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# The Role Of Acculturation Strategies In Relation To Honor And Sexuality Attitudes, Sexism, Conservatism, And Religiosity Among Turkish Immigrants Living In The U.S.

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## **Abstract**

The purpose of this research was to understand the complex relationships between acculturation strategies and attitudes towards sexuality (particularly the specific Turkish-related concept of “namus”) in the Turkish acculturating community. Studies exploring the acculturation process of other immigrant groups in the U.S. have revealed a generally liberalizing impact of different acculturation processes on gender role and sexuality attitudes of immigrants. However, there has been very little work specifically focusing on the Turkish immigrant community, particularly in the American context. Turkey is one of the countries known to have a culture of honor, where family honor (namus) is tied to a woman’s chastity, which has significant implications for women’s well-being in the Turkish context. The current study explored acculturation in an immigrant Turkish community in the U.S. and investigated how their acculturation strategies relate to their religiosity, honor and sexuality attitudes, sexism, and conservatism from the scope of Berry’s framework (1997, 2005). Data was collected from an acculturating Turkish community living in a mid-sized city through snowball sampling, resulting in 87 participants who completed the questionnaires. The findings from factor analysis revealed that namus emerged as a component of more broad sexuality attitudes. Regression analyses demonstrated that these broader attitudes were predicted by acculturation strategies and religiosity of the participants. Specifically, immigrants who endorsed integration acculturation strategy more held more liberal sexuality and namus attitudes, while immigrants who endorsed separation strategy more held more conservative sexuality and namus attitudes. Most importantly, the association of a higher degree of separation with conservative sexuality attitudes was mediated via the participants’ strong religious adherence. The present study demonstrates the complex mechanisms through which religiosity plays a role in the maintenance of conservative sexuality attitudes. Consequently, this study has important implications for intervention at the individual and societal levels, regarding healthy adaptation of immigrants and eradication of namus- and sexuality-related oppression of immigrant women across cultures.

THE ROLE OF ACCULTURATION STRATEGIES IN RELATION TO HONOR AND  
SEXUALITY ATTITUDES, SEXISM, CONSERVATISM, AND RELIGIOSITY AMONG  
TURKISH IMMIGRANTS LIVING IN THE U.S.

by

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Dissertation

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Human Development and Family Science

Syracuse University

May 2024

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## **Introduction**

The purpose of the present study is to explore the acculturation experience of Turkish immigrants in the United States in relation to changes in their important cultural values, attitudes towards gender and sexuality, and religious beliefs. More specifically, this study aims to examine the acculturation strategies of a Turkish immigrant community in the U.S. in relation to their attitudes towards *namus* (honor) and its relations to religiosity, conservatism, sexism, and attitudes towards sexuality. In addition, the research will explore whether attitudes toward *namus* (honor) might be part of more general attitudes towards gender roles and sexuality since *namus* is associated directly with women's sexuality – restriction of it, importance of virginity, virginity as being clean and pure – in honor cultures or cultures with an honor code / ethic, like the Turkish culture. The study will also examine process models of acculturation that might produce individual differences in *namus* attitudes and sexuality attitudes in a sample of Turkish immigrants. Lastly, the study will examine the complex ways that religion is represented in the acculturating community, its association with acculturation strategies and its implications for attitudes towards gender and sexuality.

The existing literature, in general, reveals that religion is very important in the acculturation or adaptation process of immigrants in any contexts, regardless of host country (Stockemer & Moreau, 2021; Glas, 2021; Roder, 2014; Fleischmann & Phalet, 2012; Norris & Inglehart, 2012; Beek & Fleischmann, 2019). Additionally, the existing research demonstrates that religiosity comes out as an important variable in terms of identity of immigrants as well as in the adaptation of immigrants to a host country (e.g., Fleischmann & Phalet, 2012; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007; Beek & Fleischmann, 2019). In this context, Muslim religiosity has been studied commonly in relation to acculturation of Muslim immigrants living in European countries as

they are hosts to a significant number of immigrants from different Muslim countries or from countries where the majority defines themselves as Muslims. Although religiosity in relation to acculturation has been studied commonly among Turkish immigrants in Europe, the study of religion among Turkish immigrants in the U.S. has been limited.

In summary, the present study aims to explore the acculturation strategies of participants from an immigrant Turkish community in a mid-size U.S. city and investigate how their acculturation strategies related to their religiosity, honor and sexuality attitudes, sexism, and conservatism in this community with goals of understanding the relationships among these socio-cultural factors using Berry's framework (Berry, 1997, 2005).

## **Literature Review**

### **Turkish History and Society**

Spreading out from Central Asia, the Turks have established various empires and states, from the Great Hun Empire (around 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.) to the Great Seljuk Empire. Turks mainly settled in Anatolia, the current geographic location of the modern Turkey, in the early 11<sup>th</sup> century by defeating the Byzantine Empire. The Ottoman Empire that came relatively shortly after ruled for over 6 centuries and expanded to rule over from Crimea in the North to Sudan in the South and from Iran in the East to Spain in the Southwest. The decline of the Ottoman Empire began in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, following the Renaissance and Industrial Revolution in Europe, and continued until the end of the World War 1, in which it lost as part of the Allied Forces. The Mondros Armistice signed in 1918 handed over territories to Britain, France, Russia, and Greece. This marked the actual end of the Ottoman Empire.

The development of the modern Turkish state is generally dated to the end of World War 1. A national resistance led by an Ottoman military commander, Mustafa Kemal, later given the

last name “Ataturk” (“Father of Turks”), spearheaded the Turkish national independence and self-determination. The Turkish National Liberation War (1919-1922) secured a victory that ended with the signing of the Lausanne Peace Treaty in 1923, creating the international borders of a Turkish state. Later in 1923, the Republic of Turkey was proclaimed with Mustafa Kemal Ataturk having been elected as the first president, leading the Grand National Assembly. Over a 15-year-long presidency, Ataturk introduced significant reforms in political, legal, cultural, social, and economic areas. These included the abolition of the caliphate, introduction of the Latin alphabet, replacing the Arabic alphabet, civil and criminal codes based on European standards, a secular education system, and equal rights to women, which put Turkey ahead of many Western nations in terms of women’s rights at the time.

Following the introduction of several reforms by Ataturk, including an education system reform, women’s rights to be elected to public office, and labor laws that allowed equal rights to women, literacy rates and labor-force participation in general and particularly by women showed a marked increase. The literacy rate in women, which was 9.8% in 1935, increased to 80.6% in 2000, while these rates were 29.4% to 93.9% in men. The rise in literacy rates in women was, in fact, 20% between 1980 and 2000. Although the increase is significant, this still meant that 1 out of 5 women were illiterate in the year 2000. (Yasar, 2007)

Labor-force participation by women, on the other hand, dropped from 43% in 1955 to 25% in 2005. More participation by men has contributed to this decline in labor-force participation numbers for women, as well as immigrating from rural areas to the cities but not finding the same opportunities. In fact, women’s labor-force participation was around 19% in cities and around 34% in rural areas in 2005, compared to around 50% in developed countries.

(Yasar, 2007; Ucecam Karagel & Karagel, 2009) Around 80% of women in the labor-force were working in rural areas between 1990 and 2000 (Ucecam Karagel & Karagel, 2009).

In terms of family formation, although the Turkish population has come a long way since the founding of the Republic, early marriage and child brides continue to be an issue in the Turkish culture. The Turkish Statistical Institute (2011) data shows that the average age of marriage for women was 23.2 years when official marriages only are considered. This number is lower, around 19 years when unofficial (religious) marriages are taken into account. However, although the numbers are in decline, marriages below the age of 15 constituted 11% of all marriages in 2008, dropping from 18% in 1993. In the 15 years from 1993 to 2008, in rural Turkey, the rate of women marrying before the age of 15 declined from 35% to 14%, and the rate of women marrying before the age of 18 dropped from 63% to 36% (Yuksel-Kaptanoglu & Ergocmen, 2012).

On the other hand, divorce rates in Turkey have historically been lower compared to Western nations (Yildirim, 2004). Several factors contribute to this including strong family relations, religious beliefs, traditional values, and the difficulty in getting an official divorce, although the process was made feasible after 1987. For example, data from 1992 through 2000 shows that successful official divorces constituted less than 30% of all divorce applications (Yildirim, 2004). In 1997, half of all divorces in Turkey happened within the first 5 years of marriage, which declined to around 44% in 2000. About 60% of divorces affect women of 20-34 years of age, most of which happen within the first 5 years of marriage (Yildirim, 2004). The importance of family remains a significant part of the Turkish culture today, and although in decline, pressure from family members and religious beliefs continue to factor in lower divorce rates.

Since the 1990's, religious adherence in Turkey remained largely the same with approximately 98.5% of the Turkish population being Muslim, followed by 0.75-1% non-religious, 0.3-0.5% Christian, and 0.03-0.04% Jewish. Out of the group of individuals who adhere to Islam, about 84% are Sunnis and 14.5% are Shiites, which includes Alevis. According to the Religion and State (RAS) Project 2014 data, the state regulation of majority or all religions index score of Turkey was 38 (range 0 – 87, lower score means less regulation) compared to a score of 26 in West Asia and a global score of 20. Contrary to the high rate of Islam affiliation, and considering that Turkey is the only Middle Eastern Muslim country to be constitutionally secular, religious behavior data from the World Values Survey covering years 1990 through 2011 revealed that approximately 40% of the population attend religious services at least once a month (Association of Religion Data Archives, n.d.).

### **Conceptions of Honor across Cultures**

Examining different cultures in developing a general understanding of different meanings of honor, scholars have identified three types of honor across different societies and countries (Leung & Cohen, 2011; Sakalli Ugurlu & Akbas, 2013). These are face cultures, dignity cultures, and honor cultures. East Asian cultures are generally identified as face cultures and individuals within the culture have a strong emphasis on how others see or perceive them so that the value of self is defined according to the outside and the image of a person is crucial. These are commonly highly hierarchical cultures where how much respected an individual is a determinant of a person's position in the society. Harmony and humility are also important in these cultures. Western cultures are generally identified as dignity cultures (for example, Northern America, Western countries) where the value of self is defined according to the internal standards of the person and moral integrity is important to individuals. The third type is honor

cultures (for example, Turkey, Spain) where an individual's value of the self is determined according to one's own and others' perceptions. Here, *namus* (honor) is determined in the eyes of the others, by the assessment and evaluation of the others in the same community. Although the "importance of the others" is similar to face cultures, honor cultures are different since harmony is not important. On the contrary, there is a competition for status with other individuals who are in a similar position in the community, so there is competition for gaining respect and social recognition. Honor cultures involve competition, retaliation, reprisal, and revenge in relationships. When honor is damaged, it leads to feelings of anger, shame, and humiliation. In these situations, honor must somehow be restored. Consequently, the honor code involves interactions between control, shame, and the community (or one's reference group).

In honor cultures, honor is described to have both an internal and external quality, such that it is understood as "the value of a person in his own eyes, but also in the eyes of his society" (Pitt-Rivers, 1965, p. 21). The existing literature on cultures of honor identify some societies as cultures of honor, meaning they have a high honor orientation. Although honor means moral integrity in the West in general, it signifies a much more central value in different societies with a high honor orientation; for instance, in some Mediterranean countries, such as Italy and Greece, Balkan countries, such as Yugoslavia, and Middle Eastern and Arab countries, such as Egypt, Pakistan, Israel, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan. (Cihangir, 2013; Cohen & Nisbett, 1994; Pitt-Rivers, 1965; Rodriguez Mosquera, Manstead & Fischer, 2000; Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001). Turkish society is one of these societies that place high value on honor in their culture, which can also be observed in the richness of the Turkish language and vocabulary referring to the word "honor." A common characteristic of honor cultures is that family honor is crucial and strongly linked to feminine and masculine honor. In countries with high honor orientation, such

as Turkey, it is common that family honor is tied to a woman's chastity; her controlled sexuality represents her family's, as well as her husband's, honor. Consequently, the woman's sexuality needs to be controlled and her purity must be maintained, so that her family and husband can keep their place in the community. A woman's controlled sexuality, her chastity and properness, in relation to family honor, are important cultural values that determine socialization of men and women into gender roles and have important implications contributing to different forms of emotional and physical violence against women.

There are nine different words that have the meaning "honor," each representing different types of honor (Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001). One of them, "Namus," is the Turkish word used to refer to the type of honor value that was explained above and it is one of the most important values in Turkish culture. In instances where the woman has done something or is perceived to have done something to endanger her chastity and purity, she is said to dishonor her family and needs to be punished so that the family or men (fathers, brothers, husbands) could cleanse their honor and restore their place in the eyes of the community. This kind of a harsh cultural code with serious implications for women is mostly common in the most traditional and rural parts of the country, such as the East and Southeast of Turkey. Honor killings might be observed in these parts, although they are rare. On the other hand, as an important idea in the rest of the country, honor, associated with female chastity, *namus*, remains to be one of the most important values in Turkish culture (Arin, 2001).

Although honor as a cultural value can be viewed as specific to certain countries and societies as described earlier, it can also be viewed as being part of the more universal patriarchal system that oppresses and controls women's sexuality all around the world, not just in societies that are identified as 'honor cultures'. Women's issues such as gender inequality at different

areas of life, violence against women, and differential sexual standards for women and men are some of the common challenges experienced by women across different countries. With that mind, it could be argued that honor as a cultural value could be viewed as a culturally specific manifestation of the more general attitudes toward women's sexuality. Considering honor as part of the more general sexuality attitudes could be beneficial in gaining a broader view and understanding of honor as part of these challenges and women's issues and could open avenues for further research across different cultural contexts rather than a limited and reductionist view of honor as a problem specific to certain cultures. Hence, the current study has taken this view and studied honor as part of more general attitudes toward women's sexuality and liberalism. On the other hand, studying honor as a culture specific value and a special construct that is narrower could also be beneficial in getting a cleaner understanding of honor and related constructs providing a clearer picture of the factors that play into honor attitudes, possibly enriching our grasp of the social and culture-specific conditions that relate to honor through a closer look at this variable by itself.

### **Honor and Religion**

The link between *Namus* and Islam has been discussed commonly in the literature (e.g. Glick et al, 2005; Sakalli-Ugurlu, 2016). The relationship is complex, because some believe that honor system, as a whole, is based on Islam and its control over women and women's sexuality. This common perception of honor system or honor-based violence is caused by Islam as a religion is mostly dependent on the fact that most of the honor-based violence occurring in Muslim countries or among Muslim immigrant communities in non-Muslim countries (Dogan, 2011). However, other scholars point out that this might be due to the fact that these countries and societies share common cultural characteristics due to closeness of geographical location and



shared historical roots. Thus, it is argued that the honor system, or honor-based violence, is not a result of Islam as a religion but it is based on cultural systems. It is important to consider that not just Islam, but all the other monotheistic religions are highly patriarchal, and religion, in general, as an institution, perpetuates and supports the oppression of women and dominance of men, and it dictates the ideology that men should have power over women and control them. Christianity, Judaism, and Islam have all been found to be associated with sexism in the literature (Burn & Busso, 2005; Gaunt, 2012; Tasdemir & Sakalli-Ugurlu, 2010).

The honor code as a system is traced back to pre-Islamic times, to tribal communities in the pre-Islam period. It is not only seen in the Muslim communities, but also non-Muslim countries such as Italy, Greece, etc. For example, the original root of the word “namus” comes from Greek. Mostly Middle East and Mediterranean countries support the idea that it is a cultural value system rather than a religious one, although it is hard to separate religion from one’s culture. In her article, Fildis (2013) discusses how the honor code lost its importance in Western (or European) countries as a result of development while this did not take place in Muslim countries. Social development has led to women attaining higher education and joining the work force, which, in turn, abolished the “property” attribute of women. Women gained economic power and freedom, and that upgraded their place in society. The disparity between public versus private spheres for women has been reduced and women moved more into the public sphere.

However, it is also not a coincidence that most of the honor-based violence takes place in Islamic contexts, such as in Muslim countries or among Muslim communities. Islam strongly dictates male dominance, control of women’s sexuality, and the use of physical discipline as a way to punish women in cases of disobedience. Islam emphasizes the idea that women’s sexuality needs to be controlled by men, and women should always be obedient to their husbands

(Haj-Yahia, 1998, 2000). This obsession with sexuality and sexual purity of women very well coincides with the honor code where sexual purity of women needs to be maintained. It is difficult to know which led to the other, Islam as a religion to stronger honor code or vice versa. It is undeniable that they foster and reinforce each other (Koçturk, 1992).

### **Ambivalent Sexism**

Glick and Fiske (1996) developed ambivalent sexism theory as a multidimensional understanding of sexism, where they criticized the classical understanding of sexism as hostility towards women as not adequate to explain a much more complex construct. They formulated ambivalent sexism as a multidimensional construct based on men's ambivalence toward women. Here, the researchers based their theory on the men's positive feelings toward women that exist together with sexist antipathy. Hence, they define two main dimensions of ambivalent sexism, hostile and benevolent sexism. Hostile sexism is defined as sexist antipathy that are coming from sources of patriarchy, social dominance of men over women, and also is involved with explicit negative attitudes toward women. The authors emphasize that hostile sexism is in line with more classically known prejudice. Benevolent sexism, on the other hand, is described as "a set of inter-related attitudes toward women that are sexist in terms of viewing women stereotypically and in restricted roles but that are subjectively positive in feeling tone (for the perceiver) and also tend to elicit behaviors typically categorized as prosocial (e.g., helping) or intimacy-seeking (e.g., self-disclosure)." (p. 491, Glick & Fiske, 1996). So, it seems benevolent sexism signifies a more implicit sexism that emphasizes the lower power of women as they need protection by men. Finally, the authors theorize that hostile and benevolent sexism are made of three components, which are paternalism, gender differentiation, and heterosexuality. Ambivalent sexism, as a construct has been widely studied in the literature and has been found to be related with more

conservative sexual attitudes toward women (e.g., Sakalli-Ugurlu & Glick, 2003) and violence against women (e.g., Sakalli, 2001; Kiral Ucar & Ozdemir, 2021), among many other variables involving women's issues (e.g., Glick et al., 2000; Glick et al., 2002; Glick et al., 2016).

### **Status of Women, Gender Role Attitudes, and Religion in Turkey**

Arat (2010) points out the democracy paradox in Turkey as she summarizes the situation of women after the election of the political party AKP (Justice and Development Party) in 2002. The paradox is that this party, as a religious conservative party, has been elected by democratic elections. However, women's rights and freedoms in Turkey have been negatively affected since AKP came to power, which, in turn, worsened the overall outlook for women in Turkey. The government seemed as if they supported gender equality at first as they continued to abide by the international gender equality and human rights and women's rights treaties and conventions, such as CEDAW, but especially starting from their second term in power, the actions of the AKP government have become clearly against gender equality, abandoning any effort to ensure equal rights for women. The AKP government supports a religious and conservative standing and a viewpoint of religion that undermines gender equality, and this was shown in their appointments of religious-conservative individuals into positions of power as well as in governmental offices. Arat (2010) discusses that AKP's religious stance has led to further lack of opportunities for women, and their endorsement of a conservative religious view of women has led to the weakening of gender equality in the country, which is constitutionally secular. Arat (2010) also discussed the danger of religious socialization: It did not give women any choices other than dictated by the conservative and traditional perspective of religion and the religious approach to women and how they should live a traditional or conservative way of life. She also emphasized the pressure that liberal or non-traditional women feel as the society becomes more religious-

conservative and traditional by the endorsement or the support of the government. Arat referred to this as “the intertwining of religion and politics.”

Other authors have also supported Arat’s (2010) arguments. More recent articles (Gunes-Ayata & Dogangun, 2017) demonstrated how the AKP-controlled governments over the years have become more non-democratic and especially how they have become more religious and conservative leading to a strong religious-conservative climate in the country. The data supports this, in the sense that there are fewer girls in schools now, fewer women in the labor-force, and a much higher number of religious schools (Gunes-Ayata & Dogangun, 2017). The government has not taken any steps to work towards gender equality and women’s rights. In fact, on the contrary, gender equality deteriorated due to numerous governmental policies that can be considered anti-women’s rights. For example, policies that discouraged women from working and instead have children and stay home and become traditional mothers performing their traditional roles. It was not only a question of policy implementation, but also the general discourse of the politicians and government officials, who only endorsed traditional roles for women at every opportunity (or even divisive, hostile towards women, using sexist and misogynistic rhetoric.) Some examples were: “Every woman must have at least three children” (Hürriyet, 2013), “For years, they committed treason by using birth control,” “There can never be equality between men and women” (Agence France-Presse, 2016), “Pregnant women should not be out on the streets” (Hürriyet Daily News, 2013).

### **Turkish Immigrants in the U.S.**

According to the data published by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Services and U.S. Homeland Security in the 2019 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, approximately 580,000 people of Turkish origin have immigrated to the United States and obtained lawful permanent

residence between the years 1820 and 2019. A quick glance at this data reveals that in the four decades starting from 1980, the number of Turkish immigrants gaining lawful permanent residence in the U.S. have almost doubled each decade (U.S. D.H.S. 2019 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics).

In his article on Turkish-American immigration, Kaya (2004) analyzes three major waves of immigration. The first wave between 1820 and 1920 included nearly 300,000 people immigrating to the U.S., mostly leaving the Ottoman lands. The second wave between 1950s and 1980s comprised of approximately 40,000 professionals, such as doctors, engineers, and academics. The third and final wave starting in the late 1980s has been a result of Turkey's globalization efforts as well as significant improvements in worldwide travel opportunities with the advancement of transportation. The third wave, spanning four decades, has so far included nearly 200,000 individuals gaining permanent residence in the U.S (Kaya, 2004).

Compared to their counterparts in Europe, whose numbers surpassed 3.5 million, those who have immigrated to the U.S. show better signs of integration mainly due to the more inclusive immigration policies in the U.S. as well as their higher education levels and better language skills (Kaya, 2013). While blue-collar workers moved to Europe as “guest workers” and were not truly considered to be “immigrants,” the waves of immigration to the U.S. have historically included individuals with higher levels of education and skillsets as well as socio-economic status (Kaya, 2004, Nisanci, 2020).

### **Acculturation**

Acculturation is defined as “general processes and outcomes (both cultural and psychological) of intercultural contact” (Berry, 1997, p.8). Berry further defines acculturation as the “dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact

between two or more cultural groups and their individual members” (Berry, 2005, p.698). Individual level acculturation involves the changes in people’s behavioral repertoires while group level acculturation involves changes in social structures, institutions, and cultural practices. Overall, acculturation involves cultural and psychological changes that might take place over a long-term process, which might take years, or generations, or even centuries (Berry, 2005). The psychological and cultural changes in the process of acculturation involve different forms of mutual accommodation of the different cultural groups, which then would lead to “longer-term psychological and sociocultural adaptations between both groups” (Berry, 2005; p.699). For example, learning each other’s language, sharing food preferences, and adopting different ways of dressing and social interactions that belong to each group might be different ways that change could take place in the process of acculturation. These changes might be taking place more smoothly through culture shedding and culture learning (Berry, 1992) but sometimes these mutual adaptations could lead to culture conflict and acculturative stress while people are involved in intercultural interactions.

In this framework, acculturation process can be understood as the changes people go through when they start to live in a cultural context that is different than their original one. Berry identifies immigrants, among others, as one of the primary groups that go through acculturating and identifies different strategies of acculturation depending on two dimensions, which are “cultural maintenance” and “contact and participation.” Cultural maintenance refers to the level of importance one gives to cultural identity and characteristics and their maintenance, while contact and participation refer to one’s level of involvement with other cultural groups versus being only involved with one’s own cultural group (Berry, 1997). Depending on these two dimensions, four different strategies of acculturation are defined. The first one is assimilation,

where the immigrant group is not interested in maintaining their own cultural identity and interested in daily interactions with the other (host) culture. The second strategy is separation, where the immigrant group focuses on maintaining their original culture while avoiding interactions with the other culture. The third strategy is integration, where the immigrant group is interested in both maintaining their own culture while being interested with interactions with the other culture. The fourth strategy is marginalization, where the immigrant group does not have interest or the opportunity to maintain their own culture (might be due to imposed cultural loss) and does not have interest or the opportunity to interact with the other culture (might be due to exclusion or discrimination).

The outcome of acculturation is identified as adaptation in the long-term, and the literature on the issue points out that integration is the best strategy leading to positive adaptation as an outcome. A number of factors are important in determining acculturation process of individuals and ethnic groups, such as the level of cultural diversity, multiculturalism and pluralism in the host society, cultural distance (to what extent one's original culture is different than the host culture) between the culture of origin and host culture, as well as various individual, social, cultural and economic factors (Berry, 1997). During the acculturation process, individuals go through changes and experience psychological adaptations to acculturation by behavioral shifts: Culture learning and culture shedding. Behavioral shifts represent the changes in their behavioral repertoire. In culture learning, the individual is acquiring and adding new behaviors to their repertoire that are appropriate for the new culture. In culture shedding, they are unlearning some of the aspects and behaviors that were previously in their repertoire and are not appropriate in the new cultural context.

