

THE ROLE OF CONTACT AND THE PERCEPTION OF THREAT
IN PREJUDICE TOWARDS SYRIANS IN TURKEY

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Hediye Hilal Özkeçeci, certify that

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ABSTRACT

The Role of Contact and the Perception of Threat in Prejudice Towards Syrians in Turkey

The study explored the relationship between contact, threat perceptions and prejudice in the context of Syrian refugees in Turkey by using the propositions of Integrated Threat Theory (ITT; Stephan & Stephan, 2000). A total of 310 participants from Şanlıurfa and Istanbul were surveyed. In Istanbul, two groups with high and low refugee exposure were selected. The results showed that quality of contact was related negatively to perceived realistic and symbolic threat, negative stereotyping, negative affect, and social distance, and positively to feelings of warmth towards Syrians. Realistic threat negatively predicted warmth feelings and symbolic threat positively predicted social distance, whereas negative stereotyping predicted greater social distance and negative affect, and colder feelings. Realistic threat mediated the contact quality and feelings, whereas symbolic threat mediated contact quality and social distance. Finally, negative stereotyping mediated the relationship between quality of contact and each prejudice variable. Contact quality did not moderate the relationship between contact quantity and prejudice variables. Among threat variables, negative stereotyping had the strongest relationship with each prejudice variable. Group differences shed light on the role of contact quality and quantity on perceptions of threat and prejudice. Implications of the results for current socio-political environment of Turkey are highlighted.

ÖZET

Gruplararası Temas ve Tehdit Algısının

Türkiye’deki Suriyelilere Yönelik Önyargıdaki Rolü

Bu çalışmada, Türkiye’deki Suriyeliler bağlamında gruplararası temas, tehdit algısı ve önyargı arasındaki ilişki Birleşik Tehdit Kuramı (Stephan & Stephan, 2000) kullanılarak incelenmiştir. İstanbul ve Şanlıurfa’da yaşayan 310 kişiye anket uygulanmıştır. Suriyelilerle farklı seviyelerde temas kuran katılımcılara ulaşmak için İstanbul’da düşük ve yüksek sığınmacı yoğunluklu semtlerden iki grup seçilmiştir. Sonuçlara göre, temas kalitesi arttıkça gerçekçi ve sembolik tehdit algısı, olumsuz kalıpyargılar, dışgruba karşı olumsuz duygulanım ve sosyal mesafe algısı azalırken, olumlu hisler artmıştır. Gerçekçi tehdit algısı olumlu duyguları, sembolik tehdit algısı sosyal mesafeyi, olumsuz kalıpyargılar ise sosyal mesafe ve dışgruba karşı olumsuz duygulanımı pozitif, olumlu hisleri ise negatif olarak yordamıştır. Gerçekçi tehdit algısının temas kalitesi ile olumlu hisler arasında, sembolik tehdit algısının ise temas kalitesi ile sosyal mesafe arasında aracı değişken olduğu bulunmuştur. Son olarak, olumsuz kalıpyargılar temas kalitesinin ile üç önyargı değişkeni arasındaki ilişkide aracı değişken olduğu görülmüştür. Temas kalitesi, temas miktarı ile önyargı değişkenleri arasındaki ilişkiyi düzenlememiştir. Tehdit değişkenleri arasında önyargı değişkenleri en güçlü ilişkisi olan değişken olumsuz kalıpyargılardır. Grup farklılıkları üzerinden temas kalitesi ve temas miktarının tehdit algısı ve önyargı üzerindeki rolü tartışılmıştır. Araştırma sonuçlarının Türkiye’nin sosyopolitik ortamı açısından önemi vurgulanmıştır.

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CHAPTER 1

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The main goal of the present study is to examine the perceptions of and prejudicial attitudes towards Syrian refugees in Turkey. The refugee crisis that Syria is facing is the largest since World War II. The situation in Syria has become worse since the beginning of the Syrian war in 2011. Millions of people have lost their families, homes, and jobs, and most of them have been deprived of basic human necessities. The war in Syria has caused deaths of hundreds of civilians and forced almost half of the civilian population to seek refuge in various cities and countries (Taleb, Bahelah, Fouad, Coutts, Wilcox, & Maziak, 2015). According to the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR), approximately 13.5 million of Syrians are in need of help, nearly 6.3 million are internally displaced within their country and around 5.2 million migrated to neighboring countries such as Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, and Iraq. Among this 5.2 million registered Syrians who were displaced, around half a million live in camps, while the rest reside in rural, peri-urban, and urban areas (<http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php>).

Since 2011 Turkey offered temporary protection and endorsed “open door policy” to Syrians who fled their country (Kirişçi, 2014). Turkey has made considerable effort in helping refugees and giving humanitarian aid to asylum seekers. Although Iraq and Lebanon host a considerable number of refugees, Turkey accepted the largest percentage. As of October 2017, there are 3,235,992 Syrian refugees registered in Turkey. Of these, 10% constitute camp residents and 90% live outside camps in various provinces (<http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/country.php?id=224>). October 2017 records by Turkish Directorate General of Migration

Management (DGMM) indicate that there is a steady refugee influx from the Syrian border and the number of registered refugees doubled compared to March 2015 registration records. However, policies regarding refugees do not have a well-founded structure since the government expected the situation to be temporary at the beginning of the war (İçduygu, 2015).

Syrians were hoping to get back to their homeland as soon as the war ended, however they may not have a home to get back to (Kirişçi, 2014). Thus, a short term solution to the current crisis seems highly improbable and Syrians in Turkey are most likely to be permanent residents (Kirişçi, 2014). Moreover, due to the devastating impact of the war, it is expected that the influx of Syrian refugees coming to Turkey will increase with time (DGMM, 2017). There are also a large number of unregistered Syrians, who constitute an additional challenge to the Turkish government (İçduygu, 2015).

In terms of the refugee crisis, there is considerable research regarding its impact on Turkey's social and economic climate, humanitarian conditions in and outside of camps, and the opinions of Syrians and Turkish citizens both in and out of the Syrian border region. In addition, policy makers are suggesting ways to integrate millions of refugees to the Turkish society (Kirişçi, 2014).

