have not been followed by PKK. Furthermore, the peace process ended when PKK was held responsible for destruction of hundreds of vehicles owned by construction companies in the region, bombings in Turkey, and several killings, including shooting two police officers in their heads during their sleep, which created a scandal in Turkey in the midst of the Peace Process. All of these PKK's attacks created

massive reaction in the society and the state embraced security measures once more to disarm PKK in the late 2015.

To sum up, throughout the events in the Kurdish question civilian Kurds experienced major losses and insecurities (Icduygu et al., 1999). They voluntarily and involuntarily migrated for more safety and security, easier access to basic services (e.g., health and education), and better living conditions. They historically experienced significant restrictions on their ethnic identity expression. Some of them sustained tortures and prison conditions in the past. The current generations experienced improvements in the matter and may have different understandings of the factors that contributed to this protracted problem. However, our knowledge about the impact of all these abovementioned adversities on Kurds' psychological adaptation is limited. While the previous research clearly shows the devastating impact of armed struggles on surviving victims (e.g., Staub, 2006), Kurds' psychological functioning has not been examined. The present study aims to fill this gap by investigating Kurds' perceptions of ethnic discrimination, ethnic identity, interethnic forgiveness, and psychological adaptation.

The rest of this chapter develops in two sections. The first section includes ethnic identity formation and psychological adaptation with regard to perceived ethnic discrimination. The second section delves into interethnic forgiveness within intergroup and interpersonal contexts. The second section aims to use interethnic forgiveness in order to understand Kurds' adaptation to a traumatic history and perceived ethnic discrimination. Ethnic identity function is examined as a correlate of interethnic forgiveness.

Psychological Adaptation

The incidents in the Kurdish question have created a collective trauma in Turkish people. Huge casualties have recurred during the armed struggles. Thousands of Turkish citizens lost their lives (Bilgin, 2013). About one million people were evacuated from over three thousand villages (Bilgin, 2013; Icduygu et al., 1999). Moreover, the casualties imbued trauma and grief may have passed down from generation to generation (e.g., Wohl & Branscombe, 2008). As a result, Turkish people, particularly civilian Kurds in the 1980s and 1990s, have become accustomed to living in fear, terror, and uncertainty (e.g., Celik, 2012; Icduygu et al., 1999). It is evident that even in the midst of perceived discrimination and unfair treatment, individuals' psychological adaptation may suffer due to incurring stress (Clark et al., 1999; Meyer, 2003; Turner & Avison, 2003; Niwa, Way, & Hughes, 2014). The traumatic incidents described above have thus exposed civilian Kurds to significant problems in their adaptation, which have not been examined extensively.

Kurds' ethnic identity formation thus is of a particular interest to the present study alongside interethnic forgiveness. It is hypothesized that perceived ethnic discrimination interacts with Kurds' ethnic identity in predicting their psychological adaptation. The first section therefore concentrates on the theories of ethnic identity formation. By doing so, the main venues for adaptation, such as ethnic identity and ethnic attachment orientations, are examined. The integration of such normative process of ethnic identity achievement alongside ethnic attachment within the context of such interethnic conflict will allow this study to examine Kurds' psychological functioning in this context.

Given the losses and trauma experienced by Kurds, the role of interethnic forgiveness emerges as a critical mechanism for healing from past psychological wounds (e.g., Staub, 2006). Research in interethnic conflicts has documented that interethnic forgiveness facilitates healing from hurts caused by interethnic transgressions (Staub, 2006). The interventions that foster interethnic forgiveness have revealed significant decreases in trauma symptoms as well as increases in a more positive orientation toward the outgroup (Staub et al., 2005). Its benefits are numerous. Resultantly, forgiveness promises to be a significant help to Kurds in building better psychological functioning in response to an adverse environment of the Kurdish question, and is examined in this study as connected to their ethnic identity and psychological functioning.

Before further discussing the relationship between these hypothesized correlates of Kurds' psychological adaptation, the next section visits the theories of ethnic and social identity, emphasizing ethnic identity and ethnic attachment. The second section discusses interethnic forgiveness as connected to ethnic identity and adaptation.

An Overall Perspective of Ethnic Identity Formation as a Process of Adaptation

This section aims to accomplish four goals. The current subsection provides a general framework to the discussion of ethnic identity. The next two subsections introduce ethnic identity formation from Phinney's conceptualization (Phinney, 1989; 1993) and lay out the possible relationships of ethnic identity, perceived ethnic discrimination, and adaptation in a greater detail. In this relationship, the role of ethnic identity is discussed. In the last section, ethnic attachment perspective is integrated, with a goal to further examine the role of ethnic identity in psychological functioning.

It might help first to clarify the application of the terms of ethnic or racial identity in the context of this study. Quintana (2007) argues that within the U.S. context "the differentiation made between race and ethnicity in counseling psychology may be a distinction without a meaningful difference" (p. 260) and such distinction in the literature is applied to certain racial or ethnic groups. Therefore, the use of ethnic and/or racial identity needs to be clarified. 21st Century Study Group (Umaña-Taylor, Quintana et al., 2014) suggests that the terms racial and ethnic be used in the field based on the nominal conventions, in which ethnic identity is used as a term when the group is considered as an ethnic group (e.g., Latino). However, racial identity is used as a term when the group is considered as a racial one (e.g., Black). Moreover, the use of ethnic or racial changes based on the selection of the measurement tools (e.g., Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure, Phinney, 1992 vs. Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity, Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997).

Ethnic identity has, however, become the main overarching terminology to refer to group differences based on national or historical origin, which could include Turks and Kurds. For example, in Turkey, the transitions between the groups are permeable. That is, religious, historical, and traditional distinctions and inclusiveness are common between these two communities (e.g., interethnic marriages, social life, and interethnic friendship) (see Quintana, 2007 for a detailed discussion of the differences between ethnic and racial identity). A term equivalent to the 'ethnic' in the Turkish language is also conventional in Turkey when Turkish people refer to Turkic and Kurdish communities. The same term is used when describing other group differences in the literature. Consequently, for the purposes of this dissertation I will use the term 'ethnic' or 'ethnicity' to refer to racial-ethnic groups in this study but may refer to

research on racial differences as an important way of shedding light on intergroup differences based on national and historical origin.

Researchers theorize ethnic identity development based on different frameworks. Phinney (1989) reviewed theories of ethnic identity formation and concluded that our understanding of it has been influenced by theories of social identity (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1986), acculturation attitudes (e.g., Berry, 1980; 2003), psychosocial development (e.g., Erikson, 1950; Marcia, 1980; Marcia & Josselson, 2013), and Black racial identity or Nigrescence theory (e.g., Cross & Vandiver, 2001; Helms, 1990). According to Phinney, these theories have composed the main structures of understanding identity formation. A brief review of some of these theories may provide a general foundation to operationalize adaptation within identity formation across ethnic contexts. However, Black racial identity development model will not be reviewed as the theory is strongly contextualized to the United States' (US) context. This review intends to provide a theoretical ground to the current study.

Erikson's model, for example, is a pioneering work to identity formation and views identity development as a salient psychosocial adaptation task in adolescence (Erikson, 1968). Erikson (1950; 1968) perceives individuals as purposeful actors in self-selection of identity elements and active correspondent to surrounding environment. Erikson therefore views individuals as constantly negotiating the inner and outer reality with respect to social expectations (Marcia & Josselson, 2013). Erikson (1968) defines individuals as striving to create identity synthesis, in which individuals form self-determined mental systems that represent a sense of identity – a coherent portrayal of ideals and representations of self with respect to the world, including significant others or social structures (e.g., schools, friend groups, popular themes). When individuals fail in forming this coherent sense of ego identity, they experience

identity confusion and conflicts, which may result in an identity crisis and cognitive dissonance. However, when they resolve these crises, they reach a congruent sense of their identity and establish the ability to operate in a social system by forming adaptive connections; this higher level of maturation is called identity achievement.

Marcia (1966; 1988) defined four ego identity statuses based on Erikson's model or Marcia operationalized Erikson's ideas. These statuses describe different levels of identity exploration and commitment (Marcia, 1966): *Diffusion* refers to a lack of exploration of alternatives/self-defining areas and commitments; *foreclosure* refers to a premature identity commitment as inherited by significant others without a through identity-exploration; *moratorium* refers to the process of exploring identity alternative within attitudes, norms, traditions, practices, and options but lacks a clear commitment; and lastly, *achievement* refers to a secure sense of self that forms after a process of a through exploration, resolution of identity crises, and a sense of identity commitment. Diffusion and foreclosure statuses are less mature than moratorium and identity achievement (Phinney, 1993). Moving through these identity statuses is a process of individuation. In this process, individuals elicits information about identity alternatives, in which they explore identity options, and emotionally bond to the set goals, values, norms, traditions, and other cultural meanings of such identity elements (e.g., occupation, sexual orientation) (Marcia, 1988; 1993; Meeus, Iedema, Helsen, & Vollebergh, 1999; Shwartz, 2001; van Hoof, 1999; Waterman, 1982). In this final status, individuals have explored and committed to what their identity means to them. However, although these four identity statuses can be viewed as sequential in maturation, it does not mean that these four statuses will develop on a continuum (Phinney, 1993), meaning that an individual may maintain her life in one of those statuses like witlhout exploring or without committing.

Erikson's and Marcia's ideas about identity development inform the present study. Eriksonian theory explicates the identity formation and shows that Kurds' ethnic identity development develops within the synthesis of internal representation of (ethnic) identity and interaction with outer world. Marcia's work of this theory operationalizes these ideas of identity development, and indicates commitment and exploration as main components of ethnic identity development. Therefore, the current study attends to the exploration and commitment dynamics of Kurds' ethnic identity development within the conceptualization of ethnic identity achievement from Phinney (1992; see also Phinney & Ong, 2007). Phinney's model will be explained in greater detail below.

Abovementioned developmental theories explore how individuals form their identity in terms of attributes and characteristics, whereas social psychological theories define identity formation within intergroup contact (Phinney, 1993). Social identity theory (SIT) (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) proposes that identity emerges as an individual gains awareness of a valued membership to a sociocultural group and invests emotionally in this membership (Tajfel, 1982). Once this membership is confirmed by other groups, the membership is solidified and a member is classified into this social identity category (Tajfel, 1982). This membership is substantial to psychological adjustment because social identity theory views the internalization of group identification as a precursor of wellbeing: Acquiring such a membership merely provides a sense of belonging that facilitates individuals' ability to maintain a positive self-concept (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). As apparent in this definition, identity formation in SIT is basically a two-fold process: Individuals ascribe emotional meaning to the membership in this social category (e.g., being a fun of a sports team) and acquire the knowledge and sociocultural definition of this membership (e.g., socializing into this group membership) (Phinney, 1992). In

consistency with SIT, the current study hypothesizes that Kurds are likely to go through this process of gaining such membership to their ethnic group, and they ascribe emotional meaning to this membership. Hence, the current study is going to consider if the participants self identify with an ethnic group.

Optimal distinctiveness theory (OPT; Brewer, 1991) has not been as influential in the scholarship on ethnic identity. However, the OPT's principles highlight the idea of ethnic attachment in the present study. The OPT concentrates on various motives in building a social identity, which relatively overlaps with the principles of attachment theory (e.g., Bowlby, 1988). Brewer (1991) described social identity as the outcome of reconciliation of opposing needs for distinctiveness and belongingness. She articulated that "human species is highly adapted to group living and not well equipped to survive outside a group context" (Brewer, 1991, p. 475). Therefore, social identity formation emerges as a way of meeting attachment needs (individuation and belongingness) as a member of sociocultural group. Such attachment represents the motive to be unique and independent as well as to belong to a larger community that would give meaning to identity. Identity formation thus is an attachment process which views human growth as individuation process in sociocultural relationships in which attachment becomes a universal mechanism. Therefore, based on these views the present study agrees on Hong et al.'s (2013) view of sociocultural attachment and hypothesizes that ethnic attachment is part of social identity formation for ethnic groups.

Going back to ethnic identity, Phinney (1993) examines ethnic identity formation in two parts across groups: *content* and *process*. Content entails ethnic identity knowledge and tendencies, such as building/acquiring racially and ethnically informed attitudes, beliefs, norms, practices, and traditions, whereas process signifies the mechanisms that one uses to form their

ethnic identity (Umaña-Taylor, Quintana et al., 2014). It appears that content of ethnic identity may vary across ethnic groups: different groups ascribe or emphasize different dimensions in their identity, such as self-identification, language, social networks, and religious affiliation (Phinney, 1989; 1992). Ethnic racial identity fills in such meaning of being African American (Cross & Vandiver, 2001), Asian American (Kim, 2001; Sodowsky, Kwan, & Pannu, 1995), and Hispanics (Arce, 1981; Quintana, 1998). Moreover, the process is more universal and runs across ethnic groups, which is normative (Phinney, 1992). In ethnic identity formation, content and process become intertwined (Umaña-Taylor, Quintana et al., 2014). The next section concentrates on how Phinney's model describes ethnic identity and its formation.

Ethnic Identity: The Three-Stage Model

Phinney's (1992) ethnic identity model is an integration of Eriksonian theory of identity development (e.g., Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1980) as well as social identity theory (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and other extant theories of identity formation (e.g., see Phinney, 1989 for a review). Identity achievement has been central to ethnic identity in this model. It portrays how individuals' ethnic identity attitudes as systematically developing through a normative process (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2009), particularly among minority groups and adolescents (Phinney, 1989; 1993). This section defines the background of this ethnic identity achievement concept by referring to its common mechanisms and characteristics.

Phinney (1989) introduces a three-stage model. These are unexamined ethnic identity, ethnic identity search (moratorium), and achieved ethnic identity, in which individuals move from an unexamined ethnic identity to one achieved identity (Phinney, 1993). As it is clear in this description, the initial stage represents the diffusion while the last stage represents identity

achievement in ego identity statuses as described above. Phinney (1993) also extrapolated other theories of ethnic identity on this model (e.g., Asian American identity development, Kim, 2001). Furthermore, through a review of 62 studies in one review (Phinney, 1989) and 70 in another one (Phinney, 1990), Phinney portrayed four components in ethnic identity measure and conceptualization. As such, *self-identification* describes one's use of ethnic label as a member of an ethnic group. *Ethnic behaviors* refer to the common ethnic practices and social activities. *Affirmation and belonging* refer to an emotional attachment and positive attitudes toward an ethnic group. Lastly, *ethnic identity achievement* refers to exploration of the meaning of ethnic identity within the practices, values, and so forth. Phinney (1992) proposed these components as running across all ethnic groups and emphasized the need to form an ethnic identity: "…each group has its unique history, traditions, and values; yet the concept of a group identity, that is, a sense of identification with, or belonging to, one's own group, is common to all human beings" (p. 158).

Apart from these formulations, the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) has had an international fame and usability. The MEIM has been tested in different age cohorts, ethnic groups, sociocultural backgrounds, and sociocultural contexts (Phinney, 1992; Roberts et al., 1999; Yap et al., 2014), including international researches like one in Turkey with Kurds (e.g., Özdikmenli-Demir, 2014). This commonality and usability of the measure has placed it at the center of ethnic identity research. Questions about the underlying structure of it and some concerns regarding the measure of ethnic identity sparked the interest also in investigating the sense of ethnic self (e.g., Schwartz et al., 2014). Some researchers reinvestigated the factor structure of it while others criticized this measure (e.g., Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004; Yap et al., 2014) and others invited researchers to further investigate the construct (Schwartz et al., 2014;

Yap et al., 2014). Therefore, a discussion of the measure can be a way to understand how ethnic identity is conceptualized in this study in addition to how it is measured.

Phinney (1992) constructed the MEIM based on this conceptualization of ethnic identity. The first version of the MEIM was developed within the interviews and pilot administration of the survey among American-born Asian American, Black, Mexican American, or White students. Another revised version was administered to Hispanic and White students. In these administrations, ethnic identity exploration and commitment were suggested. Phinney (1992) added items in order to conform to the findings in literature. These items included statement regarding ethnic identity attitudes (belonging, affirmation, and denial) and ethnic behaviors. The relationship of these underlying constructs were examined if these were "independent aspects of ethnic identity or rather comprise a single factor" within 136 college and 417 high school students, ethnicities of whom were stated above, alongside "other group orientation" (Phinney, 1992, p. 162). The results showed that these factors were conceptually distinct and statistically largely correlated (ethnic identity achievement and ethnic identity attitudes, r = .52 for high school students and r = .58 for college students) (Phinney, 1990; 1992): resultantly, Phinney (1992) suggested researchers use a single factor structure (see also Yap et al., 2014) or two sub-factors like ethnic identity commitment and exploration, referring to ethnic identity achievement (Phinney & Ong, 2007). In a recent modification of ethnic identity, Phinney and Ong (2007) reported that a correlated two-factor structure of the MEIM fits better than ($X^2(8) = 15.29$, RMSEA = .04, IFI = .98, CFI = .98) compared to an uncorrelated two-factor structure ($X^2(9) = 96.55$, RMSEA = .23, IFI = .85, CFI = .87). Due to this correlation between ethnic identity exploration and commitment, which are the indicators of ethnic identity achievement, the total score as ethnic identity achievement will be used in this study.

Findings from studies generally converged on the centrality of ethnic identity achievement. The Study Group, for example, concludes that "ethnic racial identity becomes part of the person's psychological platform…" for negotiating different roles in life and it is a "…foundational sense of self is referenced as the "achieved identity" to signify that it has been selected (commitment), explored (moratorium), and internalized (achieved)" (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014, p. 29). Although ethnic identity achievement is central to such an adaptation, particularly among minority groups (Phinney, 1990), individuals determine the saliency of their ethnicity in their social identity and life in grand schema (Phinney, 1990). This shows that ethnic identity may have substantial meaning to some, whereas it may not be imperative to others' social identity, particularly depending on the situational contexts (e.g., Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004).

Ethnic identity formation and its saliency in identity may vary across situational contexts, such as historical background and events, and family, friends and significant others, and subsequently the meaning of these factors for specific ethnic groups. Quintana (2007) surmises that sociopolitical times and events may create non-normative trends in identity development. Similarly, such sociopolitical issues may be trend in an ethnic identity development of a group. As such, "starting in the late 1960s through to the present, practically every important and historically marginalized group….has included in its broader cultural narrative a discussion of how adult members of their group experience ERI-related epiphanies" (Umaña-Taylor, Quintana et al., 2014, p. 29). Like that of this statement, the saliency of a historical context on ethnic identity commitment may last for a period of time among specific cultural minority groups. The significance of such sociopolitical issues for an individual may vary across groups. Therefore,

one's identity options, like ethnic identity, come to foreground and influences individuals' behaviors, and interacts with socio-political processes.

In addition to sociopolitical processes, close significant others may transform the meaning of sociocultural context into socialization process of ethnic identity. That is, such sociopolitical processes may be interpreted and reverberated in the proximal environment: significant others like family and friend groups (Phinney, 1990). Therefore, close relationships with family members, friends and significant others (e.g., familial ethnic socialization, Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004) involve in one's ethnic identity formation and significantly shape the evolvement of ethnic identity through socialization and interpersonal interactions (e.g., Hughes et al., 2006; Syed & Juan, 2012; Rivas-Drake & Witherspoon, 2013; Umaña -Taylor, Gonzales-Backen, & Guimond, 2009).

This relevancy of ethnic identity formation to situational or contextual factors is obvious in minority groups (Williams, Tolan, Durkee, Francois, & Anderson, 2012). That is, ethnic identity achievement is particularly normative among minority population and might be more influential on their psychological functioning (Umaña-Taylor, O'Donnell, et al., 2014). In a longitudinal study, for example, Black youth reported lower meaning and significance of racial identity from 11 to 14 years old when they were exposed to a problematic neighborhood and did not have adults' adequate help (Rivas-Drake & Witherspoon, 2013). In opposite, individuals, who experienced a positive familial ethnic socialization, scored higher on ethnic identity exploration and resolution (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004). Among 749 Mexican-origin families, family ethnic socialization was related to ethnic identity achievement and resolution in a two-year interval (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004). Therefore, poor environment for ethnic socialization particularly deteriorates ethnic identity affirmation in minority population, whereas a healthy

psychosocial context, like good familial environment for ethnic socialization, promotes ethnic identity achievement and resolution (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004).

The influence of situational context may vary across ethnic groups (e.g., Phinney, 1992), particularly minority status in numerical terms (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). In a cross-sectional study across the cohorts of high school and college students, Phinney (1992) showed that minority groups scored higher on ethnic identity components within the comparisons of Whites vs. Blacks, Asian Americans, and Hispanics in high school, whereas this comparison was only significant between Blacks vs. Whites and Hispanics among college students (Phinney, 1992). In a similar way, ethnic identity was correlated with self-esteem among minority groups, where this relationship was uncorrelated among Whites; however, when whites were in a minority position, similar patterns were observed for them as well (Phinney, 1992). A similar pattern was observed in the relationship of collective and private self-esteem that differences were observed across ethnic groups in this relationship (Crocker, Luhtanen, Blaine, & Broadnax, 1994). In a group of Mexican-origin adolescents, the saliency of ethnic identity got weaker in schools when their ratio was over 96% compared to the schools with a ratio of Latino students less than 15% (Umaña-Taylor, 2004). These results simply imply that ethnic identity formation and its relationship with psychological outcomes differs across ethnic groups, possibly related to many factors, one being the minority status.

Several studies have documented age differences, very core to the maturation hypothesis of ethnic identity development (Quintana, 1998; Quintana, 2007 for a review). Ethnic identity formation is a normative developmental task (Pahl & Way, 2006; Umaña-Taylor, Quintana et al., 2014 for a review), which accelerates during childhood (e.g., Quintana, 1998) and shows a progressive pattern in early years (Phinney, 1989; 1992; see also Quintana, 2007 for a review)

and decelerates during adolescence (Ponterotto & Park-Taylor, 2007) like after 10th grade (Pahl & Way, 2006). This process relatively consolidates across one's life span, evidenced by high correlation between the components of ethnic identity among adults (achievement, affirmation, and ethnic behaviors) (Phinney, 1992; Yip et al., 2006). For example, individuals grow understanding of ethnic labels and memberships during childhood and they gain ethnic-racial identification in late childhood or early adulthood (Umaña-Taylor, Quintana et al., 2014 for a review). Individuals may developmentally begin thinking in adolescence about the abstract issues regarding identity (Marcia, 1994; Quintana, 1994; 1998). Ethnic identity, however, gets concentrated, sophisticated, and dynamic and continues to form (e.g. flexibility) during adulthood (Stephen, Fraser, & Marcia, 1992). However, ethnic identity formation in childhood, adolescence, and adulthood is interconnected: the recent studies show that ethnic identity formation in adulthood builds on the salient components of prior periods like that of adolescence (Syed & Azmitia, 2009; Bair & Steele, 2010). Therefore, resolving this developmental task and achieving a coherent sense of self become a central component part of identity formation and healthy psychosocial development and adaptation (Erikson, 1968; Phinney, 1992).

Ethnic identity and psychological adaptation

Adolescents' ethnic identity has influence on their life from friendships to salient identities (Quintana, 1998). Studies have documented that this influence may generalize to their psychological functioning across age groups, including young adults (e.g., see Phinney, 1990; Ponterotto & Park-Taylor, 2007; Quintana, 2007; Umaña-Taylor, Quintana et al., 2014 for a voluminous review). Table 2.1 also shows the general trend in the Journal of Counseling Psychology (JCP). This summary intends to show the general tendency of research published in this journal and the field of counseling psychology.