### **Acculturation and Gender Role and Sexuality Attitudes**

Research has repeatedly revealed a liberalizing effect of acculturation on gender role attitudes. One of the ethnic groups that have been widely studied are Hispanics and Latinos/Latinas. For example, Kranau, Green, and Valencia-Weber (1982) have found that Mexican American women who were highly acculturated were more likely to have more liberal attitudes toward women compared to Mexican American women who were less acculturated. The women who were more closely identified with the majority culture of the U.S. were more likely to have liberal attitudes regarding the roles of women in society. They have also found a negative association between acculturation and feminine role-typed behaviors at home, such that highly acculturated Mexican American women engaged these behaviors less frequently.

In a study on gender role attitudes in a Mexican American sample, it was revealed that third or later generations of Mexican Americans participants reported more liberal or egalitarian gender-role attitudes compared to first or second generations (Su, Richardson, and Wang, 2010). The authors concluded that this change in attitudes demonstrated cultural assimilation of Mexican Americans into the U.S. mainstream culture since gender-role attitudes in Mexican culture are considered to be more traditional, generally assuming greater male dominance. It was also emphasized that, although the findings showed change towards more egalitarian gender-role attitudes among third or later generations, Mexican Americans in their sample were on average more conservative than the U.S. mainstream (European Americans).

A different investigation on Mexican Americans' acculturation tendencies, specifically regarding their sex-role attitudes, using data from National Longitudinal Survey of Youth collected in 1979 and 1987, authors Valentine and Mosley (2000) found that the first-generation Mexican Americans were the most averse to working women both in 1979 and 1987 despite a general decline in this attitude across all groups in their sample over time (females and males of



Mexican American, Mexican, and American descent.) The researchers emphasized that the first-generation Mexican American participants' tendency to have more traditional sex-role attitudes than later generation Mexican Americans supported the idea that Mexican Americans assimilate in terms of acculturation regarding their sex-role attitudes. Through the 8 years, the decline in aversion to women who work was significant except second- or later-generation Mexican American females and American females. It was concluded that Mexican Americans' sex-role attitudes moving towards to the attitudes of the general majority population of the U.S. provides support for the assimilation of sex-role attitudes rather than integration in terms of Berry's framework of acculturation (Valentine and Mosley, 2000). Gender-role attitudes of Latinos also tend to converge to the attitudes of the host country, which was the United States in this case (Villalba et al., 2018). It was revealed that Latina women had more egalitarian gender-role attitudes compared to women living in Latin American countries. In addition, women with egalitarian attitudes reported lower marianismo beliefs (which represent a traditional gender role.) Similarly, women with higher acculturation held more egalitarian gender role attitudes.

In a Hispanic sample of first, second, and third generation immigrants, investigating the different aspects of acculturation in relation to sex role attitudes, Phinney and Flores (2002) found that more egalitarian sex-role attitudes were associated with mainstream involvement. Their findings revealed that mainstream involvement, that were measured by having non-Hispanic friends, knowing and using English, and higher education levels were major predictors of egalitarian sex-role attitudes. However, despite the authors' expectation, retention of Hispanic culture, which was measured by having Hispanic friends, and proficiency and usage of Spanish, was not associated with sex-role attitudes. Similar to previous studies, women in their sample had more egalitarian sex-role attitudes as well as those participants with higher education levels.

Later generations of immigration were also associated with more egalitarian sex-role attitudes, however, the authors emphasized that despite being commonly used as an indicator of acculturation in the literature, generation emerged as less important than the other significant predictors of sex role attitudes in their study. These findings provided support for Berry's two-dimensional model of acculturation as this model states that two dimensions of acculturation that are mainstream adaptation and ethnic retention are two independent dimensions that can have different relationships with a variety of outcomes. The bicultural or integrated participants can be highly involved in the mainstream American culture and hold egalitarian sex-role attitudes in line with the mainstream culture, while also being involved in Hispanic social networks and maintaining Spanish language (Phinney and Flores, 2002).

In a study sample of Mexican American married mothers and fathers, mothers born in the U.S. were more likely to hold egalitarian gender attitudes than mothers born in Mexico (Leaper and Valin, 1996). Both fathers and mothers with higher education levels were also more likely to have egalitarian gender attitudes. Although the generational difference being associated with gender attitudes pointed to an impact of linear acculturation or maybe even assimilation, researchers' other findings showed that both Mexican American mothers and fathers who valued communion (concern for in-group) and mothers who valued individualism less were more likely to endorse gender equality. The authors emphasized that other cultural values, like the importance of communion over individualism in Latin American cultures compared to mainstream North American culture are not necessarily incompatible with endorsing egalitarian gender attitudes as a result of acculturation. This provides a good example of integration rather than assimilation in Berry's terms.

Another ethnic group that has been widely studied regarding their gender and sex role attitudes in relation to acculturation in the mainstream culture is Asian immigrants in the U.S. and Canada as they represent one of the largest groups of immigrants in North America. Asian cultural norms about gender and sex role attitudes are generally considered to be more traditional than mainstream American and Canadian cultures, and study findings on this ethnic group's gender role attitudes seem to be in parallel to findings with Latino/a and Hispanic immigrants such that they point to a liberalization of gender and sex role attitudes in relation to different dimensions of acculturation (e.g., Yoon et al., 2019; Guo, 2019).

In a study on Asian American young adults' patriarchal beliefs in terms of their beliefs in institutional power of men, inherent inferiority of women, and gendered domestic roles in relation to Asian values, gender, acculturation, and enculturation –defined as retention of one's own ethnic values,– it revealed that 'being male,' 'enculturation' and, 'Asian values' significantly and positively predicted two dimensions of patriarchal beliefs, institutional power of men and gendered domestic roles (Yoon et al., 2019). Additionally, being male and Asian values significantly and positively predicted the third dimension of patriarchal beliefs, which is inherent inferiority of women. The researchers also emphasized that enculturation significantly predicted patriarchal beliefs in line with their expectations while acculturation did not on the contrary to their expectations. Gender appeared as another important variable in these relationships where they found that women in their sample adopted less traditional gender roles in family relations as they acculturated while men had a tendency to hold stronger beliefs of gendered domestic roles. The researchers emphasized how men and women might experience acculturation differently focusing on different aspects of the mainstream culture they are in the process of acculturating (Yoon et al., 2019).

Additionally, in a study investigating the ethnic differences in rape-supportive attitudes in relation to misogynistic beliefs, acculturation, and ethnic identity among Asian American and White college men, it was revealed that Asian American men in the sample made more rape-supportive judgments than White men (Koo et al., 2012). This relationship was found to be partially mediated by misogynistic beliefs. Acculturation of Asian American men was associated with lower rape-supportive vignette judgements. As ethnic identity increased among Asian Americans, two rape-supportive blame judgements that was measured increased, as well. The researchers noted that their findings were in line with the existing literature indicating that traditional gender roles and patriarchal values that are upheld in Asian culture are important in the cultural socialization of Asian American men, and also confirmed that the Asian American men's cultural socialization process regarding sexual attitudes were different than mainstream American (Koo et al., 2012).

The differences between White and Asian Americans in terms of their endorsement of sexual double standards were also investigated (Guo, 2019). These standards refer to how people judge sexual behavior depending on the sexual actor being a woman or a man, and the traditional sexual double standards imply more social acceptance for men to engage in sexually permissive behavior while women are stigmatized for such behavior. In relation to sexual double standards, levels of American acculturation and Asian cultural affiliation were also examined in the study. The results indicated sexual double standards among both Whites and Asian Americans, however, there were also some different patterns between these two ethnic groups. Whites and Asian Americans were similar in terms of sexual double standards regarding casual sexual and multiple sexual partners at the same time. On the other hand, Asian Americans more strongly endorsed double standards than Whites when evaluating people for taking the initiative in sex

and for having a large, accumulated number of sexual partners. Another similarity between the two groups was such that both Whites and Asian Americans held more conservative sexual attitudes for choosing marriage partners. Guo (2019) also found that American acculturation among Asian women significantly increased their acceptance of liberal sexual behaviors of both men and women, but more strongly for men's sexuality. Interestingly, Asian men reported more liberal sexual attitudes towards both men and women when they showed bicultural orientations (American acculturation and Asian cultural affiliation together). Conversely, they tended to report more conservative sexual attitudes when they were more strongly inclined towards one of the two cultures.

In terms of intimate partner violence (IPV), greater enculturation (measured in different ways, such as racial identity, Asian values, etc.) was associated with more patriarchal gender role norms (such as less egalitarianism, IPV supporting attitudes etc.) for Asian American men. On the other hand, there was no association between patriarchal gender norms and stronger acculturation, but the consistent finding across studies pointed to association between greater acculturation and greater gender role conflict and stress for Asian American men (Kyler-Yano and Mankowski, 2020).

Tang and Dion (1999) investigated traditionalism (including cultural values and gender role ideology) of Chinese descent university students in Canada in relation to their acculturation attitudes using Berry's framework. Results revealed that Chinese men were more traditional than women in terms of beliefs about gender roles and family hierarchy. They also found that separation predicted traditionalism of participants while marginalization predicted perceived traditionalism of their parents. The researchers found it surprising that their results showed that acculturation attitudes of assimilation and integration had no relationships with traditionalism in

their sample despite their expectation of a negative associations. Tang and Dion (1999) pointed out that perceptions of the Chinese students in their sample of their parents' being traditional left them feeling marginalized. They noted that it appears assimilation, integration, and assimilation are more active and personal choices, while marginalization seems to be something that happens to people when they no longer have connection with the host and heritage cultures.

The influence of ethnic change on the gender role attitudes, role expectations, and household task performance was investigated in a sample of married couples of Chinese origins in Canada (Kim, Laroche, and Tomiuk, 2004). They found that acculturation had no significant role in changing gender-role attitudes of husbands, as well as no impact on their task-role expectations. Conversely, acculturation of the wives in the study had a significant role in more liberal gender-role attitudes among them, and that leading to role expectations that their husbands should contribute more to the performance of traditionally wife-domain categorized tasks while they themselves should contribute less. Also, acculturation of the wives in the study was found to be directly related to their role expectations that their husbands should undertake a lesser share of responsibility in taking care of the traditionally husband-domain categorized tasks while they (themselves) should undertake more. Different significant outcomes emerged in relation to Chinese ethnic identification such that husbands with stronger ethnic identification tended to have more traditional gender-role attitudes and to have the role expectation that they (themselves) should contribute more to the traditionally husband-domain categorized tasks while their wives should contribute less. Similarly, wives with stronger Chinese ethnic identification tended to have role expectations that they (themselves) should contribute less to the traditionally husband-domain categorized tasks while their husbands should contribute more.

In a study among the Asian Indian immigrant women in the U.S., Mann, Roberts, and Montgomery (2017) investigated their views towards women's roles and rights, in relation to their acculturation, mental health, and reproductive decision-making ability. Using Berry's framework of acculturation strategies, they found that more bicultural (integrated in Berry's terms) participants were more likely to report egalitarian views of women's roles and rights. Additionally, those participants who completed the survey in English had higher education, had lived in the U.S. longer and they were more likely to have egalitarian gender-role attitudes. There was also a significant negative association between negative religious coping and egalitarian gender-role attitudes. Their findings also revealed that women with more egalitarian views had fewer births and had the decision-making ability themselves or with their husbands regarding their family planning. In terms of mental health, the results showed that women with more traditional views were more likely to experience depression and isolation, while those who had more egalitarian views were more likely to experience anxiety. The findings in their study revealed that participants who had fewer years in the U.S. held significantly more traditional gender-role attitudes. They were also more likely to participate in the study in their original language of Punjabi, not live with their extended family, be younger, been married for a shorter time, and had fewer births. Mann et al. (2017) had another small sample of participants take part in a qualitative study as part of their research project. The findings of the qualitative phase of their study revealed that more acculturated women who had more egalitarian gender attitudes have been experiencing tensions with their families in the U.S. and India, as well as within themselves, due to the clash with the dominant traditional cultural gender values. Additionally, the women who were more bicultural that had more egalitarian gender-role values reported being frequently criticized and stressed as they were trying to adapt to the U.S. They were expected to

be successful in the U.S. society while they were also expected to follow the traditional cultural norms at the same time. In addition, they reported experiencing community blame, familial nagging, and meddling as they made their own (or jointly with their husband) decisions of family planning. In terms of the tensions about gender role views and mental health, the participants reported a lack of ability to access help services when they experience mental health difficulties, such as depression and anxiety, due to this being stigmatized in their community.

The links between enculturation (retaining or enhancing attributes of the culture of origin), intimate partner violence (IPV) supporting attitudes, and gender role attitudes among a minority group of Asian Indians, specifically Gujarati men and women living in the U.S, were investigated (Yoshihama, Blazeovski, and Bybee, 2014). The researchers conceptualized and assessed enculturation as made up of three components: Values, behavior, and community participation. They found that participants with higher levels of overall enculturation were more likely to have IPV-supporting attitudes. In fact, they reported that the overall enculturation was the strongest predictor of IPV-supporting attitudes in their model. However, findings were different for the different components of enculturation. Enculturation-values had a significant positive association with gender role attitudes, meaning that participants with higher enculturation-values reported more patriarchal gender role-attitudes. Enculturation-values also had a positive association with IPV-supporting attitudes indirectly via patriarchal gender-role attitudes. Lastly, their findings revealed that community participation dimension of enculturation, which meant involvement in one's ethnic community, had a direct negative relationship with IPV-supporting attitudes. They also found a significant negative association between religious service attendance and IPV-supporting attitudes. The authors emphasized that participation in one's own cultural or community-based and faith-based activities could negate



the strong effect of enculturation on IPV-supporting attitudes among this minority group (Yoshihama, Blazeovski, and Bybee, 2014).

The important conclusion that can be drawn from these diverse research findings is that there is a liberalizing impact of acculturation on immigrants' attitudes toward gender roles and sexuality. Different research outlined above studying the biggest immigrant groups in the U.S. and Canada seem to demonstrate the common finding that immigrants experience a liberalizing of their conservative gender and sexuality attitudes through acculturation, although it appears that the different mechanisms of acculturation might be operating in different groups such as assimilation and biculturalism in leading to more liberal attitudes in general. As described above, the gender role and sexuality attitudes of Hispanic and Latino/a, and Asian immigrants represent more traditional attitudes in comparison to mainstream U.S. and Canada cultures, which then seems to go through change towards more liberal attitudes, possibly through culture shedding and culture learning. As Turkish culture also represents a more traditional culture compared to the mainstream U.S. culture in terms of gender role and sexuality attitudes, Turkish immigrants living in the U.S. might be also experiencing a liberalizing in their attitudes through acculturation, which will be explored in the current study.

### **Religion and Sexual Attitudes**

The relationship between religion and sexual attitudes and sexual behavior has been widely studied. The majority of the studies in the literature focusing on sexuality and religion are based on adolescents, especially their sexual behavior and attitudes in relation to religiosity. Focusing on adolescent sexual behavior, religion seems to appear as a protective factor against

early sexual activity (in relation to teen pregnancy,) however, there is also the discussion of the religion as a way of social control (Rostosky et al., 2004).

According to a review of longitudinal studies by Rostosky et al. (2004), religiosity delayed sexual debut among white female adolescents, although they reported this effect to be less consistent for white male adolescents. The researchers questioned if this finding could point out a sexual double standard, where girls and boys in religious communities received different messages regarding sex. They also noted that this was in line with what has been commonly pointed out in the existing literature: The cultural obsession with social control of emerging sexuality of adolescent girls and the assumption that females should take the role of responsible gatekeepers. These points confirm the interpretation of religion as a social control mechanism, especially for female sexuality, as also mentioned in this review.

The link between religion / religiosity and sexual attitudes / behavior have been shown repeatedly in different samples in the U.S. (e.g., Brelsford, Luquis, & Murray-Swank, 2011; Luquis, Brelsford, & Rojas-Guyler, 2012), in Australia (eg., Visser, Smith, Richters, & Rissel, 2007), in Europe (eg., Le Gall, Mullet, & Shafighi, 2002; Marcinechova & Zahorcova, 2020), and in Africa (eg., Gyimah et al, 2013). These studies confirm the association between religion and sexual attitudes. The majority of the studies have been conducted with adolescents and young adults. The research has repeatedly confirmed that higher involvement in religion (higher religiosity or higher religious attendance) was associated with more conservative sexual attitudes. Religion and religiosity have been conceptualized and measured in a variety of ways, such as religious denomination, religious attendance, and subjective religiousness or importance of religion, while sexual attitudes and behaviors that were measured mostly focused on the continuum of permissive-conservative attitudes and a variety of sexual behaviors.

In a study with female college students, a higher level of religiosity was linked to negative attitudes toward nonprocreative sexual activities, guilt towards masturbation, as well as lower likelihood of engaging in sexual intercourse and fewer sex partners (Davidson, Moore, and Ullstrup 2004). In general, the more religious college students were, the more likely they were to hold conservative sexual attitudes. More specifically, religiosity was significantly related to permissiveness, sexual practices, and the instrumentality sexual attitude factor in college student samples (Beckwith and Morrow, 2005). In addition, there were significant associations between private religious practices, daily spiritual experiences, and conservative sexual attitudes in college student samples (Brelsford, Luquis and Murray-Swank, 2011). Similarly, private religious practices and daily spiritual experiences impacted sexual behaviors among male college students, while attendance at religious services was associated with sexual intercourse among female college students (Luquis, Brelsford, and Rojas-Guyler, 2012). When the relationship between multiple religion variables and sexual attitudes and behavior was examined, Protestants reported more conservative sexual attitudes than nonbelievers while Catholics had fewer sexual partners than Protestants. In addition, sexually abstinent participants reported religion to be more important in their daily lives compared to sexually active participants. Similarly, sexually abstinent participants reported more adherence to their religions' negative sanctions than sexually active participants. Adherence to religion's negative sanctions was linked to conservative sexual attitudes, preventive expectancies of condom use, and perceived barriers to condom use (Lefkowitz et al., 2004).

Ahrold et al. (2011) conceptualized religiosity in multiple dimensions examining spirituality, intrinsic religiosity, paranormal beliefs, and fundamentalism in relation to sexual attitudes and sexual fantasy in a college sample. They found religion's effects on sexual attitudes

and sexual fantasy; specifically, fundamentalism and paranormal beliefs were found to be associated with one set of conservative attitudes whereas intrinsic religiosity and spirituality were found to predict multiple sets of conservative sexual attitudes. For example, they found that higher levels of intrinsic religiosity predicted more conservative sexual attitudes among males and females while higher levels of spirituality predicted less conservative sexual attitudes in males but more conservative sexual attitudes in females. The researchers noted the sexual double standard observed in religious teachings and emphasized how intrinsic religiosity and fundamentalism may influence women more than men as the Christian doctrine assigns the role of teacher and keeper of faith to women and teaches that it is the women's responsibility to manage and control sexuality (Brasher, 1998 as cited in Ahrold et al, 2011). It seems that the double standard of differential treatment of female and male sexuality in religious doctrine teachings and messages are reflected in women's sexual attitudes and behaviors in different ways among women who are more involved with religion. Women being assigned with the role of the gatekeeper of their own sexuality seems to explain more conservative attitudes regarding premarital sexuality. This ties in with the idea of religion as the social control mechanism.

Similar to findings with adolescents and young adults, other research confirmed the conservatizing effect of religion on sexuality attitudes and behavior among older adults, as well. For example, more religious participants and participants who had more frequent religious attendance were less likely to have had premarital sex, a termination of pregnancy, or homosexual sex in a study with a large representative sample of Australians adults (Visser et al., 2007). The authors also found that more frequent religious attendance was associated with less permissive sexuality attitudes as well as less varied sexual experience in their sample. In a different study from France Le Gall et al. (2002) revealed that older adults and believers had less

sexual permissive attitudes than young participants and nonbelievers in their sample including younger and older adults (aged between 18-87.) Lastly, in an older study, Petersen and Donnenwerth (1997) investigated the effect of secularization on beliefs about premarital sex among participants representing a variety of religious denominations using General Social Surveys (GSS) data between 1972-1993 and they found that support for traditional beliefs about premarital sex declined less among conservative Protestants, especially among frequent church attenders, compared to other groups.

### **Religion and Gender Role Ideology**

In their seminal work exploring violence against women from a feminist approach, Dobash and Dobash (1979) presented a detailed historical explanation of how religions from the very early beginnings have been patriarchal in nature and teaching the power relationships where men have the absolute power and control over women and how women have been viewed as men's property. Accordingly, the feminist approach clearly demonstrates the patriarchal nature of religions and how religious teachings show men as real humans and women having been created as subordinate humans; women are unable to have the same moral standards as men, and need protection and control of men, as well as the idea of being created for men. Historically, religion has been one of the strongest institutions to produce, teach, and perpetuate patriarchy and the premise that since men own women, they can apply physical discipline to them –beat them and even murder them in the cases where women don't obey. Considering the historical roots and tradition of women beating in religion, it has been argued that religion, as an institution, through teachings and scripture, is a patriarchal institution that perpetuates the idea that violence against women is normal (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Ammons, 1999; Giblin, 1999). Although the issue of violence against women is beyond the scope of this paper, the above

explanation sheds light into how religions in general perpetuate patriarchy acting as an important socio-cultural variable in determining other social values and attitudes, especially regarding relationships between men and women. For example, several studies have revealed and suggested that attitudes towards women were more negative with increasing levels of faith (Sevim, 2006), or in other words, people with stronger religious beliefs have been shown to have less support for equality between men and women's social roles (Read, 2002; Bryant, 2003; Tasdemir & Sakalli-Ugurlu, 2010).

Religiosity has been widely studied in the literature in relation to intolerant attitudes and has been shown to be associated with racism, prejudice, and intolerance. As such, how religiosity is related to sexism and gender role attitudes was also explored. It has been found that religiosity was positively associated with sexist attitudes in Jewish, Christian, and Muslim samples, especially in studies on sexism and gender discrimination, particularly against women and homosexuality (Kirkpatrick, 1993; Fulton, Maynard, & Gorsuch 1999; Jonathan, 2008; Tasdemir & Sakalli-Ugurlu, 2010; Gaunt, 2012). In this context, it is important to note that quest religious orientation, specifically, is different than other religiosity types and the research indicates different findings in terms of tolerance for this religiosity type. More specifically, quest religious orientation is described as an approach to religiosity that involves living with questions, and doubt, experiencing religiosity as a journey, where answers are viewed as tentative and open to change, so there is no final one truth, but quest religious orientation signifies a more open-minded search for truth (Batson and Ventis, 1982 as cited in Walker, 2012; McFarland, 1989). Hence, quest religiosity represents a more open-minded and liberal stance of religiosity (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992). For example, Whitley (2009) showed in a meta-analysis that quest religious orientation was the least traditional religiosity type and was the only one related

to positive attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. Similarly, Walker (2012) found that higher levels of quest religiosity to be associated with positive attitudes toward gay marriage and appointment of gay men as bishops in a sample of participants affiliated with Church of England. A similar finding was replicated with a sample of young Christians and Muslims from Flanders where the researchers found having a quest religious orientation was associated with less prejudice toward homosexuality (Van Droogenbroeck et al., 2016).

Studies have well established the link between religion and gender role ideology; greater religiosity was associated with stronger endorsement of traditional gender roles (Brinkerhoff & MacKie, 1984, 1985; Goldscheider, Goldscheider & Rico-Gonzalez, 2014; Morgan, 1987; Whitehead, 2012) as well as gender inequality at the societal level (Seguino, 2011). Religion as a belief and value system can shape gender role ideology as a result of socialization to a tradition that perpetuates traditional perspectives on women's status and relationships between men and women (Brinkerhoff & MacKie, 1985).

Religion can also be regarded as an exposure-based explanation of development or changes in gender role ideology (Whitehead, 2012). In other words, being exposed to different conservatizing or liberalizing ideas and situations could lead to changes in individuals' understanding of gender roles (Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004). For example, socialization, education, and personal experience are considered as important exposure-based explanations. Different dimensions of religion have been shown to be associated with gender role ideology. For example, Brinkerhoff and MacKie (1984) found religious denomination and attendance to be strongly predicting gender role attitudes, while in another study, they showed higher religiosity to be associated with more traditional gender role attitudes (Brinkerhoff & MacKie, 1985). Confirming their earlier findings, this study also revealed differences in gender role attitudes

among different religious denominations as the religious nones reported the most egalitarian gender role attitudes while Mormons reported the most traditional. Similarly, Morgan (1987) found religious devoutness to be consistently predicting gender role attitudes. In addition to the research studies from Canada and the United States mentioned above, recent research from Europe confirmed the link between religion and traditional gender role ideology. For example, Goldscheider, Goldscheider and Rico-Gonzalez (2014) found that, despite the highly secular context of Sweden, higher religiosity – defined as importance of religion – was associated with less egalitarian attitudes regarding the gender roles in the public sphere, while this relationship between religion and gender roles was even stronger regarding the gender roles in the private sphere. Voicu (2009) investigated the influence of religion (Christianity) on gender role attitudes across European countries using European Values Survey data and found that Christian religiosity had a significant effect on gender role values in the private sphere – in terms of more traditional roles in the home – in all the European countries, while this effect was much weaker and non-significant in the public sphere – in terms of attitudes towards women’s labor force involvement – in many of the countries.