1.1 Perception of Syrians in Turkey

The previous research indicates widespread negative opinions and sentiments as well as threat perceptions regarding Syrians in Turkey (Erdoğan, 2014; Ipsos, 2017; Kavaklı Birdal et al., 2017; Ozden, 2013). Erdoğan (2014) conducted an extensive study concerning the social acceptability and the integration of Syrian refugees among Turkish citizens. In this study, 72 Syrians and 72 local residents in 6 cities

(Gaziantep, Kilis, and Hatay as cities near the Syrian border, and Istanbul, Izmir, and Mersin as cities far from the Syrian border regions) were interviewed in an in-depth fashion. In addition, 1501 participants in 18 cities completed a survey. The results of the in-depth interviews showed that general attitude towards Syrians differed between cities near and far from the Syrian border region; whereas the survey responses did not show any differences (Erdoğan, 2014). Overall, Erdoğan (2014) concluded that Turkish citizens' acceptance of Syrians is very high even though the number of refugees in Turkey exceeded 2.7 million. Also, the results showed that a large percentage of Turkish citizens evaluated the refugee crisis in terms of humanitarian concerns. Most of the participants strongly disagreed with the claim that Syrians should return to Syria when the war is still going on. In addition, 30% of the participants stated that they helped Syrians financially in a direct or an indirect way. Nonetheless, local people complained about the priority given to Syrians in terms of health and other social services and also about the increased rent and unemployment, especially in cities around the Syrian border (Erdoğan, 2014). The results also indicated widespread criticism about the Turkish government regarding their inadequate policies (Erdoğan, 2014).

A recent study assessed the attitudes of Turkish citizens towards Syrian refugees using different methods such as public survey and focus groups in Istanbul (Kavaklı Birdal et al., 2017). The results of the public survey showed that almost all participants thought there are too many Syrians in Turkey and more than 70% felt discomfort about Syrians' presence in Turkey (Kavaklı Birdal et al., 2017). Most participants stated that Syrians should return home when the civil war ended and their country recovered. They thought that the residence of Syrians should be limited to camp areas around the border regions. More than half stated that they could not

tolerate the presence of Syrians in Turkey when the war ended and they considered collective protest or meeting against Syrians as a justifiable act. Finally, nearly 80% of the participants stated that they felt no admiration or sympathy towards Syrians, while half of them showed pity for them (Kavaklı Birdal et al., 2017).

A recent international poll by a global market research company Ipsos (2017) investigated attitudes towards immigrants with 17,903 participants from 26 countries. The results showed only 9% of the Turkish participants thought that immigration has a positive influence on their country (Ipsos, 2017). More than 80% agree that there are “too many immigrants in Turkey” while 66% advocated for closing of borders (Ipsos, 2017). Turkey appeared as having the most negative attitudes towards immigrants.

There is widespread concern, negative evaluations, and perceived threats on the part of Turkish citizens, along with the need for a permanent policy that would facilitate the social integration of Syrians into the Turkish society (Kirişçi, 2014). Hence, long term policies should find a way to integrate large numbers of Syrians into the Turkish society in a peaceful manner. İçduygu (2015) stated that the situation of refugees is difficult in that they have to work under conditions outside government authorization in exchange for very low wages. It is predicted that these large numbers of refugees would lead to societal conflict and increased instability in Turkey's economic and social climate; hence, Turkey has to implement policies regarding the coexistence of asylum seekers with the Turkish citizens (İçduygu, 2015).

Therefore, based on previous research concerning perceptions about Syrians in Turkey, it is important to study prejudice towards Syrians and its antecedents. Studying prejudice and the underlying constructs will help determine the prominent

problems that policy makers should focus on and also how to reduce prejudice towards Syrians. Since a significant number of studies revealed that high quality intergroup contact is a way to reduce outgroup prejudice (see Pettigrew, 2006a), contact is also a key construct in the context of Syrians in Turkey. In sum, this study will focus on perceived threat and intergroup contact as predictors of prejudice.

1.2 Integrated Threat Theory

Interethnic hostility has been a prominent issue globally. The negative consequences of intergroup antagonism might range from subtle discrimination to explicit violence towards outgroups (Janis & Katz, 1959). Thus, mechanisms underlying prejudice have been a fruitful research area with a growing number of studies. Researchers also tried to identify variables that would reduce negative attitudes.

Antecedents and causes of prejudice have been widely studied by many researchers, and different models have been developed to explain why prejudice occurs. Researchers proposed various factors as antecedents to outgroup prejudice. For instance, when ingroups and outgroups have incompatible goals it is expected that there will be negativity in intergroup relationships (Campbell, 1965; as cited in Esses, Jackson & Armstrong, 1998). In addition, realistic group conflict theory states that one potential source of prejudice is the intergroup competition due to scarcity of economic and material resources (LeVine & Campbell, 1972).

Stephan and Stephan (2000) integrated previous models of prejudice offered by social psychologists into a more comprehensive and more coherent framework called Integrated Threat Theory (ITT). In this framework, four factors, namely, realistic and symbolic threat due to outgroups, intergroup anxiety, and stereotyping of outgroups play a role in the outcome of prejudice. Prejudice refers to negative

attitudes towards outgroups and includes negative emotional and evaluative reactions concerning outgroup members (Stephan & Stephan, 1996). ITT was tested using different types of groups based on gender, ethnicity, and health status (Abrams, Eller & Bryant, 2006; Berrenberg, Finlay, Stephan, & Stephan, 2002). A number of studies in Turkey have identified negative evaluations of Syrians in Turkey (Erdoğan, 2014; İçduygu, 2015; Ozden, 2013). Thus, both theoretically and empirically prejudice is a key construct to be studied in the present study.

1.2.1 Realistic threat

Realistic threat refers to any kind of perceived threat by the outgroup to the political power, economic power, and physical well-being of the ingroup (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). ITT (Stephan & Stephan, 2000) is not the first framework to mention realistic threat as a psychological construct. For example, LeVine and Campbell (1972) proposed that competition between groups due to limited material and economic resources might lead to prejudice. However, the way threat is conceptualized in ITT differs from the previous definitions in two ways. Firstly, the theory focuses on perceived intergroup threat rather than the actual intergroup threat. Secondly, it enlarges the construct of realistic threat to encompass any type of material threat posed by the outgroup to the existence of the ingroup.