Table 2.1
Summary of the selected JCP publications for perceived ethnic discrimination, ethnic identity, and adaptation*

Citation	Method & Sample	Minority Stress Factor	Ethnic Identity & Function	Outcome in Adaptation
Yoo & Lee, 2008	Quasi-experimental vignette study: 128 Asian American university students	Imagining single vs. multiple discrimination episodes	Ethnic identity (MEIM) (S-Mod)	Increased negative and decreased positive affect with discrimination. Low positive affect with positive EI when reading the multiple episodes.
Pieterse et al., 2010	Cross-sectional: N=289 Undergrads, 170 = White, 47 = Black, 71 = Asian Americans	Perceived discrimination for Blacks, Negative racial climate for Asian Americans	Not measured: comparison of ethnic groups	Increase in trauma symptoms
Cheng & Mallinckrodt, 2015	Longitudinal: 203 Hispanic/Latino students	Racial/ethnic discrimination	Not measured.	Increased PTSD symptoms and problem alcohol use.
Torres & Taknint, 2015	Cross-sectional: 113 Latino adults	Ethnic microaggression	Ethnic identity (MEIM) (S-Mod)	Decreased traumatic stress and depression with increased positive ethnic identity
Arbona & Jimenez, 2014	Cross-sectional: 309 Latino/a undergraduate students	Minority stress in academics and campus climate	Ethnic identity (MEIM-R) (NS-Mod)	Depression symptoms
Cheng, Kwan, & Sevig, 2013	Cross-sectional: N=609 undergrads, 260 = African American, 166 Asian American, 183 = Latino American,	Perceived discrimination and psychological distress	Ethnic Identity (MEIM)	Decreased self-stigma for seeking psychological help with positive ethnic identity among only African Americans
Yoo & Lee, 2005	Cross-sectional: N = 155 Asian American undergraduates	Perceived racial discrimination	Ethnic identity (MEIM) (modified version) (S-Mod)	With positive EI, increased positive affect (when discrimination is low) and greater life satisfaction (when discrimination high)
Lee, 2005	Cross-sectional: N = 84 Korean American Undergraduates	Perceived ethnic discrimination	Ethnic identity (MEIM) (modified version) (S-Mod)	With positive EI, decreased depression (when discrimination is low); increased depression (when discrimination is high).
Cassidy et al., 2004	Cross-sectional: N=154 young people, (27 = Chinese, 39 Indians, 88 Pakistanis) in Scotland	Perceived discrimination	Ethnic self-esteem	Decreased Anxiety and Depression.
Lee, 2003	Cross-sectional: N=91 Asian American undergraduates	Perceived discrimination	Ethnic identity (MEIM) (NS-Mod)	Decreased wellbeing and increased distress, for EI = increased wellbeing and decreased distress.
Iwamoto & Lin, 2010	Cross-sectional: N=402 Asian American and Asian international undergraduates	High race-related stress	Ethnic identity (MEIM) (NS-Mod)	Decreased wellbeing with higher stress
Wei et al., 2010	Cross-sectional: N = 167 Asian (57), African (54), and Latino/a American (56) college students	Minority stress	Not measured.	Increased depressive symptoms

Note: * Table does not show all the variables measured in the study or all the findings. The results depicted in this table are biased to this writer's selection; NS-Mod = Non-significant moderator; S-Mod = Significant Moderator; EI = Ethnic identity.

Table 0.1

Within the findings of the studies reviewed below, several limitations and conclusions should be noted: (1) some studies have examined the correlation of ethnic identity, adaptation, and perceived ethnic discrimination in separate studies without specifying the context; (2) this relationship between variables may vary across ethnic groups; and (3) the function of ethnic identity in adaptation is not conclusive, thereby making it hard to draw a conclusion about the generalizability of findings and directions of the relationships between these variables across ethnic groups. Perceived ethnic discrimination is the key predictor variable in the present study; thus, "discrimination" was searched as a key term in the JCP, and the returned publications, which included perceived ethnic discrimination and an indicator of adaptation as study variables, are summarized in Table 2.1. Deriving from the brief review in this section, I aim to understand the limitations as well as implications of ethnic identity for the association between perceived ethnic discrimination and adaptation in the Kurdish question.

To reiterate, the purpose in this study is to understand ethnic identity functioning within the context of interethnic conflict and perceived ethnic discrimination, and subsequent adaptation. Therefore, I should first describe minority stress in the context of interethnic relations. Folkman et al. (1986) described stress in that a particular person appraises an *encounter with environment* as relevant to her wellbeing. The person evaluates this situational demand whether it is in the confine of her coping capacity or exceeds it. Stress emerges as the person starts dreading the encounter: encounter becomes relevant to the wellbeing and exceeds one's capacity to manage. Minority stress fits this description, but, this time, encounter is salient to the ethnicity (e.g., perceptions of ethnic discrimination, unfair treatment, and interethnic conflicts) and coping mechanisms include ethnicity related mechanisms (e.g., ethnic identity achievement, affirmation, and attachment strategies). Therefore, a common question regards how

this stress or perceived ethnic discrimination relates to adaptation process, and how ethnic identity is involved in this relationship. Ethnic identity thus is worth examining within the context of the Kurdish question as a fundamental coping resource.

Previous researchers have applied this stress hypothesis to adaptation in minority groups (e.g., Meyer, 2003 Turner & Avison, 2003; Niwa, Way, & Hughes, 2014). Minority stress has been found to intervene with psychological functioning and relate to a poor adaptation in minority population (Arbona & Jimenez, 2014; Clark et al., 1999; Crocker et al., 1994; Landrine et al., 2006; Niwa et al., 2014; Sellers et al., 2003). For example, as described before, and now with greater detail, Greene et al. (2006) conducted a longitudinal study within samples of minority group adolescents in the US throughout a three-year interval. All of those students (N = 335 Urban low income high school students) were either at 9^{th} or 10^{th} grade when they entered into the study. The results showed that perceived ethnic discrimination by adults and peers related to adolescents' poor adaptation as evidenced by lower self-esteem and increase in psychological distress in this time interval. These students reported higher stress and lower self-esteem at the initial assessment, and some of these students showed significantly steeper decrease in self-esteem and increase in distress through this interval, depending on the severity of perceived ethnic discrimination and the source of discrimination. This decrease in self-esteem and increase in distress were even steeper among Black students compared to other groups. These results show that there are consequences for adaptation in minority groups according to ethnicity based dynamics (e.g., level of ethnic identity exploration) of perceived ethnic discrimination and discriminatory behaviors.

Perceived ethnic discrimination has been associated with ethnic identity processes, thereby indicating a relationship of minority stress with ethnic identity formation as well.

Quintana (2007) summarized in his review that perceived ethnic discrimination stimulates formation of ethnic identity. That is to say, individuals, who face discrimination and racism, tend to center their ethnic identity in their self-concept. Pahl and Way (2006) tested the relationship between ethnic identity formation (achievement and affirmation) and ethnic discrimination in a sample of 135 Black and Latino/as students from the time of age 15 at start of the study to age 18 at the completion of the study. Just to reiterate their findings here: the development of ethnic identity exploration and affirmation were not always linear, and rather showed a quadratic structure, in which ethnic minority groups showed greater acceleration with perceived ethnic discrimination over time. The researchers argued that the greater perceived ethnic discrimination might account for such greater acceleration in ethnic identity exploration. Actually, their findings showed that the interaction of identity exploration and perceived ethnic discrimination was substantial and grew stronger. However, it is hard to establish a causal relationship between them if perceived ethnic discrimination resulted in higher ethnic identity achievement or vice versa.

The relationship of ethnic identity to adaptation has received substantial attention. Smith and Silva (2011), as briefly mentioned earlier, conducted a literature review and meta-analyzed the existing research in the field. The results of their meta-analysis (k = 184) indicated that there was a modest relationship (r = .17) between the constructs of ethnic identity and wellbeing across people of color (Smith & Silva, 2011). This relationship was stronger among adolescents and young adults compared to the individuals, who were older than age 40. Smith and Silva (2011) further reported that the studies which examined the relationship of ethnic identity with self-esteem and positive wellbeing revealed effect sizes twice as large as the studies which correlated the constructs of ethnic identity with psychological symptoms. Some studies focused on the contribution of ethnic identity achievement and affirmation (Schwartz et al., 2009).

Schwartz et al. (2009) examined the relationship of ethnic identity exploration with adaptive and maladaptive functioning after partialling out the contribution of personal identity exploration. They noted that ethnic identity exploration accounted for nonsignificant part of psychological functioning across three ethnic groups of Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics. Similarly, another study within a sample of Latino/as undergraduate students indicated a lack of relationship between ethnic identity and distress (Arbona & Jimenez, 2014). However, when the centrality of racial identity to individuals meaning making of one's life was partialled out in a sample of African Americans, the relationship between one's perception of how others view their racial identity and group weakly associated with wellbeing (Sellers et al., 2003). That is, the significance of racial identity in one's life relates to wellbeing, but when the racial identity is not salient, the relationship of racial identity and wellbeing becomes weaker.

Greene et al. (2006) also noted that perceived ethnic discrimination was associated with increases in ethnic identity exploration, which was, in turn, moderated the decrease in self-esteem and increase in distressed mood among minority high school students. However, ethnic identity affirmation moderated the increase in self-esteem and decrease in distressed mood as individuals faced greater ethnic discrimination (Greene et al., 2006). These results indicated that "…ethnic affirmation, in contrast to ethnic identity exploration, was shown to have a protective role…" (Greene et al., 2006, p. 233). Some studies have examined this relationship of identity exploration and affirmation in predicting psychological adaptation. These parts independently predicted wellbeing (Phinney, 1992; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990; Phinney & Kohatsu, 1997; Roberts et al., 1999). As mentioned earlier, though, Ghavami et al. (2014) argued that identity achievement was related to wellbeing, but this relationship was mediated by identity affirmation: ethnic identity achievement predicted ethnic identity affirmation, which, in turn, buffered

wellbeing. These results therefore point to a separate but related process of ethnic identity exploration and commitment (e.g., sense of commitment, belonging, and affirmation, Phinney & Ong, 2007) in fostering adaptation.

Previous paragraphs summarized some of the findings for these pairs of variables as they have been studied in literature, and discussed a functional role for ethnic identity in adaptation. Ethnic identity is correlated with positive psychological outcomes in dealing with perceived ethnic discrimination (Pieterse et al., 2010) including better self-esteem and lower psychological stress (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004). In these results, while perceived ethnic discrimination and racism emerge as risk factors in minority groups, ethnic identity enhances adaptation (Phinney, 1992; 1993), particularly when it is salient to identity (Sellers et al., 2003) and promotes sense of affirmation (Greene et al., 2006). All these studies argue for a role of ethnic identity in adaptation process, however, the degree of this relationship varies across ethnic groups and the conceptualization of the variables (Greene et al., 2006). In addition, some of those studies noted no relationship between affirmation and adaptation in dealing with perceived ethnic discrimination (Pahl & Way, 2006) and some cross-sectional studies did not support the moderator role of ethnic identity achievement (Arbona & Jimenez, 2014; Iwamoto & Lin, 2010; Lee, 2003) while some other studies supported this moderator role (Lee, 2005; Torres & Taknint, 2015; Yoo & Lee, 2005; 2008), providing inconsistent evidence in the role of ethnic identity.

Although, literature has discussed the potential facilitator role of ethnic identity, ethnic identity may also pose significant limitations on psychological adaptation. An important stream of research, indicating this limitation, on ethnic identity and adaptation has grown in acculturation studies (Phinney, 1990). Berry et al. (2006), for example, examined 5366 immigrants in industrialized and Western countries across 13 nations, from Israel to the United

States (US). They demonstrated that ethnic ties may impede psychosocial adaptation of immigrants when those individuals are not integrated into the mainstream community, but chose assimilating, separating or marginalizing acculturation attitudes in interethnic and intraethnic relationships. Phinney (1990; 1992) also discusses a similar function of ethnic identity through "other group orientation." According to them, indeed, these maladaptive attitudes may develop in response to perceived discrimination and societal barriers. Therefore, acculturation studies propose a different dimension, in which ethnic identity may be examined within the context of not only ethnic identity and adaptation with respect to dealing with ethnic discrimination but also a social self that may operate in the mainstream society. Berry et al. (2006) provide evidence that orientation toward one's ethnic community is related to acculturating into ethnic community, and separating from national community. This assumption will be tested for Kurds in this study by assessing their ethnic attachment.

Ethnic attachment as an adjunct process to ethnic identity formation

Ethnic identity is measured within the parameter of positive or negative ethnic identity formation based on one's score on it. This mostly described one's cognitive and affective involvement with ethnic group and the meaning of ethnic identity. In addition to this, in this study ethnic attachment thus introduces a prescriptive role of interethnic experiences by defining two affect-based interethnic and intraethnic strategies, i.e., ethnic attachment anxiety and avoidance. This idea of ethnic attachment derives from cultural attachment theory (Hong et al., 2013). It speaks to the fundamental role of attachment in ethnic identity and substantial role of human need to attach to a socio-cultural group and individuate as a member of that group (Brewer, 1991). This current section hence covers a discussion about attachment in ethnic identity and moves beyond formulating attachment within the ethnic identity terms into

describing it from a cultural (Hong et al., 2013) and adult attachment perspectives (e.g., Bretherton, 1985).

While there are not conclusive findings to justify ethnic attachment orientations in ethnic identity literature, Hong et al. (2013) tested these hypotheses in a theory of cultural attachment. They provided psychometric evidence for the construct of *cultural attachment styles*. Different than the conceptualization of attachment in collective identity (e.g., Ashmore et al., 2004; Ghavami et al., 2014), Hong et al. confirmed internalized cultural attachment strategies, theoretically deriving from an idea of attachment to sociocultural groups. Hong et al.'s study shows that attachment process (e.g., affirmation and belonging) in identity formation may go beyond forming emotional bonds to a sociocultural group to forming internalized attachment strategies, and expands these emotional experiences into systematic psychological functioning. They examine these psychological functioning systems within the cultural attachment orientations/dimensions and accordingly introduce cultural attachment avoidance and anxiety as those of such internalized strategies.

The present study's formation of ethnic attachment, however, is not identical to Hong et al.'s (2013) model. Hong et al. used the national identity instead of ethnic identity. This national identity is measured within an *affective transfer task*, in which Indonesian students' positive and negative affect transference onto national objects was observed (e.g., national flag or central bank). The current study does not use an affective transfer task, but applies the principles of adult attachment theory (e.g., the relationship with prosocial skills and tendency to explore outer world in secure attachment). In addition, they investigated Indonesian students' affective transfer to Singaporean culture (e.g., national identity with the symbols of central bank and flag) in the same way because Indonesian students were studying in Singapore. The present study, however,

replaces the national identity with ethnic identity, and it does not intend to measure the attachment to the national identity because the relationship with the national culture is viewed as the function of ethnic attachment. When ethnic attachment is secure and provides a *safe haven* to explore the outer world, ethnic member may be able to individuate and form connections with the mainstream/majority cultural group. Despite those differences just mentioned, the current and Hong et al.'s study overlaps in their emphases on adult attachment theory as the main framework of ethnic and cultural attachment orientations, and both studies appropriate a quantitative cross-sectional design.

As described earlier, Hong et al.'s (2013) results illustrated cultural attachment dimensions in adaptation. In another study, Quintana (2012) transformed Hazan and Shaver's (1987) tripartite model of attachment styles—secure, avoidant and anxious—into narrative descriptions of three approaches to racial diversity, i.e., integrative, separatist-segregationist, and color-blind. Quintana reports that African-Americans with integrative style more commonly acknowledged their painful history with racism as well as showed motivation to build relationships with the members of the mainstream group (Whites) compared to the other types of the racial diversity approaches. These findings are interpreted in the present study as that there is a relationship of secure attachment orientation in ethnic identity with individuals' attitudes to interethnic relations in that ethnic attachment may relate to individuals' tendencies to acculturate into and maintain connection with ethnic and majority cultures.

The abovementioned hypotheses for ethnic attachment orientations can be examined within acculturation attitudes. The concept of acculturation describes changes in cultural attitudes and behaviors that originate from the contact between two cultures (Berry et al., 1986) mostly through the experience of immigrants in a hosting culture. Acculturation refers to those

individuals' strategies and attitudes toward integrating their heritage-cultural and mainstream-cultural practices, values, and identifications (Berry, 2003). Phinney (1990) argues that acculturation framework suggests studying ethnic identity within the context of individuals' relationship with heritage and mainstream cultures. However, previous studies do not explain how ethnic identity achievement is related to individuals' tendencies to acculturate in any of these cultures. In the present study's context, ethnic attachment provides a theoretical explanation for acculturation into national and/or ethnic cultures (e.g., exploring outer community in secure attachment), and this theoretical link between acculturation and ethnic attachment can help to better define the function of ethnic attachment strategies of minority population in a mainstream culture and operationalize and test abovementioned hypotheses.

The present study thus hypothesizes a relationship between ethnic attachment dimensions and acculturation into ethnic and majority cultures. Berry's (2003) paradigm of acculturation, for example, produces a fourfold-model of psychosocial adaptation in a multicultural world for minority groups. He proposes four strategies: assimilation— high devotion to majority culture and low devotion to heritage culture; integration— high devotion to both cultures; separation— low devotion to majority culture and high devotion to heritage culture; and marginalization—low devotion to both cultures. Researchers then linked the integration strategy to positive psychological outcomes (e.g., Berry et al., 2006; Sands & Berry, 1993; Tsai et al., 2002), whereas assimilation, segregation and marginalization did not produce the optimum psychological outcomes (Berry et al., 2006). Berry and Sabatier (2010) further defined these strategies in two parameters, i.e., ethnic acculturation attitudes and national acculturation attitudes, describing one's tendency to acculturate and adhere into ethnic and/or national cultures. In Berry's (2003) acculturation model, anxious ethnic attachment thus is more likely to

positively correlate with acculturation into ethnic culture subscale and negatively with acculturation into national culture subscale, whereas avoidant ethnic attachment is more likely to positively correlate with acculturation into national culture and negatively with acculturation into ethnic culture subscales. Individuals with ethnic attachment anxiety are more likely to have developed a sense of involvement in ethnic community while individuals with ethnic attachment avoidance are more likely to defy the importance of relationship with ethnic community and they will be more likely to explore mainstream community.

Ashmore et al. (2004) indeed emphasized this aspect of individuating and exploring the mainstream society in their conceptualization of collective identity, in which attachment is described as a way of gaining interdependence in ethnic community. Similarly, Brewer (1991) pointed out that individuation (distinctiveness) and interdependency (e.g., belongingness) are two basic motives in construing social identity. Therefore, secure attachment (low ethnic attachment anxiety and avoidance) becomes a way of construing and negotiating these two motives (maintaining the ties with ethnic and mainstream community) based on the previous experiences of being cared and approved in ethnic community. Hence, Berry's (2003) acculturation into national and ethnic cultures formulations are hypothesized to be correlated with anxious and avoidant ethnic attachment, in which individuals may show the willingness to affiliate with and develop comfort in ethnic community and explore/establish connections with mainstream community based on the degree and extent of their ethnic attachment anxiety and avoidance as described in abovementioned paragraphs. This able attitude in managing stress in and maintaining connections with ethnic and mainstream community is examined hence referring to the abovementioned hypothesized principles of ethnic attachment.

Ethnic attachment orientations and psychological adaptation

The predicted relationship of ethnic attachment with psychological functioning of ethnic minorities is based on adult attachment orientations due to a lack of research in this area. Much has been written pertinent to adult attachment orientations (e.g., Bretherton, 1985; Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Mikulincer et al., 2003). Secure attachment has been found as being more robust to stress, whereas insecure attachment has been found as being more vulnerable to stressors (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007 for a review). Hence, these scholars have portrayed different venues of these orientations as leading to managing distress and uncertainty across one's life span. Drawing on these previous findings in adult attachment, the present study examines if these findings can be generalized to interethnic issues. In this section, adult attachment findings are reviewed with respect to psychological outcomes, and then it introduces the possible hypotheses for the role of ethnic attachment in dealing with perceived ethnic discrimination.

Attachment researchers coined various models of examining attachment orientations (e.g., Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991; Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Simpson, Rholes, & Nelligan, 1992). A recent model portrays a two-dimensional correlated structure, in that attachment avoidance and anxiety anticipate individuals' response patterns to stressors in close and general relationships (Mikulincer et al., 2003; Simpson et al., 1992). Individuals with low attachment anxiety and avoidance (i.e., secure attachment) are depicted as comfortable with closeness, interdependence, seeking support, and use of adaptive coping strategies (Mikulincer et al., 2003). However, individuals high on anxious and/or avoidant dimensions represent a function of insecure attachment, and are portrayed as being vulnerable to stressors (see Mikulincer & Shaver, 2012). This anxious and avoidant dimensions predict psychological outcomes in various areas, and show a different pattern of relating to self-esteem and psychological distress.

Individuals who have avoidant type do not use relationships as source of reassurance and support (Mikulincer et al., 2003; Simpson et al., 1992) and have more negative views of social world and human nature in general (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). When the problems are low, individuals with avoidance attachment ignore problems and minimize the importance of those problems in relationships (Mikulincer et al., 2003). They become excessively self-reliant and do not seek help from others (Mikulincer et al., 2003). In consistency with such an inflated view of self, they report higher self-esteem, lower level of distress, and positive view of themselves but negative view of others (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). However, when the avoidant individuals face more difficult problems, they may be unable to avoid the distress inherent in the issues, they may become anxious and distressed (Mikulincer, Gillath, & Shaver, 2002). Therefore, this shows that avoidant type appears to be adaptive when the stress is low, but it harms individuals' wellbeing when the stress is high and overwhelming because they fail in using their avoidant defenses (Mikulincer et al., 2002).

Individuals with anxious attachment, however, show an opposite pattern. They have lower self-worth, thereby reporting lower self-esteem and heightened stress and lower wellbeing (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). Anxious type seems to view the judgment of adversities as irreversible and uncontrollable, as well as have difficulty in calming their concerns about relationship conflicts when the actual threat has ended (Mikulincer & Florian, 1998), experiencing negative emotions and having greater access to negative memories, having limited capacity to manage distressful situations, and showing signs of distress and emotional sensitivity to conflicts with attachment figures, thereby predicting higher level of psychological distress (see Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007 for a review).

Given previous researchers emphasized the interpersonal and intrapersonal nature of ethnic identity formation as well as the main role of attachment in this formation (Phinney, 1990 for ethnic identity; Ashmore et al., 2004 for collective identity), the present study applies the psychological construct of attachment orientations to psychological functioning of ethnic minorities. As mentioned earlier in this paper, Hong et al.'s (2013) findings suggest that high avoidance and anxious cultural attachment strategies are likely to predict lower psychological adaptation, which is described in the present study as psychological stress and collective self-esteem. However, Hong et al.'s single study of cultural attachment orientations does not explain predictions in psychological adaptation from ethnic attachment orientations. Therefore, the present study seeks to test the relationship of ethnic attachment orientations with psychological adaptation within a sample of Kurdish university students. Therefore, it is not merely a replication of Hong et al.'s study, but also is application of cultural attachment (attachment to national community) to ethnic attachment (attachment to ethnic community).

Attachment orientations are hypothesized in this study as cognitive-affective mechanism of ethnic identity in coping with perceived ethnic discrimination and maintaining connections with ethnic and mainstream community. The low ethnic attachment anxiety and avoidance are ingrained within a sense of affirmation, belonging, and commitment, and provides sense of security in problem solving. First, drawing on these findings described above, high ethnic attachment anxiety and avoidance together will be related to lower collective self-esteem and higher distress. These orientations will be involved in the relationship of perceived ethnic discrimination and adaptation. More specifically, the present study will examine the role of ethnic attachment through how ethnic attachment is related to collective self-esteem and

psychological stress: ethnic attachment anxiety and avoidance are likely to be negatively related to collective self-esteem and positively related to psychological stress.

To sum up, via two main goals, this study seeks to expand upon the relationship of perceived ethnic discrimination and psychological adaptation. First, relationship of perceived ethnic discrimination, ethnic identity and ethnic attachment orientations with Kurds' psychological adaptation will be tested. The relationship of ethnic identity and ethnic attachment with perceived ethnic discrimination in predicting psychological adaptation will be examined. As mentioned earlier, because the Kurdish question entails human right abuses and subsequent resentment, anger, and psychological wounds (e.g., trauma), the second goal is to examine the relationship of Kurds' interethnic forgiveness within interpersonal and intergroup context with respect to their psychological adaptation. The role of ethnic identity achievement and attachment dimensions are discussed below.