Whitehead (2012) demonstrated that individuals with more literal views of the Bible, as well as those with higher religious attendance and practice, were more likely to hold a traditional gender role ideology. Additionally, this study revealed that beyond the influence of these religion variables, individuals who believed in a masculine image of God – who view God as a male – were more likely to embrace a traditional gender role ideology, so that this variable emerged as the strongest predictor of a conservative gender role ideology. On the contrary to other studies, Whitehead (2012) found no significant differences between different religious affiliations and



Evangelical Protestants in terms of gender role ideology, with the exception of the significant difference between Evangelical Protestants and the religiously unaffiliated individuals.

Gay, Ellison and Powers (1996) investigated the differences between members from different religious denominations / affiliations in terms of their attitudes towards pro-family issues which included attitudes towards gender roles, abortion, and sexuality. Similar to earlier findings on denominational differences, their results confirmed significant differences between different religious denomination groups in terms of these attitudes while pointing out the alignment of different religious denominations along liberal-moderate-conservative continuum on these attitudes. Regarding gender role attitudes, Jewish, non-affiliated, and Episcopal participants reported the most liberal attitudes, while Southern Baptists, and participants from other fundamental, evangelical and charismatic groups reported the most conservative. Similarly, examining the impact of fundamentalist religious views in a macro-level view, Moore and Vanneman (2003) found that the proportion of fundamentalists in a state was significantly related with the traditional gender role attitudes in that state, even after controlling for the participants' own religious affiliation, beliefs, and practices.

Confirming earlier findings, Seguino (2011) showed that higher religiosity – defined as religious belief intensity and religious participation – was strongly linked with traditional gender role attitudes using World Values Survey (WVS) data including 67 countries. No specific religious affiliation was found to be more gender inequitable than the others in this study. Importantly, Seguino (2011) also investigated whether the impact of religiosity on gender attitudes were transformed into gender outcomes at the country level and found religiosity's influence to extend beyond individual-level attitudes to negatively impact objective indicators of

gender equality across the countries, even after taking into account the countries' level of development.

Investigating the relationship between religion and gender equality worldwide using multiple macro-level data sources, Schnabel (2017) recently found that countries with more non-religious (agnostics and atheists) people tended to have more gender equality, even after controlling for the level of human development in a country. Importantly, a comparison of the world's four biggest religion groups revealed that the largest difference was not between Christianity, Islam, and Hinduism (three largest faiths around the world) but it was between the religious and the non-religious.

Islam, like other religions, should be considered as an important factor that shapes gender ideology, relationships between the sexes and marital partners. Defining the context for relationships in the family, Islam, as a patriarchal religion like Christianity and Judaism, can be considered to perpetuate and teach traditional gender roles, women's obedience and submission to men, and men's dominance, authority, and control over women. Although passages of the Quran are interpreted to describe the mutual obligation of the husband and the wife to each other, as Haj-Yahia (1998) puts it delicately: "Obligations are mutual, but not identical." Islam's position on gender relations and gender ideology is interpreted according to passages in Quran and Prophet Muhammad's sayings and speeches. For example, the passage from Quran, "Women ought to behave toward their husbands in manner as their husbands behave them, according to what is just" (Sura 2:228 and 2:187), and this quote from Prophet Muhammad, "Verily you have got certain rights over your women and your women have certain rights over you," are shown as supporting an idea of gender equality. However, a closer look, with consideration of other passages from Quran reveals that Islam presents a complimentary view of

the sexes rather than equality. As such, men have the obligation to be responsible for their wives, to provide for them and protect them, while wives' obligations are to be submissive and obedient to the husband as well as being satisfactory in the domains of motherhood, wifhood, and sexuality. Islam, similar to other religions, places on men the duties of taking care of, being responsible for, and having the control over women, while placing on women the duties of being respectful and obedient to husbands. As opposed to cited examples mentioned above, another passage from the Quran with more specifics regarding the nature of power relationship and obligations between husband and wife lead to much controversy. This passage, from Sura 4:34, serves as a good example, since it relates directly to the issue of husband having the right to physically discipline or beat his wife when the wife does not obey.

Similar to differential interpretations of scripture from Christianity and Judaism, the abovementioned Sura 4:34 from Quran also has different interpretations according to the different schools of thought in the Islamic tradition. The main debate is whether or not this passage is describing the superiority of men over women, and whether it sanctions the use of violence against women. Scholars who interpret this piece as pointing to male superiority also interpret it as sanctioning the husband's use of physical punishment on their wives. Other scholars reject this idea and offer alternative interpretations through discussing the idea of chastisement as the "last resort," or through reflecting on the multiple meanings of the original word used in Quran for "beating" and how it can be used symbolically or translated in different ways (Ammar, 2007).

Although Sura 4:34 from Quran lead to controversy due to different interpretations, it describes the role of women in the relationship as submission and obedience to husband while describing the husband's role as the authority figure, protector, provider, controller, and of

course, discipliner (Haj-Yahia, 1998, 2000). In this context, one can clearly see the patriarchal nature of Islam, similar to other religions, and how oppression of women, in general, and control over women and violence against them in case of disobedience is sanctioned and perpetuated through religion.

As the research studies summarized above demonstrate the powerful effect of religions in shaping gender role attitudes, expectations, gender relationships, and sexuality attitudes and behavior across different societies, and cultures, it also points out the importance of this socio-cultural factor being explored in the context of immigration. In this context, religions not only appear as a social control mechanism in terms of gender relations and sexuality, but it is also an important part of identity for immigrants creating another way for them to maintain ties with their original culture. Consequently, as religion is critical in relation to acculturation, gender role and sexuality attitudes, liberalism, and honor, it will be explored in the current study. Religious identity and religiosity are commonly very important among Turkish people, that's why it is constructed and measured as a multidimensional variable in this study to capture the Turkish immigrants' different understanding of religiosity.

### **Gaps in the Literature and Unanswered Questions**

Research on Turkish immigrants living in the U.S. has been limited. Although the Turkish immigrant community in the U.S. is relatively small compared to other immigrant/ethnic communities in the U.S., their numbers are not negligible, and it is still important to explore and understand their experience of acculturation. Turkish immigrants in Europe have been studied extensively in the literature as there are currently around 4 million Turkish immigrants living in Europe. Their acculturation processes have been studied, especially with a focus on the problems of adaptation due to being Muslims and sociocultural differences such as traditionality. However,

the exploration of these issues with Turkish immigrants living in the U.S. has been very limited (eg., Meberbeche Senouci, 2016; Bulut & Ebaugh, 2014; Akgun, 2000; Kaya, 2004). For example, the author was able to locate only one study that has examined the experiences of Turkish immigrants living in the U.S. in relation to their religiosity (Bulut & Ebaugh, 2014) although the link between religion and acculturation has been much more commonly studied with Turkish immigrants in Europe. One of the criticisms that has been noted in the literature is that the Muslim immigrants in the U.S. have been seen as a uniform group and have been studied as such, as if they are a homogeneous group despite coming from different countries representing a variety of cultural backgrounds. However, as Bulut and Ebaugh (2014) argued in their paper, Muslim immigrants who immigrate from Turkey represented a different group of Muslims as Turkey is a constitutionally secular country, and although the population is considered to be %99 Muslim and the number of non-practicing Muslims is still quite high. Taken together, studies of Turkish immigrants in the U.S. with a focus on religiosity in relation to acculturation process is lacking in the literature. The current study extends the literature by investigating the acculturation strategies of Turkish immigrants in the U.S. with a focus on the link between religiosity and acculturation of the participants. It also adds to the literature by taking a multidimensional approach of religiosity as religiosity is conceptualized and measured in different ways, such as religious orientation types, religious attitudes, and Islamic behavioral involvement.

Another important gap in the literature is the lack of studies that examined the issues of gender role attitudes, sexuality attitudes, and honor values among Turkish immigrants living in the U.S. This is important as the relationship between acculturation and gender role attitudes, and the relationship between acculturation and attitudes toward sexuality, have been repeatedly

shown in the literature with the most common finding being that acculturation is associated with less traditionalism or a liberalizing of gender role attitudes and more gender egalitarian attitudes. This has been shown with Hispanic, Asian immigrants, and Asian Indian immigrants. As Turkish immigrants' acculturation in relation to their gender role attitudes and attitudes towards sexuality and honor has never been studied, the current study extends the literature by investigating Turkish immigrants' acculturation strategies and its association with their attitudes toward honor, attitudes toward sexuality, sexism, and liberalism. Exploring Turkish immigrants' acculturation attitudes in relation to these sociocultural variables is also important since it provides a better understanding of Turkish immigrants' experience in the U.S. in comparison to Turkish immigrants in Europe in terms of gender role attitudes, traditionalism, and honor attitudes. Understanding these links between acculturation, religion, and gender- and sexuality-related attitudes is critical as these have important implications for the adaptation process of Turkish immigrants in Europe and the U.S.

In line with Berry's framework of acculturation (1997, 2005), which has been explained earlier, it can be expected that immigrant groups, or even sojourners –such as expats, international students, etc.,– experience change in their cultural values, norms, beliefs, and attitudes toward social issues as a result of culture shedding and culture learning. Based on this idea, the current research study aims to explore and understand the acculturation process and the experience of adaptation in Turkish immigrants and the resulting changes in attitudes toward honor as one of the central values in Turkish culture.

Turkish immigrants in Europe have been studied extensively in the literature, especially focusing on the problems with their integration. However, their experience as an ethnic group living in North America has been under-studied since they represent a much smaller group of

ethnic minority in the U.S. and Canada in comparison to other immigrant groups (Ataca & Berry, 2002). Although Turkish immigrants and Turkish-Americans represent a small minority ethnic group in the U.S., their number is increasing due to immigration resulting from education and work opportunities, as well as the U.S. lottery system for an opportunity to obtain a green card, which allows the holder to live and work in the U.S. indefinitely. Therefore, it is important to study this ethnic group and understand their acculturation process to shed light on their experience in the host culture.

North America is a different context than Europe. The culture is different; for example, the U.S. is considered to be more culturally “diverse” and the idea that “immigrants have built [the U.S.]” is widespread which might make it easier for immigrants to hold multiple identities, and make it easier to integrate (Stockemer & Moreau, 2020). The U.S. is also much farther away from Turkey, which adds to the distance between family members as opposed to only a few hours of air travel from Europe. Maybe more importantly, the laws and legal processes for immigrants are different (Kaya, 2013). Consequently, all of these differences have various implications in terms of acculturation and integration of Turkish immigrants in the U.S. Furthermore, the immigrants coming to the U.S. from Turkey represent a different group than the majority of immigrants who have immigrated to Europe. The majority of the Turkish immigrants living in Europe come from more traditional backgrounds and lower education levels overall. Turkish immigrants living in the U.S. are said to be constituting a different group as they come from a more educated, even wealthier and less traditional backgrounds (Kaya, 2013). Another important difference about the context in the host country: The number of Turkish immigrants in European countries is very high, which leads to “immigrant enclaves.” Turkish immigrants live in Turkish neighborhoods, they have Turkish grocery shops, restaurants, cafes, etc. So, most of

the time, Turkish immigrants in Europe live in these communities with other Turkish people, which is widely studied in the literature in relation to their adaptation or integration in their host country. This is very different from the context in the U.S. where most Turkish immigrants do not live in “immigrant enclaves,” they are less in number, and they are more scattered around (Kaya, 2013). Although they have Turkish shops, restaurants, or registered organizations to bring Turkish immigrants together, it is much less common compared to Europe.

### **Hypotheses**

Overall conceptual model of the current study is presented in Figure 1. Specific hypotheses are as follows:

1. It is hypothesized that acculturation strategies will be associated with unrestricted sexuality attitudes.
  - a. Participants who have higher endorsement of acculturation strategy of separation will have less favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality.
  - b. Participants who have higher endorsement of acculturation strategy of integration will have more favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality.
  - c. Participants who have higher endorsement of acculturation strategy of assimilation will have more favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality.
2. It is hypothesized that unrestricted sexuality attitudes will be associated with hostile and benevolent sexism similarly.
  - a. Participants who have a higher level of hostile sexism will have less favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality.
  - b. Participants who have a higher level of benevolent sexism will have less favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality.



3. It is hypothesized that the religious adherence factor and quest religious orientation will be associated with attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality differently.
  - a. Participants with a stronger religious adherence will have less favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality.
  - b. Participants with a stronger quest religious orientation will have more favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality.
4. It is hypothesized that the religious adherence factor will mediate the relationship between higher endorsement of separation acculturation strategy and unrestricted sexuality attitudes.
5. It is hypothesized that (hostile or benevolent) sexism will mediate the relationship between the religious adherence factor and unrestricted sexuality attitudes.

## **Methods**

### **Participants**

The total number of participants for the current study was 87. See Table 1 for a descriptives table describing the characteristics of the sample. The number of males and females in the sample were comparable, with 54.2% identifying as female. Participants were on average 45.91 years of age ( $SD = 11.71$ ). Nearly all of the participants (92.0 %) were born in Turkey and had lived in the US for an average of 21.51 years ( $SD = 11.44$ ). Study participants had 13.06 years of formal education on average ( $SD = 4.71$ ). The majority of the participants reported being affiliated with Islam as a religion; more specifically, 75.9% identified as Sunni Muslims, 19.5% as Alewi Muslims, while 4.6% identified as Jewish. Majority of the study participants reported being married (85.1%) while 63.2% reported that they were currently employed. For the participants that were born in Turkey, diversity was observed regarding their

geographic home in Turkey: 20.7% reported that they were born in Istanbul (the biggest city), while 12.6% reported Ankara (capital) as their birthplace, and the rest of the participants reported that they were born in various smaller cities in Turkey.

It should be noted that because the majority of the scales assessing religion were targeted for Islam, a small number of Jewish-Turkish participants (n=4) were removed from the sample. Additionally, due to missing data on certain parts of the questionnaire, the sample size was reduced to approximately 70 during most of the regression analysis.

### **Procedure**

The data for this study was collected from an acculturating community residing in a mid-sized city in the Northeast United States. The estimated number of Turkish immigrants and Turkish Americans living in this city is around 4,000 ([www.tsor.org](http://www.tsor.org)), so it is considered to be one of the cities with a large Turkish community in the US. Participants of the study were recruited through contact with a Turkish community organization in this city. This community organization was established in 1969 with the purpose of gathering Turkish individuals living in the area under one roof to celebrate Turkish national and religious holidays. Through their cooperation, multiple email announcements were sent out to the members of this organization about the research study with a voluntary call for participation and in-person solicitation occurred at social events. Data were collected via paper forms in groups of 1-15 individuals in the organization's facilities during the course of multiple visits between December 2013 and June 2014. Thus, data collection was achieved through a snowball sampling method among the Turkish individuals who were involved in the organization in general and who were attending the social events.

### **Measures**

### ***Translation Process***

The questionnaire used in the current study consisted of a selection of scales and subscales (see Table 2), which were previously used in a variety of research studies. As this sample represented an immigrant group with some individuals being born in the United States and not having Turkish as a first language, the participants were provided with the option to fill out the questionnaire in their preferred language: Turkish or English. The majority of the participants (82.8 %) filled out the questionnaire in Turkish. Some of the scales were originally developed in English and then later translated into Turkish and validated with a Turkish sample by other authors while some of the measures were not initially available in Turkish. The scales which were not previously available in both languages were translated into English or Turkish for the current study. In order to maintain meaning in scale items across Turkish and English, a detailed translation and back-translation process was completed by the researcher and another bilingual graduate student. First, the items were translated into the alternative language (English or Turkish) by the researcher, who is Turkish and is fluent in English. Another bilingual Turkish graduate student, who is also fluent in English and also has previously worked as a professional translator in English and Turkish, back-translated the translated items into the original language. Finally, the original and back-translated items were carefully compared to revise the items with unclarity or possible translation problems to ensure the equivalence of meaning of all items across the two languages.

*Demographic information.* Demographic information was obtained through demographic items developed by the authors. The items included questions about the participants' age, gender, birthplace, ethnicity, religious affiliation, relationship / marital status, educational attainment, occupation, and status of employment, as well as status of residency in the United States, the

location in Turkey where the participants used to live before they immigrated to the US, generational migration status, and preferred language of use currently and during childhood. The demographic items were developed in English and translated into Turkish, followed by a back-translation.

*Attitudes towards Honor (Namus).* The Attitudes toward Honor Scale (AHS), developed by Isik and Sakalli-Ugurlu (2009), was used to assess participants' attitudes toward honor. A sample item of the scale is "When a woman fails to protect her namus, it shames the family amongst the society." The scale has 14 items with a 6-point Likert type response scale, originally ranging from 1 to 6, but used with 0 (disagree strongly) to 5 (agree strongly) in the current study. Higher scores indicate a stronger endorsement of honor as being associated with women's sexuality. The original scale was developed in Turkish with a college sample in Turkey. The AHS was translated into English following the translation back-translation procedure described earlier. Isik and Sakalli-Ugurlu (2009) showed that the scale has good construct validity. The internal consistency of the scale in this sample was acceptable (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .77$ ).

*Acculturation Attitudes.* A shortened version of the Acculturation Attitudes Scale (Yagmurlu and Sanson (2009), based on a measure originally developed by Ataca and Berry (2002), was used in the current study to assess the acculturation status of the participants. The original scale was developed for a study on Turkish immigrants living in Canada, based on Berry's acculturation model. The scale produces four subscales representing the primary acculturation attitudes represented in Berry's theory: Integration, Assimilation, Separation, or Marginalization. The original scale included 44 items, with 11 items for each of the acculturation attitude subscales, with a Likert-type response scale ranging from "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree" (5). The shortened version had 20 items, with 5 items per each of the four

acculturation attitudes, that were selected according to their factor loadings from Ataca and Berry's data (2002). Three subscales consisting of 5 items each demonstrated acceptable reliability (Assimilation, Separation, and Integration). The sample items for each of the subscales are as follows: For the Separation subscale: "I would like my children to learn Turkish values and customs more than American values and customs"; for the Assimilation subscale: "I prefer to speak English more than Turkish at home"; and for the Integration subscale: "I like to celebrate both American and Turkish holidays". As the original scale was developed in English and Turkish, it was available for use in both languages. Higher scores on the subscale indicated increased acculturation attitudes. The reliabilities of the three subscales with the current sample, while low, were considered acceptable:  $\alpha = .63$  for Assimilation,  $\alpha = .75$  for Separation, and  $\alpha = .66$  for Integration.

*Attitudes towards Sexuality.* Attitudes toward Sexuality Scale (ATSS) developed by Fisher and Hall (1988) was used to assess attitudes toward sexuality. A sample item from the scale is "Sexual intercourse for unmarried young people is acceptable without affection existing if both partners agree." The ATSS has 13 items with a 5-point Likert scale response format ranging from "disagree strongly" to "agree strongly". Higher scores indicate more liberal attitudes toward sexuality. ATSS was found to have good construct validity and test-retest reliability (Fisher & Hall, 1988). The original scale was developed in English, and the translation and back-translation process was completed via the previously- described procedure for the current study. The scale had good internal consistency ( $\alpha = .80$ ) with the current sample.

*Liberalism.* Liberalism was measured by the Conventionalism Subscale of Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) Scale developed by Altemeyer (1996, 2007). RWA Scale has 22 items with a 9-point Likert-style response format ranging from "very strongly disagree" to "very

strongly agree”. The RWA Scale has been previously translated into Turkish by Guldu (2011) and shown to be valid with a Turkish college sample. In the Turkish validation study, after conducting a factor analysis, the author reported removing 2 items from the original scale that did not load well on any of the factors. The resulting version of the scale was found to have good convergent validity in its association with Social Dominance Orientation Scale, Intolerance of Ambiguity Scale and the Authoritarian Personality Scale in the Turkish sample. Also, it was reported that the Turkish version of the scale’s split-half reliability coefficient was .88 (Guldu, 2011). The nine Conventionalism items of this scale, with the Turkish translations taken from Guldu (2011), were used in the current study. A sample item is “Our country needs freethinkers who have the courage to defy traditional ways, even if this upsets many people”. The participants responded to the items using a six-point Likert-scale format with responses ranging from 0, “disagree strongly” to 5, “agree strongly”. Higher scores indicated more liberal attitudes. The scale had good internal consistency ( $\alpha = .83$ ) in the current sample.

*Religious Orientation.* Religious orientation was measured with a revised version (Ercan, 2009) of Muslim Religious Orientation Scale (MROS) developed by Harlak, Eskin, and Demirkiran (2008) and renamed to the Muslim Religious Orientation Scale Revised (MROS-R). The MROS was structured to have 3 subscales measuring Quest, Intrinsic and Extrinsic Religious Orientation. Ercan (2009) revised MROS through adding the new subscale of Fundamentalist Religious Orientation and rewording some of the existing items from the original scale. The finalized MROS-R has 21 items with a clear four-factor structure with each factor representing subscales of religious orientation. The sample items for each of these four subscales are as follows: (1) For Quest Religious Orientation: “My views on many religious matters are still changing”, (2) For Extrinsic Religious Orientation: “The reason I pray is to assure a happy

and calm life”, (3) For Intrinsic Religious Orientation: “I believe in God, because I feel so inside”, and (4) For Fundamentalist Religious Orientation: “Religious rules constitute an inalterable whole; you either accept or reject all at once”. MROS-R was originally used with a 7-point Likert-type response format ranging from “not at all true of me” (1) to “It is very true of me” (7). In the current study, however, this response format was modified to be in a 6-point Likert-type format ranging from “disagree strongly” (0) to “agree strongly” (5) in order to achieve consistency for the response formats throughout the entire questionnaire for the participants’ convenience. Finally, MROS-R was developed in Turkish so the process of translation to English --and back-translation-- was utilized for this study. The higher scores on each of the subscales indicated stronger orientation towards that particular dimension of religiosity. The reliabilities of the four subscales with the current sample were  $\alpha = .84$  for Intrinsic Religious Orientation,  $\alpha = .77$  for Fundamentalist Religious Orientation,  $\alpha = .59$  for Extrinsic Religious Orientation, and  $\alpha = .68$  for Quest Religious Orientation.

*Sexism.* A revised version of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory, developed by Glick and Fiske (1996), was used in the current study. The scale has 22 items with 2 subscales, Hostile Sexism and Benevolent Sexism, for which sample items are “Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them” and “Men are incomplete without women”, respectively. The scale was originally developed in English and revised by Glick et al. (2002) and translated to Turkish by Sakalli-Ugurlu (Glick et al., 2000) and later validated with a Turkish sample (Sakalli-Ugurlu, 2002). The participants responded with a Likert-scale type of a response scale ranging from 0 to 5; “disagree strongly” to “agree strongly” in the current study. Higher scores on the scale indicated higher level of sexism. The scale had good internal consistency in the current study ( $\alpha = .78$  for Hostile Sexism and  $\alpha = .81$  for Benevolent Sexism).

*Religious Attitudes.* There were three items in this scale, which was taken from van Tubergen's research (2007) in the Netherlands studying the effect of social integration on Muslim immigrants' (including Turkish immigrants) different dimensions of religiosity. Religious attitudes scale was used in the current study to capture a different aspect of religiosity of Turkish immigrants that was not captured by the other religion variables included in the study. One of the items' wording was changed from "in the Netherlands" to "in the US" to be used in the current study. The previously-described process of translation of items from English to Turkish (and back translation) was completed for this study. Items are; "It is regrettable that religion becomes less important in daily life in the US", "It is unpleasant when your daughter wants to marry someone from a different religion", "It is unpleasant when your son wants to marry someone from a different religion". In the current study, the participants responded on a Likert response scale ranging from 0 to 5; "disagree strongly" to "agree strongly". Higher scores on the scale indicated stronger endorsement of religious attitudes. The scale had good internal consistency with the current sample ( $\alpha = .78$ ).

*Islamic Behavioral Involvement.* This scale included four items that intended to measure participants' engagement in actions that reflect how much they are involved with Islam in everyday life. The scale was taken from research by Verkuyten and Yildiz (2007) where they studied dimensions of Muslim identity in explaining national (dis)identification among Turkish-Dutch Muslims in the Netherlands. A sample item from the scale is "Islamic practices regulate my daily life". Translation and back-translation of this scale between English and Turkish was also completed in the current study. The participants responded to the items using a five-point Likert-scale format with responses ranging from 0, "disagree strongly" to 5, "agree strongly" in



the present study. Higher scores indicated greater behavioral involvement with Islam. The scale had very good internal consistency ( $\alpha = .90$ ) in the current sample.