In terms of Syrians in Turkey, prior findings indicated widespread complaints related to decreased welfare and material well-being of Turkish citizens due to Syrians. Turkish citizens raised complaints about restricted access to health and other social services, crowdedness of public areas, increasing rates of unemployment and rents, as well as increased crime rates and decreased sense of public security especially near the Syrian border (Erdoğan, 2014). Importantly,

overwhelming majority of people indicated that Syrians are an economic burden to the society. Also, border region residents believed that the coming of Syrians served a political agenda, in which sectarian policies of Justice and Development Party (AKP) was put in action through the placement of refugees (Erdoğan, 2014). Thus, although Turkish government and citizens constitute an exemplar to the world in terms of acceptance and tolerance, researchers raised concerns about the fragility of this social acceptance and argued for a long term policy reform regarding educational and economic opportunities for refugees (Erdoğan, 2014).

In another research, Ozden (2013) interviewed camp residents and local people in Hatay, the city where the biggest tension is observed. Local people complained about increased rent prices, restriction of health services and overcrowdedness, along with decrease in wages due to large number of Syrians competing for jobs. In addition, local people perceived cultural and educational differences between themselves and the refugees (Ozden, 2013). The locals also complained about Syrians' being uneducated, having no manners and harassing women on the streets along with many other behaviors that are considered inferior and dangerous. Most importantly, rumors related to criminal behavior and law violations by Syrians tended to spread very quickly, thus locals seem to endorse negative views of Syrians without direct experience (Ozden, 2013). Research has also found that Syrians in Turkey are seen as being in competition with local residents in terms of job opportunities, housing, use of social services, and use of public spaces such as parks and streets (Erdoğan, 2014).

An extensive study investigated the perceived threat from and prejudice towards refugees in Turkey with an experimental design. Getmansky, Sinmazdemir, and Zeitzoff (2017) manipulated information about refugees in Turkey by

presenting short vignettes and then measured prejudice and safety threat. In three of the experimental conditions participants read vignettes containing information related to economic costs of refugees, militant ties of refugees, and ethnic imbalance caused by refugees. A fourth positive condition stated that the open-door policy saved the lives of innocent women and children. The results showed that in the “militant ties” and the “women and children” condition, non-Kurdish (i.e., ethnic majority) citizens showed more negative attitudes towards all minority refugees (Kurdish, Alawite, and Arab) except for Sunni refugees compared to the condition where no information was provided. This was possibly due to the effect of shared religion that reduced prejudice. Prejudice did not differ across conditions for Kurdish (i.e., minority) participants. In terms of perceived economic and safety threat across the experimental groups, the effect of presented information was observed only in the ethnic majority. Specifically, in the "women and children" condition and in the "militant ties" condition there was a greater endorsement of the notion that refugees were making Turkey less safe compared to the no information condition. Ethnic imbalance and economic threat information did not lead to higher perceived threat among non-Kurds. For Kurdish participants, experimental manipulation did not influence perceived economic or safety threat compared to the control condition (Getmansky et al., 2017). Although threat as a psychological construct was present both as an independent and dependent variable in this study, it was revealed that even simply reading about the threat posed by refugees could lead to increased prejudice. In addition, even information related to positive consequences of refugee influx as in the "women and children" condition led to increased prejudice. Overall, these results suggested that the ethnic majority has more positive attitudes towards refugees than the ethnic majority.

In a similar study, Lazarev and Sharma (2015) examined the effects of religious and economic primes on prejudice towards Syrian refugees. The results showed that while religious priming amplified the charity response. On the other hand, economic cost priming, which can be considered a form of realistic threat diminished charity intents. Even though Islam might be a common ground between Turkish citizens and Syrian refugees, economic threat cancelled out the effect of religious fraternity on helping intentions in parallel with the findings of Erdoğan (2014).

In another comprehensive study, Kavaklı Birdal and colleagues (2017) observed that Turkish citizens raised health concerns related to the presence of Syrian refugees in that they were believed to be the carriers of certain diseases. Focus group meetings with participants belonging to low socio-economic status also underlined problems such as increased rents and lowering of labor wages due to refugees, who were willing to work unregistered (Kavaklı Birdal et al., 2017). Researchers also observed that there was a competition between Turkish people who were in need of financial aid and Syrian refugees. More than 80% of the surveyed participants stated that Syrians were responsible for the increased crime rates, beggary, and decreased quality of health services. They also believed that Syrians might cause important economic and social hardships for Turkey, as well as for themselves (Kavaklı Birdal et al., 2017). In addition, women in focus groups stated that by accepting to be second or third wives, Syrian women are posing a threat to the marriages of Turkish women and the Turkish family structure (Kavaklı Birdal et al., 2017). Similarly, Ipsos (2017) poll results revealed that 73% of Turkish participants thought that immigration diminished quality on public services, 78% agreed that immigration had a negative influence on job market, 87% agreed that

terrorists act like refugees. The findings of previous studies suggest that perceived realistic threat is an important construct to be studied in the case of prejudice towards Syrian refugees in Turkey. Based on the propositions of ITT, it is predicted that perceived realistic threat from Syrians will be positively related to prejudice towards Syrians.

1.2.2 Symbolic threat

Perceptions related to the values and beliefs of the outgroup, namely, symbolic aspects of intergroup differences, were shown to be related to the attitudes towards outgroups. For instance, symbolic racism and modern racism approaches to outgroup prejudice state that in the U.S. antagonism towards African–American citizens by Whites stems from reluctance to alter the cultural status quo based on Protestant values as well as the perceived violation of ingroup values (Kinder & Sears, 1981). In addition, ambivalence amplification theory proposes an implicit form of racism in which values of outgroup members are not seen as compatible with ingroup values and at the same time ingroup values such as egalitarianism do not allow explicit derogation of outgroups (Katz, Wackenhut, & Hass, 1986). This conflict results in ambivalent attitudes towards outgroups. However, this theory was centered on the assumption that ingroup members endorse Protestant ethic values, which do not lead to comprehensive understanding of intergroup prejudice (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Another approach which focuses on symbolic aspects of intergroup prejudice was the Social Dominance Theory proposed by Sidanius and colleagues (1992). This theory suggests that the members of the dominant ingroup will utilize prejudice to prevent the status quo from breaking down and justify the social inequality between ingroup and outgroup members.