Interethnic Forgiveness, Ethnic Identity, and Psychological Adaptation

This section intends to examine the directions in Kurds' psychological adaptation by attending to interethnic forgiveness within interpersonal and intergroup contexts. This intention originates from the psychosocial consequences of the incidents in the Kurdish question on Kurds' adaptation. The armed struggles, past restrictions, and relocations have caused resentment and anger in Kurds. Such traumatic experiences may diminish ability to forgive and psychological adaptation (e.g., Cehajic et al., 2008; Staub, Pearlman, Gubin, & Hagengimana, 2005; Staub, 2006; Wei, Wang, & Heppner, 2012). While ethnic identity formation has been discussed as a factor in facilitating adaptation in such a context, the traumatic history of the

Kurdish question further leads the present study to examine how forgiveness might heal Kurds from the harm caused by such incidents.

Quintana (2012) describes interracial forgiveness as a transformation and healing in racial identity, in which interracial forgiveness is associated with development of a healthy sense of racial self. Supporting this assertion, interethnic forgiveness studies have demonstrated that forgiveness indeed facilitates a healing process from a traumatic interethnic history (e.g., Staub et al., 2005; Staub, 2006), yet the relationship between interethnic forgiveness and ethnic identity needs to be mapped because some studies have portrayed these two pro-health factors as incompatible (Van Tongeren et al., 2014): Ethnic identity may not always promote, but actually limit interethnic forgiveness (Leach et al., 2010; Quintana, 2012). Such an inverse relationship is worth examination.

Interethnic forgiveness is studied within interpersonal and intergroup contexts. Leach et al. (2010) makes a distinction that interpersonal forgiveness represents a person forgiving another person for transgressions, whereas intergroup forgiveness represents an individual forgiving a group, and this group is perceived as a homogenous unity. Furthermore, Quintana (2012) proposes another dimension, which is interpersonal forgiving for racial transgressions in that a person forgives another person for a racially motivated transgression, such as forgiveness between members of African and European Americans. That is, Quintana (2012) highlights the interracial motives of transgressions and how individuals forgive such transgressions. Accordingly, these distinctions will be reflected in the present study: interethnic forgiveness within intergroup and interpersonal contexts.

Before discussing interethnic forgiveness within interpersonal and intergroup contexts with respect to ethnic identity and psychological adaptation, I first describe how forgiveness is studied in interpersonal relationships and how it may apply to the Kurdish question.

Interpersonal forgiveness

Forgiveness is related to the changes in perception of transgressions, transgressors and one's own self. Forgiveness is neither forgetting nor condoning transgressions. Indeed, individuals, who forgive, abandon the negative judgment of the perpetrator and their right for resentment (Enright & the Human Development Study Group, 1991). This abandonment may cultivate a motivation to rebuild the relationship with the perpetrator, e.g., through generosity and compassion toward the offender as well as one's own self (Enright & the Human Development Study Group, 1991). Even though forgiveness brings about these motivational changes, the victim may still continue to appraise the hurt unjust (McCullough et al., 1998). Once motivation to forgive is forged, though, forgiveness can replace negative feelings (e.g., revenge, avoidance, regret, or disappointment) with benevolent ones (McCullough, Fincham, & Tsang, 2003). This shift in appraisal of the perpetrator may lead to the restoration of the relationship, more importantly the deteriorated self-image (McCullough, 2000). As victim empowers their forgiving feelings, victim needs less to retaliate and maintain estrangement, and the victim grows conciliation and goodwill towards the offender (McCullough, Worthington, & Rachal, 1997).

Psychologists demonstrated individual differences in forgiving or unforgiving and proposed several factors that play a role in the inception of forgiveness. These factors can be listed as the perceived intent underlying transgressions, severity of the resultant harm,

personality traits, age, perpetrator's apology and regret, and victim's fear of repetition of the offense and hurt (see Riek & Mania, 2012 for a meta-analytic review). In a meta-analysis, individuals who had less benevolent and more revengeful feelings regarding the person, who committed a transgression, reported less spontaneous forgiveness (McCullough et al., 1998; McCullough & Hoyt, 2002). The perceived severity of the hurt, and intentionality and responsibility that are attributed to the transgressor further decrease individuals' forgiveness (Fincham, 2000; Riek & Mania, 2012). If the transgressor, however, was apologetic of the offense, then forgiveness was more likely to occur (Greene et al., 2008).

The ecological context also matters. Forgiveness requires a safe environment and develops in interaction with the social environment (Hanke & Fischer, 2013). The conflicts and instability in societal structure predict the negative emotions (Van Hemert, Poortinga, & Van de Vijver, 2007), whereas social justice and peacefulness influence individuals' sense of wellbeing and happiness (Diener, Diener, & Diener, 1995). Hanke and Fischer (2013), for example, classified countries according to indicators of individualism and collectivism, conflict potential, peacefulness, democracy, socioeconomic development, societal wellbeing, and post-materialism. Out of these variables, the indicators of peacefulness, general wellbeing, democracy, socioeconomic, and conflict correlated with higher forgiveness across those countries. Other variables were not related to the motivation to forgive or not. These results show that albeit the importance of individual differences in predicting forgiveness, societal indicators encourage or discourage individuals to consider forgiveness (Hanke & Fischer, 2013).

These abovementioned factors were examined within an interpersonal context for interpersonal transgressions, but can be generalized to interethnic forgiveness in interethnic transgressions as well. Those studies have addressed various factors in shaping the progression

of forgiveness. It appears that forgiveness is related to individuals' appraisal of hurt and transgressor, and psychological transformation of how they view themselves. As important internal factors are in shaping forgiveness, external factors are as important in relating to the inception of forgiveness. These factors may also apply to Kurds' interethnic forgiveness.

The intricacies of the Kurdish question touches on these factors. To reiterate them, Hammond et al.'s (2006) summary can be used. Hammond et al. proposed three streams of factors in understanding forgiveness, such as affect (e.g., empathy, vengeance, rumination, anger), personality (e.g., neuroticism and social desirability), and historical and sociopolitical motives (e.g., ethnic group history). To apply these factors to the present study, ethnic identity achievement and attachment speak to the affect and personality motives. Ethnic identity achievement may be considered as a set of identity attitudes to behave in allegiance with the ethnic group. Ethnic attachment may speak to the regulation of affect regarding the traumatic experience in ethnic community (e.g., sense of collective hurt) and one's own emotions and thoughts with respect to transgressions. The context of the Kurdish question covers sociopolitical and historical motives. In this context, there is an apology and regret of the state that was declared in the 2000s. One can also hypothesize that the democratic and peacefulness in the socio-political environment have increased as the armed struggles and human right abuses either were completely ceased or significantly decreased in the last decade until the last resurgence of PKK's attacks. The introduction of the societal reforms also addresses a "valuable relationship hypothesis" (e.g., McCullough, 2008) that the state reiterated Kurds' human rights (e.g., removing restrictions on the Kurdish ethnic identity expressions), which can be interpreted as the value given to Kurds in this relationship.

Here, distinction of interethnic forgiveness from interpersonal one might be stated. The strength of interpersonal relationship is a significant factor of interpersonal forgiveness (McCullough, 2008; Riek & Mania, 2012). The present study, however, concentrates on interethnic forgiveness. This concentration targets Kurds' forgiveness primarily as unilateral (e.g., Andrews, 2000; Hammond et al., 2006) of repairing the perceived hurt and healing from the wound. That is, Kurds may not have to continue the relationship with mainstream community or a specific transgressor from the other community who had been perceived as the perpetrator of wrongdoings. Therefore, forgiveness is examined in this relationship as a function of ethnic identity and ethnic attachment more than as a function of relationship motivation, which was often described in interpersonal forgiveness such that (e.g., McCullough, 2008).

For Kurds, to practice intergroup forgiveness, it is not necessary that they are directly exposed to the violence and racial ethnic discrimination. The previous history of pain is transferred onto individual members of an ethnic group (Wohl & Branscombe, 2008). Because ethnic identity partially originates from membership in a group (Phinney, 1992; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), the pain is hypothesized to pass down onto new generations, who were not directly exposed to the transgression but who identify with the ethnic group against which has been transgressed (e.g., Staub, 1998; Staub & Pearlman, 2001). It might be hence misleading to over generalize interpersonal forgiveness to interethnic issues. In interethnic issues, members of cultural minorities are hurt, not necessarily due to the dynamics of a relationship between two persons or more, but the hurt is directed to a member or a group due to the dynamics of interethnic relations. Therefore, interethnic forgiveness in the present study is examined within this interethnic nature of intergroup and interpersonal forgiveness. Ethnic identity achievement and attachment emerge as significant variables in predicting forgiveness.

Interethnic forgiveness in intractable conflicts and adaptation

As all of other adverse situations, violence and discrimination in intractable conflicts create stress, and this sense of stress diminishes victims' sense of safety and creates serious distortions in psychological adaptation (Staub et al., 2005). These disruptions can cause intense psychological distress as evidenced by reported trauma symptoms and distortion in internal emotional states (Herman, 1992; McCann & Pearlman, 1990; Staub, 2006). The violence in intractable conflicts influence individuals' cognitive appraisal of as well as their beliefs about the society, including the unity and peacefulness, and one's own victimization (Bar-Tal, 2000b). This prolonged state of violence exposes victims to psychological wounds and make them be vulnerable: They perceive the surrounding environment dangerous and the world feels untrustworthy (McCann & Pearlman, 1990; Staub, 1998).

Interethnic forgiveness emerges as an adaptive alternative to coping with such traumatic influence of interethnic conflicts. On the one hand, intergroup transgressions may produce further violence (e.g., Staub et al., 2005), thereby having caused further transgressions and deterioration in psychological adaptation in the absence of forgiveness (Hewstone et al., 2013; Noor, Brown, & Prentice, 2008; Staub, 2006). On the other hand, forgiveness as "...a skill important to the development of peaceful people and communities" (Gassin, Enright, & Knutson, 2005, p. 319) may facilitate mental health in the members of a victimized group (Bar-Tal, 2000a; Myers, Hewstone, & Cairns, 2009; Staub et al., 2005). For example, forgiveness reduces the desire for revenge and treats the negative emotions and hurt (McCullough et al., 2003). Hence, in interethnic conflicts two groups may grow and maintain a mutual acceptance of each other with interethnic forgiveness (Staub & Perlman, 2006), but forgiveness also repairs, just to name a few, one's damaged wellbeing, sense of image, self-esteem, and happiness (Karremans, van Lange,

Ouwerkerk, & Kluwer, 2003; Maltby, Macaskill, & Day, 2001; Toussaint, Williams, Musick, & Everson, 2001; Staub, 2004; 2006).

The change in psychological orientation has been demonstrated in forgiveness training programs. Some of these trainings are conducted in interethnic conflicts. Enright and colleagues (e.g., Enright, Enright, Holter, Baskin, & Knutson, 2007), for example, developed a manualized forgiveness training program for children in Belfast, North Ireland. After the end of the first year, they reported that children, who have participated in the training, reported better psychological adaptation, less anger and revenge (Enright, Enright, Holter, Baskin, & Knutson, 2007). Gassin et al. (2005) repeated the same training for children in an inner city in the United States (Milwaukee, Wisconsin). Some of these children had suffered from racism and injustice. These children were given the training so that they could learn how to forgive perceived transgressions caused by personal, systemic or institutional injustices. Gassin et al. proposed immediate emotional benefits of forgiveness for the children who received this training. These studies also showed that forgiveness is not always a reciprocal process, and may be rather perceived as a self-healing process independent to the concerns about the relationship.

Implications of interethnic forgiveness within intergroup context suggest that Kurds, who report high forgiving attitudes (lower never forgiving and high future forgiving attitudes), are likely to report better collective self-esteem and general distress. This suggested relationship underlines that individuals with high interethnic forgiveness within intergroup context show more adaptive functioning and are able to heal from past traumatic history. As Quintana (2012) suggested, interethnic forgiveness is accepted as a sign of healing in their identity functioning as a member of ethnic and mainstream community.

Interethnic forgiveness within intergroup context and ethnic identity

Interethnic forgiveness does not come easy. It is a complicated process that victims need to process a variety of emotions, including sense of hurt, injustice, revenge, and so forth. Therefore, intergroup forgiveness may not be always a viable option for the victims of interethnic conflicts and the pain may linger for generations (Staub, 2006; Wohl & Branscombe, 2004).

Individuals' willingness to not forgive may be due to various factors, one being the ethnic identity. Let us put in this way, as summarized member of ethnic group has not been harmed by whole other ethnic group. However, ethnic identity exploration includes the internalization of ethnic history, culture, and practices (Phinney, 1992). Then, we can assume that ethnic identity will be a derivative of ethnic community's reactions to the past hurt and traumatic incidents. Therefore, first reaction might be the resentment and feeling for revenge. Because transgressions are intertwined with interethnic relations, ethnic identity may carry such feelings and attitudes to interethnic forgiveness. Strong ethnic identity orientations may hinder individuals' willingness to forgive interethnic transgressions (Leach et al., 2010; Quintana, 2012; Van Tongeren et al., 2014; Voci et al., 2015). Therefore, its negative relationship with interethnic forgiveness emerges as potential and indirect limitation on psychological adaptation.

As mentioned earlier in the introduction, in a meta-analysis, for example, Van Tongeren et al. (2014) analyzed affective, cognitive, and constraining features of intergroup forgiveness. In a meta-analysis, they analyzed 43 studies, which included 13,371 participants, across diverse interethnic conflicts in 20 different nationalities, which included 65% intrastate and 35% interstate conflicts. They noted that individuals, who reported collective guilt and trust toward

the outgroup community, tended to practice forgiveness more. However, ingroup identity and negative emotions towards the outgroup community were the strongest barriers of intergroup forgiveness.

Another correlational study showed that when victims did not have intergroup contact or friendship, ingroup identification reported lower levels of forgiveness (Voci et al., 2015). However, the increased sense of trust and friendship (e.g., personal relationship with the outgroup community) augmented the level of forgiveness (Regalia et al., 2015; Voci et al., 2015). These results show that when there is limited intergroup close relationship and contact with outgroup, strong ethnic identity predicts lower level of forgiveness, thereby indicating a negative trend in ethnic identity toward intergroup forgiveness.

Leach et al. (2010) conducted a detail analysis of racial identity attitudes' association with intergroup forgiveness by referring to Cross and Vandiver's (2001) extended version of Nigrescence Model. Leach et al. examined a group of Blacks "never forgiving" and "future forgiving" attitudes for past transgressions towards Whites. Their results demonstrated that ethnic identity attitudes were associated with both never forgiving and future forgiving attitudes. While inclusive-multicultural racial attitudes were related positively to future and negatively to never forgiving attitudes, other forms of identity attitudes (i.e., Immersion-Emersion, Anti-White, and Internalization Afrocentric) were positively related to only the never forgiving attitudes.

Based on these abovementioned findings regarding the relationships among ethnic racial attitudes and interethnic forgiveness within intergroup and interpersonal contexts, the present study aims to apply the role of ethnic identity by referring to the concept of ethnic identity

achievement. Existing literature has paid much attention to ingroup identification (Van Tongeren et al., 2014) and ethnic racial attitudes (Leach et al., 2010; Quintana, 2012), but not to ethnic identity achievement in examining the connection between interethnic forgiveness and ethnic identity. This study proposes that these findings can be generalized to ethnic identity achievement as it theoretically claims strong ingroup identification as well as immersion in ethnic community (exploration) and an emotional alliance with ethnic community (commitment). Therefore, previous findings are interpreted in this study as suggesting a negative relationship between interethnic forgiveness within intergroup context and ethnic identity achievement.

The current study hence expands these findings into more definite examination of intergroup identification via two main mechanisms within the Kurdish question context. First, ingroup identification is expanded into ethnic identity achievement. As individuals gain stronger ethnic identity achievement, their tendency to extend forgiveness is hypothesized to be lower. Second, forgiveness is conceptualized as a function of attachment relationships (e.g., Hill, 2010). Secure attachment enhances prosocial skills, such as compassion for others and altruistic behaviors (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007; 2015). Mikulincer et al. (2006) examined the relationship between attachment anxiety and avoidance, and proposed that insecurity in these attachment orientations predict decreases in forgiveness. Therefore, this relationship between the interpersonal forgiveness and attachment is generalized to the predicted relationship between interethnic forgiveness within intergroup context and ethnic attachment. Therefore, low ethnic attachment anxiety and avoidance together is likely to grow forgiveness compared to high attachment anxiety and avoidance together. As individuals have stronger avoidant ethnic attachment, they are likely to defy the importance of the hurt and report more future-forgiving and low levels of never-forgiving attitudes. As individuals report stronger anxious ethnic

attachment, they are more likely to be worried about ethnic ties, thereby reporting higher levels of never-forgiving and lower levels of future-forgiving attitudes.

Interethnic forgiveness within the interpersonal context and ethnic identity

Another dimension of interethnic forgiveness is the practice of forgiveness between members of two ethnic groups. A way of measuring this dynamic is targeting individuals' membership to an ethnic group and how they employ forgiveness when they are wronged by a member of another ethnic group (Quintana, 2012). Leach et al. (2010) suggested that interethnic forgiveness within interpersonal context differs from interpersonal forgiveness: a whole unity of an ethnic group did not harm a single individual in interethnic conflicts. However, a single member of an ethnic group may generalize the responsibility of transgressions to whole outgroup (Leach et al., 2010). Therefore, this tendency may also infuse into interethnic relations like that of ethnic Kurds with ethnic Turks.

In interethnic relationships, individuals do not behave as a sole person: They perceive the hurt and injury as directed toward both their ingroup community and their individual beings regardless of when the transgressions have occurred (Ignatieff, 1997). This is also consistent with Ashmore et al.'s (2004) perception of collective identity that attachment to the community enmeshes the image of ingroup into the sense of self. Therefore, interethnic forgiveness may be subject to the ethnic identity in interpersonal relationships when individuals are hurt by wrongdoings, which are believed to be triggered by ethnic motivations. Accordingly, the present study examines interpersonal forgiveness as correlated with ethnic identity.

Quintana (2012), for instance, found in a sample of African-Americans that interracial attitudes determine individuals' willingness to forgive another person of other ethnic group

(White) for interpersonal transgressions. Blacks, who did not have strong identification with Black community (e.g., *Pre-encounter stage* in Cross's Nigrescence Model), that rather reported pseudoforgiveness for the interpersonal transgressions with Whites. This means that Blacks with such attitudes undermine or defy the significance of hurt as it has not happened. As Blacks gained more awareness of their racial identity, however, interracial pseudoforgiveness decreased, particularly when there was significant hurt. When Blacks were more distanced from the mainstream society and aligned with their own ethnic community (e.g., *Immersion-Emersion stage*), situational and pseudo-interracial interpersonal forgiveness decreased. Though, when they showed a positive relationship with both the mainstream and their own ethnic community, situational forgiveness tended to increase (Quintana, 2012).

These results inform the present study and show that ethnic identity may guide the practice of forgiveness in Kurds within the Kurdish question. As Kurds report stronger ethnic identity, they are likely to be less forgiving of a perpetrator for ethnically motivated transgressions. Hence, ethnic identity is likely to negatively correlate with interethnic forgiveness within interpersonal context, which is indicated by pseudoforgiveness and situational forgiveness. That is, Kurds who have stronger ethnic identity will be less willing to forgive interethnic transgressions (situational forgiveness) and less likely to defy the importance of hurt or transgression (pseudoforgiveness). In addition to this hypothesized association between ethnic identity and forgiveness, ethnic attachment may also have a role in interethnic forgiveness within interpersonal context. Ethnic attachment anxiety is likely to be negatively associated with pseudoforgiveness and situational forgiveness and avoidant ethnic attachment is hypothesized to be positively associated with higher level of pseudoforgiveness and situational forgiveness.

Interethnic forgiveness as a critical test of ethnic attachment security

In the beginning of this chapter and introduction, interethnic forgiveness was introduced as a critical test of ethnic attachment. This hypothesis about the relationship between interethnic forgiveness and ethnic attachment resides in the literature of attachment and forgiveness. Attachment and forgiveness are shown as intertwined in previous research of interpersonal relationships (Lawler-Row, Younger, Piferi, & Jones, 2006; Riek & Mania, 2012). Attachment theorists have stressed that nurturance and responsiveness of an attachment figure promotes individuals' capacity for prosocial skills (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007; 2015), including forgiveness (Chung, 2014). Individuals, who have met their needs in relationships, are more receptive to others' needs in interpersonal relationships even when they are offended (Lawler-Row et al., 2006). For example, following an interpersonal offense, individuals' level of forgiveness and attachment orientations is compared (Lawler-Row et al., 2006; Mikulincer et al., 2006). Individuals, who endorsed stronger attachment security, were more capable of cultivating positive emotions, higher trait forgiveness, and consequently able to forgive a specific offense (Lawler-Row et al., 2006; Mikulincer et al., 2006). These individuals were able to regulate the pressure of the offense as they were able to report lower systolic blood pressure and greater blood pressure recovery (Lawler-Row et al., 2006). Some studies further indicated in a sample of college students that individuals, who were preoccupied (high attachment anxiety) with others' needs, were highly responsive to others' pain (Wilcoxon, Walker, & Hovestadt, 1989) and more forgiving (Brunette et al., 2009).

Interethnic forgiveness hence carries an important function of ethnic attachment for two reasons. This function is able to resonate with other ethnic group and acknowledge one's own pain. Turkish people suffered from the armed struggles and have perception of hurt and

wrongdoings: Kurds with secure ethnic attachment may resonate with Turks' pain and hurt and they may extend forgiveness to the Turkic counterparts. Kurds with secure ethnic attachment are also portrayed in this study as more capable of managing their stress within the ethnic community (e.g., worries about ethnic ties and safety of ethnic community), which will allow them to grow positive emotions for the outgroup community and its members. Secondly, Kurds with secure ethnic attachment (as well as anxious ethnic attachment) are portrayed as more capable of acknowledging their pain and hurt, hence showing lower pseudoforgiveness. Individuals with secure ethnic attachment therefore are likely to show lower pseudoforgiveness (acknowledging one's own pain) and situational forgiveness (e.g., resonating with others).

Conclusion

The Kurdish question in Turkey entails a traumatic history for Turkish people—both ethnic Kurds and Turks. Kurds have recently obtained their rights in various areas, including propaganda in mother tongue, free speech regarding the issues about the Kurdish question, receiving state services in native language. More recently, the pro-Kurdish political party has entered into the parliament with support of ethnically Turkic individuals. These changes point to the improvements in social justice and democratic atmosphere for Kurds in Turkey. However, how Kurds psychologically function and adapt is largely unknown within this context. Therefore, the present study concentrates on Kurds' adaptation.

The current study examines Kurds' adaptation within three goals. The first goal of this study is to examine the relationship of perceived ethnic discrimination, ethnic identity, and adaptation. Secondly, ethnic attachment orientations as an adjunct process to ethnic identity formation will be tested as related to Kurds' adaptation, acculturation, and interethnic

forgiveness. Thirdly, interethnic forgiveness will be investigated as related to ethnic identity and adaptation. The previous research has documented, as described in this review, that these factors offered contributions to understanding ethnic minorities' mental health and adaptation in the adverse situations of ethnic discrimination and interethnic conflicts, and may as contribute to understanding Kurds' psychological adaptation. The results from this study may provide guidelines for existing research as well as inform future counseling research and practice among ethnic minorities and interethnic conflicts, particularly within the context of the Kurdish question.

Chapter III: Methodology

Study Design

The present study nests in a cross-sectional research design in order to examine the relationship of ethnic identity, ethnic attachment orientations, and interethnic forgiveness with psychological adaptation in a sample of Kurdish university students in Turkey within the context of an intractable conflict, which is so-called the Kurdish question. The research questions will be tested in a postpositivist framework. The postpositivist framework acknowledges this writer that this study is inevitably reductionist in its nature as sophisticated phenomena—Kurds' ethnic identity—is reduced to discrete research variables such as Kurds' ethnic identity achievement and attachment dimensions. According to the postpositivist framework, absolute truth can never be found, the present study hence pursues testing the research questions that can be refined, refuted, or supported (Creswell, 2013) within the given context of this study. This framework aims to bring empirical observations and measurement of the research variables. Within this framework, I empirically investigated the phenomena studied in this study while I am aware that I identify as Turkish and approach the aforementioned phenomena from an apolitical framework. Throughout my education, I have been fortunate to be in democratic university environments, which encouraged students to discuss/explore controversial issues. With the reforms discussed earlier in the introduction section (e.g., "democratic opening" or "peace process" in Turkey), I am motivated to focus my dissertation to explore a controversial issue in Turkey. I thus view the present dissertation study as an effort to contribute to societal peace and highlight the processes of stressors, coping and adaptation within the context of the Kurdish question. Within this philosophical framework, for the data collection and analysis the present study aims to use the quantitative procedures as it fits the philosophical claim underlying this study. The following

sections explain the participants and procedures—sampling, data collection and analyses—and introduce measurement tools for data collection.