### **Analyses and Results**

Given the centrality of gender in the analyses, the first set of analyses examined whether there were any gender differences across the variables. An independent samples t-test was performed on all of the variables of interest: Attitudes toward honor, attitudes toward sexuality, liberalism, fundamentalist religious orientation, extrinsic religious orientation, intrinsic religious orientation, quest religious orientation, religious attitudes, Islamic behavioral involvement, hostile and benevolent sexism, and separation, assimilation, integration acculturation attitudes. As indicated in Table 3, no significant differences were observed between male and female, with the exception of hostile sexism. Males had significantly higher scores of hostile sexism than females in the sample.

#### **Bivariate Correlations between Predictor and Control Variables**

In order to examine the pattern of intercorrelations, a correlation matrix was constructed to examine the associations between the study variables. As demonstrated in Table 4, moderate to high correlations between most of the study variables in the expected direction were observed. As expected, the attitudes toward honor variable was highly correlated with attitudes toward sexuality, liberalism, fundamentalist religious orientation, and the acculturation attitude of separation. That is, participants who had more positive attitudes towards honor had more conservative attitudes toward sexuality, were more conservative in general, and had stronger fundamentalist religious orientations. Liberalism and attitudes toward sexuality were also strongly positively correlated, indicating that increasing liberalism was associated with increased favorable attitudes towards sexuality. As expected, fundamentalist religious orientation was

negatively correlated with liberalism and attitudes toward sexuality. Therefore, the participants who reported stronger fundamentalist religious orientation were found to report being less liberal in general as well as having less liberal attitudes toward sexuality. The acculturation variable of higher preference of separation was associated with a tendency to be less liberal in general, have less liberal attitudes toward sexuality, have a stronger fundamentalist religious orientation, and have more positive attitudes toward honor. Attitudes toward honor were also observed to have low but significant positive correlations with hostile and benevolent sexism, extrinsic religious orientation, and moderate significant positive correlations with religious attitudes and Islam behavioral involvement, while it had a low but significant negative correlation with quest religious orientation. As expected, participants who had more positive attitudes toward honor had higher scores in both types of sexism and also had higher scores in various types of religion variables, with the exception of quest religious orientation which represents a more liberal stance of religiosity. Correlation analysis resulted in no notable associations between attitudes toward honor and the acculturation attitudes of assimilation and integration. Results also revealed significant positive correlations (ranging from low to high) between all of the different religion variables, with the exception of quest religious orientation. This variable did not have notable associations with the other religion variables except having significant negative low correlations with fundamentalist religious orientation and Islam behavioral involvement variable. The strongest associations were between attitudes toward honor, attitudes toward sexuality, and liberalism. Additionally, fundamentalist religious orientation emerged as the most important religion variable in relation to these variables. Also, the acculturation attitude of separation appeared as another important variable having significant correlations ranging from low to moderate with majority of the other variables in the study, but most importantly, having

significant associations with attitudes toward honor, attitudes toward sexuality, liberalism, and fundamentalist religious orientation.

### **Factor Analyses of Variables**

Examination of the correlation matrix of the main variables of interest in the study revealed strong correlations between attitudes toward honor, attitudes toward sexuality, and liberalism, as expected. These strong associations the possibility of an underlying construct encompassing these variables. To test this possibility, a factor analysis with principal components extraction was performed on attitudes toward honor, attitudes toward sexuality and liberalism variables. The results of the factor analysis supported the presence of a single underlying factor. As demonstrated in Table 5, all of the three variables loaded highly on a single factor and no other factors emerged, indicating that there is an overarching construct shared by all these three variables. As a result, the primary construct of study was the broader latent factor that was named “unrestricted sexuality.” Factor scores were produced and saved as part of this factor analysis. These factor scores were used as the variable “unrestricted sexuality factor” for the remaining of the analyses where this construct was included in the analyses.

While the religion measures were used in the study with the intention to capture different dimensions of religiosity, the strong associations observed between the different religion variables revealed the possibility of an underlying generalized religiosity construct that was shared by all the religion variables. To examine this possibility further, a factor analysis with principal components extraction and Oblimin Rotation was performed on the variables of intrinsic religious orientation, extrinsic religious orientation, fundamentalist religious orientation, quest religious orientation, religious attitudes, and Islamic behavioral involvement. As shown in Table 6, all religion variables other than quest religious orientation loaded highly on a single

factor, confirming that there is an overarching religion construct encompassing all these different religion variables. The eigen value was high and the factor accounted significant variance. This factor was labeled “Religious Adherence,” and was used in the remaining analyses as the primary variable representing religious practice and belief. The only religion variable that did not load on this factor was the quest religious orientation that loaded as the sole variable on the second factor. This was expected since the quest religious orientation had moderate and weak negative associations with the other religion variables in the study and is different conceptually from the other scales. Similar to the first factor analysis, factor scores here in this second factor analysis were also produced and saved. These factor scores were used for the remaining of the analyses where the religious adherence factor was included.

The broader factors were then included in the correlation matrix as factor scores including the unrestricted sexuality and religious adherence factors in the analysis with the other main variables of interest. As shown in Table 4, unrestricted sexuality factor scores were strongly associated with attitudes toward sexuality and liberalism while negatively associated with attitudes toward honor. Additionally, religious adherence factor scores had a moderate positive significant correlation with intrinsic religious orientation and high positive significant correlations with extrinsic religious orientation, fundamentalist religious orientation, religious attitudes, and Islamic behavioral involvement. Unrestricted sexuality factor had low to moderate significant negative correlations with intrinsic religious orientation, fundamentalist religious orientation, extrinsic religious orientation, religious attitudes, and Islamic behavioral involvement. Religious adherence factor had a moderate significant positive correlation with attitudes toward honor while having moderate significant negative correlations with attitudes toward sexuality and liberalism. Unrestricted sexuality factor scores were associated with

decreased religious adherence factor scores. Unrestricted sexuality had low but significant negative correlations with hostile and benevolent sexism, while religious adherence had moderate significant positive correlations with hostile and benevolent sexism. Accordingly, participants with stronger endorsement of unrestricted sexuality were less likely to have sexist attitudes while participants with stronger religious adherence were more likely to have sexist attitudes. Results revealed that unrestricted sexuality view had a moderate significant negative correlation with separation while having a low but significant positive correlation with integration. Accordingly, the participants with stronger endorsement of unrestricted sexuality view were less likely to endorse separation acculturation attitude while they were more likely to endorse integration acculturation attitude. On the other hand, religious adherence had a moderate significant positive correlation with separation while having a low but significant negative correlation with integration. The participants with stronger religious adherence were more likely to endorse separation acculturation attitude more while they were less likely to endorse integration acculturation attitude. To conclude, correlation analysis results indicated that unrestricted sexuality and religious adherence factors emerged as important constructs having mostly moderate to high significant associations with other key variables in the study.

### **Regression Analyses**

The remaining hypotheses of the study were tested using multiple regression analyses. Before testing regression models, preliminary analyses were conducted to ensure none of the assumptions of normality, linearity, multicollinearity, and homoscedasticity have been violated.

Hypothesis 1 stated that acculturation strategies will be associated with unrestricted sexuality attitudes. Specifically, Hypothesis 1a stated that participants who have higher endorsement of acculturation strategy of separation will have less favorable attitudes towards

unrestricted sexuality, while Hypotheses 1b stated that participants who have higher endorsement of acculturation strategy of integration will have more favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality. Finally, Hypothesis 1c stated that participants who have higher endorsement of acculturation strategy of assimilation will have more favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality. In order to test Hypothesis 1 (a, b, and c); a hierarchical multiple regression analysis was conducted. For this regression model, attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality factor scores were regressed on the control variables (age, sex, number of years of formal education, and having children) for the first step, and it was regressed on the control variables and on predictor variables of separation, integration, and assimilation, for the second step. The first model was significant,  $F(4, 67) = 6.04, p < .01$ . Of the control variables, years of formal education was associated with increased favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality while no other control variables were significant. The control variables accounted for 26.5% of the variance in the unrestricted sexuality variable (factor scores). In the second model, the unrestricted sexuality variable was regressed on the set of controls and the three primary acculturation strategies. The inclusion of the acculturation strategies significantly increased the variance accounted for in the unrestricted sexuality variable ( $\Delta R^2 = .19, F(3, 64) = 7.59, p < .001$ ). The overall model was significant  $F(7, 64) = 7.72, p < .001$  and accounted for 45.8% of the variance. As can be seen in Table 7 the regression analysis indicated that separation and integration acculturation strategies had significant coefficients in relation to unrestricted sexuality factor scores. Separation significantly predicted decreased unrestricted sexuality attitudes while the relationship was negative indicating that participants with stronger endorsement of separation acculturation strategy had less favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality. On the other hand, integration significantly predicted increased unrestricted sexuality attitudes. Finally, assimilation

as an acculturation strategy was not significantly associated with unrestricted sexuality attitudes as a result of this analysis. Accordingly, Hypothesis 1 was partly confirmed as Hypothesis 1a and 1b were confirmed while 1c was not.

Hypothesis 2 stated that unrestricted sexuality attitudes will be associated with hostile and benevolent sexism similarly. Specifically, Hypothesis 2a stated that participants who have a higher level of hostile sexism will have less favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality while Hypothesis 2b stated that participants who have a higher level of benevolent sexism will have less favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality. In order to test Hypothesis 2 (a and b); two separate hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted due to the high correlation between hostile sexism and benevolent sexism variables. For the first regression analysis, attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality (factor scores) was regressed on the control variables (age, sex, number of years of formal education, and having kids) for the first step, and it was regressed on the control variables and, on predictor variable of hostile sexism for the second step. The results are presented in Tables 8. The first model was significant,  $F(4, 67) = 6.04, p < .01$ . Of the control variables, years of formal education was associated with increased favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality. The control variables accounted for 26.5% of the variance in the unrestricted sexuality variable while no other control variables were significant. In the second model, the unrestricted sexuality variable was regressed on the set of controls and hostile sexism. The inclusion of the hostile sexism significantly increased the variance accounted for in the unrestricted sexuality variable ( $\Delta R^2 = .06, F(1, 66) = 5.77, p < .05$ ). The overall model was significant  $F(5, 66) = 6.33, p < .001$  and accounted for 32.4% of the variance. As can be seen in Table 8, this regression analysis indicated that hostile sexism significantly predicted unrestricted sexuality factor scores negatively showing that participants

with a higher level of hostile sexism had less favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality. Hypothesis 2a was confirmed. In order to test Hypothesis 2b, a second hierarchical multiple regression was conducted using the same set of control variables in the first step and adding on benevolent sexism as the predictor in the second step. The results are shown in Table 8. Results were the same for the control variables as years of formal education was associated with increased favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality. The control variables again accounted for 26.5% of the variance in the unrestricted sexuality variable while no other control variables were significant. In the second step, benevolent sexism did not significantly predict unrestricted sexuality factor scores, although the negative coefficient was close to significance. So, this relationship might have come out significant if the sample of the study was bigger. Hypothesis 2b was not confirmed.

Hypothesis 3 stated that the religious adherence factor scores and quest religious orientation will be associated with attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality differently. Specifically, Hypothesis 3a stated that participants with a stronger religious adherence will have less favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality, while Hypothesis 3b stated that participants with a stronger quest religious orientation will have more favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality. In order to test Hypothesis 3 (a and b); a hierarchical multiple regression analysis was conducted. For this analysis, attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality was regressed on the control variables (age, sex, number of years of formal education, and having kids) for the first step, and it was regressed on the control variables and, on predictor variables of religious adherence factor scores, and quest religious orientation for the second step. The first model was significant,  $F(4, 65) = 5.57, p < .01$ . Of the control variables, years of formal education was associated with increased favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality. The control



variables accounted for 25.5% of the variance in the unrestricted sexuality variable while no other control variables were significant. In the second model, the unrestricted sexuality factor scores were regressed on the set of controls and the two main religion variables of religious adherence factor scores and quest religious orientation. The inclusion of the religion variables significantly increased the variance accounted for in the unrestricted sexuality variable ( $\Delta R^2 = .38$ ,  $F(2, 63) = 32.24$ ,  $p < .001$ ). The overall model was significant  $F(6, 63) = 18.02$ ,  $p < .001$  and accounted for 63.2% of the variance. As can be seen in Table 9 the regression analysis indicated that both religious adherence and quest religious orientation had significant coefficients in relation to unrestricted sexuality. Religious adherence significantly predicted unrestricted sexuality attitudes while the relationship was negative indicating that participants with stronger religious adherence had less favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality. On the other hand, quest religious orientation significantly predicted unrestricted sexuality attitudes, but as expected the relationship was positive revealing that participants with stronger quest religious orientation had more favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality. Consequently, Hypothesis 3 was confirmed.

Hypothesis 4 stated that the religious adherence factor will mediate the relationship between higher preference of separation acculturation strategy and unrestricted sexuality attitudes. In order to test the proposed mediation model in Hypothesis 4, a series of linear regression models were tested following the four-step mediation testing method described by Baron and Kenny (1986). This four-step method states that mediation should be tested with three respective regression equations (steps 3 and 4 combined in the third regression equation); 1) X (separation in this hypothesis) predicts the criterion Y (unrestricted sexuality attitudes in this hypothesis), 2) X (separation) predicts the mediator M (religious adherence in this hypothesis),

and 3) X (separation) and M (religious adherence) both predict the criterion Y (unrestricted sexuality attitudes). Accordingly, three separate linear regression analyses were performed to test the mediation model proposed in Hypothesis 4. In all of the regression models, participants' age, sex, number of years of formal education, and having kids were entered as control variables.

In the first regression analysis, unrestricted sexuality attitudes was regressed on the control variables and the predictor variable of separation. The results can be examined in Table 9. This first regression model was significant,  $F(5, 64) = 8.62, p < .01$ . As was observed in the previous analyses, of the control variables, only years of formal education was significant, and it was associated with increased favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality. As expected, higher endorsement of separation significantly predicted decreased unrestricted sexuality attitudes (see Table 10) and accounted for 40.2% of the variance.

In the second regression model, religious adherence factor scores were regressed on the control variables and the predictor variable of separation. This regression model was significant,  $F(5, 64) = 7.14, p < .01$ . As was observed in the previous analyses, of the control variables, only years of formal education was significant, and it was associated with decreased religious adherence. Higher degree of separation significantly predicted increased religious adherence (see Table 10) and accounted for 35.8% of the variance.

In the final regression model, to test for the mediation effect of religious adherence, unrestricted sexuality attitudes was regressed on control variables, and the predictor variables of both separation and religious adherence. This final model was significant,  $F(6, 63) = 13.98, p < .01$ . As was observed in the previous analyses, of the control variables, only years of formal education was significant in all of the models. This final model (see Table 10) accounted for 57.1% of the variance ( $\Delta R^2 = .17, F(1, 63) = 24.78, p < .001$ ). The results of these three

regression models were examined together and it was observed that all the models were significant, and that there was a decrease in the standardized regression coefficient of separation in predicting unrestricted sexuality attitudes and the unique contribution of this variable became non-significant in the final regression model which revealed that religious adherence mediated the relationship between higher endorsement of separation and unrestricted sexuality attitudes. A visual representation of the mediation model with the relationship between three variables as stated in Hypothesis 4 is demonstrated in Figure 2. Consequently, Hypothesis 4 was confirmed.

Baron and Kenny (1986) advise caution in concluding that the indirect path is an actual mediation without testing the significance of the indirect effect. The use of Sobel test is one of the ways of testing whether or not the observed indirect effect is mediation (Sobel, 1982; Baron & Kenny, 1986). Thus, as the final step of analyses testing Hypothesis 4, a Sobel test was performed through [quantpsy.org/sobel/sobel.htm](http://quantpsy.org/sobel/sobel.htm) to examine if the indirect effect in the above described analyses can be interpreted as a significant mediation effect. The result of the Sobel test was significant;  $z = -3,26$ ,  $p < .01$ , indicating that the observed mediation was significant, and that religious adherence mediated the relationship between higher endorsement of separation acculturation strategy and unrestricted sexuality. Accordingly, the association between separation and unrestricted sexuality attitudes is mediated through religious adherence where participants who more strongly endorse separation as an acculturation strategy tend to have stronger religious adherence, and these participants with stronger religious adherence tend to have less favorable attitudes of unrestricted sexuality.

Hypothesis 5 stated that (hostile or benevolent) sexism will mediate the relationship between the religious adherence factor scores and unrestricted sexuality attitudes (factor scores). In order to test the proposed mediation model in Hypothesis 5, the same method described above

in detail was used where a series of linear regression models were run in line with the four-step mediation testing method specified by Baron and Kenny (1986). The previous analyses indicated that Hypothesis 2b was not confirmed so benevolent sexism was not significantly associated with unrestricted sexuality attitudes, hence it was not included in this final analysis. Only hostile sexism variable was used in this mediation analysis in testing Hypothesis 5. Three separate linear regression analyses were performed to test the mediation model proposed. In all of the regression models, participants' age, sex, number of years of formal education, and having kids were entered as control variables. In the first regression analysis, factor scores for unrestricted sexuality attitudes were regressed on the control variables and the predictor variable of religious adherence. This first regression model was significant,  $F(5, 64) = 15.64, p < .01$ . As was observed in the previous analyses, of the control variables, only years of formal education was significant, and it was associated with increased favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality. As expected, religious adherence factor scores significantly predicted unrestricted sexuality attitudes (see Table 11) and accounted for 38.9% of the variance. This relationship was negative indicating that participants with stronger religious adherence had less favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality. In the second regression model, hostile sexism was regressed on the control variables and the predictor variable of religious adherence. This model was significant,  $F(5, 64) = 7.45, p < .01$ . Another control variable that was significant in this model was sex; as expected female participants had lower level of hostile sexism. Religious adherence factor scores significantly predicted hostile sexism (see Table 11) and accounted for 27.1% of the variance. This association was positive so that the participants with stronger religious adherence had higher levels of hostile sexism.

In the final regression model, to test for the mediation effect of hostile sexism, unrestricted sexuality attitudes was regressed on control variables, and the predictor variables of both religious adherence and hostile sexism. This final model was significant,  $F(6, 63) = 12.83, p < .01$ . As was observed in the previous analyses, of the control variables, only years of formal education associated with more favorable attitudes of unrestricted sexuality. This final model (see Table 11) accounted for 55% of the variance however the addition of hostile sexism to the regression model did not lead to any change in the variance accounted for ( $\Delta R^2 = .00, F(1, 63) = 0.15, p > .05$ ). The results of these three regression models were examined together and it was observed that although all the models were significant, there was no decrease in the standardized regression coefficient of religious adherence in predicting unrestricted sexuality attitudes and the unique contribution of this variable was still significant in the final regression model. This indicated that hostile sexism did not mediate the relationship between religious adherence and unrestricted sexuality attitudes. A visual representation of the mediation model with the relationship between three variables as stated in Hypothesis 5 is demonstrated in Figure 3. The results can be examined in Table 11. Consequently, Hypothesis 5 was not confirmed.

As a final step, a series of moderating analyses were performed to test whether there were any interactions between the key variables and gender. The results for these analyses revealed no significant findings as none of the interaction terms significantly predicted the variables of interest (see Table 12). Here, in the first analysis, unrestricted sexuality factor scores were regressed on separation, sex, and Separation x Sex interaction term, and the resulting model was significant,  $F(3, 73) = 6.52, p < .01$ . Similarly, in the second analysis, unrestricted sexuality factor scores were regressed on integration, sex, and Integration x Sex interaction term, and the resulting model was significant,  $F(3, 73) = 3.87, p < .05$ . In the third analysis, unrestricted

sexuality factor scores were regressed on religious adherence, sex, and Religious Adherence x Sex interaction term, and the resulting model was significant,  $F(3, 71) = 19, p < .01$ . For the fourth analysis, unrestricted sexuality factor scores were regressed on hostile sexism, sex, and Hostile Sexism x Sex interaction term, and the resulting model was significant,  $F(3, 73) = 4.88, p < .01$ . Finally, in the fifth analysis, religious adherence factor scores were regressed on separation, sex, and Separation x Sex interaction term, and the resulting model was significant,  $F(3, 71) = 6.28, p < .01$ .

## **Discussion**

### **Summary of Key Findings**

The purpose of the current study was to examine Turkish immigrants' acculturation strategies in relation to their important sociocultural values; specifically honor and sexuality attitudes, conservatism, sexism, and religion. All these variables have previously been shown in the literature to play important roles in the acculturation process of immigrants in general, as well as being influenced by the acculturation process itself. Hence, this study attempted to shed light into these complex relationships in a particularly understudied group of immigrants that live in the United States, through the lens of Berry's (1997, 2005) framework of acculturation.

The findings of the study revealed that honor, a central value in Turkish culture determining familial relationships as well as women's social, behavioral, and most importantly sexual code of conduct (Arin, 2001; Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001; Cihangir, 2013; Akpınar, 2003; Sakalli & Akbas, 2013), could be viewed as being part of the more general liberal/conservative continuum of sexuality attitudes. This was shown by the factor analysis conducted in the current study which resulted in honor attitudes, sexuality attitudes, and conservatism to come together in a single factor pointing to one common underlying construct of unrestricted sexuality attitudes.

The key findings of this work was the relationships between acculturation strategies and unrestricted sexuality attitudes. In line with the past literature, this study found that immigrants who endorsed separation more as an acculturation strategy, indicating that they identified much more strongly with their Turkish identity relative to their American identity, had less favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality while immigrants that endorsed integration, a strategy in which the immigrants favorably endorsed both their Turkish and American identities, as an acculturation strategy had more favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality. The liberalizing influence of acculturation on gender and sexuality attitudes that is repeatedly shown in the literature has been replicated in the current study (e.g., Phinney & Flores, 2002; Leaper & Valin, 1996; Yoon et al., 2019). Surprisingly, the assimilation strategy of acculturation was not associated with favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality, which was unexpected due to past findings on the topic (e.g., Valentine & Mosley, 2000; Tang & Dion, 1999).

Much of the relationship between acculturation strategies and views on sexuality was explained by religion. This study attempted to describe religion from a more multifaceted perspective, by assessing religion through multiple measures in an attempt to capture the breadth of this important socio-cultural variable and delineate the multiple components of religious adherence. However, the findings revealed that different subdimensions of religious orientation (extrinsic, intrinsic, and fundamentalist), religious attitudes, and Islam behavioral involvement all combined in a single construct. This broader construct of religious adherence emerged as an important factor in relating to other variables in the study, especially a higher degree of separation strategy of acculturation and unrestricted sexuality attitudes. Quest religious orientation, which denotes an approach to religiosity in which there is a greater amount of questioning of traditional tenets of religion and even in the existence of deities, emerged as a

separate construct than the rest of the religion variables in the study as expected since it represents a more liberal stance of religiosity (Batson & Ventis, 1982 as cited in Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Harlak et. al., 2008; Ercan, 2009). Parallel to past research in the field highlighting the link between strong religiosity and conservative sexual attitudes (e.g., Beckwith & Morrow, 2005; Luquis, Brelsford, & Rojas-Guyler, 2012; Ahrold et. al., 2011), the current study revealed that participants who had stronger religious adherence endorsed less favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality. Conversely, the participants who had stronger quest religious orientation endorsed more favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality.

The central finding of the current study was that religious adherence mediated the relationship between higher endorsement of separation strategy and unrestricted sexuality attitudes. More specifically, Turkish immigrants in the current sample who endorsed separation strategy more as a way of acculturating had stronger religious adherence and the ones with stronger religious adherence had more unfavorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality. This finding points to the important relationship of higher degree of separation to sexuality attitudes in general was not just direct but rather mediated through religious adherence, which, once again, confirmed the complex linkages between culture and religion in determining sexuality attitudes as immigrants work through multiple facets of their identities living in a different culture from their own. The link between religiosity and acculturation have been studied in the past with general findings pointing to the importance of religion in the acculturation process of immigrants as religion constitutes an important facet of their identity (e.g., Fleischmann & Phalet, 2012; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007; Beek & Fleischmann, 2019). In this context, the present study contributed to the literature in highlighting one of the complex mechanisms through which religiosity plays a role in the maintenance of conservative sexuality attitudes among immigrants



who tend to separate themselves from the host culture as a way of acculturating in a country they migrated.

### **Honor and Sexuality Attitudes and Conservatism Representing a Single Construct:**

#### **Unrestricted Sexuality**

The term “honor” usually conveys the meaning “moral integrity” in the West, whereas it may signify a much more central value in different societies with a high honor orientation, for example in some Mediterranean countries, Balkan countries, and Middle Eastern and Arab countries. Turkey is one of these countries known to have an honor culture. (Arin, 2001; Sev’er & Yurdakul, 2001; Cihangir, 2012; Akpınar, 2003; Isik & Sakalli-Ugurlu, 2009). In countries identified as honor cultures, such as Turkey, a special kind of honor, *namus*, is tied to a woman’s chastity; meaning that her controlled sexuality represents her family’s, and her husband’s, honor. Accordingly, the woman’s sexuality needs to be controlled, and her purity must be maintained so that her family and husband can keep their place in the community. This sexual type of honor – *namus* – is a central cultural value and has implications for socialization of women and men into gender roles in Turkish society since it acts as a social control mechanism or code of conduct for managing couple relationships and familial relationships.