ITT defines symbolic threat as the feelings of threat due to differences between “values, morals, standards, beliefs and attitudes” of ingroup and outgroup members, which is a more comprehensive definition than the previous definitions of symbolic threat (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Esses, Haddock and Zanna (1993) defined symbolic threat as the degree of frustration due to prevention of one’s value system by outgroups. This definition of symbolic threat is the closest to that of ITT. However, the uniqueness of ITT comes from its focus on “feelings of threat” rather than on frustration. In addition, former models of prejudice argued that perception of symbolic threat is itself a form of prejudice (Sears, 1988). ITT is different in its approach to symbolic threat from previous approaches in that perceived symbolic threat is defined as an antecedent to prejudice rather than being a form of prejudice. Therefore, perceived symbolic threat can be conceptualized as a predictor of hostility towards outgroups within ITT framework.

Research to date has revealed that Turkish citizens have raised concerns related to the cultural compatibility of Syrians with Turkish culture (Ozden, 2013). Also, the perceived similarity between Turkish and Syrian cultures was quite small (Erdoğan, 2014). In other words, Syrians were not seen as a group of people who share a similar ethnic background with the Turkish society. Specifically, among Turkish citizens, agreement with the sentence “I think we are culturally similar with Syrians” was only 17%. Also, the support for statements endorsing “religious fraternity” between Turkish citizens and Syrians was only 12.1%. Although there are actual similarities concerning religious background, Turkish citizens did not think that this similarity is the main reason for Syrians to be accepted. Rather, humanitarian concerns seem to play a role in Turkish citizens’ social acceptance of Syrians (Erdoğan, 2014). Kavaklı Birdal et al.'s (2017) large-scale survey by 1224

participants found that only 6% of the participants stated Syrians would benefit the Turkish culture while more than half of them indicated that the effect of the Syrian refugees on Turkish society would be negative. Furthermore, Syrians were seen incompatible with the Turkish culture in terms of gender relations, family structure, cleanliness, and lifestyles (Kavaklı Birdal et al., 2017).

Overall, these results are indicators of perceived symbolic threat concerning Syrians among Turkish citizens. Hence, the present study will investigate perceived symbolic threat as well as realistic threat. Based on ITT framework, it is predicted that perceived symbolic threat from Syrians will be positively related to prejudice towards Syrians.

1.2.3 Negative stereotyping

Stereotypes are pervasive judgments related to outgroup characteristics and they can be both positively or negatively valenced (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). ITT proposes that negative stereotyping is a mediator between contact and prejudice. Negative stereotypes form a lower baseline for expectations of interactions with outgroup members (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Research confirmed the predictive power of negative stereotyping on prejudice (Esses et al., 1993).

Negative stereotyping of Syrians was frequent during interviews with the locals. For instance, some adjectives the locals used to identify Syrians included “beggars, looters, exploiters” as well as “morally inferior” and “uneducated” (Ozden, 2013). Also, almost half of the participants in Erdoğan's (2014) comprehensive public survey indicated that they do not have any intentions to be neighbors to a Syrian because they consider them as dangerous. Furthermore, interviews with local residents revealed that Syrians were perceived as untrustworthy, lazy, noisy, and

dirty (Erdoğan, 2014). Syrians were perceived as being "backward", in terms of their high fertility rate, different family dynamics and gender relations, which were believed to keep women in an inferior position, as well as their high fertility rate (Kavaklı Birdal et al., 2017).

To conclude, there is evidence that negative stereotyping is an important psychological dimension in the context of Syrian refugees in Turkey and it should be included as a predictor of prejudice in the present study. It is predicted that negative stereotyping will be positively related to prejudice towards Syrians.

1.3 Prejudice and intergroup contact

Contact hypothesis developed by Allport (1954) proposes that under certain circumstances intergroup contact has the power to diminish prejudice towards outgroups. Those circumstances include equal status, common goals, cooperation, and endorsement of intergroup contact by authorities (Allport, 1954; as cited in Pettigrew 2006a). Contact hypothesis gathered a large interest within the field of social psychology. Hundreds of studies among various cultures confirmed that intergroup contact is effective in reducing prejudice toward outgroups (Pettigrew, 2006a). In addition, research also focused on how and why intergroup contact reduces prejudice. For instance, contact was related to increased empathy for outgroup members (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). Contact was also shown to reduce prejudice through decreasing intergroup anxiety (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). Lazarev and Sharma (2015) underlined that attitudes towards Syrian refugees are more malleable because the arrival of the refugee population is fairly recent. Therefore, contact interventions might work to reduce prejudice, which would amplify the importance of studying intergroup contact in the context of Syrian refugees in

Turkey. Thus in terms of its relation to prejudice, intergroup contact is an important variable to be included in the current study. Intergroup contact is predicted to be negatively related to prejudice against Syrians.

1.4 Quality and quantity of intergroup contact

Intergroup contact has been studied regarding its quantity and quality. Contact quantity can be defined as the frequency of any type of interaction between group members (Islam & Hewstone, 1993) whereas contact quality can be described as the degree the contact satisfies the four conditions proposed by Allport (1954). Previous research indicated that the quality rather than the quantity of contact is a significant predictor of prejudice (Islam & Hewstone, 1993). In addition, when contact quality is low, contact quantity was found to be positively related to prejudice (Barlow et al., 2012). Concerning Syrians in Turkey, it was found that refugee exposure, which was operationalized as all kinds of encounters with refugees including indirect and direct contact in public transport, street, business places and social life, was not significantly related to prejudice (Getmansky et al., 2017). This result indicates that not all forms of contact leads to reduced prejudice.

It is predicted that the quality of intergroup contact between Syrians and Turkish citizens will be negatively related to prejudice as well as perceived symbolic threat, perceived realistic threat and negative stereotyping. Previous research indicated that the negative contact is positively related to prejudice, and the strength of this relationship was higher than that of positive contact and prejudice (Barlow et al., 2012). This indicates the importance of specifying the nature of intergroup contact. In the present study, the interplay between contact quality and contact quantity on prejudice will be examined. It is expected that contact quality will

moderate the relationship between contact quantity and prejudice towards Syrians. Mainly, for poor contact quality, contact quantity will positively predict outgroup prejudice, whereas for high contact quality, contact quantity will negatively predict outgroup prejudice.