Procedures

A sample of Kurdish university students from different regions and universities in Turkey were recruited in the internet environment. University students were the focus in the present study because (1) university environment was believed to provide a dynamic interaction and discussion of ethnocultural issues, (2) ethnic identification solidifies among people at university age bridging adolescence and early adulthood (Umaña-Taylor, Quintana et al., 2014), and (3) it was convenient to reach university students in internet environment due to the popularity of internet and social media use in this population.

The convenience sampling describes this study's recruitment strategy the best. The participants were recruited through posts on Facebook through this author's personal network. People who received the announcements of this study and study link also posted the study announcement and link in internet environments (e. g., Facebook pages, forums, personal webpages, etc). Because the recruitment announcement encouraged the reader to disseminate the study, the study link might be thus posted at other internet locations as well without this researcher's knowledge and beyond his control. The questionnaires were administered in online environment in participant's multimedia devices of choice as the Qualtrics survey station was compatible with tablets, smart phones, and personal computers. Participants spent an average of 24 minutes to complete the questionnaires. Ethnic Turks joined the study as well. Even though, the data from ethnic Turks was not used for hypothesis testing in the present study, the attitude of

Turkic students in Kurdish question is a particular interest to this researcher and will be published in another research.

Two copies of questionnaire booklet were prepared for ethnic Turks and Kurds. During the administration, ethnic Kurds filled out a copy that included all the instruments and demographic form. Turkic ethnic group filled out the alternative copy which included all the instruments except for the instruments measuring acculturation, and this data set will be used in another research in order to examine ethnic Turks' experience. Other participants who neither self identified ethnic Turk nor Kurd were directed to the end of the study.

Data Collection

The data collection began after the dissertation committee's and proper IRB approval were established. The recruitment of the participants began following the translation of the instruments, i.e., the Intergroup Forgiveness Scale and Acculturation Attitudes Scale. The translation process is described below under a separate title. The participants were given a debriefing form that covered the introduction of the study, informed consent, and important contact information of the researcher and the research supervisor (Stephen Quintana, PhD) as well as information about the places that they can seek help if they felt stressed due to the content of the items. The participants filled out the questionnaires in online environment at their choice of computer. Participants were given no incentives for their participation. No apparent risk to harm the participants in this study was anticipated and no such complaints were communicated to the researchers. The confidentiality standards of social science research were upheld. The data was anonymously gathered and no identifying information including IP numbers were collected except for simple demographic information such as gender, age,

ethnicity, socioeconomic level, the location of the university enrolled, and geographic regions in Turkey. The recruitment effort began in May 2016, the first response was received on May 6th 2016, and the last response was received on July 26th, 2016.

Power analysis

Statistical power analysis aims to provide guidelines for determining sample size to detect a significant effect when that actually exists (Balkin & Sheperis, 2011). For this end, a power analysis was conducted in R statistic program (e.g., the "pwr.f2.test" function). A medium effect size ($f^2 = .25$) in linear models (Cohen, 1992) was set as the criteria for the effect size, which was also consistent with Smith and Silva's (2011) findings of moderate effect size when predicting different components of psychological functioning from ethnic identity (r = .247) like self-esteem and distress. Significance level of .025 and a power at .90 were set. This calculation suggested a sample size of 103 participants with 14 predictors, and the current sample size of 180 well exceeded this required sample size.

Participants

In about three month-long data collection, 210 Kurdish identified university students enrolled in this study. However, 30 of these participants were deleted due to substantial missing data, which is further discussed in the *preliminary analyses* of Result section. The final sample, after imputing the missing data, which is also further discussed in the preliminary analyses, consisted of 180 participants (M_{age} =23.81, SD_{age} = 4.50, $Median_{age}$ = 23; Gender: Female = 68, Male = 110 and NA = 2; Enrollment: Undergraduate = 132, Graduate = 27, NA = 21). Out of 180 university students, 148 identified as Kurds (aka. Kurmanji) and 15 identified as Zaza, and 14 identified either Zaza or Kurds, and also identified as Turkic, and 3 of them identified as Kurd

and also Arabic or Persian. Recall that Zazas consider themselves as Kurdish and they were grouped as Kurds in the present study. In terms of socioeconomic status, 45 of the participants reported to be low income, 121 middle class, 11 upper class, and 2 wealthy, and one did not report. Turkey has seven geographic regions, and participants of this study were from Mediterranean (N = 87), Aegean (N = 56), East Anatolia (N= 6), Black Sea (N=7), Marmara (N=10), and Southeast Anatolia (N= 14), no participants from Central Anatolia (N=0). Participants filled in their political views that can be grouped as left (N = 89), right (N= 38), and centrist (N=41) tendencies while 12 of them did not report their political views.

Data Collection Instruments

The participants' ethnic identity, ethnic attachment orientations, interethnic forgiveness, perceptions of discrimination, and psychological adaptation constitute the proxy of their psychological functioning alongside a measure of acculturation. These proxy variables were quantitatively measured with the tools described in this section and summarized in Table 3.1.

Kurdish participants filled out ten questionnaires in Turkish. There were 145 items in the sum of all these questionnaires in addition to the items in a demographic form. Because all Kurdish university students are fluent in written and expressive Turkish language, the instruments were administered in Turkish. The demographic form was presented at the beginning of the questionnaire booklet.

Table 3.1
Quick Review of the Study Measures

Author(s) and Tool	Scale (s) and Scoring
	Perceptions of Discrimination
Landrine et al., 2006; General Ethnic Discrimination Scale.	Three subscales: Lifetime Discrimination; Recent Discrimination; Appraised Discrimination. Total score can be calculated and indicates the severity of ethnic discrimination. Higher score indicates higher perceived ethnic discrimination. Total score is used in this study.
	Ethnic Identity Related Measures
Phinney, 1992; Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure[a].	Two subscales: Ethnic identity exploration; Ethnic identity affirmation/belonging, and two items for ethnic behaviors; Higher score indicates more positive ethnic identity. Ethnic identity achievement/ total score is used in this study (Phinney & Ong, 2007)
Hong et al., 2013; Cultural Attachment Style Scale[b].	Two Scales: Attachment Anxiety; Attachment Avoidance. Higher scores indicate higher attachment anxiety or avoidance. A total score is not calculated due to the theoretical two dimensions.
Berry et al., 2006; Acculturation Attitudes Scale.	Four scales: Integration; Assimilation; Separation; Marginalization. Participants' score on these scales are calculated for these four acculturation attitudes (e.g., Berry & Sabatier, 2010).
	Interethnic Forgiveness
Enright et al., 2000; Enright Forgiveness Inventory.	Two indicators: Single item situational forgiveness; Pseudoforgiveness. Higher scores indicate higher forgiveness. The severity and type of the hurt are examined.
Moeschberger et al., 2005; Intergroup Forgiveness Scale.	Two subscales: Never Forgiving; Future Forgiving. Higher scores indicate higher tendency in never forgiving or future forgiving in that scale.
	Psychological Adaptation
Crocker et al., 1994; Collective Self-Esteem-Race.	Four subscales: Public; Private; Membership; Importance to Identity. Total scale indicates the collective self-esteem regarding ethnicity, which is used in this study. Higher scores indicates higher collective self-esteem- ethnicity.
Cohen et al., 1983; Perceived Stress Scale.	Single-Scale. Total score indicates one's stress level in the past month. High score indicates higher stress.

Instrument translation

After establishing dissertation committee's and proper IRB approval, the translation of the instruments was performed. This translation procedure followed the suggested steps of an instrument adaptation (e.g., Brislin, 1970; Mallinckrodt & Wang, 2004; Van de Vijver & Hambleton, 1996), including the content, semantic and construct equivalence of the translated

measures. An independent forward-back translation procedure was conducted and identified possible linguistic differences—idioms and word use, and established the appropriateness of the language use for the Turkish culture (Van de Vijver & Hambleton, 1996). For this end, two graduate students (at master's and doctoral level) in mental health fields independently translated the instruments from English to Turkish. Another two graduate students (master's and doctoral level) in mental health fields translated the instruments into English from Turkish independently. All of these four graduate students were fluent in Turkish and English. They were studying in the U.S. during the translation procedures. When the translation process was completed, two graduate students (i.e. one from each pair of translation) did a focus group together with this researcher in order to determine the language equivalence of these translated instruments. The final versions of the two instruments that I translated into Turkish in the present study– namely, the Intergroup Forgiveness Scale and Acculturation Attitudes Scale – were used to collect data.

Ethnic identity orientations

The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney, 1992) is a 20-item instrument that measures ethnic identity through identity achievement, affirmation, ethnic behaviors as well as other group orientation. The present study did not use "other group orientation" because this aspect did not originally intend to measure ethnic identity (Phinney, 1992) and was resultantly omitted from the MEIM in subsequent researches (e.g., Özdikmenli-Demir, 2014; Yap et al., 2014). Participants rated the extent to which items described their commitment to (a sample item reads as "I feel a strong attachment toward my own ethnic group") and exploration of (a sample item reads as "I have often talked to other people in order to learn more about my ethnic group") their ethnic identity ideology on a five-point rating scale ranging from 1, "strongly disagree," to 5, "strongly agree." Greater scores indicate more positive ethnic identity. The average score on

these 14 items indicates one's ethnic identity status, and greater score indicates a stronger ethnic identity achievement and affirmation.

The MEIM was translated into Turkish (excluding the ethnic behaviors) (Özdikmenli-Demir, 2014). The researcher of the adaptation study and two academics from psychology and linguistics completed the translation. The adaptation study indicated an acceptable internal consistency (coefficient alphas) for the Exploration = .76, Commitment = .91 subscales, and the total scale = .91. The results of a Confirmatory Factor Analysis verified the two-factor structure, and these factors were correlated. The items in the original translation were used directly according to the recent conceptualization of this tool, which suggested a correlated two-factor structure (ethnic identity exploration and commitment) of ethnic identity (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Therefore, ethnic identity achievement – the total score of exploration and achievement – was used in the present study. The internal consistency for the whole scale was .94 for the present study.

The Ethnic Attachment Style Scale is an adaptation of Cultural Attachment Style Scale (CAS; Hong et al., 2013), which was formed based on Brennan, Clark, and Shaver's (1998) measure of attachment orientations, "Experiences in Close Relationships" (ECR). The ECR consists of 36 items that measure attachment anxiety and avoidance in close relationships. Hong et al. adapted the ECR within a group of international Indonesian students studying in Singapore. The new measure, CAS, intended to measure Indonesian students' cultural attachment. Hong et al. modified the ECR and produced a 20-item instrument for measuring the dimensions of cultural attachment. However, researchers needed to use two sets of the CAS as they intended to measure Indonesian students' cultural attachment to Singaporean and Indonesian cultures. The present study was only interested in Kurds' ethnic attachment dimensions in their primary ethnic

community; therefore, the second copy was not used (attachment to the mainstream culture) and the name of the measure was updated to be “Ethnic Attachment Style Scale (EAS)” to signal that the instrument was measuring ethnic attachment. In the CAS, participants rate each item on a seven-point rating scale and indicate the extent to which each item is descriptive of their feelings in cultural attachment to either culture, ranging from 1, “strongly disagree,” to 7, “strongly agree.” A sample item of the CAS in their study reads as “I often worry that the Indonesians around me will not want to be friend with me.” They provided evidence for the reliability of the CAS as a measure of cultural attachment. The internal reliabilities were α=.91 for the CAS Anxiety and α=.92 for Avoidance dimensions when the setting of the CAS was for Indonesian culture, and these two dimensions were moderately correlated (r = .31, p <.001). They showed the relationship of the CAS dimensions with acculturation distress and affective experiences regarding the cultural icons of Indonesian and Singaporean cultures.

Hong et al. described cultural attachment to a national group like Indonesians. In their study, the national group refers to the citizenship to, for example, Indonesia. Cultural attachment denotes those Indonesian international students of whom attachment orientations are examined in relation to other Indonesian people. The present study aims to measure Kurds’ ethnic attachment orientations in Turkey pertinent to their ethnic community. Therefore, the wording in the items was adjusted to reflect this change. For example, a sample EAS Avoidance item reads as “I get uncomfortable when a person from my ethnic community wants to be very close” and a sample EAS Anxiety item reads as “I worry a lot about my relationships with others from my ethnic community around me.” The ECR measure was already translated into Turkish. In the present study, Turkish version of the ECR was used to draw the items for the EAS – similar to what Hong et al. have done in their study. The high scores indicate high ethnic attachment anxiety and

avoidance. The reliability analyses revealed adequate internal consistency for the EAS Anxiety = .87 and EAS Avoidance = .83, and these two dimensions were correlated (r =.20, p<.05, N=140) in the present study.

Acculturation Attitudes Scale (Berry et al., 2006) intended to assess four acculturation attitudes: Assimilation, Integration, Separation, and Marginalization. The present study followed the method, which was explained by Berry et al. (2006) in a cross-cultural study. Following their method of measuring acculturation attitudes, in the present study, five items in each domain of cultural traditions, language, marriage/romantic relationships, social activities, and friends were developed in order to measure the four acculturation attitudes. Two doctoral students in mental health professions who were familiar with acculturation studies and test construction reviewed the items. The scale included 20 items in total. For example, Berry et al. (2006) assess the domain of social activities within four questions: "I prefer social activities which involve both [nationals] and [my ethnic group]" (integration); "I prefer social activities which involve [nationals] only" (assimilation)"; "I prefer social activities which involve [members of my own ethnic group] only" (separation); and "I don't want to attend either [national] or [ethnic] social activities" (marginalization). For example, the first question will read as "I prefer social activities which involve both Turks and Kurds." In the present study, these items will be worded in Turkish.

The respondents rated each item on a seven-point rating scale and indicated the extent to which item described their acculturation attitudes, ranging from 1, "totally disagree," to 7, "totally agree." The total score for each scale determined a respondent's level of use of those acculturation attitudes. The reliability coefficients for Integration, Assimilation, Separation, and Marginalization were .77, .63, .76, and .80, respectively.

Interethnic forgiveness

Enright Forgiveness Inventory (EFI, Enright et al., 2000) is a 60-item instrument. It also has a single-item index in addition to 60-item index. Quintana (2012) provided several guidelines in use of the EFI for measuring interracial forgiveness. The 60-item index, as Quintana described, was designed to measure the positive and negative reactions and feelings toward the perpetrator in order to assess the extent of forgiveness as applies to intimate relationships such as parent, spouse and partner dyads. The single-item index, different than 60-item index, does not assume that the victim will continue the relationship with the perpetrator (Quintana, 2012), therefore it isolates the relationship factor predictors of forgiveness (Quintana, 2012) and enable this study focus on the ethnic identity as the main factor. Quintana suggested the use of the single-item index and the five items for pseudoforgiveness.

Quintana (2012) modified the instruction asking the participants to recall a transgression that created "most extreme experience of being hurt unfairly" into a "most extreme experience of being hurt unfairly by someone who was White." Participants will be asked to recall a transgression. This will further be modified and read as "most extreme experience of being hurt unfairly *for being Kurdish* by someone who was *Turk*." The edition of "for being Kurdish" aims to select interethnic transgressions rather than transgressions that emerged in dyadic relationships.

The single item index will be used in this study to measure participants' situational interethnic forgiveness. The single-item index reads as "To what extent you have forgiven this person?" Also, participants will write down a description of the interethnic transgression. This description was presented separately in order to provide a general picture of the transgressions

that were forgiven or not forgiven in this specific sample and study. These descriptions were not scored or included into the analyses.

Pseudoforgiveness is a sub-component part of the EFI (Quintana, 2012). It measures participants' tendency to undermine the existence or severity of a transgression that had occurred or the need for the process of forgiveness (Quintana, 2012). Hence, it includes five items that reflect denial or avoidance of the significance of the hurt. These items are rated and scored in the same fashion as described above for the single-item index. A sample item in this scale reads as "there really was no problem now that I think about it." Quintana (2012) suggests that pseudoforgiveness relates to the racial identity orientations. The average score on these five items were used to further describe the quality of the forgiveness whether it was well processed forgiveness or pseudoforgiveness. The internal consistency of this scale in the present study was .84.

Intergroup Forgiveness Scale (IFS; Moeschberger et al., 2005) was designed to measure intergroup forgiveness in Northern Ireland within 8 items and 2 subscales, such as the Future Forgiving with 4 items and Never Forgiving with 4 items. The scale was modified and used in the present study to measure Kurds' forgiveness of intergroup transgressions. The items were modified in order to administer the IFS to the current sample. A sample item reads as "It is important that my community never forgets the wrongs done to us by the other community" (Never Forgiving subscale) or "Only when the two communities of *Turkey* learn to forgive each other can we be free of political violence" (Future Forgiving subscale). The items do not specify Kurds or Turks because (1) there might be both Kurdish and Turkish university students who participated in this study so that both of the groups could fill in the items. Therefore, these modifications aimed to reflect the intergroup forgiveness. Respondents rated the items on a five-

point rating scale ranging from 1 “strongly agree” to 5 “strongly disagree.” The reliability indices (coefficient alphas) were found .78 for Future Forgiving and .84 for Never Forgiving scales in the present study. Higher scores on Never Forgiving represents higher never forgiving attitudes and higher scores on Future Forgiving represents higher future forgiving attitudes.

Perceived interethnic discrimination

The General Ethnic Discrimination Scale (GED, Landrine et al., 2006) is developed based on the Schedule of Racist Events (Klonoff & Landrine, 1999), a perceived ethnic discrimination scale that is designed for Blacks. The GED measures the perceived ethnic discrimination. The GED includes 18 items. Each set of 17 items measure the Lifetime Discrimination, Recent Discrimination and Appraised Discrimination, which constitute the GED’s three subscales, and 18th item measures perceived life-time and recent impact of ethnic discrimination. The participants are asked to rate the extent to which individuals perceived discrimination in the past year (recent discrimination), throughout their lives (lifetime discrimination), and stressfulness of the discriminatory events (appraised discrimination). The participants use a six-point rating scale to score the items. Scoring ranges from 1 “never,” to 6 “almost all the time,” higher scores indicating higher levels of perceived ethnic discrimination. A sample item reads as “How often have you been treated unfairly by teachers and professors because of your race/ethnic group?” and “How stressful was this for you?” The internal reliability scores for the GED total and subscales ranged from .90 and above.

Ozdikmenli-Demir (2014) completed the translation of the GED into Turkish within a sample of Kurdish university students. She reported equivalent reliability scores to the GED’s original form. Ozdikmenli-Demir presented that the GED’s lifetime, recent and appraised

discrimination subscales' internal reliability coefficients were .92, and all of these subscales revealed internal consistency as .95 in the present study. The total scores from these three subscales will be used to run the analyses in the present study.

Psychological adaptation

The Collective Self-Esteem-Race (CSES-R; Crocker et al., 1994) includes 16 items and is slightly modified version of the Collective Self-Esteem Scale (CSES) (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). In the CSES, participants can rate the extent to which items describe their collective self-esteem with regard to social group membership, ranging from 1, "strongly agree," to 7, "strongly disagree" on a seven-point rating scale. The CSES-R is similar to the CSES in the item content. Wording in the CSES-R is modified to assess the collective self-esteem regarding one's race (e.g., "consider your race" in responding to the items). A sample item in the CSES-R reads as "I feel good about the race I belong to" instead of a sample item in the CSES, "I feel good about the social groups I belong to." Therefore, underlying constructs of these two versions have not changed. The CSES-R includes four subscales. Each subscale includes four items. The Membership Esteem assesses the worthiness of membership to the identified social category (e.g., "I am a worthy member of the social groups I belong to"). The Private CSE assesses one's personal judgment of goodness of the social groups (e.g., "In general, I'm glad to be a member of my racial/ethnic group"). The Public CSE assesses one's perception of others' evaluation of one's social group (e.g., "In general, others respect the social groups that I am a member of"). Lastly, the Importance to Identity subscale assesses the significance of the membership to one's self-concept (e.g., "In general, belonging to my race/ethnicity is an important part of my self-image"). In a heterogeneous sample of university students, the developers suggested a correlated four-factor structure as the best fitting model. Internal consistency for the subscale ranged from

.73 for the Membership to .80 for the Public subscales, and whole scale was reported as .85. Similarly, internal consistency coefficients for the CSES-R were reported as ranging from .72 for the Private to .88 for the Public subscales.

The CSES is adapted into Turkish by Aslitürk (2001) within a factor analysis study. The results revealed a four-factor structure in Turkish culture, explaining the 58% of total variance, but did not support the original factorial framework, therefore, the researcher utilized the total score of the scale. In another study with Turkish university students, the CSES was employed within its total score, and internal consistency was reported as .85 (Simsek, 2013).

In the present study, the internal consistency of Public, Private, Membership and Importance subscales were .64, .63, .50, and .87, respectively, and the whole scale was .80. A Confirmatory Factor Analysis was run in order to examine the factor structure of the instrument, which was slightly modified to measure ethnic collective self-esteem because previous research in Turkish culture failed to confirm the four-factor stractuce. As suggested in earlier studies conducted in Turkey (Simsek, 2013), the four-factor structure of the CSES-R was not supported in the present study, RMSEA = .14, SRMR = .13, CFI = .71, TLI = .65, X2 = 310.45, $p<.001$. The total score from this scale was thus used in the analyses. In calculating the total scale, the items' content in Turkish were analyzed for positive and negative meaning: the items were reversed in order to reflect positive and negative collective self-esteem related to ethnicity. Higher scores on the CSES-R indicated higher ethnic collective self-esteem.

The Perceived Stress Scale (PSS; Cohen, Kamarck, & Mermelstein, 1983) is used to measure participants' psychological stress within the degree to which situations by respondents are perceived as stressful as it applies to the past month (a sample item reads as "How often have

you felt difficulties were piling up so high that you could not overcome them?"). The PSS can be administered in 14-item, which can be rated on a five-point rating scale, ranging from 0, "never" to 4, "very often," with a higher score indicating a greater level of perceived stress. In the present study, the 10-item version of the PSS (PSS-10) is used as it was already translated into Turkish. The internal consistency of the PSS was .85 in the present study.

Data Analysis

Gathered data was screened for missing responses before hypothesis testing. The necessary steps were taken as suggested by the results, such as imputing missing data and/or list-wise deletion of cases which had substantial missing data (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). The correlations were observed to have an initial opinion about the relationships between the variables. Also, based on the analysis procedure, necessary distributional assumptions were checked like multivariate normality and homoscedasticity for regression analyses (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007 for a review). In addition, the demographic information was used to test any group differences in the research variables, such as socioeconomic level, location of the universities, and gender. Following these assumption checks, the main analyses were conducted to investigate the relationship of research variables by using a series of bivariate and canonical correlation, and regression procedures in order to test the following research questions and hypotheses within a sample of Kurdish university students in Turkey.

Question 1: What is the relationship between ethnic attachment and acculturation attitudes?

Hypothesis 1: In order to test the relationship of ethnic attachment orientations with acculturation attitudes, a canonical correlation analysis was conducted.

Question 2: What is the relationship of perceived ethnic discrimination, ethnic identity, and ethnic attachment orientations with psychological adaptation?

Hypothesis 2a: In order to examine the relationship of perceived ethnic discrimination with ethnic collective self-esteem and psychological stress, bivariate correlation coefficients were examined.

Hypothesis 2b: In order to test the relationship of ethnic identity achievement with ethnic collective self-esteem and psychological stress, bivariate correlation coefficients were examined.