Research suggest that *Namus* is associated with patriarchy as it dictates women to be considered as property of men rather than an independent being (e.g., Kandiyoti, 1988; Pitt-Rivers, 1965). With this premise in mind, a glance at the research on gender role attitudes, traditional views of women, sexism and patriarchy in general confirm the relationships between these various psycho-social constructs, the common ground being patriarchy, in the context of Turkish society, known to be a conservative society. For example, Sakalli-Ugurlu and Glick (2003) found that male participants, in a sample of college students, in Turkey reported that they

found women's pre-marital sex inappropriate, while also reporting an unwillingness to get married with a girl who is not a virgin. Similarly, it was also found that the idea of women should be virgins at the time of marriage was a highly supported opinion among a sample of nursing students and nurses from Turkey (Gursoy & Vural, 2003; Zeynepoglu, Kisa, & Yilmaz, 2013). Sakalli-Ugurlu, Akbas, and Metin-Orta (2013) found that benevolent sexism predicted favorable namus attitudes among male and female participants while hostile sexism predicted favorable namus attitudes among male participants. While both patriarchal attitudes and control of women's sexuality are also found in American culture, and there is also often emphasis on honor, particularly in the American south, there is less of an emphasis on namus-related attitudes. Consequently, as the Turkish immigrants acculturate within this context, they may see a changing of their views on namus to accord more with American viewpoints.

There remains considerable question as to the form of the constructs of honor and how patriarchal attitudes related to honor might exist differently across cultures. In the context of this study, the distinct concept of Namus was found to be highly related to other attitudinal variables such as conservatism and general attitudes on sexuality. Factor analysis demonstrated that these variables likely shared underlying variation and represent a single construct that centered more on general viewpoints of women's sexuality. Considering namus as one component of this broader construct of unrestricted sexuality attitudes highlights the importance of viewing namus as part of the more general and universal construct of attitudes on women's sexuality, as opposed to viewing the concept of namus as a culture specific phenomenon. The roots of namus and the importance of women's sexuality in honor cultures is a commonly addressed issue in the literature as different scholars, in an effort to understand the emergence of honor system, focus on the factors such as shared geographical and cultural roots among honor cultures, or the role of

religion, specifically Islam in relation to honor cultures (e.g., Kocturk, 1992; Fildis, 2013). In this context, the current study's finding that namus attitudes combine with sexuality attitudes and conservatism to form a broader construct of unrestricted sexuality attitudes adds to the understanding of namus attitudes as a culturally specific manifestation of more universal patriarchal system where women's sexuality is constantly monitored, controlled, and oppressed by men.

An interesting component of this study is that while the study revealed that sexuality attitudes were largely representative of a single construct, that the impact of specific forms of sexism was more distinct. Hostile and benevolent sexism did not combine with the unrestricted sexuality attitudes factor rather forming a separate factor of ambivalent sexism in the analysis. This was not surprising as ambivalent sexism seems to act as a separate construct that is also based on patriarchy, but the measure could be viewed as assessing the idea of male superiority in different areas rather than focusing on just women's sexuality (Sakalli-Ugurlu, 2002; Glick & Fiske, 1996). However, in line with the past studies mentioned above, the two constructs are closely related as hostile sexism predicted unrestricted sexuality attitudes such that the participants with higher hostile sexism had less favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality in the current study.

### **Acculturation Strategies and Unrestricted Sexuality Attitudes**

Berry (2005) defines acculturation as the "dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members" (p.698). Accordingly, acculturation at two levels are described: the individual level, which concerns people's cultural, psychological, and behavioral changes, and group level acculturation which pertains to social changes, institutional change, as well as

changes in cultural practices. In explaining how acculturation takes place, Berry (1997, 2005) identifies two dimensions; “cultural maintenance” and “contact and participation”. Cultural maintenance refers to the level of importance a person (e.g., immigrant) gives to maintaining their original cultural identity and characteristics. On the other hand, contact and participation dimension refers to the person’s level of involvement in other cultural groups (e.g., host culture) and their cultural characteristics. Consequently, dependent on the person’s level in these two dimensions, four acculturation strategies emerge: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization. Integration and separation are two most important acculturation strategies in the current study as these were highlighted in the findings. In this context, higher endorsement of integration strategy of acculturation would mean being involved with the Americans and American culture in general as well as being relatively equally involved in the Turkish culture for Turkish immigrants. On the other hand, higher endorsement of separation would mean being involved only in Turkish culture in an effort to maintain ties with their original culture and maintain their original cultural, Turkish, identity while living in the U.S., for Turkish immigrants.

As immigrants living in a new cultural environment are exposed to different cultural characteristics from their own culture, they often experience changes. Berry (1997) describes culture shedding and culture learning as ways through which the immigrants experience these processes of change in a host country. In this context, it is expected that immigrants might experience changes in their attitudes, beliefs, and values as a result of acculturation.

Accordingly, previous studies examining acculturation in relation to different social values and attitudes reveal a liberalizing influence of acculturation on gender role and sexuality attitudes among many different groups of immigrants such as Hispanic and Latino/a, Asian, and Asian

Indian groups of immigrants (e.g., Phinney & Flores, 2002; Leaper & Valin, 1996; Guo, 2019; Mann et al., 2017).

For example, Phinney and Flores (2002) showed that the bicultural or integrated participants in their Hispanic sample held more egalitarian sex-role attitudes similar to mainstream American culture. Similarly, Leaper and Valin (1996) found that their sample of Mexican Americans who were involved in both cultures, were more likely to hold egalitarian gender attitudes. Conversely, Yoon et al. (2019)'s findings revealed that enculturation -defined as retention of one's own ethnic values- predicted more patriarchal beliefs in their sample of Asian Americans. This finding was replicated in a sample Asian Indians living in the U.S. by Yoshihama et al. (2014). In a different study, Guo (2019) found that Asian American men with bicultural orientations reported more liberal sexual attitudes.

In line with the example studies outlined above, this study also found that acculturation strategies significantly predicted unrestricted sexuality attitudes among the current sample of Turkish immigrants. More specifically, it was found that participants who tended to have integration strategy as a way of acculturating in the American culture endorsed more favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality while the participants who tended to have a higher degree of separation strategy as a way of acculturating endorsed less favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality attitudes. Despite these findings confirming the acculturation strategies' impact on sexuality attitudes among this sample of Turkish immigrants, it was surprising that assimilation strategy was not associated with more favorable attitudes of unrestricted sexuality. Since assimilation means immigrants' involvement with the host culture while not being interested in maintaining their original cultural identity and cultural characteristics, it could be expected that immigrants who tended to have assimilation as a way of acculturating would

endorse more liberal sexuality attitudes. This was also confirmed in the existing literature; for example, with a Mexican American sample (Valentine & Mosley, 2000). The lack of this relationship in the current study could possibly be resulting from methodological factors such as the small sample size or the low internal consistency of assimilation measure. However, it may also be the case that for the Turkish community that views on sexuality are more closely linked to their view on Turkish identity is more critical for determining their views on sexuality than the extent to which they adopt more American views. Although Cronbach's alpha values for all these were acceptable for using in the analyses, it should be noted that the assimilation subscale had the lowest internal consistency while the separation subscale had the highest. This brings up the possibility that this measure of assimilation might have not worked well in the current sample of Turkish immigrants, which might have affected the findings.

### **Religion and Unrestricted Sexuality Attitudes**

Past research on religion, and sexuality and gender role attitudes have consistently demonstrated the religions' influence in shaping sexuality and gender role attitudes. From a feminist point of view, historically, religion could be viewed as a very strong institution that produces, teaches, and perpetuates patriarchy (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). Accordingly, religions teach power relationships between the sexes where men have absolute power and control over women and women are viewed as men's property. This premise is also echoed in traditional and conservative sexuality and gender role attitudes more generally as well as in the central idea of *namus*, more specifically. The past studies examining the role of religion in gender role ideology have revealed that stronger religiosity was associated with stronger endorsement of traditional gender roles at an individual level (Brinkerhoff & MacKie, 1984, 1985; Goldscheider, Goldscheider & Rico-Gonzalez, 2014; Morgan, 1987; Whitehead, 2012) while it was associated

with gender inequality at a societal level (Seguino, 2011). Whitehead (2012) describes the influence of religion in shaping these attitudes using an exposure-based explanation where individuals' understanding of gender roles could be changed as a result of being exposed to different conservatizing or liberalizing ideas and situations (Bolzendahl & Myers, 2004).

It seems no matter the specific religion is, it is common that religions in general play an important role in determining people's ideas about gender relationships. For example, past studies showed that religiosity was positively associated with sexist attitudes in Jewish, Christian, and Muslim samples (Kirkpatrick, 1993; Fulton, Maynard, & Gorsuch 1999; Jonathan, 2008; Tasdemir & Sakalli-Ugurlu, 2010; Gaunt, 2012).

Religion is also a very broad socio-cultural variable which has been examined in multiple forms in the existing literature. Different dimensions of religion, such as religiosity, religious denomination, religious devoutness, or religious attendance were all used in different studies in relation to various variables concerning sexuality and gender role attitudes (e.g., Brinkerhoff & MacKie, 1984; Morgan, 1987; Whitehead, 2012; Davidson et al., 2004; Beckwith & Morrow, 2005). In addition to reinforcing a traditional and conservative gender role ideology, religion dimensions were found to be associated with more conservative sexual attitudes as well as behaviors. For example, Ahrold et al. (2011) found that higher levels of intrinsic religiosity predicted more conservative sexual attitudes among college students, while Visser et al. (2007) found that more religious participants and the ones with higher religious attendance were less likely to have had premarital sex in a sample of Australian adults.

Building on this very broad literature on religion and sexuality and gender attitudes, the current study approached the religion construct in a multi-dimensional way using multiple measures to capture different aspects of religion among the study participants. For this purpose, a

religious orientation measure with subdimensions of intrinsic, extrinsic, fundamentalist, and quest religious orientations was used as well as a measure of religious attitudes, and Islam behavioral involvement measure were all utilized. During the analysis, the strong associations among these religion variables led to a closer consideration of these in merging into a single religion construct which was then revealed in the factor analysis. Consequently, these religion variables formed the broader overarching dimension of religious adherence. Here, expectedly, quest religious orientation came out as a distinct construct from the rest of the religion variables as quest religious orientation represents a non-dogmatic, questioning stance of religiosity, that lends itself to a much more liberal view of religion in general (Batson & Ventis, 1982 as cited in Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Harlak et. al.; Ercan, 2009).

Confirming the past studies on religion, and sexuality and gender role attitudes, the current study found that participants who reported stronger religious adherence had less favorable attitudes towards unrestricted sexuality while the participants who reported endorsement of quest religious orientations had more favorable attitudes toward unrestricted sexuality. This finding was important in the sense that it showed the strong role of religion, specifically Islam in this case, as a key socio-cultural factor in determining attitudes among Turkish immigrants while they are in the process of acculturating to a new culture with a different religion. It seems religion never loses its importance as part of the cultural system, and it continues to act as an important facet of identity among acculturating Turkish immigrants. This dynamic has been further supported by the mediating role of religious adherence in the relationship between higher degree of separation and unrestricted sexuality attitudes, which will be discussed in the following section.



## **Religious Adherence mediating the relationship between Separation and Unrestricted Sexuality Attitudes**

The close relationship between culture and religion has been a widely studied topic in the literature. As Saroglou and Cohen (2011) clearly express the six ways culture and religion relate to each other, they write: “Religion may be part of culture, constitute culture, include and transcend culture, be influenced by culture, shape culture, or interact with culture in influencing cognitions, emotions, and actions” (p.1309). Accordingly, research has explored and examined the ways religion plays into immigrants’ acculturation and adaptation processes in past studies (Stockemer & Moreau, 2021; Glas, 2021; Roder, 2014; Fleischmann & Phalet, 2012; Norris & Inglehart, 2012; Beek & Fleischmann, 2019). It is shown that religious identity of the immigrants emerges as an important factor in their acculturation process (eg., Fleischmann & Phalet, 2012; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007; Beek & Fleischmann, 2019). Moreover, especially with high number of Muslim immigrants living in Western European countries, the literature regarding Islam and acculturation of Muslim immigrants revolve around the question of whether Muslim immigrants could ever really adapt to the culture of Western countries as values of Islam seem incompatible with Western values in general. Findings regarding this ultimate question seem inconclusive, however, this topic remains a controversial one as some scholars shed light into the complexity of links between acculturation and religion than a straight line of modernization or assimilation as others claim (Diehl, Koenig, & Ruckdeschel, 2009; Röder, 2014). In this context, the gender role attitudes of immigrants become an important dependent variable that is examined in relation to religiosity of Muslim immigrants in the literature as a way of exploring whether Muslim immigrants liberalize in their gender role attitudes as a result of acculturation as it is commonly observed with other immigrant groups.

Muslim immigrants' gender role attitudes have been studied in European countries in relation to religiosity. For example, Diehl et al. (2009) found that second generation Turkish immigrants, especially males, were still more traditional in terms of gender role attitudes than their German counterparts, while they also found that religious commitment and associated gender role traditionalism did not determine unequal distribution of division of labor at home for German couples as it did for Turkish immigrants. Their findings revealed strong religiosity to be a barrier for generational change towards more egalitarian gender role attitudes and behaviors among Muslim Turkish immigrants. In another study, Röder (2014) found that second generation Muslim immigrants still had traditional gender role attitudes while this was declining for other second-generation immigrant groups. Although a decline in religiosity from first to second generation among Muslim immigrants was not found, they found a dissociation of traditional gender role attitudes and religiosity, especially among female Muslim immigrants. Conversely, Scheible and Fleischmann (2013) found a weak negative association between Islamic religiosity and egalitarian gender role attitudes and found it to be stronger for men than women, among second generation Muslim immigrants from Turkey and Morocco.

It seems the findings are mixed regarding how Islamic religiosity works in relation to change in gender role ideologies among acculturating immigrants. Also, it seems that the view that generational difference in immigrants will be adequate to explain cultural change in terms of values and attitudes among immigrants is somehow reductionistic in exploring the complex dynamic between how religion and culture work together to induce or inhibit change. Bearing these in mind, the current study's findings are parallel to previous studies in revealing the strong role of religious adherence as a mechanism through which separating –as a way of acculturating– Turkish immigrants hold more conservative sexuality attitudes in general. More specifically, the

current study found that religious adherence mediated the relationship between higher degree of separation and unrestricted sexuality attitudes. Turkish immigrants who endorsed separation strategy more were more likely to have stronger religious adherence, and those with stronger religious adherence had less favorable attitudes toward unrestricted sexuality. For a sample of Turkish immigrants in the current study, the relationship between a higher preference of separation strategy and unrestricted sexuality attitudes was indirect through religious adherence. This is an important finding in terms of confirming the critical role religion plays in cultural value change –or lack of it– among immigrants. It might be the case that for immigrants who are more invested in maintaining their original cultural identity and characteristics, meaning the ones who endorse separation more, religious identity is strongly linked with cultural identity. For immigrants who might be feeling threatened by different and more liberal values in the host culture, and hence find it more comforting to hold on to their native cultural characteristics and values, religious adherence might be providing a specific area that is familiar and feels safe for them to be among a community with shared values and in a way that reflects a more “appropriate” certain way of life; in this case, reflecting more conservative sexuality attitudes, which include namus as a component.

The higher preference or endorsement of separation as an acculturation strategy might also result from a similar phenomenon among immigrants that is described as the formation of a “reactive identity” or “reactive ethnicity” where the immigrants experience an intense maintenance or even a revitalization of their original cultural/ethnic identity depending on the situations they are exposed to in the host society (Portes & Rumbaund, 2001, p.148 as cited in Diehl et al., 2009; Celik, 2015). It is argued that this might happen especially in host countries where the immigrants experience discrimination and perceive a disrespect or invalidation of their

original culture by the host society and where there are no chances of upward mobility for the ones that are in a disadvantaged position in the host society. Backed up by further research (e.g., Celik, 2015), it is suggested that these immigrants might experience and form reactive forms of identity as a way of resistance to the various forms of negative experience of unwantedness in the host society, also in search of alternative ways of gaining social status (Diehl et al., 2009). Although this theory of reactive identity formation has not been studied with Turkish immigrants in the U.S., it has been commonly suggested as an explanation for the strong preservation of traditional cultural values and religiosity among the second-generation Turkish immigrants living in Germany (e.g., Diehl et al., 2009) and Netherlands (e.g., Maliepaard & Alba, 2016) as these host countries might be providing a discriminatory societal climate especially against Muslim immigrants, which is also reflected in the controversial academic discourse around the incompatibility of Muslim values with Western values, for example, egalitarian gender ideology (Diehl et al., 2009; Röder, 2014). It is notable that some of this discourse is centered around the honor (namus) killings that took place among the most conservative Muslim – Turkish and Kurdish – immigrant communities living in Europe, where honor (namus) killings are demonstrated as proof that Muslim immigrants have a specific barrier to integration in Western societies as they have conservative values come from their religion (Korteweg & Yurdakul, 2009; Korteweg, 2012).

Against this backdrop, it can be suggested that the current study's findings provide support for the reactive identity formation among separating Turkish immigrants, where religious adherence provides a mechanism through which they hold on to their original cultural values –in this case, the conservative sexual values. It is important to note that the American context is very different than the Western European countries as a host society where the idea of “immigrants

building the country” or ideas like “melting pot” are common in the American cultural climate (Gerstein Pineau & Waters, 2015), which might lead to the expectation that it is a more immigrant-friendly context as opposed to Western European countries. However, considering the historical context of slavery, segregation, and ethnic cleansing of indigenous people in the U.S., and the more recent, post-9/11 hostile political and social climate against Muslims, as well as the factor of Islamophobia (Berger 2018; Pruchts, 1984; el-Aswad, 2013), it could be the case that Turkish immigrants come across discriminatory attitudes and experience invalidation of their cultural and religious characteristics. This was not explored in the current study; however, it is an important avenue to investigate in future research as Turkish immigrants constitute a special, understudied group of Muslim immigrants who come from a secular country.

Although reactive identity argument has not been studied directly in relation to Berry’s acculturation framework or among Turkish immigrants in the U.S., Stephens’ (2016) theoretical work building on Berry’s acculturation framework could offer insight looking at the current study’s findings. Stephens (2016) emphasizes the context of inter-cultural hierarchy, offering a different look at the importance of the pre-migration and receiving (host country) contexts and the difference between them from a developmentally hierarchical standpoint, specifically in terms of influencing the immigrants’ acculturation process and strategies. It is argued that in this context, immigrants’ reactions to the Western cultural dominance and the rise of neoliberal requirements and necessities can impact their acculturation strategies. Accordingly, two types of separation strategies are proposed: Convenient and competitive (Stephens, 2016). Convenient separation strategy is described as the situation where the immigrant does not feel compelled to adopt cultural characteristics of the host country any more than what is required for daily life. Here, it might be the case that the immigrants might be living inside an adequate social network

of ethnic nationals or in an ethnic enclave, where they might find it convenient to maintain their original cultural identity as there are no pressures or necessities to adopt to the mainstream culture as well as a lack of incentives to participate in the host society. Competitive separation strategy, on the other hand, is described as the immigrants' cultural survival efforts and involves explicit contention of the cultural values and characteristics of the host society. This involves more conflict driven displays such as distancing oneself from the mainstream culture. The conflict here might be sourced from the pressures of the neoliberal imperatives that the immigrants feel and the immigrants' perception of the high-status legitimacy of the host culture (Sirkeci, 2009; Stephens, 2016).

This idea of competitive separation seems in line with reactive identity formation as both emphasize the maintenance of immigrants' original culture or revitalization of ethnic identity as a way of reacting or responding to the perceived discrimination or the perceived invalidation of one's own culture and the experience of pressure of adopting more liberal and Westernized cultural values, which are assumed to be of higher status.

Applying these ideas to the current study findings, it could be speculated that Turkish immigrants who might have had more conservative sexuality and namus attitudes to begin with, might find the host culture –the American culture– to be too liberal in terms of sexuality and gender ideology. During the acculturation process, these immigrants might feel pressured to become more liberal as a way of adapting to the host society, which might feel threatening to their namus –a very central value for Turkish people– which then would lead to a stronger safeguarding of their original cultural identity as described in the separation strategy. Here, as shown by the current study findings, religious adherence seems to play a critical role as namus- and sexuality-related values are reinforced by the patriarchal teachings of Islam. In relation to

immigrants' experience in the host culture, it might be the case that stronger religious adherence might be providing a social-religious community and a network of relationship where the more conservative Turkish immigrants may experience belonging. As such, a higher preference of separation strategy and religious adherence might be two mechanisms that support each other for the Turkish immigrants to maintain their central values, creating a safe space for them to continue holding conservative attitudes of sexuality as a way of resisting the pressures of liberalization from the host society, or almost as a way of boundary-setting in their original understanding of *namus*, sexuality, and related ways of life. Importantly, *namus* as a value dictates the appropriateness of social, behavioral, and sexual lives of Turkish women, as well as the gender relationships in more conservative parts of the Turkish society, and it centers on the sexual purity of women within family and even a community. This obsession with controlling women's sexuality and keeping them as virgins is crucial as it is strongly related to the maintenance of social status of a family –particularly, the men– within their community. Loss of virginity, or the perception of sexual relations out of marriage, might mean a loss in value and status within the community for the family or the men in the family. In this context, for Turkish immigrants who tend to separate themselves from the host society and rather continue to socialize only with their ethnic and religious communities, it makes sense that they endorse more conservative sexuality and *namus* attitudes as these values not only reflect gender ideology for them but also reflect a way of keeping their social status in their ethnic and religious community. In case of loss of value or social status, or even exclusion from this ethnic and religious community due to a perceived loss of *namus* (Akpınar, 2003), then the individual would face losing their only community in the host country.

Consequently, the current study added to the existing literature on acculturation, religion, and gender ideology, by offering important insights into the complex relationships between higher separation tendency as a way of acculturating, religious adherence, and unrestricted sexuality. Emergence of religious adherence as a mechanism through which separating Turkish immigrants maintain their conservative sexuality attitudes once again indicated the key role religion plays in the acculturation process and the resulting social change. These findings have important implications for understanding the adaptation process of Turkish immigrants into the American society as they confirm the liberalization process not being so straightforward due to modernization, and as they reinforce the importance of disassociating women's sexuality from namus values among Turkish immigrants.

### **Strengths and Limitations**

A key strength of the current study was the sample used. The study participants came from a Turkish community, and unlike the often-studied college student samples, offered rich insights into the acculturation, religiosity, and sexuality and namus attitudes among Turkish immigrants. The community-based sample provided a valuable perspective on the lived experiences of the Turkish immigrants, often under-studied in the acculturation research conducted in the American context. Another strength of the study was the culturally informed approach, resulting from the researcher's personal background and engagement with the Turkish immigrant community. Since the researcher was Turkish herself, she was able to engage with the community through participation in social gatherings, holiday celebrations, and special dinner organizations, establishing a rapport with the participants. This engagement has not only made the researcher a familiar presence within this Turkish immigrant community but also eased the process for the participants to be invested in reporting on their perspectives regarding sensitive



topics like sexuality and honor, which are particularly delicate within the Turkish cultural context. This approach in data collection made it possible for the researcher to reach a demographically diverse sample enriching the data collected. In this process, similar to snowball sampling, participants recommended the study within their networks, driven by their trust and connection with the researcher, which added to the diverse sample. The variety among the participants, encompassing different employment statuses, marital statuses, age groups, and more, contributed to the richness of the data collected from this unique sample of Turkish immigrants.

Against all the contributions of the data collection process summarized above, one possible limitation of this method of in-person data collection was that it may also have influenced participants' willingness to report on the sensitive issues in the paper-pencil surveys provided by the researcher. Here, the physical presence of the researcher could have somehow impacted how freely participants completed the surveys, contrasting with the anonymity online surveys might offer. However, this in-person data collection approach has made it possible to reach a broader, more inclusive sample than what an online method might capture, especially considering the varied comfort levels with technology across age. An online approach could potentially offer more anonymity and comfort for participants dealing with sensitive questions; however, it might also result in self-selection bias, limiting the diversity of the sample to a more homogenous, tech-savvy, and possibly more acculturated subset of the community.

Another major strength of the current study was that it was the first to concurrently explore the three key variables of the study –acculturation, religiosity, and namus and sexuality attitudes– examining the complex relationships between them among Turkish immigrants in the U.S. Turkish immigrants in the American context represent a group that has received less

attention in research due to their relatively small size compared to other immigrant populations in the U.S. Conversely, as Turkish immigrants make up a big majority of the immigrants in European countries, their process of acculturation in relation to religiosity and gender role ideology has been widely studied. However, these important links have never been studied before with Turkish immigrants living in the U.S. Exploring these links for the first time through Berry's lens of acculturation contributed to our understanding of immigrant experience.