1.5 Contact and prejudice: Mediator variables

ITT proposes that threat variables mediate the relationship between contact and prejudice, however, only few studies actually tested this proposition fully. The role of intergroup anxiety was the main focus of many studies. For instance, Voci and Hewstone (2003) found that the effects of the contact quality on implicit and explicit forms of prejudice were mediated by intergroup anxiety. The influence of contact quantity on intergroup anxiety, implicit and explicit prejudice was not significant while mediator effects of symbolic and realistic threat were not examined. The results of another study focusing on the role of anxiety revealed that intergroup contact, which was operationalized as the number of indirect and direct cross group friendships, led to anxiety reduction which in turn improved outgroup attitudes thereby confirming mediation by intergroup anxiety (Paolini, Hewstone, Cairns & Voci, 2004). Lastly, Swart, Hewstone, Christ and Voci (2011) devised a comprehensive longitudinal study to investigate the role of mediators in transmitting the effect of contact on outgroup attitudes and perceived outgroup variability. They measured contact in terms of cross group friendship, which is a form of long term high quality contact. Results suggested a bidirectional link between contact and prejudice with both intergroup anxiety and empathy being significant mediators of this relationship (Swart et al, 2004).

Studies that focus on threat variables as mediators between intergroup contact and prejudice are scarce. Tausch, Hewstone and Roy (2009) tested propositions of ITT among Hindu and Muslim populations in India. In the theoretical model they tested, the effect of contact quality and contact quantity on ingroup bias and social distance, which were proxies of prejudice, were mediated by realistic threat, symbolic threat and intergroup anxiety. They found that contact quality and quantity were negatively related to symbolic threat but was not significantly related to realistic threat. Also, realistic threat was the predictor of prejudice but that of symbolic threat was not. On further analysis, it was revealed that prejudice was predicted by realistic threat for low social status group (Muslims) and it was predicted by symbolic threat for high social status group (Hindus), thus indicating the moderator effects of social status. Unlike other mediation research on contact and prejudice, this study included realistic and symbolic threat among mediators (Tausch et al., 2009). As a second example, Gonzalez, Verkuyten, Weesie and Poppe (2008) tested ITT propositions within the context of Muslim prejudice among the Dutch youth. They found that realistic threat predicted prejudice towards Muslims but symbolic threat did not. Also, while intergroup contact negatively predicted prejudice, it was not significantly related to realistic and symbolic threat. Mediation analyses showed that negative stereotyping partially mediated the effect of intergroup contact on prejudice, but not symbolic or realistic threat (Gonzales et al., 2008).

In sum, previous studies established the role of intergroup anxiety and empathy as significant mediators between contact and prejudice but research focusing on threat perceptions and negative stereotypes as mediators between contact and prejudice are quite rare. So the evidence concerning mediator role of threat

variables as proposed by ITT could not be fully established by previous studies. Present study investigated the role of symbolic threat, realistic threat, and negative stereotyping, thereby contributing to the ongoing theoretical discussion about the contact-prejudice link. Hence, based on previous research, hypotheses of the present study are:

1. Contact quality will be negatively related to perceived symbolic threat, realistic threat, negative stereotyping, and prejudice.
2. Symbolic threat, realistic threat, and negative stereotyping will be positively related to prejudice towards Syrians.
3. The relationship between contact and prejudice will be mediated via symbolic threat, realistic threat, and negative stereotyping (See Fig. 1).

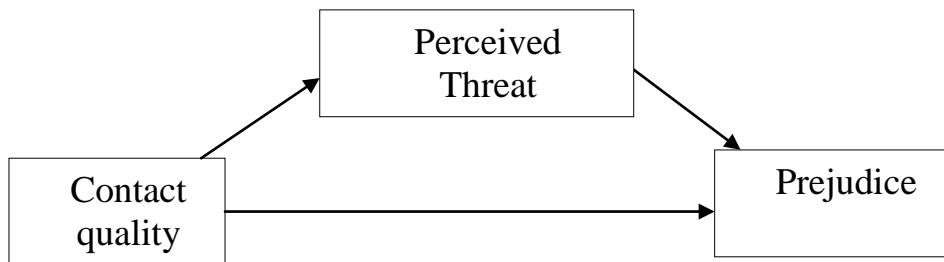


Figure 1. Hypothesis 3

4. The relationship between contact quantity and prejudice will be moderated by contact quality in such a way that contact quantity will be positively related to prejudice for those with low contact quality, and it will be negatively related to prejudice for those with high contact quality (See Fig. 2).

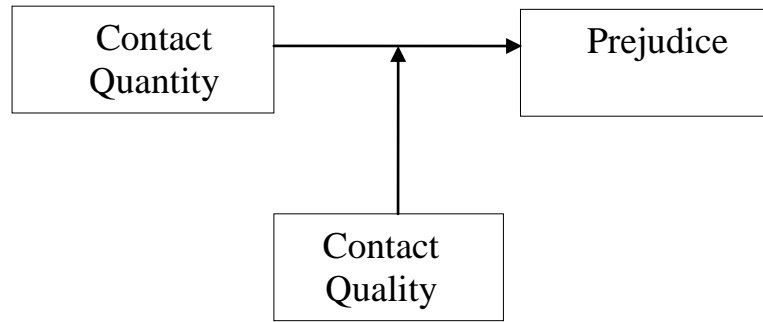


Figure 2. Hypothesis 4

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

2.1 Participants

The study was conducted in Istanbul and Şanlıurfa in order to have a diverse sample that represent cities with the highest number of Syrian refugees. According to statistics given by DGMM (2017), Istanbul hosts the largest population of Syrian refugees in Turkey with around half a million refugees, followed by Şanlıurfa, which hosts around 440,000. In Istanbul, two sets of districts were selected based on the refugee density in the region. The high density (HD) group ($N = 101$, 47 females) was drawn from Fatih, Zeytinburnu, Başakşehir, and Bayrampaşa, areas with high refugee density. The low density (LD) group ($N = 110$, 63 females) was drawn from Kadıköy, Erenköy, and Çekmeköy, areas with low refugee density (see Kaya, 2016). In Şanlıurfa the sample ($N = 99$, 46 females) was drawn from Eyyübiye and Haliliye districts near the Syrian border. This allowed a sample that was drawn from cities with the highest population of Syrians in Turkey and also from districts with high and low refugee density in Istanbul.