Hypothesis 2c: In order to test the relationship of ethnic attachment anxiety and avoidance with ethnic collective self-esteem and psychological stress, two simultaneous regression analyses were conducted. Ethnic attachment anxiety and avoidance were entered as predictor variables. Ethnic collective self-esteem (total score) were entered as criterion variable. The same process was repeated for psychological stress.

Question 3: What is the relationship of ethnic identity and ethnic attachment orientations with interethnic forgiveness within interpersonal and intergroup context?

Hypothesis 3a: To predict interethnic forgiveness in interpersonal context, two simultaneous regression analyses were performed. Situational and pseudo-forgiveness were entered as criterion variables. The severity of the hurt, ethnic identity achievement, and ethnic attachment avoidance and anxiety were entered as predictor variables.

Hypothesis 3b: To predict interethnic forgiveness within intergroup context, two simultaneous regression analyses were performed. Ethnic identity achievement, ethnic attachment anxiety and avoidance, and perceived ethnic discrimination were entered as

predictors. Never Forgiving and Future Forgiving subscales were entered as criterion variables in two separate regression analyses.

Question 4: *What is the relationship between interethnic forgiveness and psychological adaptation?*

Hypothesis 4: In order to test the relationship of interethnic forgiveness with psychological adaptation, situational forgiveness, pseudoforgiveness, Never and Future forgiving attitudes were entered as predictors, and ethnic collective self-esteem (total score) and psychological stress were entered as criterion variables in two separate simultaneous regression analyses.

Chapter IV: Results

The previous sections included the conceptual background and methodology of this study. In the present chapter, the results of the main analyses are detailed. Due to missing data, in the first subsection of the results the nature, pattern, and resolution of the missing data problem are described. Next, basic descriptive statistics are reported, followed by tests of the hypotheses. To reiterate, the relationship between ethnic attachment and acculturation attitudes was examined in Hypothesis 1. The relationship of perceived ethnic discrimination, ethnic identity, and ethnic attachment orientations with their psychological adaptation was examined in Hypothesis 2. The relationship of ethnic identity achievement and ethnic attachment orientations with interethnic forgiveness within interpersonal and intergroup contexts was examined in Hypothesis 3. Lastly, the relationship between interethnic forgiveness and psychological adaptation was examined in Hypothesis 4.

Preliminary Analyses

Missing data. The data was screened for missing responses across 145 items, which revealed varying number of missing data points. First, I examined the frequency and distribution of missing data, which is shown in Table 4.1, across 210 participants who enrolled and participated in the study. Recall that first page showed the informed consent, second page showed demographic questions, and then each page showed an instrument, in which the order of the instruments did not change across participants. Missing data points were substantially low on demographic items (see Table 3). The low number of missing data on demographic items indicates the high rate of participation in the early part of the survey; however, missing data rate steadily increased towards the end of the survey. For example, 30 participants ended their participation after filling out the demographic questions and 29 participants ended their

participation after filling out the first instrument (i. e., the Interethnic Forgiveness Scale on the third page). Therefore, these 30 participants had 100% missing and were deleted from further analyses because they did not respond to the items. The remaining sample included 180 participants. Eighty participants did not fill out at least one entire instrument, which will be called as unit non-response. Further details and visual representation of missing data for participants and items/variables were presented in Appendix A.

Table 4.1
Percentages and Frequencies of Incomplete Responses in the First Half of the Table, and Frequencies of Missing Data in the Second Half of the Table

	Percentage of missing response across 145 items									Demographics (# of missings)				
At item level										Total	F/M	Age	SES	View
%	0	<5%	<15%	<25%	<50%	<75%	<95%	95%	100%	-		-		
Freq	64	34	9	3	13	16	12	29	30	210	3	0	1	14

Note: N = 210; % = percentage of missing response across 145 items; Freq = frequency of that percentage of missing response across cases.; F/M = Gender; SES = socioeconomic status; View = political view.

***Pattern analysis*.** A variety of factors might have influenced participants' non-response. McKnight and colleagues (McKnight et al., 2007) suggest that participants may refuse to complete their participation due to many factors like disagreement with the study and content of the items, lack of interest in the subject matter, lack of motivation to complete, and negative beliefs and attitudes toward the subject matter. In the present study, each page in the online booklet showed one instrument. About 90% of participants with unit non-response completed the page on which they were working and did not fill out anything else on the following pages. This pattern shows that participants might have decided to discontinue due to fatigue, loss of interest, lack of motivation and/or prioritizing other things.

To decide whether the non-completers should be dropped from the analyses, I examined differences between participants who completed and who did not in order to assess if the missing

data points were related to study variables. This procedure is a common practice of analyzing the missing data pattern in several sources (e. g., Allison, 2012). The analyses showed that participants who filled all questionnaires were less forgiving of interethnic transgressions (F (1, 170) = 9.47, p =.007), tended to have higher scores on separation from majority culture (F (1, 141) = 8.53, p =.004), and reported less anxiety about their ethnic community (F (1, 140) = 12.45, p <.001) and reported less psychological stress (F (1, 136) = 6.68, p =.011). There were no other significant differences between completers and non-completers. Consequently, remaining incomplete cases were not deleted because non-completers were related to the study variables and list-wise deletion carries the risk of creating bias in the sample (Little, 1992; McKnight et al., 2007). In order to include those who had missing data in the analyses, data imputation was used.

Data imputation. Aforementioned information and statistics help choose a model to impute missing data; however, the model chosen is likely to impact the estimation of missing data (Little & Rubin, 2002). Allison (2001) suggests that a rigorous method of imputing missing data imputation can minimize bias in analyses, maximize the use of available information, avoid discarding data, and produce accurate estimates. To reduce inflating error rates, data imputation was handled in three stages: imputation based on regression analyses (i.e., predictive mean matching), individual item analysis, and another iteration of imputation (i.e., predictive mean matching).

The method of predictive mean matching within a chained regression equation was used in data imputation at the first and third stages with *MICE function* in R (R Development Core Team, 2011; van Buuren & Oudshoorn 2000). MICE specifies a multivariate distribution for the missing data and generates the imputation from their conditional distribution by iterating over

conditional densities with a built in model, which is called predictive mean matching (PMM) (Van Buuren & Groothuis-Oudshoorn, 2011). That is, the PMM model applies multivariate regression, in which missing values are regressed on observed values to calculate predicted means for each case by deriving from calculated estimates for complete cases. The best estimates are drawn based on the pattern in the complete cases, and it is matched with the missing cases (Little, 1988). PMM can handle large multivariate missing data and is a good fit to handle the missing data in this study (Little, 1988).

In the first stage, missing data was imputed for the 98 participants, for whom there was missing data less than 5% of total items. The responses from these 98 participants were used to predict missing data in these 98 participants. These 98 participants had 0.8% (i.e., 115 responses in total) of missing in total of 14,210 expected responses across 34 participants. This 0.8% missing data was considered minimal and expected. By using MICE, these values were imputed within a single iteration.

In the second stage, missing items were examined at the variable and participant level. If a participant had a missing response to one or two items on a scale level, such missing data was imputed in the second stage. After examining the missing responses that met this criterion, I found that the missing data did not form a general pattern. To impute these missing values, each missing item was matched with another complete item in the same subscale if these missing and non-missing items had similar content and large correlation coefficients. When this approach was not viable (e. g., missing items could not be paired with an item with similar content), then the missing response was replaced with the mean of the ratings for the complete responses in the subscale of that missing item. By using this procedure, only 98 missing responses were imputed, which makes only 0.3% of all possible 26,100 responses for 180 participants.

The third stage dealt with imputing a major proportion of the data which was missing at the scale level. A pattern analysis of missing data (used *md.pattern function* in *mice function* in R) indicated that 30% of data was missing, mostly due to 29 participants who had 95% missing data across all items. The scale scores for study instruments were calculated for all 180 participants before proceeding with imputation in the third stage. Missing data was represented with missing scale scores rather than imputing scores for individual items. Missing data was imputed by using the PMM model with 100 iterations and single imputation. At the end of the third stage, all missing responses were imputed for remaining participants (N = 102), which had missing data. However, it is important to note that missing data imputation might inflate the Type I error (false positive) as it tends to decrease the variance and lower the *p* values (Little, 1988). Therefore, the main analyses will be repeated for the first 100 participants who had fewer missing data – less than 6 %. Appendix B includes several tables illustrating the differences in the analyses for these two data sets (i.e., N= 100 and N = 180) and Appendix C includes a discussion of these differences.

Descriptive statistics. The mean and standard deviations were determined for the major variables. The skewness and kurtosis values were examined in order to test for the normal distribution. The correlation coefficients were examined to provide a basic description of the relationships among the research variables. The analysis of histograms, skewness and kurtosis values indicated no gross violations from normality in the data set which included 180 participants. The data was examined for outliers and departures from multivariate normality through qqplots. No gross violations were observed. Table 4.2 includes correlation coefficients, means and standard deviations, and skewness and kurtosis values by using the 180 participants with imputed data.

I examined means and standard deviations for each variable in order to lay out the general tendency of the current sample on the major study variables: perceived ethnic discrimination, interethnic forgiveness, and self-esteem and psychological stress. The participants of this study reported an average of extreme impact of the armed struggles on their life on a 10-point scale (10 being 'extreme impact') with a mean of 6.73 (*SD* = 3.16). On average, they perceived ethnic discrimination 'rarely' with a mean of 2.17 (*SD* = 0.89) on a 5-point scale. Participants endorsed high ratings on attitudes toward both their ethnic and mainstream community. Participants reported high scores on integration while reporting low scores on assimilation, separation and marginalization acculturation practices. Participants scored low on ethnic attachment anxiety and ethnic attachment avoidance, indicating that Kurdish university students tended to report secure attachment to their ethnic group. Similarly, the average scores of ethnic identity achievement indicated high agreement with ethnic identity exploration and commitment.

For interethnic forgiveness in interpersonal context, participants reported low pseudo and situational forgiveness. For interethnic forgiveness in intergroup contexts, participants tended to report moderate levels of never forgiving interethnic transgressions and future forgiving interethnic transgressions. For psychological adaptation, they reported low levels of psychological stress and moderate levels of ethnic collective self-esteem. The initial findings based on these descriptive statistics showed a favorable adaptation in the context of the ongoing armed struggles.

The correlation coefficients were examined to have an initial opinion about the relationships among the main variables. The detailed correlation coefficients can be found in Table 4.2. The perceived impact of the armed struggles were positively related to ethnic identity

achievement, perceived ethnic discrimination, ethnic collective self-esteem, psychological stress and never forgiving of interethnic transgressions while inversely related to ethnic attachment avoidance. Kurdish university students' perception of ethnic discrimination was positively predictive of high scores on never forgiving interethnic transgressions, ethnic collective self-esteem, psychological stress and ethnic identity achievement, and inversely related to their ethnic attachment avoidance and forgiving interethnic transgressions in the future. These results indicated that perception of discrimination and impact of the armed struggles matter in Kurds' ethnic identity formation and psychological adaptation: discrimination and armed struggles correlated with high scores on ethnic identity exploration and commitment, and ethnic collective self-esteem.

I examined the mean differences in the main variables according to their demographic characteristics. The mean differences based on gender (female and male), geographic location, SES (three levels: low, medium, and high income), university enrollment (three levels: Freshman-Sophomore, Junior-Senior, and graduate), and political view (three levels: left-tendency, right-tendency, and centrist) were examined within a series of analysis of variance (ANOVA). I should mention that seven geographic locations of Turkey witnessed different levels of conflicts and were re-coded into three regions like West (i.e., Marmara, Mediterranean, Aegean, and Black Sea); East (i.e., East), and Southeast (i.e., Southeast). Western regions witnessed fewer armed conflicts and Southest Turkey witnessed the most intense armed conflicts. The interactions among demographic variables were not analyzed due to unequal cell sizes.

Table 4.2

Descriptive Statistics Within the Full Data After Missing Case Analysis Completed and Missing Data Imputed

Variables		M	SD	Ske	Kur	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1	Imp	6.73	3.16	-0.74	-0.52	1															
2	Age	23.8	4.50	2.71	12.8	.13	1														
3	IFS H	3.27	1.30	-0.46	-0.89	.21[b]	.09	1													
4	S For	4.24	3.43	0.18	-1.24	.01	.01	-.28[a]	1												
5	P For	2.40	1.23	1.09	0.84	-.17[c]	-.07	-.53[a]	.29[a]	1											
6	N For	2.77	1.10	0.32	-0.70	.30[a]	.01	.38[a]	-.24[b]	-.43[a]	1										
7	F For	2.51	1.04	0.64	-0.36	.04	-.08	-.03	.19[b]	.16[c]	-.22[b]	1									
8	Disc	2.17	0.89	0.44	-0.77	.27[a]	.19[c]	.39[a]	-.16[c]	-.34[a]	.58[a]	-.27[a]	1								
9	Eth	3.78	0.81	-0.96	1.38	.31[a]	.15[c]	.31[a]	-.18[b]	-.48[a]	.40[a]	-.03	.52[a]	1							
10	Anx	2.57	1.16	0.50	-0.57	.13	-.10	.10	.03	-.19[c]	.32[a]	.00	.13	.24[b]	1						
11	Avo	3.33	1.21	0.37	-0.41	-.21[b]	.01	-.36[a]	-.03	.32[a]	-.26[a]	-.06	-.25[a]	-.41[a]	.08	1					
12	Int	4.99	1.44	-0.87	0.39	.01	-.09	.14	.08	-.17[c]	.01	.16[c]	-.09	.09	.10	-.32[a]	1				
13	Asm	2.13	1.07	1.42	2.28	-.10	-.18[c]	-.09	-.12	.14	.02	.01	-.21[b]	-.41[a]	.18[c]	.36[a]	-.42[a]	1			
14	Sep	2.56	1.35	1.12	0.63	.17[c]	-.05	.23[b]	-.25[a]	-.26[a]	.53[a]	-.28[a]	.31[a]	.17[c]	.26[a]	-.04	-.20[b]	.31[a]	1		
15	Marg	2.16	1.28	1.53	2.23	-.01	-.06	-.11	-.25[a]	.00	.15[c]	-.09	-.05	-.12	.13	.35[a]	-.41[a]	.43[a]	.36[a]	1	
16	CSE	3.58	0.59	-0.24	-0.66	.20[b]	-.02	.27[a]	-.08	-.24[b]	.32[a]	-.07	.32[a]	.59[a]	.07	-.38[a]	.15[c]	-.26[a]	.05	-.20[b]	1
17	Dist	2.33	0.70	-0.22	0.23	.25[a]	.08	.38[a]	-.05	-.34[a]	.33[a]	-.11	.35[a]	.23[b]	.19[c]	-.05	-.04	-.17[c]	.17[c]	.19[c]	.02

Note: N = 180

[a] p<.001, [b] p<.01, [c] p<.05

Imp: Impact of Armed Struggles; IFS H: Perceived Hurt; S For: Situational Forgiveness; P For: Pseudo Forgiveness; N For: Never Forgiveness; F For: Future Forgiveness; Disc: Perceived Ethnic Discrimination; Eth: Ethnic Identity; Anx: Anxious Ethnic Attachment; Avo: Avoidant Ethnic Attachment; Int: Integration Acculturation; Asm: Assimilation Acculturation; Sep: Separation Acculturation; Marg: Marginalization Acculturation; CSE: Ethnic Collective Self-Esteem; Dist: Psychological Distress (past month); M: Mean; SD: Standard Deviation; Ske: Skewness; Kur: Kurtosis.

Higher scores indicate higher rate of that construct.

First, perceived ethnic discrimination, the impact of the armed struggles, and hurt sustained from interethnic transgressions were tested based on demographic characteristics. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) revealed significant differences based on Political view (F (2, 137) = 10.91, p <.001, η^2 = .14) and socio-economic status (F (2, 137) = 5.91, p <.001, η^2 = .08) for perceived ethnic discrimination. Results showed significant differences on political view (F (2, 137) = 5.66, p <.001, η^2 = .12) and gender (F (1, 137) = 5.48, p <.05, η^2 = .03) for impact sustained from the armed struggles. No significant differences were found for hurt sustained from interethnic transgressions across demographic variables. I followed up on the ANOVA results by looking at the mean differences. Leftwing Kurdish university students perceived more ethnic discrimination than rightwing (M_{diff} = 0.85, 95% CI [0.45, 1.26], d = 1.15) and centrist Kurdish participants (M_{diff} = -0.35, 95% CI [-0.04, 0.75], d = 0.32) (marginally significant) while centrist participants perceived more ethnic discrimination than rightwing participants (M_{diff} = 0.50, 95% CI [0.03, 0.97], d = 0.90). Rightwing Kurdish participants reported lower impact of the armed struggles compared to leftwing (M_{diff} = -2.70, 95% CI [-4.13, -1.26], d = -0.62) and centrist Kurdish participants (M_{diff} = -2.36, 95% CI [-4.02, -0.69], d = -0.58). Socio-economic status was related to participants' perceived ethnic discrimination: participants from low income families perceived higher ethnic discrimination compared to participants from middle (M_{diff} = -0.37, 95% CI [-0.73, -0.01], d = -0.45) and high income background (M_{diff} = -0.82, 95% CI [-1.51, -0.13], d = -1.24). In addition, female Kurdish university students reported higher impact from the armed struggles than the male students (M_{diff} = 1.08, 95% CI [0.11, 2.05], d = 0.30). The results indicated that there is a continuum in perception of ethnic discrimination and the impact of the armed struggles from leftwing to rightwing, in which leftwing Kurdish participants experienced the highest ethnic discrimination and impact of the armed struggles.

ANOVA was conducted to examine the variances in ethnic identity achievement, ethnic attachment, and the four acculturation attitudes across demographic characteristics. Ethnic identity achievement had significant differences only across geographic regions (F (2, 137) = 3.18, p <.05, η^2 = .04). Ethnic attachment anxiety differed based on participants' geographic region (F (2, 137) = 4.23, p <.05, η^2 = .05), education level (F (2, 137) = 3.82, p <.05, η^2 = .05), and gender (F (2, 137) = 5.21, p <.001, η^2 = .03). Ethnic attachment avoidance did not differ based on demographic variables. Acculturation attitudes did not differ based on demographic variables except for separation acculturation attitudes, which differed with participants' socio-economic status (F (2, 137) = 3.31, p <.05, η^2 = .04). I followed up on the ANOVA results by conducting post-hoc tests to examine significant mean differences. Participants from East (M_{diff} = 0.47, 95% CI [0.03, 0.91], d = 0.39) and Southeast Turkey (M_{diff} = 0.43, 95% CI [0.03, 0.84], d = 0.49) reported significantly higher ethnic identity achievement compared to participants from western regions of Turkey. Participants from East Turkey reported higher ethnic attachment anxiety compared to participants from western regions of Turkey (M_{diff} = 0.60, 95% CI [0.01, 1.19], d = 0.42) and Southeast Turkey (M_{diff} = 0.55, 95% CI [0.06, 1.03], d = 0.23). Lastly, graduate students reported lower ethnic attachment anxiety compared to first and second year undergraduate students (M_{diff} = -0.68, 95% CI [-1.31, -0.05], d = -0.60) and females reported lower ethnic attachment anxiety compared to males (M_{diff} = -0.43, 95% CI [-0.79, -0.07], d = -0.31).

I also conducted ANOVA to examine differences in participants' interethnic forgiveness across demographic characteristics. Never forgiving of interethnic transgressions in intergroup context differed on political view (F (2, 137) = 7.33, p <.001, η^2 = .08) and education level (F (2, 137) = 7.02, p <.01, η^2 = .08), and future forgiving attitude differed only on political view (F (2,

137) = 5.37, p <.01, η^2 = .06). Both situational and pseudo forgiveness in interpersonal context did not differ on demographic variables. I followed up on the ANOVA results with post-hoc tests. Rightwing participants reported less never forgiving attitudes compared to leftwing participants (M_{diff} = -0.88, 95% CI [-1.37, -0.38], d = -0.96) and centrist participants (M_{diff} = -0.54, 95% CI [-1.11, 0.04], d = -0.63) (the latter was marginally significant). Freshman and sophomore undergraduate students reported more never forgiving attitudes compared to Junior and Senior undergraduate (M_{diff} = 0.56, 95% CI [0.12, 1.00], d = 0.67) and graduate university students (M_{diff} = 0.79, 95% CI [0.21, 1.38], d = 0.78) (the latter was marginally significant). Leftwing participants reported less future forgiving attitudes compared to rightwing participants (M_{diff} = -0.62, 95% CI [-1.11, -0.13], d = -0.44) and centrist participants (M_{diff} = -0.42, 95% CI [-0.90, 0.05], d = -0.45) (the latter was marginally significant). These results indicated that there is a consistent difference between leftwing and rightwing Kurdish participants, and leftwing Kurdish participants appeared less future forgiving and showed stronger never forgiving attitudes. Centrist participants showed similarities with rightwing Kurdish participants. However, political view, geographic region and education level did not lead to any differences in interethnic forgiveness in interpersonal context. Geographic region did not lead to any differences in interethnic forgiveness even though participants showed differences regarding the impact of the armed struggles and ethnic identity achievement.

It was found that psychological adaptation did not differ across demographic characteristics. Only gender was marginally significant in leading to differences on psychological stress (F (1, 137) = 3.86, p <.10, η^2 = .03). That is, females reported higher psychological stress compared to male participants (M_{diff} = 0.24, 95% CI [-0.00, 0.47], d = 0.34). These results showed that even though participants were located at different cities in Turkey,

came from different SES, education level and political view, they reported comparable ethnic collective self-esteem and psychological stress when they are compared on such demographic characteristics.

The analyses yielded that demographic characteristics were not consistently significant across the main variables. However, political view and geographic regions had most frequent appearance in the significant mean differences.

Hypothesis Testing

Hypothesis 1: Ethnic attachment would predict acculturation attitudes. A canonical correlation analysis was conducted using the two ethnic attachment variables as predictors of the four acculturation attitudes to examine the shared variance between ethnic attachment and acculturation attitudes. In a canonical correlation analysis, the latent variables are synthesized into a linear combination of a set of predictors and the set of criterion variables. The relationships between these predictor and criterion latent variables are called *canonical functions*, which are orthogonal to one another and aim to maximize the shared variance that is explained by the latent variables (Sherry & Henson, 2005). In the present study, the results of the analyses yielded two functions. The full and first model included Function 1 and 2, and was statistically significant, Wilks's $\lambda = .37$, F (8, 350) = 9.98, $p < .001$, indicating a large effect size and explained 25% of the variance shared between the variable sets. After the extraction of the Function 1, Function 2 alone was also significant, F (3, 175) = 8.11, $p < .001$, with a medium effect size and explaining 12% of the remaining variance between the sets of ethnic attachment and acculturation variables. In Table 4.3, the standardized canonical function coefficients and structure coefficients for Function 1 and 2 are presented. Drawing from structure coefficients (r_s),

integration, assimilation and marginalization acculturation attitudes were primarily relevant criterion variables in Function 1. Canonical correlation coefficients (see *Coef* in Table 4.3) of integration attitude had a negative sign, showing that integration attitude was inversely related to ethnic attachment avoidance and the opposite pattern was true when assimilation and marginalization were criterion. For the predictor variables, avoidant ethnic attachment was the primary contributor in Function 1. Drawing from the canonical correlation coefficients, high scores on ethnic attachment avoidance predicted low scores on integration and high scores on assimilation and marginalization acculturation attitudes. These results supported the theoretically expected relationships between ethnic attachment avoidance and acculturation attitudes: drawing from the nature of the canonical relationships, I labeled Function 1 as "distributed distance-oriented acculturation," emphasizing not acculturating into ethnic culture or not integrating multiple cultural values. As for Function 2, the only criterion variables of relevance were assimilation and separation acculturation attitudes. Contrary to Function 1, now anxious ethnic attachment was the dominant predictor in Function 2. Drawing from the structure coefficients, separation and assimilation acculturation attitudes were significantly loaded on the synthetic criterion variable. Looking at canonical correlation coefficients, anxious ethnic attachment was positively related to assimilation and separation acculturation attitudes. Because high scores on anxious ethnic attachment predicted high scores on assimilation and separation acculturation attitudes, I labeled Function 2 as "dichotomous approach-oriented acculturation," emphasizing acculturating into either national or ethnic culture, but discouraging integration or marginalization acculturation practices.