Despite its strengths, the current study was not without limitations. First, the small sample size of the study limits the generalizability of the findings as well as decreasing the statistical power. As data collection was conducted through an in-person approach engaging with a community of Turkish immigrants, it was not possible to reach a large number of participants, compared to online data collection or college student samples. Notably, despite the small sample size, the study achieved significant results, indicating the robustness of its findings. It is important to note that, another weakness resulting from the small sample size of the current study was the inability to conduct further complex analyses of models, such as moderated mediation, especially involving gender, and other control variables, to test and capture more complicated relationships between the variables.

The second major limitation of the current study was the cross-sectional approach. The cross-sectional approach provides a valuable snapshot of acculturation process of the Turkish immigrant sample in relation to the key variables of religiosity and sexuality attitudes at a single point in time, but it was not possible to capture the trajectory of change in the attitudes of the immigrants resulting from their acculturation process. Both the acculturation process itself and changes in attitudes and values of the Turkish immigrants could have been much better captured with a longitudinal study design. A longitudinal study design would also contribute to the

understanding of the directionality of the relationships between the key variables in the study. For instance, the current study assumed that the direction of effects was from separation to religiosity as discussed earlier, however, it is possible that this link between separation and religious adherence is bidirectional, or direction of the effect is the opposite of what is argued here, from religion to separation. A longitudinal design would be helpful in providing a better understanding of these relationships. Although a longitudinal design would be ideal, it is very difficult to achieve with a community sample as reaching the same participants at multiple points in time would be almost impossible in such a diverse sample. This would require serious funding and personnel for data collection, which is usually not possible in doctoral student research.

Finally, similar to most of the research studies in the field, the current study is limited in the way that it is not able to test and claim causality as the relationships and the models tested are merely associations and the revealed findings point out to correlational relationships as this study is a correlational research study.

## **Implications for Intervention**

### ***Clinical Implications***

The findings from the current study have important implications for the mental health and well-being of Turkish immigrants in the U.S., particularly for women. The current study revealed that the higher preference of strategy of separation, characterized by maintenance of one's cultural identity while minimizing interaction with the host culture, was associated with stronger religious adherence and, consequently, with more conservative *namus* and sexuality attitudes. This maintenance of traditional attitudes, which can result in control of women in the family as reinforced in the idea of *namus*, may limit women's freedoms in the Turkish community, despite living in a liberal setting, such as the U.S. Accordingly, especially young women might

experience pressure from the Turkish community to not work or not follow education-related aspirations, as well as familial pressure to marry at a young age, making sure to find a spouse from within the Turkish community. These controlling attitudes resulting in limited freedoms and disempowerment of women could exacerbate feelings of isolation and loneliness among Turkish women, especially when they lack a social support network. On the other hand, women who might not endorse separation strategy but rather attempt to assimilate or integrate into the host society might experience social exclusion by their families and ethnic communities as punishment. All of these would impose high risks for mental health problems, such as depression and anxiety disorders.

For clinical practice, these insights call for targeted interventions at both the societal and individual levels, mainly focused on supporting Turkish women. Clinicians working with Turkish immigrants, particularly women, should be cognizant of the acculturation strategies employed and their potential impacts on mental health. Therapy geared towards this demographic should be delivered by professionals who have experienced immigration themselves or have experience with immigrant communities as well as women's issues in different cultures. Such therapists can offer empathy, understanding, and support without judgment, which could help with healing and empowerment.

Here, the development of supportive, culturally sensitive clinical practices considering the language and cultural barriers immigrants experience in general is crucial, since these might make it difficult for immigrants to seek help even when they need it. Accordingly, the accessibility of mental health services for a such a specific group of immigrants is another issue that needs to be addressed. Immigrants should have access to mental health services that is

tailored toward the immigrant experience and that is provided by experts that are familiar with the acculturation process and the barriers and challenges that are associated with it.

In this context, psychoeducation could be used as an important method in therapeutic interventions, aiming to support and empower the immigrant client in helping them understand the process of adaptation in a new society as well as guiding them in healthy ways of dealing with the challenges and struggles of living in the host society. More specifically, mental health workers can play a role in guiding immigrants through the complexities of adapting to a new culture without abandoning their own and encouraging an integration strategy of acculturation. For instance, this could include navigating parenting in a bicultural context, healthy ways of dealing with discrimination and rejection from the host society, managing their own anxiety and disappointment, and addressing the challenges of communication and language proficiency, as well as struggles due to different cultural characteristics, values, and norms that are not familiar to the immigrant in the host culture. Lastly, mental health workers should have a responsibility in empowering immigrant women to find their voice in this new cultural context and deal with familial and social pressures that are from within the ethnic community, and guiding women towards equipping themselves with the opportunities available to them as well as their rights and freedoms in this new societal context.

### ***Social and Political Implications***

The current study has important social and political implications for intervention at a social level. Firstly, one important implication regarding women's sexuality and freedoms is that the current study indicates that the hold of religion and namus over Turkish women does not end with migrating to a new –more liberal– country. Turkish immigrants, the ones who tend to separate themselves from the host culture and are more invested in maintaining their cultural and

religious identity, still hold conservative sexual attitudes, especially regarding women's sexuality and centrality of namus as a value. This is important as it could especially influence the socialization of immigrant women in the American society, as they might be experiencing oppression in the family and ethnic community, as well as pressures to not integrate in the host society or to live with limited freedoms under constant control and monitoring by their family. As some immigrants might continue to regulate their family life around the more conservative namus values, violation of these values may induce violence against women in immigrant families, and potentially, honor killings in extreme cases.

Interventions specific to immigrant groups should aim to raise awareness by education and training among immigrants for encouraging them towards adopting an integration acculturation strategy rather than a separation strategy. It would not involve immigrants alone as it is also the host country's responsibility to raise awareness in their society regarding attitudes towards immigrants in general, and specifically, towards Muslim immigrants in particular. This also has to do with the necessary change in political discourse regarding immigrants and their place in the American society. The general discriminatory and Islamophobic attitudes embedded in political and public discourse could make it less likely for immigrants to adopt an integration strategy of acculturation when they migrate to the U.S. As discussed above, discrimination and rejection might lead immigrants to form reactive identities. Hence, it is important that the receiving country, the U.S. in this context, has welcoming and accepting attitudes, or at the very least, non-discriminatory attitudes toward Muslim immigrants.

Regarding Turkish immigrants, intervention at a community level is key for change in attitudes since the Turkish culture is collectivistic (Aycicegi-Dinn & Caldwell-Harris, 2011). Even religious communities and ethnic social networks could be used for community level

trainings or programs to emphasize and build upon the tolerant and understanding side of Islam as a religion that welcomes all; in a way, to use that stance to encourage immigrants into exploring and finding ways to connect and get involved in the host culture and native individuals. It should be noted that it would be necessary to have Turkish religious and/or community leaders, who are already respected individuals in the community, provide the trainings or programs, because the ingroup-outgroup difference is critical for collectivistic cultures, meaning that a Western outsider who would come to train or present to a Turkish community group would not be as influential as someone from within the community. Such interventions should also aim to familiarize immigrants with the American culture, presenting cultural and societal characteristics to impart an understanding of this new culture among the immigrants, which would ultimately aid in more openness to new cultural experiences of the host country by finding it less threatening and more approachable due to exposure and familiarization.

Finally, specific interventions should be implemented aiming to disassociate women's sexuality from the *namus* value among Turkish immigrants. Although social change in such a central value would be very slow, it should still be considered, because certain intervention programs, especially those implemented during adolescence, help diminish the importance of *namus* as a value among Turkish immigrants (e.g., Cihangir, 2012). Family-level interventions could also be valuable in attempting to change family's views on daughters and women, in general, as parenting would be another mechanism through which interventions could work to decouple *namus* from female sexuality in the family. Another important piece in this context would be empowerment of immigrant women, specifically Muslim Turkish women, by raising awareness on their rights, opportunities, and freedoms in this particular cultural context, as well as encouraging them through social support in challenging the prescribed gender roles and

pressures that they are exposed to. Lastly, this would have to involve an increase in culturally sensitive resources and ease of access for immigrant women in cases where they were the victims of namus-related physical or psychological violence in the family or community.

### **Future Directions**

The current study contributed to a better understanding of the complex links between acculturation strategies, religiosity, and namus and sexuality attitudes among Turkish immigrants living in the U.S. The findings of this study could also be helpful in drawing attention and curiosity to factors that remain to be explored and examined in future research.

Firstly, future research on acculturation, religion, and sexuality attitudes, should utilize a larger sample size of Turkish immigrants to gain more power in statistical analyses as well as ensure better generalizability of the findings. Relatedly, future research would benefit from using a longitudinal design to capture the processes of acculturation that is experienced by immigrants in the host country and capturing the actual change in gender role and sexuality attitudes of immigrants as time spent in the host country increases, since these attitudes could be assessed at multiple points in time. Additionally, integration of multiple informants during data collection would help with decreasing response bias while adding to the richness of data collected as it would allow multiple, different perspectives to be heard and incorporated regarding the experience of Turkish immigrants. For example, collecting data from married couples would be a good way to examine their gender role ideology in the context of their marriage and compare their perspectives, which could also reveal behavioral and emotional reflections of a certain gender ideology in the family.

Future research should also incorporate other factors that seem to be important in the acculturation experiences of Turkish immigrants, such as the immigrants' experiences and



perceptions of discrimination and rejection in the host society. Additionally, incorporation of specific characteristics of the receiving society or community seem to play an important role in the acculturation process. One other factor to be considered here is the individualism and collectivism of the Turkish immigrants as this variable could potentially add to our understanding of higher preference of separation and namus attitudes. Also, it would be helpful to include the number of years lived in the host society and test it in relation to acculturation strategies in future studies. This informative variable used widely in the past acculturation research has been included in the current study as well. However, the initial analyses revealed it to be non-significant within the current dataset so it was taken out for the remaining analyses to not decrease the number of participants, due to the proportion of missing data regarding this variable.

Finally, future research should explore the links between culture, religion, and sexuality values in different cultural contexts. In this sense, cross-cultural research would contribute to our understanding of namus attitudes in different countries that are identified as honor cultures. For example, India, Greece, and Southern U.S. could all be considered candidates for research that dives deeper into the roots of namus value across cultures as well as its expression in different cultural and religious contexts to better understand the various manifestations of namus in different contexts, which would also help with untangling the links between Islam and namus. Lastly, research into honor-based violence against women across different countries would contribute to the general understanding of cultural and religious dynamics that play into this social problem, and hopefully, this understanding would ultimately contribute to the prevention and interventions strategies in eradicating violence against women across different cultural contexts.

Table 1

*Descriptive statistics for demographic variables (N=87)*

Variables	Percent	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
1. Age	–	45.92	11.72
2. Number of years lived in the US	–	21.51	11.45
3. Number of years of formal education	–	13.06	4.71
4. Language of the questionnaire filled		–	–
Turkish	83%		
English	17%		
5. Sex		–	–
Male	46%		
Female	54%		
6. Country of birth		–	–
Turkey	96%		
United States	2%		
Other	1%		
7. Ethnicity		–	–
Turkish-American	35%		
Kurdish-American	2%		
Turkish	61%		
Other	2%		
8. Status of residency in the U.S.		–	–
Temporary visitor / Visa	7%		
Permanent resident / Green Card	20%		
U.S. citizen	74%		
9. Where before U.S.		–	–
Village or Town	9%		
Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir	48%		
Other cities	41%		
N/A	3%		
10. Language at home nowadays		–	–
Turkish	52%		
English	12%		
Turkish and English equally	36%		
Kurdish, Turkish, and English equally	1%		
11. Currently employed		–	–

Yes	63%		
No	37%		
12. Relationship status		–	–
Married	85%		
Unmarried	11%		
Divorced	3%		
13. Have kids		–	–
Yes	87%		
No	13%		
14. Religious affiliation		–	–
Muslim-Sunni	76%		
Muslim-Alewi	20%		
Jewish	5%		

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Table 2

*A summary of measures and characteristics*

<b>Construct</b>	<b>Scale</b>	<b>Subscale</b>	<b><math>\alpha</math></b>	<b>Higher Score</b>
Attitudes towards Namus	<b>Attitudes towards Honor Scale (AHS)</b> (Isik ve Sakalli-Ugurlu, 2009)		.77	Stronger endorsement of honor
Acculturation Strategies	<b>Acculturation Attitudes Scale</b> (Ataca & Berry, 2002; Yagmurlu & Sanson, 2009)	Assimilation Separation Integration	.63 .75 .66	Increased preference for that attitude
Sexuality Attitudes	<b>Attitudes towards Sexuality Scale (ATSS)</b> (Fisher & Hall, 1988)		.80	More liberal sexuality attitudes
Liberalism	<b>Conventionalism Subscale of Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) Scale</b> (Altemeyer, 1996, 2007; Guldu, 2011)		.83	More liberal attitudes
Religious Orientation	<b>Muslim Religious Orientation Scale Revised (MROS-R)</b> (Ercan, 2009; Harlak, Eskin, & Demirkiran, 2008)	Intrinsic Religious Orientation Fundamentalist Religious Orientation Extrinsic Religious Orientation Quest Religious Orientation	.84  .77  .59  .68	Stronger orientation
Sexism	<b>Ambivalent Sexism Inventory</b> (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Glick et al., 2002; Sakalli-Ugurlu, 2002)	Hostile Sexism Benevolent Sexism	.78 .81	Higher level of sexism
Religious Attitudes	<b>Religious Attitudes</b> (van Tubergen, 2007)		.78	Stronger endorsement of religious attitudes
Islam Behavioral Involvement	<b>Islam Behavioral Involvement</b> (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007)		.90	Greater behavioral involvement

Table 3

*Comparison of study variables across genders.*

Variable	Males		Females		Sample Comparisons	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>t</i>
Attitudes towards Honor	2.10	1.05	1.73	1.02	81	1.61
Attitudes towards Sexuality	2.62	1.11	2.94	1.05	81	-1.35
Liberalism	3.31	1.27	3.34	1.12	80	-0.13
Hostile Sexism	2.64	0.97	2.03	0.96	79	2.89**
Benevolent Sexism	3.31	1.04	3.04	1.15	80	1.08
Intrinsic Religious Orientation	4.01	1.39	4.32	0.66	51	-1.26
Fundamentalist Religious Orientation	2.79	1.34	2.60	1.60	79	0.57
Extrinsic Religious Orientation	2.59	1.35	2.56	1.12	79	0.11
Quest Religious Orientation	3.16	1.04	2.65	1.38	79	1.86
Religious Attitudes	2.39	1.71	2.00	1.57	77	1.06
Islam Behavioral Involvement	2.16	1.70	2.27	1.62	78	-0.31
Assimilation	1.33	0.89	1.30	0.96	79	0.18
Separation	3.46	1.35	3.56	1.16	79	-0.33
Integration	3.92	0.87	3.53	1.31	74	1.56

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$

Table 4

*Correlations and descriptive statistics for main variables (N=87)*

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1 Attitudes towards Honor		-.74**	-.66**	-.89**	.24*	.65**	.48**	.52**	.61**	.61**	-.29**	.42**	.42**	-.05	.40**	-.16
2 Attitudes towards Sexuality			.77**	.94**	-.30**	-.65**	-.52**	-.68**	-.64**	-.68**	.33**	-.35**	-.34**	.12	-.51**	.26*
3 Liberalism				.90**	-.18	-.52**	-.38**	-.53**	-.55**	-.52**	.33**	-.25*	-.10	.21	-.31**	.40**
4 <b>Unrestricted Sexuality Attitudes</b>					-.26*	-.67**	-.51**	-.64**	-.66**	-.67**	.35**	-.38**	-.32**	.14	-.45**	.30**
5 Intrinsic Religious Orientation						.27*	.40**	.34**	.44**	.62**	-.10	.11	.23	-.23*	.36**	-.03
6 Fundamentalist Religious Orientation							.59**	.65**	.81**	.82**	-.34**	.45**	.51**	-.08	.40**	-.25*
7 Extrinsic Religious Orientation								.53**	.67**	.85**	-.05	.34**	.34**	-.04	.35**	-.17
8 Religious Attitudes									.65**	.80**	-.16	.45**	.31**	-.17	.47**	-.38**
9 Islam Behavioral Involvement										.87**	-.43**	.32**	.38**	-.11	.43**	-.26*
10 <b>Religious Adherence</b>											-.17	.43**	.44**	-.14	.48**	-.25*
11 Quest Religious Orientation												.11	-.13	.19	-.30**	.33**
12 Hostile Sexism													.48**	.01	.20	-.03
13 Benevolent Sexism														.10	.35**	.22*
14 Assimilation															-.13	.36**
15 Separation																-.20
16 Integration																
<i>M</i>	1.90	2.81	3.33		4.19	2.70	2.59	2.14	2.20		2.93	2.35	3.20	1.31	3.52	3.74
<i>SD</i>	1.05	1.07	1.16		1.05	1.45	1.21	1.62	1.63		1.24	1.01	1.10	0.95	1.23	1.11
Range	.00- 4.07	.00- 4.92	.33- 5.00		.67- 5.00	.00- 5.00	.00- 5.00	.00- 5.00	.00- 5.00		.00- 5.00	.00- 5.00	.82- 5.00	.00- 4.00	.00- 5.00	.00- 5.00

\* p < .05, \*\* p < .01

Table 5

*Factor Analysis: Honor, Sexuality and Liberalism*

Variables	Factors
	I
Attitudes Toward Honor	<b>-0.89</b>
Attitudes Toward Sexuality	<b>0.93</b>
Liberalism	<b>0.90</b>
Eigenvalue	2.46
Percent Variance Explained	81.82

Table 6

*Factor Analysis: Religion Variables*

Variables	Factors	
	I	II
Intrinsic Religious Orientation	<b>0.66</b>	
Fundamentalist Religious Orientation	<b>0.75</b>	
Extrinsic Religious Orientation	<b>0.87</b>	
Religious Attitudes	<b>0.79</b>	
Islamic Behavioral Involvement	<b>0.81</b>	
Quest Religious Orientation		<b>0.94</b>
	Eigenvalue	3.31
	Percent Variance Explained	55.19
		1.03
		17.15



Table 7

*Regression Analysis Predicting Unrestricted Sexuality Attitudes by Separation, Integration, and Assimilation.*

Variable	Model 1			Model 2		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$
<u>Control Variables</u>						
Age	-.02	.01	-.23	-.03	.01	-.28*
Sex	.15	.23	.07	.18	.20	.09
Number of years of formal education	.10	.03	.41***	.08	.02	.32**
Have kids	-.22	.36	-.07	-.32	.38	-.08
<u>Acculturation Strategies</u>						
Separation				-.26	.08	-.32**
Integration				.21	.10	.22*
Assimilation				.01	.11	.01

Note. Adjusted R2 for Model 1 = .22;  $\Delta$ R2 for Model 2 = .19

\*p < .05, \*\*p < .01, \*\*\*p < .001.

Table 8

*Separate Regression Analyses Predicting Unrestricted Sexuality Attitudes by Hostile Sexism, and Benevolent Sexism*

Variable	Regression Analysis 1			Regression Analysis 2		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$
Age	-.02	.01	-.26*	-.02	.01	-.23
Sex	.03	.23	-.02	.10	.23	.05
Number of years of formal education	.07	.03	.31***	.08	.03	.35**
Have kids	-.27	.35	-.08	-.16	.35	-.05
Hostile Sexism	.27	.11	-.27*	Benevolent Sexism -.20	.10	-.21

Note. Adjusted R2 for Regression 1 = .27, Adjusted R2 for Regression 2 = .25

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

Table 9

*Regression Analysis Predicting Unrestricted Sexuality Attitudes by Religious Adherence and Quest Religious Orientation.*

Variable	Model 1			Model 2		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$
<u>Control Variables</u>						
Age	-.02	.01	-.22	-.01	.01	-.11
Sex	.17	.23	.08	.25	.17	.13
Number of years of formal education	.10	.03	.40**	.04	.02	.16
Have kids	-.27	.38	-.08	.13	.28	.04
<u>Religion Variables</u>						
Religious Adherence				-.56	.09	-.53***
Quest Religious Orientation				.30	.08	.31***

Note. Adjusted R2 for Model 1 = .21;  $\Delta$ R2 for Model 2 = .38

\*p < .05, \*\*p < .01, \*\*\*p < .001.

Table 10

*Regression Models Testing the Mediation of the Relationship between Separation and Unrestricted Sexuality Attitudes via Religious Adherence.*

Variable	Model 1			Model 2		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$
<u>Control Variables</u>						
Age	-0,02	.01	-.20	-.01	.01	-.08
Sex	.21	.21	.10	.23	.18	.12
Number of years of formal education	.08	.02	.33**	.05	.02	.21*
Have kids	-.20	.34	-0,06	.04	.30	.01
<u>Main Variables</u>						
Separation	-.32	.08	-.39***	-.14	.08	-.17
Religious Adherence				-.54	.11	-.51***

Note. Adjusted R2 for Model 1 = .36;  $\Delta$ R2 for Model 2 = .17

\*p < .05, \*\*p < .01, \*\*\*p < .001.

Table 11

*Regression Models Testing the Mediation of the Relationship between Religious Adherence and Unrestricted Sexuality Attitudes via Sexism.*

Variable	Model 1			Model 2		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$
<u>Control Variables</u>						
Age	-.01	.01	-.07	-.01	.01	-.07
Sex	.23	.18	.11	.22	.20	.11
Number of years of formal education	.05	.02	.22*	.05	.02	.22*
Have kids	.05	.30	.02	.05	.31	.01
<u>Main Variables</u>						
Religious Adherence	-.63	.10	-.60***	-.63	.11	-.59***
Hostile Sexism				-.01	.10	-.01

Note. Adjusted R2 for Model 1 = .52;  $\Delta$ R2 for Model 2 = 0

\*p < .05, \*\*p < .01, \*\*\*p < .001.