Convenience sampling was used to recruit participants. Personal contacts, as well as individuals in public spaces such as parks, streets, and shops were approached and further recruitment was done by the snowballing method. Overall, 310 Turkish citizens (156 females) from Istanbul and Şanlıurfa participated in the study, with a mean age of 36.36 and a standard deviation of 15.54. Sample characteristics are given in Table 1.

Table 1. Demographic Variables

	<u>Total</u>		<u>Şanlıurfa</u>		<u>HD Istanbul</u>		<u>LD Istanbul</u>	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Age	36.36	15.54	34.63 ^a	15.18	37.45 ^a	13.00	36.85 ^a	17.83
Education	12.49	3.87	11.33 ^b	4.19	11.67 ^b	3.88	14.26 ^a	2.78
Mother Education	6.39	5.92	2.44 ^c	3.21	5.37 ^b	4.21	10.85 ^a	6.21
Father Education	8.68	5.77	5.70 ^c	4.41	7.83 ^b	4.92	12.16 ^a	5.82
Income (1000 tl)	5.66	6.38	2.33 ^c	1.31	5.04 ^b	4.59	10.23 ^a	86.20

Note. For each row, means that do not have the same letter superscript differ by $p < .05$.

2.2 Procedure

Before the main study, a pilot study was conducted in which 30 people were asked to describe Syrians in Turkey with a few words. In order to obtain more valid measures, descriptions that were frequently expressed were added to the negative stereotyping measure, while complaints and statements were incorporated into the symbolic and realistic threat measures.

For the main study, three researchers approached potential participants in each of the groups, introduced themselves and asked whether they would like to participate in a study that will examine the perceptions of Syrians in Turkey. Those who agreed to participate were first given a consent form. The researcher read the form out loud to those participants who could not read. After the participants signed the form, they were given the questionnaire to fill out (See Appendix A and B for Turkish and English versions, respectively). In addition to the scales that measured the variables in this study, the questionnaire had also identification measures, which were used for the purposes of another study. The author of the present study

surveyed participants living in high refugee density districts in Istanbul. Participants were told that they were free to ask questions regarding the format of the survey and were requested not to discuss questions with anybody. The participants who could not read the questions because of their eyesight or illiteracy were interviewed by the researcher. On average, the survey took 20 minutes to complete. After the completion of the survey, participants were thanked for their participation and the researcher answered their questions regarding the study and how the data will be used. Data collection took place between the dates April 15 - June 6, 2017.

2.3 Measures

- Prejudice

Prejudice was measured by affective and behavioral measures. The first affective measure was the Feeling Thermometer (Haddock, Zanna, & Esses, 1993). It was a question about the overall feeling of participants towards Syrians on an 11-point scale ranging from 1 (*very cold*) to 11 (*very warm*) with higher scores indicating less prejudice.

The second affective measure, which was adapted from Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald, and Tur-Kaspa's (1998) Prejudicial Attitudes Scale by Balaban (2013) measured negative affect. It was composed of 12 evaluative and emotional items (e.g., sympathy, approval, dislike, and contempt). Participants rated the extent to which these items reflected their feelings towards Syrians in Turkey on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*does not reflect my feelings at all*) to 7 (*reflects my feelings completely*) with higher scores indicating higher prejudice. Items measuring admiration,

acceptance, affection, approval, sympathy, and warmth were reverse coded.

The scale was found to be reliable (Cronbach's $\alpha = .79$).

The last prejudice measure was a behavioral intention measure. Social Distance Scale (Bogardus, 1925) that was adapted to Turkish by Balaban (2013) was used. The scale consisted of 6 items describing various social interactions with Syrians (e.g., being close friends with a Syrian).

Participants rated each statement on a scale ranging from 1 (*I would not feel uncomfortable at all*) to 7 (*I would feel extremely uncomfortable*) with higher scores indicating more prejudice towards Syrians. The reliability of the scale was high (Cronbach's $\alpha = .91$).

- Intergroup contact quality

A 6-item scale was used to measure intergroup contact quality (Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Voci & Hewstone, 2003). Participants rated their contact with Syrians on the dimensions of depth, willingness, pleasantness, cooperativeness, intimacy, and positivity on a 1 to 7 bipolar scale. Higher scores indicated better contact quality. Items 2 and 6 were reverse coded (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.77$).

- Intergroup contact quantity

Intergroup contact quantity was measured by two items adapted from Barlow et al. (2012). The first item measured the number of Syrians the participant knew personally on a 9-point scale ranging from 1 (*none*) to 9 (*more than 30*) with higher numbers indicating greater contact. The second item measured the frequency with which the participant had contact with

Syrians on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 7 (*everyday*) with higher numbers indicating higher contact frequency. Scores on the first item scores were transformed into a 7-point scale by multiplying by 7/9. Then scores on the two contact quantity items were averaged to compute contact quantity scores. The averaging of the two items produced a reliable index (Cronbach's $\alpha = .76$).

- Realistic threat

Several sources were used to form the realistic threat scale. First, relevant items were adapted from the Realistic Threat Scale developed by Stephan, Ybarra, and Bachman (1999) (e.g., "Syrians are taking our jobs"). In addition, items that tapped into realistic threat in Erdoğan's (2014) and Ozden's (2013) public interviews and Kirişçi's (2014) study were also adapted and included in the measure (e.g., "Illegal marriages have increased with the arrival of Syrians"). The scale consisted of 10 items. Participants rated how much they agreed with the statements on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*completely disagree*) to 7 (*completely agree*) with higher scores indicating greater realistic threat perceived from Syrians (Cronbach's $\alpha = .88$).