Table 4.3
Canonical Correlation Solutions for Ethnic Attachment Predicting Acculturation Attitudes for Function 1 and 2

	Function 1			Function 2			
	Coef	r_s	r_s^2 %	*Coef*	r_s	r_s^2 %	h^2 %
Variables							
Integration	-.37	-.67*	.45	-.67	-.21	.04	.49*
Assimilation	.48	.68*	.46	-.58	-.58*	.34	.80*
Separation	-.57	-.16	.03	-.59	-.72*	.52	.55*
Marginalization	.51	.66*	.44	-.23	-.42	.18	.62*
R_c^2			.25			.12	
Avoidance	1.00	.99	.98	-.06	-.13	.02	1.00*
Anxiety	-.14	-.06	.004	-.99	-.99	.98	.98*

Note: *: Structure coefficients (r_s) and communality coefficients (h_2) greater than |.45|; *Coef* = standardized canonical function coefficient; r_s^2 *%:* squared structure coefficient; *h2*: communality coefficient.

Hypothesis 2a: Perceived ethnic discrimination would predict ethnic collective self-esteem and psychological stress. A bivariate correlation analysis was used to examine the relationship of Kurds' perceived ethnic discrimination with their collective self-esteem and psychological stress (see Table 4.2 for details). The scores on perceived ethnic discrimination was positively related to the scores on ethnic collective self-esteem (r = .32, p <. 001) and, as expected, higher scores on psychological stress (r = .35, p <.001). While participants with higher scores on perceived ethnic discrimination tended to report higher collective self-esteem, they tended to report greater psychological stress.

Hypothesis 2b: Ethnic identity achievement would predict ethnic collective self-esteem and psychological stress. A bivariate correlation analysis was conducted to test the relationship of ethnic identity achievement with Kurds' ethnic collective self-esteem and psychological stress. Ethnic identity achievement was positively related to ethnic collective self-esteem (r = .59, p <. 001). Contrary to research hypothesis, ethnic identity achievement was positively related to psychological stress (r = .23, p <. 01). Participants with high scores on

ethnic identity achievement tended to report high ethnic collective self-esteem as well as they tended to report high psychological stress.

Hypothesis 2c: Ethnic attachment would predict ethnic collective self-esteem and psychological stress. Ethnic collective self-esteem and psychological stress were regressed on ethnic attachment. In Table 4.4, detailed results are presented. Ethnic attachment was a significant predictor of ethnic collective self-esteem and psychological stress. Controlling for ethnic attachment avoidance, anxious ethnic attachment significantly predicted high levels of psychological stress, β = .20, 95% CI [.05, .34]. Controlling for anxious ethnic attachment, avoidant ethnic attachment significantly predicted low levels of ethnic collective self-esteem, β = -.38, 95% CI [-.52, -.24]. Avoidant ethnic attachment was related to Kurds' perception of ethnic collective self-esteem while ethnic attachment avoidance was not related to their psychological stress level. Anxious attachment though was not significantly related to ethnic collective self-esteem while anxious attachment was related to psychological stress.

Table 4.4
Simultaneous Regression Analyses Predicting Ethnic Collective Self-Esteem and Psychological Stress from Ethnic Attachment Anxiety and Avoidance

Variable	R^2	*b*	*SE b*	β	*95% CI*[a]	*P*
CSE	.15				.06, .25	.000
Constant		4.07	0.15			.000
Anxiety		0.05	0.04	.10	-.04, .23	.162
Avoidance		-0.19	0.03	-.38	-.52, -.24	.000
Stress	.04				.00, .12	.025
Constant		2.15	0.18			.000
Anxiety		0.12	0.04	.20	.05, .34	.009
Avoidant		-0.04	0.04	-.07	-.21, .08	.366

Note: N = 180; CSE: Ethnic collective self-esteem; Stress: Psychological Stress; [a] confidence intervals are calculated for standardized regression (β) coefficients; *b:* unstandardized regression coefficients; *SE b:* Error of unstandardized regression coefficients; β*:* Standardized regression coefficients.

Hypothesis 3a: Severity of hurt sustained, ethnic identity achievement and ethnic attachment would predict interethnic forgiveness in interpersonal context. Because severity of hurt sustained was significant predictor of forgiveness in the present study and other studies as discussed in literature review, it was entered in the model as a predictor. Two simultaneous regression analyses were performed to examine how sustained hurt from interethnic transgressions, ethnic identity achievement and ethnic attachment predict interethnic forgiveness in interpersonal context. In Table 4.5, the detailed results are presented. The hurt sustained from interethnic transgressions and situational forgiveness were constituted of a single item and were jittered, which is a statistical procedure of adding random noise to this single item to prevent over-plotting. The model explained a large portion of variance in pseudo-forgiveness and medium variance in situational forgiveness.

Table 4.5
Simultaneous Regression Analyses Predicting Situational and Pseudo Forgiveness in Interpersonal Context from Sustained Hurt, Ethnic Identity Achievement, and Ethnic Attachment Anxiety and Avoidance

	R^2	*b*	*SE b*	β	95% *CI*[a]	*P*
Situational Forgiveness						
Variables	.14				.05, .23	.000
Constant		11.57	1.81			.000
Hurt		-0.83	0.20	-.32	-.47, -.16	.000
Anxiety		0.39	0.22	.13	-.02, .28	.078
Avoidance		-0.68	0.23	-.24	-.40, -.08	.004
EIA		-0.89	0.35	-.21	-.37, -.05	.012
Pseudo Forgiveness						
Variables	.40				.29, .51	.000
Constant		5.48	0.54			.000
Hurt		-0.39	0.06	-.41	-.54, -.28	.000
Anxiety		-0.08	0.07	-.08	-.20, .05	.218
Avoidance		0.06	0.07	.06	-.08, .19	.420
EIA		-0.47	0.10	-.31	-.45, -.17	.000

Note: N = 180; Hurt: Hurt sustained from interethnic transgressions in interpersonal context; EIA: Ethnic identity achievement
[a] confidence intervals are calculated for standardized regression (β) coefficients; *b:* unstandardized regression coefficients; *SE b:* Error of unstandardized regression coefficients; β*:* Standardized regression coefficients.

Looking at the individual contribution of the predictors, severity of the hurt sustained contributed significantly to explaining the variance in situational (β = -.32, 95% CI [-.47, -.16]) and pseudo forgiveness (β = -.41, 95% CI [-.54, -.28]). These results suggest that participants who sustained severe hurt during the interethnic transgressions tended to report less situational and pseudo forgiveness. Ethnic identity achievement was a significant predictor of situational (β = -.21, 95% CI [-.37, -.05]) and pseudo forgiveness (β = -.31, 95% CI [-.45, -.17]), meaning that participants who reported high scores on ethnic identity achievement tended to have low situational and pseudo forgiveness. For prediction of ethnic attachment, analyses yielded that participants with high scores on ethnic attachment avoidance tended to report low scores on situational forgiveness (β = -.24, 95% CI [-.40, -.08]) and ethnic attachment avoidance was not related to pseudo forgiveness. On the other hand, ethnic attachment anxiety was a marginally significant predictor of situational forgiveness and was not related to pseudo forgiveness. That is, ethnic attachment was affiliated with interethnic forgiveness in interpersonal context and was not related to the denial of the hurt.

Hypothesis 3b: Perceived ethnic discrimination, ethnic identity achievement and ethnic attachment would predict interethnic forgiveness in intergroup context. Because perceived ethnic discrimination was significantly associated with interethnic forgiveness in intergroup context, it was entered in the model as a predictor. Interethnic forgiveness in intergroup context was regressed on perceived ethnic discrimination, ethnic identity achievement and ethnic attachment. The model explained a large variance in never forgiveness and moderate variance in future forgiveness. The detailed results are presented in Table 4.6.

Looking at the standardized coefficients of individual variables in the models, high scores on perceived ethnic discrimination predicted high likelihood to never forgive (β = .50, 95% CI

[.36, .64]) and low likelihood to future forgive interethnic transgressions (β = -.36, 95% CI [-.52, -.19]). Consistent with the research hypotheses, high scores on ethnic attachment anxiety predicted high likelihood to never forgive interethnic transgressions (β = .27, 95% CI [.15, .39]) while high scores on ethnic attachment avoidance predicted low likelihood to never forgive interethnic transgression in intergroup context (β = -.15, 95% CI [-.28, -.02]). That is, perceived ethnic discrimination was the only significant predictor of future forgiving attitudes and predicted less of future forgiving attitudes. For never forgiving attitudes, ethnic identity achievement was not a significant predictor, but perceived ethnic discrimination and anxious ethnic attachment predicted high never forgiving attitudes while ethnic attachment avoidance predicted low levels of never forgiving attitudes.

Table 4.6
Simultaneous Regression Analyses Predicting Never and Future Forgiving in Intergroup Context from Perceived Ethnic Discrimination, Ethnic Identity Achievement, and Ethnic Attachment

	R^2	*b*	*SE b*	β	95% *CI*[a]	*P*
Never Forgiving						
Variables	.42				.31, .53	.000
Constant		1.15	0.44			.010
PED		0.62	0.08	.50	.36, .64	.000
Anxiety		0.25	0.06	.27	.15, .39	.000
Avoidance		-0.13	0.06	-.15	-.28, -.02	.022
EIA		0.02	0.10	.02	-.13, .16	.844
Future Forgiving						
Variables	.10				.02, .18	.001
Constant		4.17	0.52			.000
PED		-0.42	0.10	-.36	-.52, -.19	.000
Anxiety		0.03	0.07	.04	-.11, .18	.629
Avoidance		-0.10	0.07	-.12	-.28, .04,	.148
EIA		0.12	0.12	.09	-.09, .28	.311

Note: N = 180; PED: Perceived ethnic discrimination; EIA: Ethnic identity achievement; [a] confidence intervals are calculated for standardized (β) regression coefficients; *b:* unstandardized regression coefficients; *SE b:* Error of unstandardized regression coefficients; β*:* Standardized regression coefficients.

Hypothesis 4: Interethnic forgiveness would predict psychological adaptation, controlling for perceived ethnic discrimination. Because perceived ethnic discrimination was significantly associated with psychological adaptation, it was entered in the model as a control variable in the first step. The role of interethnic forgiveness in predicting psychological adaptation was tested within regression analyses. Because perceived ethnic discrimination was significant predictor of both ethnic collective self-esteem and psychological stress, perceived ethnic discrimination was entered into the model as control variable in the first step. Situational forgiveness, pseudo forgiveness, and never and future forgiveness attitudes were entered as predictors. Ethnic collective self-esteem and psychological stress were entered as criterion variables in two separate regression analyses.

Results, which are presented in Table 4.7, indicated that interethnic forgiveness was not significant in accounting for the variance in ethnic collective self-esteem, $\Delta R^2 = .04$, F (4, 174) = 2.59, p =.107, but was significant in predicting psychological stress, $\Delta R^2 = .07$, F (4, 174) = 3.63, p =.007, after controlling the variance explained by perceived ethnic discrimination. Controlling for all other variables, only never forgiveness predicted ethnic collective self-esteem (β = .17, 95% CI [-.01, .35]), which was marginally significant and predicted better self-esteem, which was inconsistent with the research hypothesis. For psychological stress, controlling for all other variables, only pseudo forgiveness predicted lower psychological stress (β = -.24, 95% CI [-.39, -.08]), indicating that forgetting the interethnic transgressions might actually correlate with lower levels of psychological stress. Perceived ethnic discrimination appeared a seminal factor in predicting higher ethnic collective self-esteem while predicting higher psychological stress.

Table 4.7

Results of Stepwise Regression Analyses Predicting Ethnic Collective Self-Esteem and Psychological Stress from Situational Forgiveness, Pseudo, Never and Future Forgiveness, Controlling Perceived Ethnic Discrimination

Variables	R^2	*b*	*SE b*	β	95% *CI*[a]	*p*
Ethnic Collective Self-Esteem						
Step 1	.10				.03, .20	.000
Constant		3.12	0.11			.000
PED		0.21	0.05	.32	.18, .46	.000
Step 2	.14				.06, .25	.000
Constant		3.08	0.26			.000
PED		0.13	0.06	.19	.02, .37	.029
Situational Forgiveness		0.00	0.01	.01	-.14, .16	.888
Pseudo-Forgiveness		-0.05	0.04	-.11	-.27, .05	.184
Never-Forgiveness		0.09	0.05	.17	-.01, .35	.058
Future-Forgiveness		0.02	0.04	.04	-.10, .19	.576
Psychological Stress						
Step 1	.12				.04, .22	.000
Constant		1.74	0.13			
PED		0.27	0.06	.35	.21, .49	.000
Step 2	.19				.09, .30	.000
Constant		2.03	0.30			.000
PED		0.16	0.07	.21	.04, .38	.016
Situational Forgiveness		0.02	0.02	.09	-.06, .23	.238
Pseudo-Forgiveness		-0.13	0.04	-.24	-.39, -.08	.003
Never-Forgiveness		0.08	0.06	.12	-.06, .29	.178
Future-Forgiveness		-0.01	0.05	-.01	-.15, .13	.905

Note: N = 180; PED: Perceived ethnic discrimination; SF: Situational forgiveness; PF: Pseudo forgiveness; NF: Never forgiveness; FF: Future forgiveness. [a] confidence intervals are calculated for standardized (β) regression coefficients.*b:* unstandardized regression coefficients; *SE b:* Error of unstandardized regression coefficients; β*:* Standardized regression coefficients.

Chapter V: Discussion

The current study explored psychological adaptation in context of an intractable conflict within a sample of Kurdish university students in Turkey. As a foundation for the present study, previous research was reviewed. Ethnic identity formation, perception of ethnic discrimination and interethnic forgiveness were examined as seminal psychological constructs related to psychological adaptation of ethnic minorities. Major findings were described extensively in the literature review of this study. In order to further examine Kurds' ethnic identity formation, ethnic attachment was also included in this study and its relationships with the four acculturation attitudes was investigated. It is important to bear in mind that participants completed the instruments within the context of ongoing armed struggles and some hope for a peaceful resolution for sociopolitical concerns associated with the Kurdish question. The following section discusses the findings of the main analyses while taking into consideration the sociocultural factors. The last section of this chapter includes a review of potential limitations to the present study as well as implications for future research and practice.

Discussion of the Present Findings

Hypothesis 1: Ethnic attachment predicts acculturation attitudes. The findings were consistent with the theoretical underpinnings of ethnic attachment model and research hypotheses, and pointed to multiple connections of ethnic attachment with acculturation practices. Attachment avoidance was related to weaker involvement in practicing and engaging in ethnic culture, and was associated with separating from ethnic and assimilating into mainstream community. Ethnic attachment avoidance was not related to separation acculturation attitudes, meaning that it does not predict distancing from national community and immersing into ethnic group. Lastly, Kurds with ethnic attachment avoidance reported stronger tendency for

marginalization. That is, Kurds with high ethnic attachment avoidance scored higher on measures reflecting detaching from both ethnic and mainstream communities. This pattern of relationship of ethnic attachment avoidance with acculturation practices was consistent with the definition of ethnic attachment avoidance in the present study, for which ethnic attachment avoidance was described as the tendency to move away from bonding with ethnic group members. On the other hand, ethnic attachment anxiety was related to both separation and assimilation acculturation attitudes, and not significantly related to integration or marginalization acculturation attitudes. High ethnic attachment anxiety might be discouraging Kurds from bonding with multiple cultural groups as they might be likely preoccupied with the reassurance of a group. It might be easier for anxiously attached ethnic members to maintain a single orientation instead of sustaining attachment to multiple cultural groups.

The results thus provided support for the prediction that ethnic attachment might be a relational template for ethnic minorities that they then apply to their relations with ethnic and majority groups. The results also point to the aspects of acculturation attitudes as potentially relating to attachment experiences within cultural groups. Phinney (1990) suggested that an adaptive function of ethnic identity is to maintain connection with one's ethnic group and majority cultures. The current findings showed that this adaptive function of ethnic identity can be described in ethnic attachment model as related to acculturation attitudes. Drawing on attachment theory, individuals with secure attachment explore their environment and build connections with others while maintaining a proximity to an attachment figure (Bowlby, 1988). Therefore, the present findings emphasized that participants with secure ethnic attachment (low anxiety and avoidance) were able to explore the relationship and connections with outgroup members without worrying about the ingroup members' reactions (e.g., rejection). Ethnic

attachment thus contributes to explaining how ethnic minorities can maintain connections with ethnic and/or mainstream communities.

I would like to further emphasize the significance of ethnic attachment in acculturation process by referring to the principles of attachment theory. Secure attachment to a cultural group is believed in the present study to provide a coherent, autonomous, competent sense of ethnic identity that can integrate multiple cultural values and help function in multiple cultural domains. When the immediate need for care and protection are not met by a cultural group, people may form insecure attachment patterns like avoidant or anxious attachment with their ethnic group. In the context of the present study, participants with high scores on the ethnic attachment avoidance scale, tended to minimize the importance of relationship with ethnic group– consistent with the premises of attachment theory (e.g., Rothbaum et al., 2000), in which ethnic attachment avoidance was expectedly affiliated with low integration and high assimilation or marginalization acculturation attitudes. However, participants with high scores on ethnic attachment anxiety tended to score high on being preoccupied with a cultural group. The ethnic attachment dimensions thus inform acculturation practices and may help understand intraethnic and interethnic relational adaptation among ethnic minorities, showing how these two ethnic attachment dimensions facilitate the quality of relationships with ethnic and majority groups.

I also examined if ethnic attachment and acculturation practices varied based on demographic characteristics. The findings in the present study indicated that participants reported comparable levels of acculturation practices and ethnic attachment regardless of their demographic characteristics except for education level. Participants were less anxiously attached to their ethnic community as they had higher levels of education. The university admission operates in what is considered one of the fairest centralized systems in Turkey ("*Ölçme, Seçme*

ve Yerleştirme Merkezi" in Turkish – "Measuring, Selection and Placement Center" in English). Due to this system, the student body can be ethnically diverse in Turkish universities (e.g., student admission from all over the country), thus resulting in more encounters between members of different ethnic groups as well as diversity in intraethnic interactions. Potential subsequent attachments/relationships with ethnic group members who know how to navigate interethnic relations in a cosmopolite university environment are likely to foster support and care between ethnic members. I anticipate that such diversity in interethnic relationships relations might facilitate secure ethnic attachment through intraethnic support, care, and acceptance.

Hypothesis 2: Psychological adaptation is related to ethnic identity formation and perceived ethnic discrimination. The relationship of psychological adaptation with perceived ethnic discrimination, ethnic identity and ethnic attachment was examined in the present study. Participants' ethnic collective self-esteem was positively related to their perceived ethnic discrimination and ethnic identity achievement, and negatively associated with ethnic attachment avoidance while ethnic collective self-esteem was not related to ethnic attachment anxiety. The findings for psychological stress had similarities and differences to the findings for ethnic collective self-esteem. High scores on psychological stress were associated with participants' high scores on perceived ethnic discrimination, ethnic identity achievement, and ethnic attachment anxiety while psychological stress was not significantly related to ethnic attachment avoidance.

An interesting finding was related to the relationship between perceived ethnic discrimination and ethnic identity achievement, which indicated that high scores on perceived ethnic discrimination were related to high scores on ethnic identity achievement. This finding was consistent with previous findings, as well. A longitudinal study, for example, demonstrated

that adolescents who were immersed in exploring the meaning of their ethnic identities when they were exposed to ethnic discrimination (Greene et al., 2006). Studies with Kurdish university students similarly showed that ethnic identity exploration was significantly related to perceived ethnic discrimination (Özdikmenli-Demir, 2014). In the present study, high perceived ethnic discrimination was associated with high scores on ethnic identity achievement. It might be argued that perceived ethnic discrimination encourages members of an ethnic group to explore their stigmatized identity and then make commitments to their ethnic group.

I continued to examine the relationship of ethnic identity achievement and perceived ethnic discrimination with psychological adaptation. Ethnic collective self-esteem and psychological stress had somewhat similar patterns of relationships with perceived ethnic discrimination, ethnic identity achievement, and ethnic attachment in the present study. In previous research, ethnic discrimination was inversely related to psychological adaptation (Arbona & Jimenez, 2014; Cheng & Mallinckrodt, 2015). Exposure to discrimination was associated with significant stress to minority groups and undermined their psychological adaptation (Iwamoto & Liu, 2010; Yoo & Lee, 2005; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2011). These findings suggest that perceived ethnic discrimination has deleterious effects on the adjustment of minority groups. The findings in the present study similarly suggested that perceived ethnic discrimination was related to high rates of psychological stress. In addition, perceived ethnic discrimination was also related to high scores on ethnic collective self-esteem, proposing that incidents of ethnic discrimination might encourage Kurds to construct positive forms of ethnic collective self-esteem – possibly as a response to outgroup hostility toward their ethnic group. Furthermore, previous studies found ethnic identity as both a resiliency as well as vulnerability factor in psychological adaptation (Smith & Silva, 2011). Ethnic identity achievement heightened the

negative consequences of perceived ethnic discrimination on self-esteem (Hughes, 2015) and psychological stress (Seaton et al., 2006) while some other researchers also found ethnic identity achievement alleviated the negative influence of discrimination (Greene et al., 2006). The findings of the present study showed that high scores on ethnic identity were related to high scores on psychological stress and ethnic collective self-esteem. That is, the relationship of ethnic identity achievement with psychological adaptation was similar to the relationship of perceived ethnic discrimination with psychological adaptation. Kurds who explored the meaning of their ethnic membership tended to report high collective self-esteem as well as high psychological stress. Therefore, ethnic identity as well as perceived ethnic discrimination appeared as risk factors for psychological stress, but they also have a positive relationship with ethnic collective self-esteem.

Lastly, the relationships of ethnic attachment with psychological adaptation were examined and the findings were consistent with the research hypotheses. The research hypotheses were developed drawing from the findings related to interpersonal attachment (Griffin & Bartholomew, 1994; Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Mikulincer, Shaver, & Pereg, 2003) and cultural attachment theories (Hong et al., 2013). In the present study, ethnic attachment avoidance was conceptualized as the tendency to disregard the relational problems and importance of the issues within intraethnic relations. The findings showed that ethnic attachment avoidance was actually negatively associated with ethnic collective self-esteem and was unrelated to psychological stress, which was interpreted as attachment avoidance's tendency to disregard the existence of the problems and undermine the intraethnic bonds. Recall that a similar pattern was also shown for the relationship of avoidant ethnic attachment with high marginalization and low integration acculturation attitudes. On the other hand, high scores on

ethnic attachment anxiety were affiliated with high scores on psychological stress. According to attachment theory, attachment anxiety intensifies worries (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007): Individuals with high attachment anxiety tend to ruminate on relational problems and the availability of support from attachment figures (Mikulincer et al., 2003). Similarly, in the present study ethnic attachment anxiety was related to either high assimilation or separation acculturation practices, also showing that ethnic attachment anxiety is affiliated with orientation to relationship with either group. Ethnic attachment anxiety was expectedly related to psychological stress while it was not related to ethnic collective self-esteem, possibly due to this dichotomous attachment to ethnic or majority cultural groups.