Table 12

*Test of Gender Moderation of Main Hypotheses*

Main Hypotheses	$\beta$
<u>Separation → Unrestricted Sexuality</u>	
Separation	-.47
Sex	.11
Separation X Sex	.06
<u>Integration → Unrestricted Sexuality</u>	
Integration	-.12
Sex	-.22
Integration X Sex	.57
<u>Religious Adherence → Unrestricted Sexuality</u>	
Religious Adherence	-.33
Sex	.13
Religious Adherence X Sex	-.33
<u>Hostile Sexism → Unrestricted Sexuality</u>	
Hostile Sexism	-.73*
Sex	-.23
Hostile Sexism X Sex	.39
<u>Separation → Religious Adherence</u>	
Separation	.68*
Sex	.18
Separation X Sex	-.33

Note. \*p < .05

Figure 1

*Overall Conceptual Model*

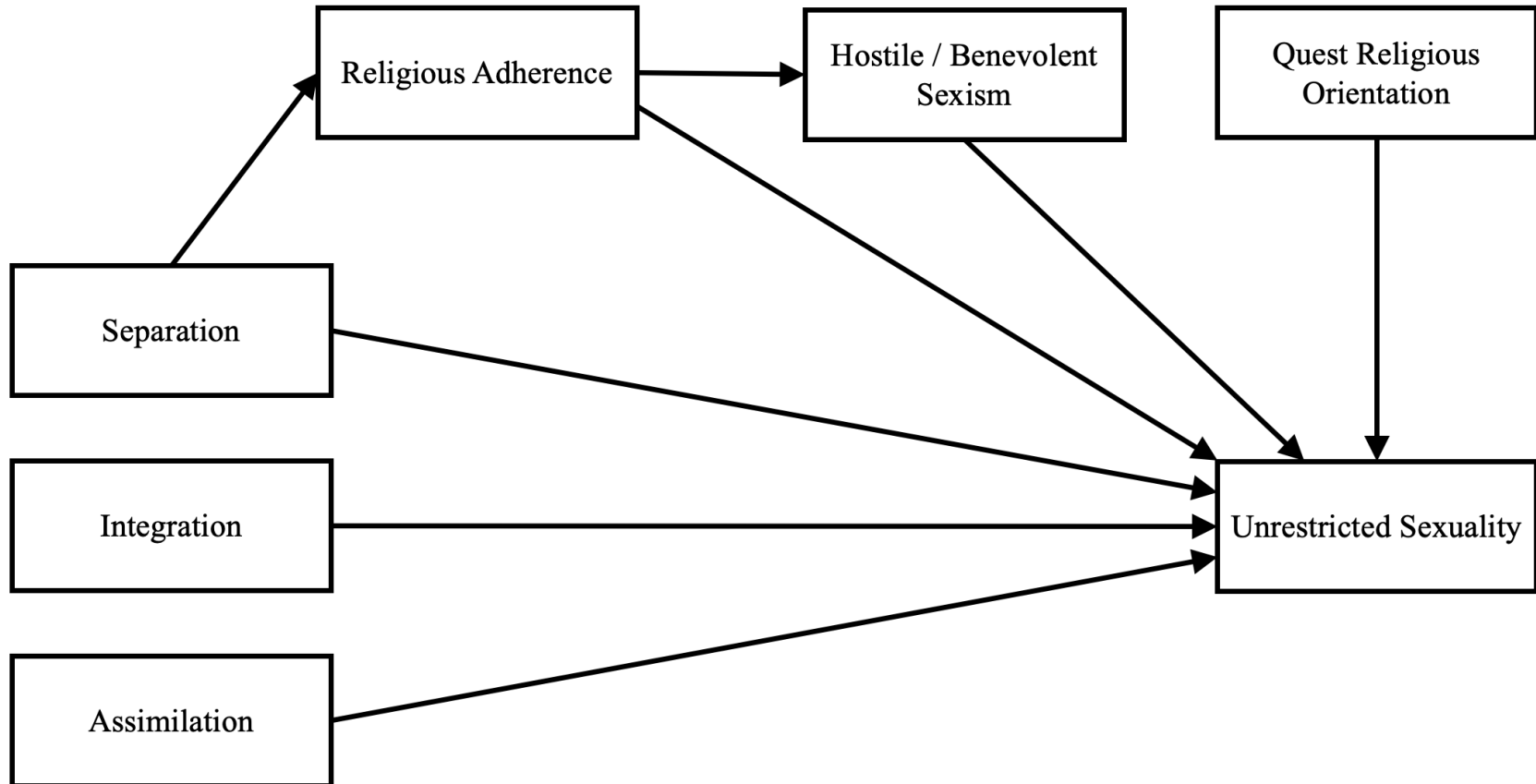


Figure 2

*Mediation Model for Hypothesis 6*

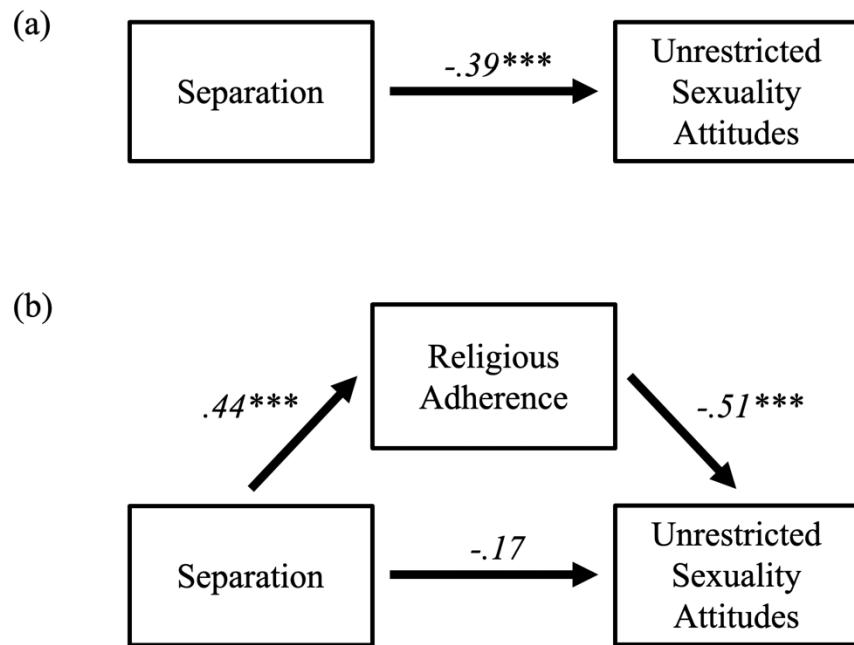
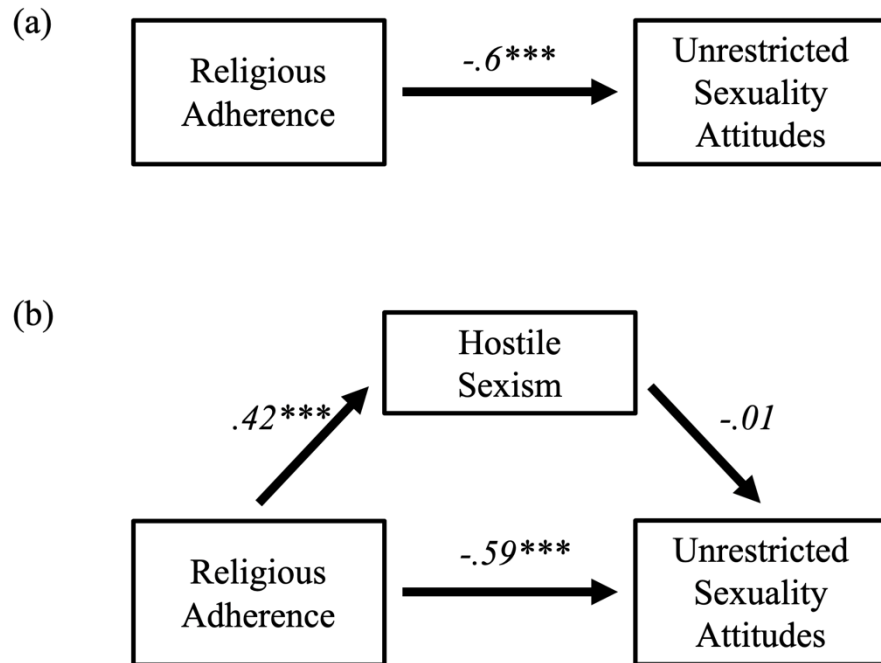




Figure 3

*Mediation Model for Hypothesis 7*



## Appendix

### QUESTIONNAIRE

**Please select the best responses that describe you. Please indicate your answers by filling in the blanks where necessary.**

**Your Age:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Your Sex:** Male / Female

**Please name your place of birth by filling in all of the three categories given below:**

Village or Town: \_\_\_\_\_

City: \_\_\_\_\_

Country: \_\_\_\_\_

**How would you describe your ethnicity?**

1. Turkish-American
2. Kurdish-American
3. American
4. Turkish
5. Kurdish
6. Other (please explain): \_\_\_\_\_

**How many years have you lived in the United States?** \_\_\_\_\_

**Please indicate your current status of residency in the United States:**

1. Temporary visitor / Visa
  - a. Student visa
  - b. Dependent visa
  - c. Employment visa
  - d. Other (please explain): \_\_\_\_\_
2. Permanent resident / Green Card
3. United States citizen
4. Other (please explain): \_\_\_\_\_

**Please name the place where you spent most of your life (before you started to live in the United States) by filling in all of the three categories given below:**

Village or Town: \_\_\_\_\_

City: \_\_\_\_\_

Country: \_\_\_\_\_

Does not apply

**Please name places where your relatives were born by filling in all three categories (village/town, city and country) given below:**

	Village or Town	City	Country
My <b>mother</b> :	_____	_____	_____
My <b>mother's mother</b> (maternal grandmother):	_____	_____	_____
My <b>mother's father</b> (maternal grandfather):	_____	_____	_____
My <b>father</b> :	_____	_____	_____
My <b>father's mother</b> (paternal grandmother):	_____	_____	_____
My <b>father's father</b> (paternal grandfather):	_____	_____	_____
My <b>children</b> (if applicable):	_____	_____	_____

**What language was predominantly spoken at home while growing up?**

1. Turkish
2. Kurdish
3. Turkish and Kurdish equally
4. English
5. Turkish and English equally
6. Kurdish, Turkish and English equally
7. Other (please explain): \_\_\_\_\_

**What language is predominantly spoken at home these days?**

1. Turkish

2. Kurdish
3. Turkish and Kurdish equally
4. English
5. Turkish and English equally
6. Kurdish, Turkish and English equally
7. Other (please explain): \_\_\_\_\_

**Please indicate in which country you have completed the level(s) of education listed below:**

Never attended school

	<b>Turkey</b>	<b>United States</b>	<b>Other</b>
Elementary School	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Middle School	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
High School	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
2-Year College (or some college or technical school)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
4-year College or University (graduated)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Master's level	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Doctorate level	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____

**Are you still going to school or working on a degree? If yes, please indicate:**

\_\_\_\_\_

**Other (please explain):** \_\_\_\_\_

**Please indicate the total number of years of formal education/schooling you have completed:** \_\_\_\_\_

**What is your occupation?**

\_\_\_\_\_

**Are you currently employed? Yes / No**

If Yes:

1. Part-time
2. Full-time
3. Other: \_\_\_\_\_

**What is your total household income? Please answer monthly or yearly.**

Monthly: \$ \_\_\_\_\_ or Yearly: \$ \_\_\_\_\_

**What is your relationship status?**

1. Married
2. Divorced
3. Widowed
4. Separated
5. Never been married
6. Member of an unmarried couple
7. Single

**Do you have children? Yes / No**

**How would you describe your religious affiliation?**

1. Muslim
  - a. Sunni
  - b. Alewi / Alawite
2. Christian
3. Jewish
4. No religious affiliation
5. Other (please specify): \_\_\_\_\_

**If you are a Muslim, do you consider yourself a member of a certain Islamic sect or movement? Yes / No**

**If yes, please specify:** \_\_\_\_\_

**For each of the following statements, please circle the response that best reflects your level of agreement with that statement.**

1. I think that a woman engaging in extramarital sexual relations is the same thing (is equal to) with her honor being compromised (namus getting dirty).

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

2. I think that engaging in premarital sexual relations is not related to honor (namus).

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

3. I believe that women should protect their honor (namus) in order to avoid tough situations within the society.

- |  |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
|  | Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
4. A woman's honor (namus) is not related to man or family; it only concerns the woman.
- |  |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
|  | Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
5. My opinion is that when families follow up on (keep tabs on) women's sexual lives, they can prevent women from making mistakes that would cost them their honor (namus) (dishonor them).
- |  |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
|  | Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
6. I do not think that virginity is the symbol of a woman's honor (namus).
- |  |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
|  | Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
7. I think that a woman's honor (namus) should be protected by her family.
- |  |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
|  | Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
8. When a woman fails to protect her honor (namus), it shames the family amongst the society.
- |  |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
|  | Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
9. I believe that the concept of honor (namus) restricts the freedom of women.
- |  |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
|  | Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
10. I think that the utilization of honor (namus) is necessary in order to control women.
- |  |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
|  | Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
11. I embrace/agree to the idea that the concept of honor (namus) is associated with women in order to restrict their sexual relations.
- |  |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
|  | Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
12. I find it illogical that a woman's honor (namus) is the responsibility of her father or brother.
- |  |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
|  | Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |

13. I agree to/approve the notion that a man's honor (namus) is associated with the woman's honor (namus).

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

14. I think that women are oppressed due to the value attributed to their virginity-dependent honor (namus).

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

**For each of the following statements, please circle the response that best reflects your reaction to that statement.**

1. Nudist camps should be made completely illegal.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

2. Abortion should be made available whenever a woman feels it would be the best decision.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

3. Information and advice about contraception (birth control) should be given to any individual who intends to have intercourse.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

4. Parents should be informed if their children under the age of eighteen have visited a clinic to obtain a contraceptive device.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

5. Our government should try harder to prevent the distribution of pornography.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

6. Prostitution should be legalized.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

7. Petting (a stimulating caress of any or all parts of the body) is immoral behavior unless the couple is married.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Agree	Agree

- |  |          |          |          |          |          |          |
|--|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
|  | strongly | somewhat | slightly | slightly | somewhat | strongly |
|--|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
8. Premarital sexual intercourse for young people is unacceptable to me.
- |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
| Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
9. Sexual intercourse for unmarried young people is acceptable without affection existing if both partners agree.
- |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
| Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
10. Homosexual behavior is an acceptable variation in sexual preference.
- |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
| Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
11. A person who catches a sexually transmitted (venereal) disease is probably getting exactly what he/she deserves.
- |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
| Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
12. A person's sexual behavior is his/her own business, and nobody should make value judgments about it.
- |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
| Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
13. Sexual intercourse should only occur between two people who are married to each other.
- |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
| Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |

**For each of the following statements, please circle the response that best reflects your level of agreement with that statement.**

1. Atheists and others who have rebelled against the established religions are no doubt every bit as good and virtuous as those who attend church/mosque regularly.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

2. Our country needs freethinkers who have the courage to defy traditional ways, even if this upsets many people.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

3. There is absolutely nothing wrong with nudist camps.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Agree	Agree



- |  |          |          |          |          |          |          |
|--|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
|  | strongly | somewhat | slightly | slightly | somewhat | strongly |
|--|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
4. Homosexuals and feminists should be praised for being brave enough to defy “traditional family values”.
- |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
| Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
5. Everyone should have their own lifestyle, religious beliefs, and sexual preferences, even if it makes them different from everyone else.
- |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
| Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
6. You have to admire those who challenge the law and the majority’s view by protesting for women’s abortion rights, for animal rights, or to abolish school prayer.
- |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
| Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
7. Gays and lesbians are just as healthy and moral as anybody else.
- |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
| Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
8. Some of the best people in our country are those who are challenging our government, criticizing religion, and ignoring the “normal way things are supposed to be done”.
- |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
| Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
9. A “woman’s place” should be wherever she wants to be. The days when women are submissive to their husbands and social conventions belong strictly in the past.
- |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
| Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |

**Below is a series of statements concerning men and women and their relationships in contemporary society. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement.**

1. No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.
- |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
| Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
2. Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for equality.

- |  |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
|  | Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
3. In a disaster, women ought to be rescued before men.
- |  |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
|  | Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
4. Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.
- |  |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
|  | Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
5. Women are too easily offended.
- |  |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
|  | Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
6. People are not truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.
- |  |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
|  | Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
7. Feminists are seeking for women to have more power than men.
- |  |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
|  | Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
8. Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.
- |  |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
|  | Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
9. Women should be cherished and protected by men.
- |  |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
|  | Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
10. Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.
- |  |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
|  | Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
11. Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.
- |  |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
|  | Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
12. Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.

- |  |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
|  | Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
13. Men are incomplete without women.
- |  |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
|  | Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
14. Women exaggerate problems they have at work.
- |  |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
|  | Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
15. Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.
- |  |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
|  | Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
16. When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.
- |  |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
|  | Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
17. A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.
- |  |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
|  | Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
18. Many women get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.
- |  |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
|  | Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
19. Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.
- |  |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
|  | Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
20. Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.
- |  |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
|  | Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
21. Feminists are making unreasonable demands of men.
- |  |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
|  | 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
|  | Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
22. Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.
- |  |          |          |          |       |       |       |
|--|----------|----------|----------|-------|-------|-------|
|  | 0        | 1        | 2        | 3     | 4     | 5     |
|  | Disagree | Disagree | Disagree | Agree | Agree | Agree |

strongly      somewhat      slightly      slightly      somewhat      strongly

**For each of the following statements, please circle the response that best reflects your reaction to that statement.**

1. I believe in God, because I feel so inside.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

2. I praise/thank God when I feel His presence.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

3. I try to fulfill/practice all rules that my faith deems necessary.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

4. My views on many religious matters are still changing.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

5. Religious rules constitute an inalterable whole; you either accept or reject all at once.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

6. I cannot accept religion as it is without questioning it first.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

7. I often feel the presence of God deep within.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

8. To me, worshiping is not an opportunity to wish something from God; it is a way to feel peaceful (quiet/quiescence) and His presence.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

9. I question the rules of religion and perform/apply them in my own way.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

10. The reason I pray is to assure a happy and calm life.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

11. Religion, above all, comforts me when I experience tragedy and disaster.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

12. As a faithful/religious person, I am against performing/fulfilling religious rules inadequately.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

13. I think that being devoted/connected to God wholeheartedly is more important than having a correct and perfect understanding of religion.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

14. As I change, my religious beliefs change (and improve) with me.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

15. The most important reason to worship is to ensure God's help and protection.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

16. I try to adhere to religious rules in order to avoid punishment in the afterlife.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

17. I try to stay devoted/connected to my religion in order to achieve a good position among society.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

18. I pray, because I feel to do so inside.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

19. I think that my skepticism (skeptical approach) towards religion directed/led me to new developments/expansion.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Agree	Agree

- |  |          |          |          |          |          |          |
|--|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
|  | strongly | somewhat | slightly | slightly | somewhat | strongly |
|--|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
20. I take religious rules as base for every matter in life.
- |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
| Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
21. I hold questioning and commenting on the rules that my religion deems necessary to be equal to being against (or rebellion against) religion.
- |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
| Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |

**For each of the following statements, please circle the response that best reflects your reaction to that statement.**

1. It is regrettable that religion becomes less important in daily life in the US.
- |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
| Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
2. It is unpleasant when your daughter wants to marry someone from a different religion.
- |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
| Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
3. It is unpleasant when your son wants to marry someone from a different religion.
- |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
| Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
4. How often do you attend religious meetings such as attending a mosque, a religious celebration or religious service?
- |       |                        |                         |                     |
|-------|------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| 1     | 2                      | 3                       | 4                   |
| Never | Several times per year | Several times per month | Once a week or more |

**If you describe your religious affiliation as Muslim, for each of the following statements (1 – 4), please circle the response that best reflects your level of agreement with that statement.**

1. I follow the rules of Islam very closely.
- |                      |                      |                      |                   |                   |                   |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 0                    | 1                    | 2                    | 3                 | 4                 | 5                 |
| Disagree<br>strongly | Disagree<br>somewhat | Disagree<br>slightly | Agree<br>slightly | Agree<br>somewhat | Agree<br>strongly |
2. I live my life strictly according to the regulations of Islam.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

3. Islam is the most important guideline in my everyday life.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

4. Islamic practices regulate my daily life.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

**For each of the following statements, please circle the response that best reflects your level of agreement with that statement.**

1. I would never say “we Americans”.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

2. I certainly do not want to see myself as American.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

3. I always have the tendency to distance myself from the Americans.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

4. Actually, I do not want to have anything to do with the Americans.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

5. I never feel addressed when they are saying something about the US and the Americans.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

**The following statements refer to the various ways in which you can handle different aspects of your life in the US. Some statements are about the Turkish way, others refer to the American way, while some are related to both the Turkish and the American cultures. Please tell me about your personal preferences on these issues.**

**An “American” person refers here to someone of non-Turkish descent, born and raised in the US and who speaks English.**

1. I like to celebrate both American and Turkish holidays.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

2. I would like my children to be raised in both American and Turkish ways.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

3. I like to have Turkish close friends more than American close friends.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

4. I like to have both American and Turkish decorations in my home.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

5. I would like my children to be raised more in American ways than in Turkish ways.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

6. I would like my children to learn Turkish values and customs more than American values and customs.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

7. I prefer to speak English more than Turkish at home.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

8. I expect my children to live with me until they get married.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree strongly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	Agree somewhat	Agree strongly

9. I like to eat Turkish food more than American food at home.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Agree	Agree



strongly      somewhat      slightly      slightly      somewhat      strongly  
**10.** I like to celebrate Turkish holidays more than American holidays.

0                      1                      2                      3                      4                      5  
Disagree      Disagree      Disagree      Agree      Agree      Agree  
strongly      somewhat      slightly      slightly      somewhat      strongly

**11.** I would say that I like to live more like an American than like a Turk.

0                      1                      2                      3                      4                      5  
Disagree      Disagree      Disagree      Agree      Agree      Agree  
strongly      somewhat      slightly      slightly      somewhat      strongly

**12.** I would like my children to learn both Turkish and American values and customs.

0                      1                      2                      3                      4                      5  
Disagree      Disagree      Disagree      Agree      Agree      Agree  
strongly      somewhat      slightly      slightly      somewhat      strongly

**13.** I would like my children to learn American values and customs more than Turkish values and customs.

0                      1                      2                      3                      4                      5  
Disagree      Disagree      Disagree      Agree      Agree      Agree  
strongly      somewhat      slightly      slightly      somewhat      strongly

**14.** I would prefer my children to live with me until they get married, but I would respect their decision if they want to leave.

0                      1                      2                      3                      4                      5  
Disagree      Disagree      Disagree      Agree      Agree      Agree  
strongly      somewhat      slightly      slightly      somewhat      strongly

**15.** I like to have American close friends more than Turkish close friends.

0                      1                      2                      3                      4                      5  
Disagree      Disagree      Disagree      Agree      Agree      Agree  
strongly      somewhat      slightly      slightly      somewhat      strongly

**This is the end of the questionnaire.  
Thank you very much for participating!**

## ANKET

**Lütfen size en uygun olan seçeneği işaretleyiniz. Lütfen gerekli yerlerde yanıtlarınızı boşluklara yazınız.**

**Yaşınız:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Cinsiyetiniz:** Erkek / Kadın

**Doğum yerinizi, aşağıda verilmiş olan üç kategorinin her birini doldurarak belirtiniz:**

Köy veya Kasaba: \_\_\_\_\_

Şehir: \_\_\_\_\_

Ülke: \_\_\_\_\_

**Etnik kökeninizi nasıl tanımlarsınız?**

1. Türk-Amerikalı
2. Kürt-Amerikalı
3. Amerikalı
4. Türk
5. Kürt
6. Diğer (lütfen belirtin): \_\_\_\_\_

**Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde kaç yıl yaşadınız?** \_\_\_\_\_

**Lütfen şu anda ABD'deki ikamet durumunuzu belirtin:**

1. Geçici ziyaretçi / Vize
  - e. Öğrenci vizesi
  - f. Eş/aile vizesi ("Dependent visa")
  - g. İş vizesi
  - h. Diğer (lütfen belirtin): \_\_\_\_\_
2. Süresiz oturma izni / Yeşil kart
3. ABD vatandaşı
4. Diğer (lütfen belirtin): \_\_\_\_\_

**Lütfen, aşağıdaki üç kategorinin her birini doldurarak, ABD'de yaşamaya başlamadan önce hayatınızın çoğunu geçirdiğiniz yeri belirtin:**

Köy veya Kasaba: \_\_\_\_\_

Şehir: \_\_\_\_\_

Ülke: \_\_\_\_\_

Geçerli değil

**Lütfen, aşağıdaki üç kategorinin her birini doldurarak, ailenizin/akrabalarımızın doğduğu yerleri (köy/kasaba, şehir ve ülke) belirtin:**

	Köy veya Kasaba	Şehir	Ülke
<b>Annem:</b>	_____	_____	_____
<b>Annemin annesi:</b>	_____	_____	_____
<b>Annemin babası:</b>	_____	_____	_____
<b>Babam:</b>	_____	_____	_____
<b>Babamın annesi:</b>	_____	_____	_____
<b>Babamın babası:</b>	_____	_____	_____
<b>Çocuklarım (var ise):</b>	_____	_____	_____

**Büyürken evde ağırlıklı olarak hangi dil konuşuluyordu?**

1. Türkçe
2. Kürtçe
3. Eşit oranda Türkçe ve Kürtçe
4. İngilizce
5. Eşit oranda Türkçe ve İngilizce
6. Eşit oranda Kürtçe, Türkçe ve İngilizce
7. Diğer (lütfen belirtin): \_\_\_\_\_

**Bu aralar evde ağırlıklı olarak hangi dil konuşulmakta?**

1. Türkçe
2. Kürtçe
3. Eşit oranda Türkçe ve Kürtçe
4. İngilizce
5. Eşit oranda Türkçe ve İngilizce
6. Eşit oranda Kürtçe, Türkçe ve İngilizce
7. Diğer (lütfen belirtin): \_\_\_\_\_

**Lütfen aşağıda verilmiş olan eğitim seviyelerini hangi ülkede tamamladığınızı belirtin:**

Hiç okula gitmedim

	<b>Türkiye</b>	<b>ABD</b>	<b>Diğer</b>
İlkokul	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Ortaokul	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Lise	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
2 Yıllık Üniversite (Teknik veya Yüksek Okul)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
4 Yıllık Üniversite (Mezun)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Yüksek Lisans	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____
Doktora	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____

**Eğitiminize halen devam etmekte misiniz? Evet ise, lütfen belirtin:**

\_\_\_\_\_

**Diğer (lütfen belirtin):** \_\_\_\_\_

**Lütfen resmi olarak kaç yıllık eğitim tamamlamış olduğunuzu belirtin:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Mesleğiniz nedir?** \_\_\_\_\_

**Şu anda çalışıyor musunuz? Evet / Hayır**

Evet ise:

1. Yarı zamanlı
2. Tam zamanlı
3. Diğer: \_\_\_\_\_

**Toplam hanehalkı (tüm aile olarak) geliriniz nedir? Lütfen aylık veya yıllık olarak belirtin.**

Aylık: \_\_\_\_\_ ABD Doları (\$) veya Yıllık: \_\_\_\_\_ ABD Doları (\$)

**İlişki durumunuz nedir?**

1. Evli
2. Boşanmış
3. Dul
4. Evliyim fakat ayrı yaşıyoruz.
5. Hiç evlenmedim.
6. Romantik bir ilişki içindeyim.
7. Bekar

**Çocuğunuz var mı? Evet / Hayır**

**Hangi dine mensupsunuz?**

1. İslam
  - a. Sünni
  - b. Alevi
2. Hristiyanlık
3. Musevilik
4. Herhangi bir dine mensup değilim.
5. Diğer (lütfen belirtin): \_\_\_\_\_

**Müslüman iseniz, kendinizi herhangi bir İslami cemaat, topluluk veya hareketin üyesi olarak görüyor musunuz? Evet / Hayır**

**Evet ise, lütfen belirtin:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Lütfen aşağıdaki ifadelerin her birine ne kadar katıldığınızı veya katılmadığınızı belirten en uygun yanıtı seçiniz.**

1. Bir kadının evlilik dışında cinsel ilişkiye girmesinin “namusunun kirlenmesi” ile eşdeğer olduğunu düşünüyorum.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum
2. Evlilik öncesi cinsel ilişkiye girmenin kadının namusu ile ilişkili olmadığını düşünüyorum.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum
3. Toplum içinde zor duruma düşmemek için ailelerin kadınlarının namuslarını korumaları gerektiğine inanıyorum.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum
4. Kadının namusu, erkek ya da aile ile ilgili bir şey değildir, bu sadece kadını ilgilendirir.