- Symbolic threat

Symbolic threat was measured by using the Symbolic Threat Scale (Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999) and statements that were relevant to symbolic threat in Erdoğan (2014) and Ozden's (2013) public interviews. The scale consisted of 5 items related to cultural difference (e.g., "Religious beliefs of Syrians are different from ours") and 4 items related to the threat perceptions

(e.g., "Syrians' family relations and child-rearing practices are harmful to our society"). Participants rated how much they agreed with the statements on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*completely disagree*) to 7 (*completely agree*) with higher scores indicating greater symbolic threat perceived from Syrians. The scale was highly reliable (Cronbach's $\alpha = .91$).

- Negative stereotyping

Negative stereotyping was measured by items that were adapted from several scales used in previous studies, and also included novel items that were drawn from the responses in the pilot study conducted in Istanbul and Şanlıurfa. In order to form the scale, 8 items related to Syrians were extracted from Ozden (2013) and Erdoğan's (2014) public interviews (e.g., ignorant, dangerous, quarrelsome). In addition, 9 items were taken from Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, and Xu (2002) and Leach, Ellemers, and Barreto (2007) (e.g., intelligent, friendly, trustworthy). Five items from Yapıcı (2004) regarding Jewish, Muslim, Christian, Sunnite, and Alawite groups (e.g., cheater, dirty, helpful) were also included. Items were selected based on their relevance to the previous findings on the perception of Syrians in Turkey. Finally, based on the results of the pilot study, 6 of the frequent descriptions of Syrians (e.g., shameless, traitor, victim) were added to the measure. Overall, the scale consisted of 28 items. Participants indicated how much they would use the traits to describe Syrians in Turkey on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*definitely*). Items 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12 and 19 were reverse coded. The reliability of the scale was fairly high (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.93$).

- Support for minorities

Minority support was measured with a scale adapted from Support for Multiculturalism scale (Verkuyten, 2006). The scale consisted of 5 items representing statements concerning the positions and rights of Syrian refugees in Turkey (e.g., “Syrians should have the right to build their own education system”). Participants rated these statements on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*completely disagree*) to 7 (*completely agree*) with higher scores indicating higher support for Syrian refugees. The items formed a scale of moderate reliability (Cronbach's $\alpha = .62$).

- Political ideology

An item on political ideology measure was adapted from Jost (2006). Participants indicated where they position themselves on a scale ranging from 1 (left) to 7 (right).

- Demographics

In a short demographic form participants indicated their age, gender (male or female), education level, parents' education level, and which political party they voted for in the last election.

- Perceived group size

Perceived group size was measured with the question "How many Syrians do you think live in this neighborhood?" concerning the location they were interviewed. Options ranged from 1 (*none*) to 7 (*too many*). Higher scores indicated larger perceived group size.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

3.1 Data screening

Out of the 315 Turkish citizens who agreed to participate and filled out the survey, 5 people were dropped out of the analyses. These participants were either not interested in the study and gave random answers in a quick fashion, or they misunderstood the format of the questions. These situations were detected by the researcher based on explicit comments of participants both during and after the study.

To minimize error, data entries were entered twice. Multiple answers given to a single question were deleted and treated as missing cases. Frequency analyses were conducted in order to eliminate errors during data entry. Out of range values were treated as missing cases.

3.2 Descriptive characteristics

Means and standard deviations of demographic variables for all participants and for each group can be seen in Table 1. For each variable of the study one-way ANOVA was conducted to test whether the three groups differed from each other. F-test revealed that mean age did not differ among groups, $F(2, 303) = .89, p = .41$. Education levels significantly differed across groups, $F(2, 305) = 20.60, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .12$. Tukey's post-hoc tests revealed that LD Istanbul participants ($M = 14.26, SD = 2.78$) had higher years of schooling than HD Istanbul participants ($M = 11.67, SD = 3.88$) and Şanlıurfa participants ($M = 11.33, SD = 4.19$). HD Istanbul participants and Şanlıurfa participants did not differ in terms of education.

There was a significant difference between three groups in terms of mother education, $F(2, 303) = 83.50, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = 0.36$ as well as father education, $F(2, 302) = 43.00, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = 0.22$. Post-hoc tests revealed that in terms of mother education the LD Istanbul group ($M = 10.85, SD = 6.21$) had the highest levels, followed by the HD Istanbul group ($M = 5.37, SD = 4.21$), which was higher than that of the Şanlıurfa group ($M = 2.44, SD = 3.21$). Similarly father education was the highest among LD Istanbul participants ($M = 12.16, SD = 5.81$), followed by the HD Istanbul group ($M = 7.83, SD = 4.92$) which was higher compared to the Şanlıurfa group ($M = 5.70, SD = 4.41$) (See Table 1).

Descriptive statistics for all participants and for each group can be seen in Tables 2 and 3, respectively. Skewness and kurtosis values for all measures were within acceptable range (See Table 2; Curran, West & Finch). Cronbach's alpha values were relatively high.

Table 2. Descriptives for All Participants

	Mean (SD)	Range	Skewness	Kurtosis	Cronbach's alpha
Contact Quantity	2.65(1.87)	0.78-7	0.60	-1.05	0.76
Contact Quality	3.36(1.36)	1-7	0.33	-0.08	0.77
Realistic Threat	5.37(1.38)	1-7	-0.99	0.60	0.88
Symbolic Threat	4.94(1.52)	1-7	-0.41	-0.53	0.91
Composite Threat	5.15(1.34)	1-7	-0.62	-0.21	0.93
Negative Stereotyping	4.64(1.05)	1-7	-0.01	-0.24	0.93
Social Distance	3.58(1.91)	1-7	0.25	-1.11	0.91
Negative Affect	3.80(1.01)	1-7	-0.01	0.62	0.79
Feeling Thermometer	4.67(2.49)	1-11	0.14	-0.44	-
Minority Support	3.15(1.33)	1-7	0.33	-0.40	0.62
Ideology	4.48(2.02)	1-7	-0.08	-1.24	-
Perceived Group Size	2.58(1.18)	1-5	0.74	-0.30	-

The results of one-way ANOVA showed that contact quality differed significantly among the three groups, $F(2, 292) = 17.79, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .11$. Tukey's post-hoc comparisons showed that contact quality was higher for the Istanbul HD group ($M = 3.99, SD = 1.50$) than for both Şanlıurfa ($M = 3.15, SD = 1.08$) and Istanbul LD ($M = 2.96, SD = 1.25$) groups, while Şanlıurfa and Istanbul LD groups did not differ from each other in terms of contact quality.