For perceived ethnic discrimination and ethnic identity achievement, I would also like to emphasize the research context by emphasizing the found differences in participants' scores based on their demographic characteristics. The previous findings indicated that the size and nature of the relationship between discrimination and ethnic identification for minority groups varies by socio-cultural factors (Greene et al., 2006; Yip et al., 2006; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2004). Similarly, in the present study the ethnic identity and discrimination varied based on sociocultural factors like geographic location and political ideology. Because the armed struggles occurred mostly in the eastern regions of the country, Turkish people in these eastern regions faced greater hardships with fewer resources and greater impact during the height of the armed struggles. Another characteristic of the eastern regions is the high density of Kurdish population–particularly in the Southeast Turkey. Accordingly, Kurdish participants from the Southeast region reported greater impact of the armed struggles compared to the participants in the western regions. Potentially as a response to such adverse environment, Kurdish participants in the Southeast and East Turkey reported higher ethnic identity achievement compared to those in the

western regions of Turkey. I would also like to note that this difference between the regions contradicts with the previous findings related to the role of the minority-majority ratio in ethnic identity achievement. For example, in Phinney's study (1992) White students reported higher scores on saliency of ethnic identification when they were not the majority in a school setting. Similar findings were reported for Mexican adolescents as well. When Mexican adolescents had the majority of the population in a school setting, their scores on ethnic identity scale were lower than the scores of White students (Umaña-Taylor, 2004). Contrary to these findings, Kurdish university students in the eastern regions reported higher ethnic identity achievement, which might be triggered by the armed struggles and the need to make sense of the issues facing ethnic group. On the other hand, participants did not have significant differences in perceived ethnic discrimination based on their regions, but they did have based on their political ideologies. Leftwing Kurdish participants perceived greater impact of the armed struggles and ethnic discrimination compared to rightwing and centrist participants. Rightwing political view is often associated with conservative values in Turkey and has been a bridge between the Kurdish people and mainstream political parties in Turkey. Therefore, it is not surprising to see that leftwing Kurds might have a higher perception of ethnic discrimination and impact of the armed struggles compared to rightwing participants while centrists falling somewhere in the middle of the two.

The relationships of ethnic identity and perceived ethnic discrimination with psychological adaptation were examined within the nature of the Kurdish question. Previously, Quintana (2007) proposes that historical context of interethnic tension may create context-specific trends in ethnic identity formation. Participants in the present study who were leftists or from the eastern regions of Turkey sustained greater saliency of their ethnic identity. These differences among participants show that Kurdish university students face difficulties in building

adaptation, and their intersecting identities might influence what facilitate their adaption to an adverse interethnic/intraethnic environment. However, the interactions between the intersecting identities were not examined to predict psychological adaptation due to unequal-small cell sizes for each category, which might be an area of interest to future researchers.

Hypothesis 3: Ethnic identity formation and ethnic attachment partially predict interethnic forgiveness. As specified earlier, interethnic forgiveness is a core concept of this study. Kurds have experienced resentment and anger due to the armed struggles occurred particularly in 1990s (Bilgin & Sarihan, 2013). Interethnic forgiveness was suggested as a process that could resolve interethnic resentment and conflict from past interethnic transgressions (Voci et al., 2015) and promote mental health (Myers, Hewstone, & Cairns, 2009). However, Van Tongeren et al. (2014) found that strong ethnic identification was associated with low levels of interethnic forgiveness. Furthermore, drawing from the findings in the attachment literature about prosocial skills (e.g., Mikulincer & Shaver, 2015), secure ethnic attachment was hypothesized to be related to high interethnic forgiveness. This study thus sought to assess the relationship of ethnic identity achievement and ethnic attachment with interethnic forgiveness in interpersonal and intergroup contexts. Interethnic forgiveness in interpersonal context was examined in relation to the severity of hurt sustained from interpersonal transgressions. Perceived ethnic discrimination was entered as a predictor when testing the relationship of ethnic identity achievement and attachment with interethnic forgiveness in intergroup context.

Interethnic forgiveness in interpersonal context. The most important factor in predicting interethnic forgiveness in interpersonal context was the sense of hurt. The sense of hurt was related to Kurds' likelihood to not forgive the interethnic transgressions, which was consistent

with previous findings predicting interpersonal forgiveness. For example, those people who had greater hurt sustained during transgressions were less likely to forgive the transgressions (e.g., Fincham, 2000; Riek & Mania, 2012). Riek and Mania (2012) also showed that ascribing intentionality and responsibility to the transgressor further decrease the tendency to forgive, potentially intensifying the sense of hurt. Participants in this study were asked to imagine an interpersonal wrongdoing that targeted their ethnicity, and then rate how much they have forgiven the transgressor. In interethnic transgressions, individuals might ascribe such responsibility and intentionality for the sense of hurt as these transgressions targeted their ethnicity, meaning that they were intentionally targeted due to their ethnic membership. Participants in the present study who had greater hurt sustained expectedly tended to engage less in pseudo and situational forgiveness, meaning that they were less likely to forget about or forgive the interethnic transgressions.

As for ethnic attachment, the role of ethnic attachment in interethnic forgiveness provided partial support to the research hypotheses. It was hypothesized that the situational and pseudo forgiveness would have opposite relationship with predictors. Recall that situational forgiveness purports to represent the resolution of resentment and hurt while pseudo-forgiveness represents the denial of the hurt. Situational and pseudo-forgiveness revealed hypothesized direction of relationship with ethnic attachment dimensions. However, ethnic attachment did not predict pseudo-forgiveness and significantly predicted situational forgiveness. High ethnic attachment anxiety was conceptualized as being preoccupied with ethnic group reassurance, which would help participants distance from forgiving interethnic transgressions. The relationship of ethnic attachment anxiety with assimilationist acculturation attitude showed that ethnic attachment anxiety might be also related to seeking reassurance from members of a

majority group. Ethic attachment anxiety was indeed (marginally) significant in predicting high levels of situational forgiveness, which can be thus explained with participants' tendency to form bonds with national group. This dichotomous tendency for ethnic attachment anxiety to acculturate into majority or ethnic group might motivate individuals to repair the relationship with majority group members by using situational forgiveness when they are wronged. On the other hand, participants with high ethnic attachment avoidance tended to show less situational forgiveness of the interethnic transgressions in interpersonal context. Ethnic attachment avoidance was conceptualized as related to downsizing the importance of the interethnic relations. The negative association between ethnic attachment avoidance and situational forgiveness thus points to the lack of motivation to repair the interethnic relationships due to their lack of emphasis on the importance of interethnic relations. Therefore, these findings partially supported the conclusion that participants who were able to feel secure in their relationship with their ethnic group showed better prosocial skills like interethnic forgiveness in interpersonal context.

The findings related to ethnic identity achievement was consistent with research hypotheses and the findings in the literature. For example, Van Tongeren and colleagues (2014) suggested that ethnic identity was a barrier against intergroup forgiveness. I hypothesized that ethnic identity would be related to interethnic forgiveness in interpersonal and intergroup context. Consistent with the research hypothesis, strong ethnic identification appeared as a barrier against developing interethnic forgiveness in interpersonal context. In addition, higher scores on ethnic identity achievement were affiliated with low levels of pseudo forgiveness. That is, participants who reported stronger emphasis on ethnic identity were less likely to forgive or deny interethnic transgressions. The present findings thus showed that participants who had

stronger ethnic identification tended to sustain their resentment due to interethnic interpersonal wrongdoings. These findings also show that denial of the hurt or forgiving the wrongdoing in interpersonal context was inversely related to ethnic identification.

Interethnic forgiveness in intergroup context. Recall that interethnic forgiveness within intergroup context observed within never and future forgiveness attitudes. Never forgiveness attitude represented the tendency to sustain the resentment due to the past hurts. Conversely, future forgiveness attitude represented the will to build reconciliation in the future in order to foster societal peace. Considering the significance of perceived ethnic discrimination predicting psychological adaptation and the relationship with forgiveness, perceived ethnic discrimination was entered as a predictor of interethnic forgiveness in intergroup context. The findings indicated that perceived ethnic discrimination had a similar role in intergroup context to the role of the severity of hurt sustained in interpersonal context. That is, participants who perceived high ethnic discrimination were less likely to reconcile with the majority group and their transgressor, as evidenced in their report of high never forgiveness attitudes and them being more reserved about reconciling in the future.

The relationship of ethnic attachment with interethnic forgiveness in intergroup context partially supported the research hypotheses while ethnic identity achievement was not a significant predictor of interethnic forgiveness in intergroup context. As expected, participants with high ethnic attachment anxiety tended to sustain resentment and past hurts in intergroup context. Therefore, ethnic attachment anxiety functioned to sustain the hurt in intergroup context while it functioned to resolve the hurt in interpersonal context. I interpret this difference in the function of ethnic attachment anxiety as a motivation to repair the relationship with interethnic members in interpersonal context while sustaining the resentment when the transgression is

toward their ethnic group. This difference in the role of ethnic attachment anxiety across interpersonal and intergroup context might be serving as a solution to secure reassurance from both interethnic members and ethnic group. That is, participants with ethnic attachment anxiety might be downsizing the importance of the hurt when the hurt is toward self while upholding the importance of the hurt when it is toward their ethnic group so that they can regulate the intraethnic and interethnic tension. On the other hand, participants with high ethnic attachment avoidance tended to show higher inclination to forgive interethnic transgressions in the future, which might point to the tendency of participants with high ethnic attachment avoidance to detach from intraethnic/interethnic problems.

Ethnic identity achievement and ethnic attachment were not significantly affiliated with future forgiveness attitudes. This nonsignificant relationship of ethnic identity achievement with future forgiveness was not consistent with the previous study findings and the research hypotheses. Previous studies found that strong ethnic identification was associated with ethnic minorities' low willingness to forgive past interethnic transgressions (Van Tongeren et al., 2014). In the present study, ethnic identity appeared unrelated to interethnic forgiveness in intergroup context and related to interethnic forgiveness in interpersonal context. The nonsignificant relationship of ethnic identity with interethnic forgiveness in intergroup context might be due to uncertainty within the Kurdish question. We know that the inception of forgiveness in interethnic issues is dependent on a positive interethnic/intraethnic atmosphere and reconciliation efforts (e.g., Hanke & Fischer, 2013; Van Hemert, Poortinga, & Van de Vijver, 2007). In the context of the present study, the resurgence of violence violated the resolution and reform atmosphere. Therefore, this uncertainty about the future of the Kurdish question and armed struggles might have undermined the relationship of ethnic identity

achievement and ethnic attachment with interethnic forgiveness – particularly future forgiveness attitudes. The perceived intentionality of hurt and transgressions might have played a role in the nonsignificant relationship between ethnic identity and interethnic forgiveness. When intentionality and responsibility are attributed to the transgressor for causing the hurt, it is less likely that individuals forgive the wrongdoing (Riek & Mania, 2012), Participants in this study may not have perceived the majority group responsible for the hurt they sustained. Given the context of the armed struggles and the findings about participants' perception of rare ethnic discrimination, this explanation seems plausible. The armed struggles did not occur between civilian groups and it is a complicated subject for people to process responsibility and intentionality when we consider the PKK's violent campaigns targeting civilians and Kurdish opposition. In addition, low levels of perceived ethnic discrimination might indicate limited negative interactions between interethnic groups in Turkey. Consequently, the absence of clearly attributable responsibility and intentionality as well as clearly known perpetrators for the wrongdoings might explain the absence of significant relationship between ethnic identity and interethnic forgiveness in intergroup context.

I also examined the differences in interethnic forgiveness based on demographic characteristics. Kurdish people who endorsed rightwing and centrist political ideology showed the most favorable attitudes toward forgiving interethnic transgressions within intergroup context. As previously mentioned, rightwing political view is often associated with conservative values in Turkey and has been a bridge between the Kurdish people and some mainstream political parties in Turkey. Therefore, it is not surprising to see that leftwing Kurds have higher tendency to sustain the resentment as the repairing the relationship might be less important for them. Furthermore, Turkish people in eastern regions faced greater hardships with fewer

resources and greater impact during the height of the armed struggles. However, participants from the eastern regions did not report higher or lower forgiveness of interethnic transgressions compared to the western regions. Lastly, participants tended to be more forgiving with increased education and acculturation in Turkish society, which was evident in high interethnic forgiveness with more education (e.g., graduate students vs. undergraduate students).

Hypothesis 4: Interethnic forgiveness was barely related to psychological adaptation. Forgiveness is defined as a virtue and prosocial skill that can help people restore self-value and resolve the resentment, in which individuals abandon the negative judgment of the perpetrator and their right for resentment (e.g., Enright & the Human Development Study Group, 1991). Studies on interethnic conflicts thus proposed forgiveness as a sign of healing from the hurt caused by interethnic transgressions (Quintana, 2012). Forgiveness can also lessen the resentment in interethnic conflicts and promote wellbeing (Staub, 2006). The current findings, however, were inconsistent with previous findings and my hypotheses that interethnic forgiveness would promote wellbeing. Except for never forgiveness, which was marginally significant in predicting high levels of ethnic collective self-esteem, other forms of interethnic forgiveness were non-significant in predicting ethnic collective self-esteem. Never forgiveness was positively affiliated with ethnic collective self-esteem, indicating a non-normative trend in participants' development of forgiveness in the context of the present study. As for psychological stress, inconsistent with my hypotheses, participants who had high scores on pseudo forgiveness tended to report low scores on psychological stress. However, situational, future, and never forgiveness were not significantly related to psychological stress. This result for pseudo-forgiveness suggests that individuals who let go of the pain of interethnic transgressions also tend to experience low levels of psychological stress. In addition, when we consider the context

of this study, lack of significant relationships between some indicators of interethnic forgiveness and psychological adaptation is understandable. To reiterate here, interethnic forgiveness is contingent on many other factors like ongoing reconciliation efforts (e.g., future forgiveness) (Hanke & Fischer, 2013; Van Hemert, Poortinga, & Van de Vijver, 2007). There have been multiple attempts to resolve the issue and resentment in Turkish society. The Peace Process was the most recent attempt. However, as of the data collection date the hope for peace in the future was decreased due to the recent resurgence of the armed struggles. This context might be decreasing the relevance of forgiveness to psychological adaptation as forgiveness might be a remote concern.

Limitations and Implications for Research and Practice

A few limitations should be considered interpreting the findings of the present study. The context of the study, data collection method and the proportion of missing data, and research design constituted the main limitations. Explicating these limitations may help reader understand the confines of the research findings and emphasize the importance of caution in applying the study findings across different contexts like age cohorts or other ethnic groups. Reader is thus advised to consider these limitations when interpreting the present findings as well as planning further research and practice.

First, I would like to discuss the limitations pertinent to the timing of this study. While this study was designed during the historical effort for peaceful resolution of the Kurdish question, data was collected during May – July, 2016, right after the resurgence of the armed struggles. In line with the peace efforts, the main motivation of this study was to explore Kurds' psychological adaptation in the peace process and the influence of such a positive environment

on their interethnic attitudes. These efforts included a series of sociopolitical reforms to improve the living conditions of ethnic Kurds and other sociocultural groups. However, historically the Kurdish question is often viewed as intractable. The democratic *opening* thus raised a strong hope for a peaceful resolution among many Turkish people from 2013 to 2015 – even during the resurgence of the armed struggles in 2016 and created hopeful projections for the future. Participants were potentially under the influence of this process and their responses to the study items reflect their understanding of the most current state of the Kurdish question and that the findings shed light on such a distinct process between hope and despair. Therefore, future researchers are recommended to contextualize their study based on the time-specific non-normative trends in this issue. Similarly, mental health professionals may pay attention to current discussions when providing culturally sensitive interventions for ethnic minorities – Kurdish university students in particular.

Another important characteristic of the research context has been the nature of the Kurdish question, which distinguishes the present study from other interethnic discussions in other countries. During the literature review, research findings on numerous interethnic conflicts were used, but I believe that these reviewed studies are limited in terms of how well they reflect the nuances on the context of the present study. Majority of the research used in this study pointed to mass violence between ethnic groups and these conflicts often caused massive harm in a short amount of time that included armed struggles between members of ethnic groups. However, the armed struggles in the Kurdish question often entailed conflicts between the Turkish security forces and PKK as well as PKK's attacks on civilians. Civilians suffered during these armed struggles and the PKK's attacks. The participants of this study reported, consistently, major impact from the armed struggles. However, the community violence between

the members of ethnic groups in Turkey has been limited and not pervasive, which was also evident in the present findings that participants perceived low ethnic discrimination overall. The political and regional differences in the issue also showed a limited interethnic tension and conflict even though the armed struggles was protracted across more than four decades. These characteristics of the Kurdish question (e.g., minimal interethnic conflict) with low levels of perceived ethnic discrimination, and political and regional differences in their experience of the issue warrants paying attention to other variables which could further explicate ingroup differences and the complicated nature of the issue when designing future research. For example, future researchers are recommended to measure Kurds' opinion on the Kurdish question. Similarly, mental health professionals may take into account this characteristic of the issue like political and regional differences in the perceived impact and discrimination when providing mental health services to this population, who are likely to be on the frontline of this discussion due to potential multiple intercultural encounters at universities.

Another characteristic of the Kurdish question can be examined within the intraethnic dynamics, which was not studied extensively in the present study. PKK has the major role in the intraethnic dynamic as PKK has been influential in sociocultural life of Kurdish people through its violence-based campaign. The PKK has been following an oppressive policy on Kurds in the eastern regions for years (e.g., removing oppositional parties, kidnapping community leaders, or killings). When a Kurdish individual endorses PKK's mission, they may not have major discord. However, if Kurdish people do not endorse and even oppose this mission, they might face severe consequences. This intraethnic dynamic speaks to ingroup freedom of speech and oppression. Therefore, mental health researchers and practitioners may pay attention to intraethnic tension as much as interethnic tension.

The recent sociopolitical improvements on Kurdish ethnic identity expression in Turkey constitute another layer of limitations. The restrictions on Kurdish ethnic identity expressions were often in odds with the status quo in the state. Kurdish people's economic, social, and psychological needs were historically ignored and continue to be a controversial topic. The most recent socio-political reforms recognized their ethnic identity (e.g., public acknowledgement of Kurdish community leaders, state owned TV channel broadcasting in Kurdish), language (e.g., right to campaign in Kurdish, Kurdish departments at universities), and cultural practices (e.g., legal celebration of Newroz – a festival to celebrate arrival of spring). For example, Turkish Prime Minister – Binali Yildirim – stated in one of his recent campaigns at *Kanaat Onderleri Bulusmasi* on March 21st, 2017 that Kurdish people should be proud of their Kurdishness. The impact of such social and political reforms was not measured in this study. We still do not know much about how these advancements on the issue have influenced their adaptation, which can be examined in future research.

Second, I would like to discuss the limitations due to data collection and missing data. Data was collected on internet. While data collection in internet environment is becoming more popular in social sciences, the use of this method poses some limitations to the findings. The survey link was accessible by anyone on internet. Hence, it is hard to have an actual insight about the state of participants filling the surveys. For example, the data collected from a classroom environment is subject to the environment of the same university and city. However, the current data is collected from multiple cities, geographic regions and universities. The data about participants' universities (e.g., name of the specific universities, campus climate) was not measured in the present study. While the diversity of participants might have benefits for external validity, it can be also viewed as a limitation to the generalizability as there is not a

single group of individuals from the comparable environments (e.g., context of the universities) except for the overarching context of Turkey and the Kurdish question. Consequently, it is difficult to interpret the findings as pertinent to campus climate of specific universities, which may show some variations across universities. Therefore, the present findings should be interpreted in the context of the country and across Turkish universities though it is possible that there may be some biasing of results due to over-representation of some kinds of university context—this potential limitation is common across studies recruiting from multiple university contexts. Future researchers may thus prefer more traditional approaches in data collection to improve homogeneity among the participants' context as well as measure campus demographic and climate regarding the Kurdish question at specific universities.

Partially due to the internet data collection, this study had considerable missing data. Initially, I decided to delete these missing cases. However, the literature regarding missing data discourages researchers from list-wise or pair-wise deletion. Therefore, I aimed to retain as many missing cases as possible in the final data set with data imputation. Data imputation, however, poses limitations about the accuracy of standard errors and may inflate *p values*. Therefore, the results should be interpreted with caution. For reader's information, I repeated the main analyses for the participants without unit non-response, meaning that these participants provided substantial responses to all scales and did not leave any of the scales completely unfilled. Reader can find a comparison for the findings in Appendices.

Lastly, the current study used observational research design. Due to this observational design, the current study is subject to the all limitations pertinent to this design like lack of causality, social desirability, and sampling. The current findings present the relationships between the variables, but do not aim to infer a cause-and-effect relationship. The present study

has a self-selected sample of university students. That is, participants who did not have access to the online study link were not able to participate. However, given the prevalence of internet use in Turkey, this is considered to be a less serious limitation.

I would like to emphasize here the implications of findings for clinical practice. There is an extensive discussion regarding the challenges and barriers in psychological wellbeing of ethnic minorities, which were summarized in previous sections. The role of perceived ethnic discrimination and ethnic identity achievement were investigated in numerous articles, which pointed to the role of perceived ethnic discrimination and ethnic identity. Similar to these findings, participants of this study who experienced major psychological stress had higher ethnic identity achievement and perceived ethnic discrimination. Mental health professionals who work with Kurdish clients might emphasize the role of their cultural identities as well as their experience with discrimination. Furthermore, ethnic attachment appeared a substantial factor. Mental health professionals may pay more attention to intraethnic dynamic that supports secure ethnic attachment, which is likely to facilitate wellbeing and integration acculturation attitudes as well as interethnic forgiveness. Specifically, forgiveness is integrated into present study as a form of healing from interethnic transgressions. Mental health professionals might help clients explore their relationship with their ethnic group and promote secure ethnic attachment, which might help clients integrate multiple cultural values/practices as well as forgive interethnic transgressions in interpersonal context. Exploring clients' attachments to their cultural group might be particularly important in the context of Kurdish university students as this population maintains connection with multiple cultural groups and clients might be receiving mixed messages and having difficulty processing their interethnic/intraethnic experiences in the context of university environment. Furthermore, mental health professionals might work with clients

who deal with interethnic conflicts. The results showed that resolution of the hurt sustained and perceived ethnic discrimination might actually help clients heal from these wounds. Integrating clients' cultural identity elements like ethnic identity might help to understand their reaction to interethnic tension and readiness to forgive the interethnic transgressions.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Missing Data Distribution – Graphical Representations

Missing data distribution before list-wise deletion. Recall that missing data analyses in the Preliminary Analyses section of Chapter4: Results. Figure 1 illustrates the missing pattern with two images. Items are listed on the x-axis in the same order on the online booklet. In the first image, y-axis demonstrates the proportion of missing data and x-axis represents the items: red column demonstrates what percentage of participants did not respond to that item. In the second image, y-axis represents the combination/pattern of missing data at the item level (x-axis). The proportional representation of missing data in the first image indicates that the Intergroup Forgiveness Scale (IGF) (first measure) has the lowest missing proportion and the Interpersonal Forgiveness Scale (IFS) (last measure) has the largest proportion of missing.

Missing Data Distribution before List-wise Deletion (N = 210)

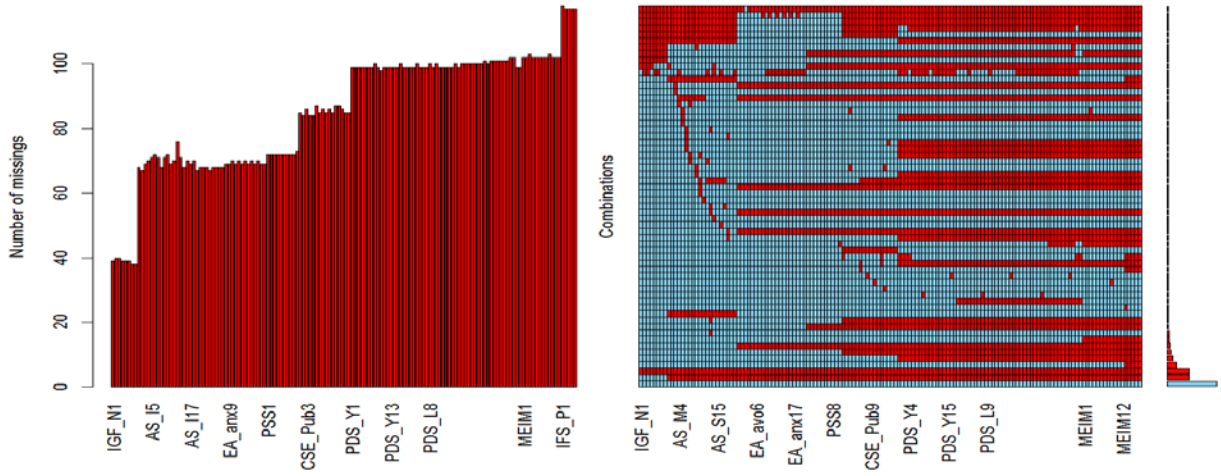

Figure 1: Missing Data Distribution across 145 Items.