- |  |              |              |              |             |             |             |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
|  | 0            | 1            | 2            | 3           | 4           | 5           |
|  | Kesinlikle   | Pek          | Az da olsa   | Az da olsa  | Biraz       | Kesinlikle  |
|  | katılmıyorum | katılmıyorum | katılmıyorum | katılıyorum | katılıyorum | katılıyorum |
5. Kadınların cinsel hayatlarının aileleri tarafından takip edilmesinin kadınların hatalar yapıp namuslarını kirletmelerini önleyebileceği kanısındayım.
- |  |              |              |              |             |             |             |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
|  | 0            | 1            | 2            | 3           | 4           | 5           |
|  | Kesinlikle   | Pek          | Az da olsa   | Az da olsa  | Biraz       | Kesinlikle  |
|  | katılmıyorum | katılmıyorum | katılmıyorum | katılıyorum | katılıyorum | katılıyorum |
6. Bence bekaret kadının namusunun simgesi değildir.
- |  |              |              |              |             |             |             |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
|  | 0            | 1            | 2            | 3           | 4           | 5           |
|  | Kesinlikle   | Pek          | Az da olsa   | Az da olsa  | Biraz       | Kesinlikle  |
|  | katılmıyorum | katılmıyorum | katılmıyorum | katılıyorum | katılıyorum | katılıyorum |
7. Bir kadının namusunun ailesi tarafından korunması gerektiğini düşünüyorum.
- |  |              |              |              |             |             |             |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
|  | 0            | 1            | 2            | 3           | 4           | 5           |
|  | Kesinlikle   | Pek          | Az da olsa   | Az da olsa  | Biraz       | Kesinlikle  |
|  | katılmıyorum | katılmıyorum | katılmıyorum | katılıyorum | katılıyorum | katılıyorum |
8. Kadının namusunu koruyamaması ailesi için toplum içinde yüz kızartıcı bir durumdur.
- |  |              |              |              |             |             |             |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
|  | 0            | 1            | 2            | 3           | 4           | 5           |
|  | Kesinlikle   | Pek          | Az da olsa   | Az da olsa  | Biraz       | Kesinlikle  |
|  | katılmıyorum | katılmıyorum | katılmıyorum | katılıyorum | katılıyorum | katılıyorum |
9. Namus kavramının kadın özgürlüğünü sınırladığına inanıyorum.
- |  |              |              |              |             |             |             |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
|  | 0            | 1            | 2            | 3           | 4           | 5           |
|  | Kesinlikle   | Pek          | Az da olsa   | Az da olsa  | Biraz       | Kesinlikle  |
|  | katılmıyorum | katılmıyorum | katılmıyorum | katılıyorum | katılıyorum | katılıyorum |
10. Kadını kontrol etmek için "namus"un kullanılmasının gerekli olduğunu düşünüyorum.
- |  |              |              |              |             |             |             |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
|  | 0            | 1            | 2            | 3           | 4           | 5           |
|  | Kesinlikle   | Pek          | Az da olsa   | Az da olsa  | Biraz       | Kesinlikle  |
|  | katılmıyorum | katılmıyorum | katılmıyorum | katılıyorum | katılıyorum | katılıyorum |
11. Kadınların cinsel ilişkilerini kısıtlamak amacıyla namus olgusunun kadınla bağdaştırılması fikrini benimsiyorum.
- |  |              |              |              |             |             |             |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
|  | 0            | 1            | 2            | 3           | 4           | 5           |
|  | Kesinlikle   | Pek          | Az da olsa   | Az da olsa  | Biraz       | Kesinlikle  |
|  | katılmıyorum | katılmıyorum | katılmıyorum | katılıyorum | katılıyorum | katılıyorum |
12. Kadının namusunun babasının veya erkek kardeşlerinin sorumluluğunda olmasını mantıksız buluyorum.
- |  |              |              |              |             |             |             |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
|  | 0            | 1            | 2            | 3           | 4           | 5           |
|  | Kesinlikle   | Pek          | Az da olsa   | Az da olsa  | Biraz       | Kesinlikle  |
|  | katılmıyorum | katılmıyorum | katılmıyorum | katılıyorum | katılıyorum | katılıyorum |
13. Erkeğin namusunun ailesindeki kadınların namusuyla ilişkili olmasını doğru buluyorum.
- |  |              |              |              |             |             |             |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
|  | 0            | 1            | 2            | 3           | 4           | 5           |
|  | Kesinlikle   | Pek          | Az da olsa   | Az da olsa  | Biraz       | Kesinlikle  |
|  | katılmıyorum | katılmıyorum | katılmıyorum | katılıyorum | katılıyorum | katılıyorum |
14. Bekarete bağlı olarak kadının namusuna verilen değer nedeniyle kadınların ezildiği görüşündeyim.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

**Lütfen aşağıdaki ifadelerin her birine ne kadar katıldığınızı veya katılmadığınızı belirten uygun yanıtı seçiniz.**

1. Çıplaklar kampı tamamen yasadışı hale getirilmelidir.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

2. Kürtaj, bir kadın bunun en iyi karar olduğunu düşündüğünde mümkün kılınmalıdır.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

3. Cinsel ilişkiye girmek isteyen her bir bireye doğum kontrol yöntemlerine dair bilgi ve tavsiye verilmesi gereklidir.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

4. 18 yaş altındaki çocuklar kontraseptif (doğum kontrol) bir ürün almak için kliniğe gittiğinde ebeveynler haberdar edilmelidir.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

5. Hükümetimiz, pornografi dağıtımının engellenmesine yönelik daha çok çaba sarf etmelidir.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

6. Fahişelik yasal hale getirilmelidir.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

7. Çift evli değil ise, vücudunun herhangi bir yerinin veya tamamının uyarıcı bir şekilde okşanması ahlaka aykırıdır.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

8. Genç insanların evlilik öncesi cinsel ilişkiye girmesi benim için kabul edilemezdir.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

9. İki bireyin de onayının olması durumunda, evli olmayan genç insanların, duygusal yakınlık olmadan cinsel ilişkiye girmesi kabul edilebilir.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

10. Homoseksüel davranış kabul edilebilir bir cinsel tercihtir.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

11. Cinsel ilişki ile bulaşan hastalığa yakalanan bir kimse muhtemelen tam olarak hak ettiğini bulmuştur.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

12. Bir kimsenin cinsel davranışı yalnızca kendisini ilgilendirir; hiç kimse bu konuya dair değer yargısında bulunmamalıdır.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

13. Cinsel ilişki yalnızca birbiri ile evli olan iki insan arasında olmalıdır.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

**Lütfen aşağıdaki ifadelerin her birine ne kadar katıldığınızı veya katılmadığınızı belirten en uygun yanıtı seçiniz.**

1. Hiç kuşkusuz, mevcut dinsel öğretilere isyan edenler ve ateistler düzenli olarak kiliseye/camiye gidenler kadar iyi ve erdemlidirler.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

2. Birçok kişiyi tedirgin etse bile ülkemizin, geleneksel uygulamalara karşı çıkma cesareti gösteren özgür düşünceli bireylere ihtiyacı var.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

3. Çıplaklar kampının olmasında yanlış bir şey yoktur.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

4. Feministler ve homoseksüeller, geleneksel aile değerlerine karşı koyabilecek kadar cesur oldukları için takdir edilmelidirler.

0	1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---	---



- |                         |                  |                         |                        |                   |                        |
|-------------------------|------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| Kesinlikle katılmıyorum | Pek katılmıyorum | Az da olsa katılmıyorum | Az da olsa katılıyorum | Biraz katılıyorum | Kesinlikle katılıyorum |
|-------------------------|------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
5. Kendilerini herkesten farklı kılacak olsa bile bireyler, yaşam tarzlarını, dini inançlarını ve dinsel tercihlerini kendileri belirlemelidir.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

6. Kadınların siyasi, toplumsal ve ekonomik alanlarda daha aktif bir konumda yer alması, okullarda din derslerinin isteğe bağlı olması ve hayvan hakları için yeni düzenlemeler yapılmasını talep ederek mevcut yasalar ve çoğunluğun görüşlerine karşı çıkanlara hayranlık duymalısınız.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

7. Eşcinseller ve lezbiyenler, herhangi biri kadar sağlıklı ve ahlaklıdır.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

8. Ülkemizin en iyi bireyleri hükümete karşı çıkan, dini eleştiren ve doğal kabul edilen şeyleri göz ardı edebilenlerdir.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

9. Kadının yeri, nerede olmak istiyorsa orasıdır. Kadının kocasına ve toplumsal geleneklere itaat etmek zorunda kaldığı günler artık geçmişte kalmıştır.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

**Aşağıda erkekler ve kadınlar ile günümüz toplumundaki ilişkilerine dair bir dizi ifade yer almaktadır. Lütfen her bir ifadeye ne kadar katıldığınızı veya katılmadığınızı belirten en uygun yanıtı seçiniz.**

1. Ne kadar başarılı olursa olsun bir kadının sevgisine sahip olmadıkça bir erkek gerçek anlamda bütün bir insan olamaz.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

2. Gerçekte birçok kadın işe alınmalarda, “eşitlik” arıyoruz maskesi altında kendilerinin kayırılması gibi özel muameleler arıyor.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

3. Bir felaket durumunda kadınlar erkeklerden önce kurtarılmalıdır.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

4. Birçok kadın masum söz veya davranışları cinsel ayrımcılık olarak yorumlamaktadır.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

5. Kadınlar çok çabuk alınırlar.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

6. Karşı cinsten biri ile romantik ilişki olmaksızın insanlar hayatta gerçekten mutlu olamazlar.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

7. Feministler gerçekte kadınların erkeklerden daha fazla güce sahip olmalarını istemektedirler.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

8. Birçok kadın çok az erkekte olan bir saflığa sahiptir.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

9. Kadınlar erkekler tarafından el üstünde tutulmalı ve korunmalıdır.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

10. Birçok kadın erkeklerin kendileri için yaptıklarına tamamen minnettar olmamaktadırlar.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

11. Kadınlar erkekler üzerinde kontrolü sağlayarak güç kazanmak hevesindedirler.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

12. Her erkeğin hayatında hayran olduğu bir kadın olmalıdır.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

13. Erkekler kadınsız eksiktirler.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

14. Kadınlar iş yerlerinde problemleri abartmaktadırlar.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

15. Bir kadın bir erkeğin bağlılığını kazandıktan sonra genellikle o erkeğe sıkı bir yular takmaya çalışır.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

16. Adaletli bir yarışmada kadınlar erkeklere karşı kaybettikleri zaman tipik olarak kendilerinin ayrımcılığa maruz kaldıklarından yakınır.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

17. İyi bir kadın erkeği tarafından yüceltilmelidir.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

18. Erkeklere cinsel yönden yaklaşılabilir olduklarını gösterircesine şakalar yapıp daha sonra erkeklerin tekliflerini reddetmekten zevk alan birçok kadın vardır.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

19. Kadınlar erkeklerden daha yüksek ahlaki duyarlılığa sahip olma eğilimindedirler.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

20. Erkekler hayatlarındaki kadına mali yardım sağlamak için kendi rahatlarını gönüllü olarak feda etmelidirler.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

21. Feministler erkeklere makul olmayan istekler sunmaktadırlar.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

22. Kadınlar erkeklerden daha ince bir kültür anlayışına ve zevkine sahiptirler.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

**Lütfen aşağıdaki ifadelerin her birine ne kadar katıldığınızı veya katılmadığınızı belirten en uygun yanıtı seçiniz.**

1. İçimden geldiği için Allah'a inanırım.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

2. Allah'ın varlığını hissettiğim zamanlarda şükrederim.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

3. Dinimin gerekli gördüğü bütün kuralları yerine getirmeye çalışırım.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

4. Birçok dini konu hakkındaki görüşlerim hala değişmektedir.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

5. Din kuralları değiştirilemez bir bütündür; ya hepsini olduğu gibi kabul edersiniz ya da hepsini reddedersiniz.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

6. Dini sorgulamadan sunulduğu gibi kabul edemem.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

7. Allah'ın varlığını sık sık derinden hissedirim.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

8. İbadet, benim için Allah'tan bir şey dileme fırsatı değil, sükunet ve Allah'ın varlığını hissetme yoludur.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

9. Dinin kurallarını sorgular ve kendime göre uygularım.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

10. Dua etmenin amacı mutlu ve sakin bir hayatı garanti etmektir.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

11. Din, her şeyden önce, başıma acı ve felaket geldiği zaman beni teselli eder.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

12. İnançlı bir kişi olarak dini kuralların yarım yamalak uygulanmasına karşıyım.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

13. Allah'a gönülden bağlı olmanın doğru ve mükemmel bir din anlayışına sahip olmaktan daha önemli olduğunu düşünüyorum.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

14. Ben değiştikçe dini inançlarım da benimle birlikte değişip gelişir.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

15. İbadet etmek için en önemli sebep Allah'ın yardımını ve korumasını sağlamaktır.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

16. Öbür dünyada cezalandırılmamak adına dini kurallara bağlı yaşamaya çalışırım.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

17. Toplumda iyi bir yer edinmek için dinime bağlı kalmaya çalışırım.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

18. İçimden geldiği için dua ederim.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

19. Dine şüpheli yaklaşmanın beni yeni açılımlara yönlendirdiğini düşünüyorum.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

20. Hayatta her konuda dini kuralları temel alırım.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

21. Dinimin öngördüğü kurallar üzerinde sorgulanıp, yorum yapılmasını dine karşı gelmekle bir tutarım.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

**Lütfen aşağıdaki ifadelerin her birine ne kadar katıldığınızı veya katılmadığınızı belirten en uygun yanıtı seçiniz.**

1. Dinin ABD’de günlük yaşamda gittikçe daha az öneme sahip olması üzücü bir durumdur.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

2. Kızınızın başka dine mensup biriyle evlenmek istemesi nahoştur / rahatsızlık vericidir.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

3. Oğlunuzun başka dine mensup biriyle evlenmek istemesi nahoştur / rahatsızlık vericidir.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

4. Dini toplanmalara / toplantılara (örneğin; camiye, dini bir kutlamaya veya dini bir hizmete katılmak) ne kadar sıklıkla katılıyorsunuz?

1	2	3	4
Hiçbir zaman	Yılda birçok kez	Ayda birçok kez	Haftada bir veya daha fazla

**Dininizi İslam olarak belirttiyseniz, aşağıdaki ifadelerin (1-4) her birine ne kadar katıldığınızı veya katılmadığınızı belirten en uygun yanıtı seçiniz.**

1. İslamın şartlarını yakından takip eder, yerine getiririm.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

2. Katı bir şekilde İslam’ın kurallarına göre yaşarım.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

3. İslam, günlük yaşamımın en önemli kılavuzudur.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

4. İslami uygulamalar günlük hayatımı düzenler.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

**Lütfen aşağıdaki ifadelerin her birine ne kadar katıldığınızı veya katılmadığınızı belirten en uygun yanıtı seçiniz.**

1. Hiçbir zaman “biz Amerikalılar” demem.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

2. Kendimi kesinlikle Amerikalı olarak görmek istemem.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

3. Her zaman Amerikalılara mesafeli olma eğilimim vardır.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

4. Aslında, Amerikalılarla hiçbir işimin olmasını istemiyorum.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

5. ABD ve Amerikalılarla ilgili bir şey söylediklerinde hiçbir zaman bana hitap ediliyormuş gibi hissetmiyorum.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

**Aşağıdaki ifadeler, Amerika’daki hayatınızda karşılaştığınız değişik durumlarda nasıl düşündüğünüzle ilgilidir. Bazı ifadeler Türk kültürü, bazıları Amerikan kültürü, bazıları ise hem Türk hem de Amerikan kültürleri hakkındadır. Diğer ifadelerde ise bir kültür seçimi yoktur. Lütfen bu konulardaki kişisel tercihlerinizi belirtiniz.**

**Burada “Amerikalı,” Türk asıllı olmayan, Amerika’da doğup büyümüş ve İngilizce konuşan kişileri anlatmak için kullanılmıştır.**

1. Hem Amerikan hem Türk bayramlarını kutlamayı tercih ederim.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

2. Çocuklarımın hem Amerikan hem Türk tarzlarına uygun yetişmelerini isterim.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

3. Yakın arkadaşlarımdan Amerikalıdan çok Türk olmasını tercih ederim.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

4. Evimde hem Amerikalılara hem Türklere özgü süslemelerin olmasını tercih ederim.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

5. Çocuklarımdan Türk tarzından çok Amerikan tarzına uygun yetişmeleri isterim.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

6. Çocuklarımdan Amerikan değer ve geleneklerinden çok Türk değerlerini ve geleneklerini öğrenmelerini isterim.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

7. Evde Türkçe'den çok İngilizce konuşmayı tercih ederim.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

8. Çocuklarımdan evlenene kadar benimle oturmalarını beklerim.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

9. Evde Amerikan yemeklerinden çok Türk yemekleri yemeyi tercih ederim.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

10. Amerikan bayramlarından çok Türk bayramlarını kutlamayı tercih ederim.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

11. Türk'ten çok bir Amerikalı gibi yaşamaktan hoşlandığımı söyleyebilirim.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle	Pek	Az da olsa	Az da olsa	Biraz	Kesinlikle



katılmıyorum katılmıyorum katılmıyorum katılıyorum katılıyorum katılıyorum

12. Çocuklarımın hem Türk hem Amerikan değer ve geleneklerini öğrenmelerini isterim.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

13. Çocuklarımın Türk değer ve geleneklerinden çok Amerikan değerlerini ve geleneklerini öğrenmelerini isterim.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

14. Çocuklarımın evlenene kadar benimle oturmalarının daha iyi olacağını düşünüyorum, ancak eğer ki ayrılmak isterlerse bu kararlarına saygı duyarım.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

15. Yakın arkadaşlarımın Türk'ten çok Amerikalı olmasını tercih ederim.

0	1	2	3	4	5
Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Pek katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılmıyorum	Az da olsa katılıyorum	Biraz katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum

**Anketin sonuna geldiniz.  
Katılımınız için çok teşekkür ederiz!**

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## Vita

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### Education

Ph.D., Human Development and Family Science	Syracuse University, USA (2024)
M.A., Developmental Psychology	Koc University, Turkey (2008)
B.A., Psychology	Koc University, Turkey (2005)

### Research Interests

Attitudes towards honor in Turkish society, Turkish immigrants, and across cultures

Violence against women and honor-based violence across cultures

Acculturation, cross-cultural research

Religiosity

Physical punishment, parenting, late adolescence

### Publications

Mulvaney, M. K., Dede Yıldırım, E., **Çakırsoy-Aslan, A. D.**, Şengül, E., & Kayıkçı, C.

(2024). Parental Physical Punishment Across Turkish, Turkish-speaking Cypriot, and American Family Contexts. *Adversity and Resilience Science*.

<https://doi.org/10.1007/s42844-024-00131-6>

Hwang, W., **Çakırsoy-Aslan, A. D.**, Brown, M. T., & Silverstein, M. (2021). Husband-wife religious denomination homogamy and marital satisfaction over time: The moderating

role of religious intensity. *Family Relations*. 70(5), 1498-1513.

<https://doi.org/10.1111/fare.12521>

### Conference Presentations

**Çakırsoy-Aslan, A. D.** & Silverstein, M. (2017, November). Gender Role Ideology and Religion: Their Interrelationship over 45 Years. Poster presented at the National Council on Family Relations (NCFR) 2017 Annual Conference, Orlando, Florida, U.S.

Hwang, W., **Çakırsoy-Aslan, A. D.**, Silverstein, M. & Brown, M. (2017, November). Husband-Wife Religious Discordance: Consequences for Marital Satisfaction across 17 years. Poster presented at the National Council on Family Relations (NCFR) 2017 Annual Conference, Orlando, Florida, U.S.

Hwang, W., **Çakırsoy-Aslan, A. D.**, Silverstein, M. & Brown, M. (2017, October). Husband-Wife Religious Discordance and Marital Satisfaction: A Longitudinal Investigation over 17 years. Presented at the Society for the Study of Human Development 10<sup>th</sup> Biennial Meeting, Providence, RI, U.S.

**Çakırsoy-Aslan, A. D.**, Mulvaney, M. & Dede Yildirim, E. (2017, August). Parenting Style and Physical Punishment as Predictors of Gender and Religious Attitudes. Poster presented at the 18th European Conference on Developmental Psychology (ECDP), Utrecht, Netherlands.

Mulvaney, M., **Çakırsoy-Aslan, A. D.**, & Dede Yildirim, E. (2017, March). Maternal and Paternal Parenting Styles, Physical Punishment, and Attachment Outcomes. Poster presented at the 2017 International Convention of Psychological Science (ICPS), Vienna, Austria.

**Çakırsoy-Aslan, A. D. & Mulvaney, M. K. (2015, July).** The Effect of Religiosity on Attitudes towards Honor among Turkish Community in the U.S. Presented at the 14th European Congress of Psychology, Milan, Italy.

Li, W. K., **Çakırsoy-Aslan, A. D.**, Mulvaney, M. K. & Gordeyeva, I (2015, May). Predictors of sexting among female college students. Poster presented at the Association for Psychological Science 27th Annual Convention, New York, U.S.

**Çakırsoy-Aslan, A. D. & Mulvaney, M. K. (2014, July).** The Effect of Acculturation on Attitudes toward Honor among Turkish Community in the United States. Presented at the 22nd International Congress for Cross-Cultural Psychology IACCP 2014, Reims, France.

**Çakırsoy, A. D. & Kağıtçıbaşı, C. (2009, August).** The Effects of A Summer Pre-school Program on School Readiness of Children from Disadvantaged Families in Turkey. Presented at the 14th European Conference on Developmental Psychology, Vilnius, Lithuania.

**Çakırsoy, A. D. (2008, September).** Istanbul Bilgi University Tiny Hearts Project. Presented at the “Projects Implemented at Bahcelievler Children’s Home” Panel at the 15th National Congress of Psychology, Istanbul, Turkey.

### **Additional Research Experience**

Research Assistant, Aging Studies Institute, Syracuse University (2016 – 2017)

Supervisor: Merril Silverstein, Ph.D.

Study Title: Longitudinal Study of Generations



### **Teaching Experience: Adjunct Instructor**

Department of Psychology, Istanbul Bilgi University, Turkey (2019)

- Child Development
- Adolescent Development

Department of Child and Family Studies, Syracuse University (2014 – 2016)

- Interpersonal Competence
- Children and Families in Cross-Cultural Perspective

### **Teaching Experience: Graduate Assistant**

Department of Child and Family Studies, Syracuse University (2012 – 2014)

- Interpersonal Competence
- Human Sexuality
- Lust, Love, and Relationships
- Child and Family in Cross-Cultural Perspectives

Department of Psychology, Istanbul Bilgi University, Turkey (2007 – 2011)

- Human Nature
- Child Development
- Adolescent Development
- Psychology of Learning
- Theories of Personality
- Social Psychological Perspectives on Sex and Gender

## **Work Experience**

- Developmental Psychologist, Private Practice, Bodrum, Turkey, (2022 – Present)
- Graduate Assistant, Falk College Research Center, Syracuse University (2015 – 2016)
- Tutor and Instructional Assistant, Stevenson Educational Center for Student-Athlete Development, Syracuse University (2014 – 2015)
- Graduate Assistant, Bernice M. Wright Child Development Laboratory School / Department of Child and Family Studies, Syracuse University (2011 – 2012)
- Project Coordinator for Tiny Hearts Project, Istanbul Bilgi University, Istanbul, Turkey (2007 – 2011)

## **Professional Development and Service**

- Future Professorate Program, Syracuse University (2012 – 2014)
- Member of National Council of Family Relations Student Affiliate Group: The Student Council on Family Relations (SCFR), Syracuse University (2012 – 2018)
- Vice President of National Council of Family Relations Student Affiliate Group: The Student Council on Family Relations (SCFR), Syracuse University (2015 – 2016)
- Secretary/Treasurer of National Council of Family Relations Student Affiliate Group: The Student Council on Family Relations (SCFR), Syracuse University (2014 – 2015)

## **Honors and Awards**

- Dissertation Fellowship, The Graduate School, Syracuse University, 2021-2022
- 20-hour departmental graduate research assistantship, Aging Studies Institute, Syracuse University, 2016-2017

- Phi Beta Delta International Honor Society, 2014-2015
- 20-hour departmental graduate assistantship, Department of Child and Family Studies, Syracuse University, 2011-2014
- Partial scholarship for graduate study, Koc University, 2005-2008
- Dean's Honor Roll, Koc University, 2005