Note: Figure 1 illustrates missing data distribution before data imputation and list-wise deletion. The combinations represent the number of participants that had the same pattern of missing responses across the items, which indicate that 64 participants had complete response, 30 participants had no response to the items, and 34 participants had minimal responses (see Missing Data section in Chapter 4: Results). Frequency number of the combinations do not show due to many combinations.

Missing data distribution after list-wise deletion. Similar to Figure 1, Figure 2 illustrates the missing pattern with two images after deleting 30 cases with non-response and imputing cases with minimal missing, for which details can be found in the Missing Data section of Chapter 4: Results. Items are listed on the x-axis in the same order on the online booklet. In the first image, y-axis demonstrates the proportion of missing data and x-axis represents the items: red column demonstrates what percentage of participants did not respond to that item. In the second image, y-axis represents the combination of missing data at the item level (x-axis). The first image in Figure 2 indicates that the IGF has the lowest missing proportion (around 20% missing) and the IFS (the last measure in the online booklet) has the largest proportion of missing (around 60% missing cells).

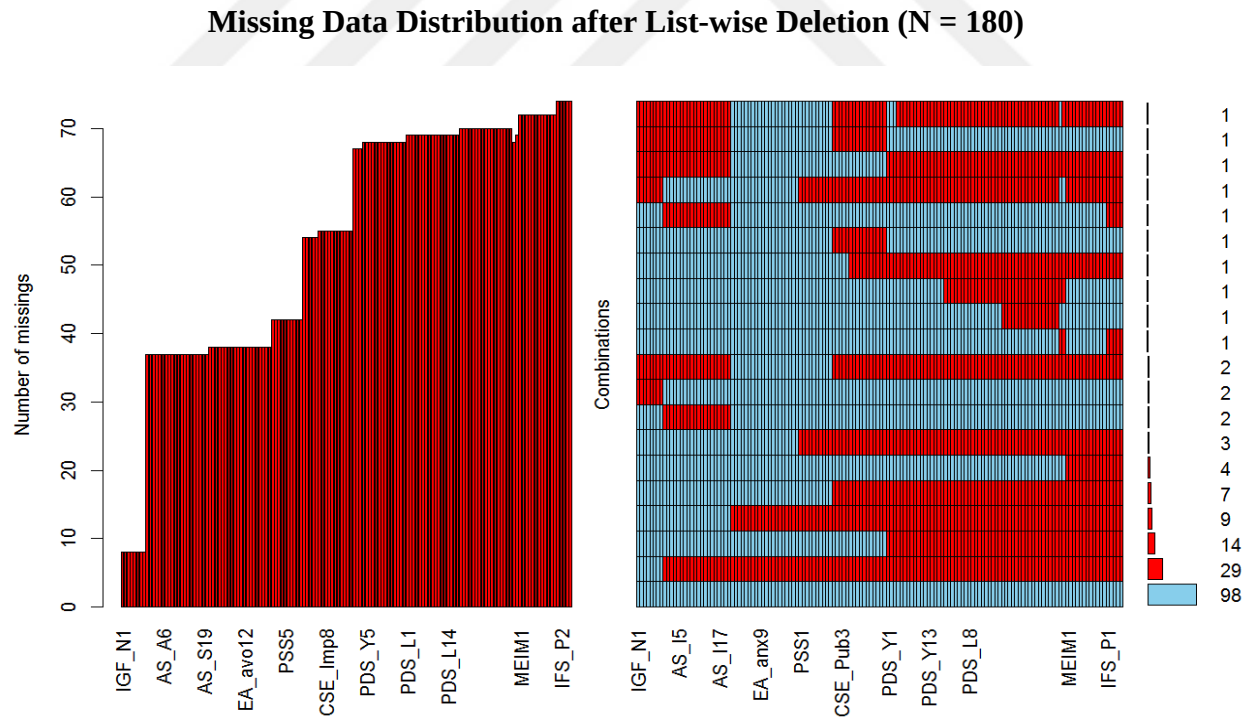

Figure 2. Missing Data Distribution across 145 Items.

Note: Figure 2 illustrates missing data distribution after minimal data imputation and list-wise deletion, which indicates that 98 participants had complete response after imputation (see Step 2 in the Missing Data section in Chapter 4: Results).

Missing data distribution at scale level. Recall that the third stage of missing data imputation dealt with missing data at scale level. Similar to Figure 1 and 2, Figure 3 illustrates the scales on the x-axis in the same order on the online booklet. In the first image, y-axis demonstrates the number of cases with missing data for that scale on the x-axis. The x-axis represents the scales: red column demonstrates the participants who did not respond to that scale. In the second image, y-axis represents the combination of missing data at the scale level (x-axis). The first image of Figure 3 shows that around 10 participants did not fill out the first instrument. However, 74 participants did not fill out the last measure of the booklet. Twenty nine participants completed the first instrument – IGF and left the study, which accounted for the 3973 of the 7821 missing cells.

Missing Data Distribution at Scale Level (N = 180)

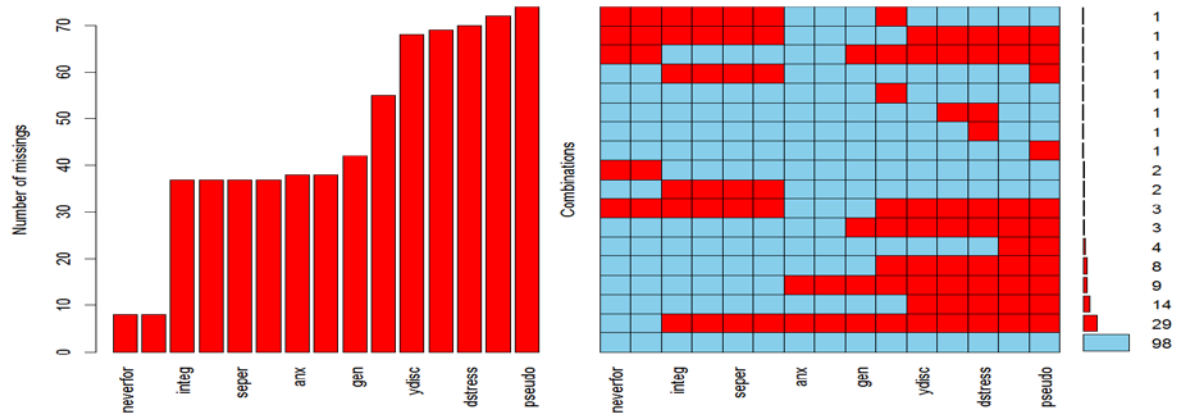

Figure 3: Missing Data Distribution across 15 Scales.

Note: Figure 3 illustrates missing data distribution after data imputation in the first and second stages, which indicates a similar pattern of missing with Figure 2, meaning that missing data after the Step 2 data imputation is mostly unit non-response (see the Missing Data section in Chapter 4: Results).

Appendix B: Comparison of Results after (N = 180) and before (N = 100) Imputing Cases with Unit Non-Response

Table 1

Descriptive statistics within the full data after missing case analysis completed and missing data imputed

Variables		M	SD	Ske	Kur	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1	Imp	6.73	3.16	-0.74	-0.52	1															
2	Age	23.8	4.50	2.71	12.8	.13	1														
3	IFS H	3.27	1.30	-0.46	-0.89	.21[b]	.09	1													
4	S For	4.24	3.43	0.18	-1.24	.01	.01	-.28[a]	1												
5	P For	2.40	1.23	1.09	0.84	-.17[c]	-.07	-.53[a]	.29[a]	1											
6	N For	2.77	1.10	0.32	-0.70	.30[a]	.01	.38[a]	-.24[b]	-.43[a]	1										
7	F For	2.51	1.04	0.64	-0.36	.04	-.08	-.03	.19[b]	.16[c]	-.22[b]	1									
8	Disc	2.17	0.89	0.44	-0.77	.27[a]	.19[c]	.39[a]	-.16[c]	-.34[a]	.58[a]	-.27[a]	1								
9	Eth	3.78	0.81	-0.96	1.38	.31[a]	.15[c]	.31[a]	-.18[b]	-.48[a]	.40[a]	-.03	.52[a]	1							
10	Anx	2.57	1.16	0.50	-0.57	.13	-.10	.10	.03	-.19[c]	.32[a]	.00	.13	.24[b]	1						
11	Avo	3.33	1.21	0.37	-0.41	-.21[b]	.01	-.36[a]	-.03	.32[a]	-.26[a]	-.06	-.25[a]	-.41[a]	.08	1					
12	Int	4.99	1.44	-0.87	0.39	.01	-.09	.14	.08	-.17[c]	.01	.16[c]	-.09	.09	.10	-.32[a]	1				
13	Asm	2.13	1.07	1.42	2.28	-.10	-.18[c]	-.09	-.12	.14	.02	.01	-.21[b]	-.41[a]	.18[c]	.36[a]	-.42[a]	1			
14	Sep	2.56	1.35	1.12	0.63	.17[c]	-.05	.23[b]	-.25[a]	-.26[a]	.53[a]	-.28[a]	.31[a]	.17[c]	.26[a]	-.04	-.20[b]	.31[a]	1		
15	Marg	2.16	1.28	1.53	2.23	-.01	-.06	-.11	-.25[a]	.00	.15[c]	-.09	-.05	-.12	.13	.35[a]	-.41[a]	.43[a]	.36[a]	1	
16	CSE	3.58	0.59	-0.24	-0.66	.20[b]	-.02	.27[a]	-.08	-.24[b]	.32[a]	-.07	.32[a]	.59[a]	.07	-.38[a]	.15[c]	-.26[a]	.05	-.20[b]	1
17	Dist	2.33	0.70	-0.22	0.23	.25[a]	.08	.38[a]	-.05	-.34[a]	.33[a]	-.11	.35[a]	.23[b]	.19[c]	-.05	-.04	-.17[c]	.17[c]	.19[c]	.02

Note: N = 180

[a] p<.001, [b] p<.01, [c] p<.05

Imp: Impact of Armed Struggles; IFS H: Perceived Hurt; S For: Situational Forgiveness; P For: Pseudo Forgiveness; N For: Never Forgiveness; F For: Future Forgiveness; Disc: Perceived Ethnic Discrimination; Eth: Ethnic Identity; Anx: Anxious Ethnic Attachment; Avo: Avoidant Ethnic Attachment; Int: Integration Acculturation; Asm: Assimilation Acculturation; Sep: Separation Acculturation; Marg: Marginalization Acculturation; CSE: Ethnic Collective Self-Esteem; Dist: Psychological Distress (past month); M: Mean; SD: Standard Deviation; Ske: Skewness; Kur: Kurtosis.

Higher scores indicate higher rate of that construct.

Table 2 (Comparison, N = 100)

Descriptive statistics within the full data after missing case analysis completed and missing data imputed

Variables		M	SD	Ske	Kur	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1	Imp	6.60	3.24	-0.76	-0.55	1															
2	Age	24.3	5.17	2.85	11.68	.16	1														
3	IFS H	3.31	1.29	-0.49	-0.82	.34[a]	.07	1													
4	S For	4.65	3.59	0.06	-1.41	-.09	0	-.29[b]	1												
5	P For	2.50	1.33	1.13	0.71	-.32[a]	-.06	.57[a]	0.36[a]	1											
6	N For	2.54	1.02	0.43	-0.44	.51[a]	.13	.45[a]	-.28[b]	- .47[a]	1										
7	F For	3.42	1.05	-0.5	-0.58	-.01	-.16	-.02	.31[b]	.20[c]	-.32	1									
8	Disc	2.13	0.92	0.53	-0.58	.41[a]	.28[b]	.49[a]	-.24[c]	-.40[a]	.59	-.30[b]	1								
9	Eth	3.65	0.90	-0.97	0.79	.47[a]	.15	.53[a]	-.20[c]	-.58[a]	.55	-.13	.63[a]	1							
10	Anx	2.41	1.16	0.76	0.02	.04	-.18	.20[c]	.06	-.10	.13	.07	.07	.25[c]	1						
11	Avo	3.36	1.29	0.38	-0.52	-.35[a]	-.02	-.49[a]	.03	.44[a]	-.43	-.05	-.33[b]	-.55[b]	-.02	1					
12	Int	5.17	1.42	-0.96	0.43	.11	-.11	.24[c]	.08	-.25[c]	.05	.29[b]	.02	.28[b]	.31[b]	-.30[b]	1				
13	Asm	2.01	0.95	1.51	3.32	-.32[a]	-.24[c]	-.25[c]	.03	.35[a]	-.21	.04	-.36[a]	-.48[a]	.07	.37[a]	-.47[a]	1			
14	Sep	2.36	1.16	1.06	0.69	.27[b]	.04	.26[c]	-.18	-.30[b]	.50	-.29[b]	.34[b]	.34[a]	.14	-.18	-.12	.10	1		
15	Marg	1.96	1.08	1.68	3.46	-.10	0	-.13	-.21[c]	.04	.01	-.05	-.12	-.17	-.16	.20[c]	-.37[a]	.26[b]	.19	1	
16	CSE	3.50	0.65	-0.14	-0.84	.33[a]	.04	.42[a]	-.12	-.35[b]	.44	-.12	.45[a]	.70[a]	.11	-.51[a]	.29[b]	-.39[a]	.13	-.25[c]	1
17	Dist	2.30	0.67	0.12	0.21	.36[a]	.07	.42[a]	-.10	-.41[a]	.44	-.11	.43[a]	.36[a]	.13	-.13	.07	-.32[b]	.18	.12	.18

Note: [a] p<.001, [b] p<.01, [c] p<.05

Imp: Impact of Armed Struggles; IFS H: Perceived Hurt; S For: Situational Forgiveness; P For: Pseudo Forgiveness; N For: Never Forgiveness; F For: Future Forgiveness; Disc: Perceived Ethnic Discrimination; Eth: Ethnic Identity; Anx: Anxious Ethnic Attachment; Avo: Avoidant Ethnic Attachment; Int: Integration Acculturation; Asm: Assimilation Acculturation; Sep: Separation Acculturation; Marg: Marginalization Acculturation; CSE: Ethnic Collective Self-Esteem; Dist: Psychological Distress (past month); M: Mean; SD: Standard Deviation; Ske: Skewness; Kur: Kurtosis.

Higher scores indicate higher rate of that construct.

Table 3

Results of Simultaneous Regression Analyses Predicting Ethnic Collective Self-Esteem and Psychological Stress from Ethnic Attachment Anxiety and Avoidance across full data set (in parenthesis) and complete data set

Variable	R^2	*B*	*SE b*	*B*	*p*
CSE	.27 (.15)				.000 (.000)
Constant		4.22 (4.07)	0.19 (0.15)		
Anxiety		0.06 (0.05)	0.05 (0.04)	0.10 (0.10)	.241 (.162)
Avoidance		-0.26 (-0.19)	0.04 (0.03)	-0.51 (-0.38)	.001 (.000)
Stress	**.03 (.04)**				**.187 (.025)**
Constant		2.35 (2.15)	0.24 (0.18)		
Anxiety		**0.07 (0.12)**	**0.06 (0.04)**	**0.13 (0.20)**	**.206 (.009)**
Avoidant		-0.07 (-0.04)	0.05 (0.04)	-0.13 (-0.07)	.195 (.366)

Note: N = 180; CSE: Ethnic collective self-esteem; Stress: Psychological Stress; [a] confidence intervals are calculated for standardized coefficients; *b:* unstandardized regression coefficients; *SE b:* Error of unstandardized regression coefficients; *B:* Standardized regression coefficients.

Table 4

Simultaneous Regression Analyses Predicting Situational and Pseudo Forgiveness from Sustained Hurt, Ethnic Identity Achievement, and Ethnic Attachment Anxiety and Avoidance full data set (in parenthesis) and complete data set

	R^2	*B*	*SE b*	*B*	*p*
		Situational Forgiveness			
Variables	.16 (.14)				.004 (.000)
Constant		13.03 (11.57)	2.56 (1.81)		.000 (.000)
Hurt		-0.93 (-0.83)	0.33 (0.20)	-0.34 (-0.32)	.006 (.000)
Anxiety		**0.39 (0.39)**	**0.32 (0.22)**	**0.13 (0.13)**	**.231 (.078)**
Avoidance		-0.86 (-0.68)	0.34 (0.23)	-0.31 (-0.24)	.014 (.004)
EIA		**-0.94 (-0.89)**	**0.50 (0.35)**	**-0.24 (-0.21)**	**.066 (.012)**
		Pseudo Forgiveness			
Variables	.44 (.40)				.000 (.000)
Constant		5.47 (5.48)	0.79 (0.54)		.000 (.000)
Hurt		-0.37 (-0.39)	0.10 (0.06)	-0.41	.000 (.000)
Anxiety		0.06 (-0.08)	0.10 (0.07)	-0.08	.542 (.218)
Avoidance		0.05 (0.06)	0.11 (0.07)	0.06	.662 (.420)
EIA		-0.57 (-0.47)	0.16 (0.10)	-0.31	.000 (.000)

Note: N = 180; Hurt: Sustained hurt from interethnic transgressions in interpersonal context; EIA: Ethnic identity achievement

[a] confidence intervals are calculated for standardized coefficients; *b:* unstandardized regression coefficients; *SE b:* Error of unstandardized regression coefficients; *B:* Standardized regression coefficients.

Table 5
Results of Simultaneous Regression Analyses Predicting Never and Future Forgiving from Perceived Ethnic Discrimination, Ethnic Identity Achievement, and Ethnic Attachment full data set (in parenthesis) and complete data set

	R^2	*B*	*SE b*	*B*	*p*
		Never Forgiving			
Variables	.43 (.42)				.000 (.000)
Constant		1.24 (1.15)	0.60 (0.44)		.042 (.010)
PED		0.47 (0.62)	0.11 (0.08)	0.42 (0.50)	.000 (.000)
Anxiety		**0.06 (0.25)**	**0.07 (0.06)**	**0.07 (0.27)**	**.376 (.000)**
Avoidance		**-0.15 (-0.13)**	**0.08 (0.06)**	**-0.19 (-0.15)**	**.059 (.022)**
EIA		0.18 (0.02)	0.13 (0.10)	0.16 (0.02)	.192 (.844)
		Future Forgiving			
Variables	.12 (.10)				.015 (.001)
Constant		4.85 (4.17)	0.77 (0.53)		.000 (.000)
PED		-0.37 (-0.42)	0.14 (0.10)	-0.33 (-0.36)	.011 (.000)
Anxiety		0.08 (0.03)	0.09 (0.07)	0.09 (-0.04)	.375 (.629)
Avoidance		-0.16 (-0.10)	0.10 (0.07)	-0.20 (0.12)	.105 (.148)
EIA		-0.08 (-0.12)	0.18 (0.12)	-0.07 (-0.09)	.650 (.311)

Note: N = 180; PED: Perceived ethnic discrimination; EIA: Ethnic identity achievement; [a] confidence intervals are calculated for standardized (B) regression coefficients; *b:* unstandardized regression coefficients; *SE b:* Error of unstandardized regression coefficients; *B:* Standardized regression coefficients.

Table 6
Results of Simultaneous Regression Analyses Predicting Ethnic Collective Self-Esteem and Psychological Distress from Situational Forgiveness, Pseudo Forgiveness, Never and Future Forgiving full data set (in parenthesis) and complete data set

	R^2	*B*	*SE b*	*B*	*p*
		Ethnic Collective Self-Esteem			
Variables	.27 (.14)				.000 (.000)
Constant		2.73 (3.08)	0.37 (0.26)		.000 (.000)
PED		0.19 (0.13)	0.08 (0.06)	.27 (.19)	.017 (.029)
SF		0.01 (0.00)	0.02 (0.01)	.06 (.01)	.576 (.888)
PF		-0.08 (-0.05)	0.05 (0.04)	-.16 (-.11)	.131 (.184)
NF		**0.15 (0.09)**	**0.08 (0.05)**	**.24 (.17)**	**.046 (.058)**
FF		0.03 (0.02)	0.06 (0.04)	.06 (.04)	.572 (.576)
		Psychological Stress			
Variables	.29 (.19)				.000 (.000)
Constant		1.71 (2.03)	0.38 (0.30)		.000 (.000)
PED		0.17 (0.16)	0.08 (0.07)	.23 (.21)	.043 (.016)
SF		0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	.10 (.09)	.309 (.238)
PF		-0.13 (-0.13)	0.05 (0.04)	-.26 (-.24)	.013 (.003)
NF		0.15 (0.08)	0.08 (0.06)	.22 (.12)	.063 (.178)
FF		0.03 (-0.01)	0.06 (0.05)	.04 (-.01)	.650 (.905)

Note: N = 180; SF: Situational forgiveness; PF: Pseudo Forgiveness; NF: Never Forgiving; FF: Future Forgiving.
[a] confidence intervals are calculated for standardized (B) regression coefficients.
b: unstandardized regression coefficients; *SE b:* Error of unstandardized regression coefficients; *B:* Standardized regression coefficients.

Appendix C: Missing Data Imputation and Accuracy of the Estimates

Predictive mean matching (PMM) (e.g., Van Buuren & Groothuis-Oudshoorn, 2011 for review) was used in missing data imputation, which was described in preliminary analyses. Allison (2012) stated that "all conventional imputation methods are 'dishonest' and should be viewed with some skepticism" (p. 77). Even though regression is a respectable procedure of data imputation, this procedure might produce biased estimates of some parameters and is likely to underestimate standard errors leading to inflated test statistics like higher *p* values (Allison, 2012). Therefore, I conducted the main analyses by using the data without including the cases with unit non-response, which included 100 participants. Sixty four cases had complete data and did not have missing data imputation. Thirty four cases had missing on less than seven items across 145 items in total. Due to this minimal missing data, this data set with 100 participants would provide an idea about the influence of missing data imputation on the findings.

The tables presented in Appendix B display the change in the findings across these two data sets (N =180 and N = 100). The correlation coefficients were smaller in the data set with 180 (*larger sample* hereinafter for brevity) participants compared to the data set with 100 participants (*smaller sample* hereinafter for brevity). When ethnic collective self-esteem and psychological stress were correlated with the other study variables in the smaller data set, the correlation coefficients went up to $p < .001$ from $p < .05$ or $p < .01$. This difference partly indicated that the correlation coefficients were smaller with the larger data set. However, when I compared the changes between the larger and smaller data sets, I observed that data imputation did lead to slightly improved test statistics with lower *p* values. Ethnic attachment anxiety had an increase in its significance in multiple predictions when I run the analyses with the larger data set while it was not significant in predicting psychological stress and never forgiveness attitude.

Similarly, ethnic attachment avoidance in predicting never forgiveness attitude and ethnic identity achievement predicting situational forgiveness became significant in the larger data set while they were not significant in the smaller data set. On the other hand, never forgiveness became significant in predicting ethnic collective self-esteem in smaller data set to non-significant in larger data set. All other estimates remained statistically the same, meaning that the other estimates did not change from significance to non-significance or from non-significance to significance. However, there was a mild increase across the *p* values.

The differences in the *p* values for some estimates can be interpreted in several ways. First, data imputation might produce underestimate of standard errors and may inflate *p* values. Therefore, the change in estimates across the smaller and larger data sets may mean that the data imputation inflated *p* values in some estimates. However, I did not accept this stipulation because data imputation understated *p* values for some estimates while it did not have a significant effect on the estimates in most of the findings. One plausible explanation is related to the increased sample size. The increase in the *p values* can be also explained with the increased power with increased sample size. This increase in power due to larger sample size is expected and acceptable. Another possible reason for the differences in these estimates might be due to the variations across the subsamples in Kurdish university students. Recall that list-wise deletion was not used in order to avoid causing biases in the sample. That is, the participants who dropped out after filling out the first few questionnaires on the survey booklet might actually have had differences in their attitude toward the subject matter. For example, Kurds who completed all measures were less anxiously attached to their ethnic community. The observed changes in the estimates across the smaller and larger data sets are thus likely to reflect the

possible differences in subsamples in addition to mild increase in power. Therefore, the data imputation is considered to increase the accuracy of the findings.