ANOVA results showed that the groups significantly differed from each other in terms of contact quantity, $F(2, 307) = 49.76, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = 0.30$. Tukey's post-hoc tests revealed that contact quantity for the Şanlıurfa group ($M = 3.04, SD = 1.70$) was marginally lower than the HD Istanbul group ($M = 3.58, SD = 1.92$) with both groups having higher contact quantity than the Istanbul LD group ($M = 1.44, SD = 1.23$). Quantity of contact was significantly higher for the high refugee population districts than for the low refugee population districts in Istanbul.

In terms of realistic threat, ANOVA yielded significant differences between groups, $F(2, 304) = 4.80, p = .003, \eta_p^2 = 0.04$. The results of Tukey post-hoc tests showed that the Şanlıurfa group ($M = 5.71, SD = 1.51$) perceived marginally higher levels of realistic threat than the LD Istanbul group ($M = 5.27, SD = 1.31$) and significantly higher levels of realistic threat than the HD Istanbul group ($M = 5.14, SD = 1.27$). LD Istanbul group and HD Istanbul groups were not different from each other.

Symbolic threat levels were also different among the groups, $F(2, 303) = 4.61, p = .012, \eta_p^2 = 0.03$. In terms of symbolic threat, the Şanlıurfa group ($M = 5.31, SD = 1.41$) was higher than the LD Istanbul group ($M = 4.81, SD = 1.52$), and significantly higher than the HD Istanbul group ($M = 4.70, SD = 1.58$). LD Istanbul and HD Istanbul groups were not significantly different from each other.

Negative stereotyping levels also differed across groups, $F(2, 299) = 6.91, p = .002, \eta_p^2 = .05$. HD Istanbul participants ($M = 4.33, SD = 1.08$) had lowest levels of negative stereotyping, compared to LD Istanbul participants ($M = 4.78, SD = 1.06$) and Şanlıurfa participants ($M = 4.82, SD = 0.94$). The latter two groups did not differ from each other.

There was a group effect for social distance $F(2, 303) = 7.98, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .04$. Post-hoc tests showed that behavioral prejudice was the highest among Şanlıurfa group ($M = 4.20, SD = 1.81$), followed by the HD Istanbul group ($M = 3.26, SD = 1.82$) and the LD Istanbul group ($M = 3.31, SD = 1.97$). Latter two groups were not different from each other.

ANOVA revealed significant difference across groups, $F(2, 297) = 5.86, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .06$. In terms of negative affect. Post-hoc analyses showed that negative affect scores of the HD Istanbul group ($M = 3.55, SD = 1.10$) was not different from that of the Şanlıurfa group ($M = 3.79, SD = 0.84$) and was lower than that of the LD Istanbul group ($M = 4.03, SD = 1.03$). Şanlıurfa and LD Istanbul groups did not differ from each other significantly in terms of negative affect.

Feeling thermometer also significantly differed across groups, $F(2, 299) = 8.97, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .05$. HD Istanbul participants expressed warmer feelings towards Syrians ($M = 5.53, SD = 2.54$) than both Şanlıurfa ($M = 4.29, SD = 2.45$) LD Istanbul participants ($M = 4.24, SD = 2.30$). Scores on feeling thermometer did not differ between Şanlıurfa and LD Istanbul participants.

One-way ANOVA did not result in significant differences among groups in terms of minority support expressed by participants, $F(2, 304) = 2.03, p = .073, \eta_p^2 = .02$. Political ideology was different across groups, $F(2, 276) = 57.51, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .30$. Post-hoc tests showed that Şanlıurfa ($M = 5.06, SD = 1.82$) and HD Istanbul

participants ($M = 5.53$, $SD = 1.86$) were similar in political ideology. Both of these groups fell more on the right side of the political ideology scale compared to LD Istanbul participants ($M = 3.07$, $SD = 1.46$).

There was a significant difference between groups in terms of perceived size of Syrian refugees in the neighborhood, $F(2, 297) = 47.53$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .26$. Tukey post-hoc tests revealed that Şanlıurfa ($M = 3.05$, $SD = 1.14$) and HD Istanbul participants ($M = 2.95$, $SD = 1.11$) perceived similar group size, while LD Istanbul participants ($M = 1.79$, $SD = .80$) had lower levels of perceived group size compared to both Şanlıurfa and HD Istanbul groups.

Table 3. Descriptives by City/Region

	<u>Şanlıurfa</u>		<u>HD Istanbul</u>		<u>LD Istanbul</u>	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Contact Quantity	3.04 ^b	1.70	3.58 ^a	1.92	1.44 ^c	1.23
Contact Quality	3.15 ^b	1.08	3.99 ^a	1.50	2.96 ^c	1.25
Realistic Threat	5.71 ^a	1.51	5.14 ^b	1.27	5.27 ^b	1.31
Symbolic Threat	5.31 ^a	1.41	4.70 ^b	1.58	4.81 ^b	1.52
Composite Threat	5.51 ^a	1.34	4.92 ^b	1.29	5.04 ^b	1.32
Negative Stereotyping	4.82 ^a	0.94	4.33 ^b	1.08	4.78 ^a	1.06
Social Distance	4.20 ^a	1.81	3.26 ^b	1.82	3.31 ^b	1.97
Negative Affect	3.79 ^{ab}	0.84	3.55 ^b	1.10	4.03 ^a	1.03
Feeling Thermometer	4.29 ^b	2.45	5.53 ^a	2.54	4.24 ^b	2.30
Minority Support	2.94 ^a	1.35	3.32 ^a	1.24	3.17 ^a	1.36
Ideology	5.06 ^a	1.82	5.53 ^a	1.86	3.07 ^b	1.46
Perceived Group Size	3.05 ^a	1.14	2.95 ^a	1.11	1.79 ^b	0.80

Note. For each row, means that do not have the same letter superscript differ by $p < .05$.

3.3 Interrelationships among variables

Correlations among variables showed that contact quality was related negatively to all forms of threat, social distance, and negative affect and positively related to feeling thermometer. Whereas contact quantity was related negatively to negative stereotyping, negative affect, and positively to feeling thermometer. Correlations between threat variables were all significant and in positive direction. Also, each threat variable was positively related to social distance and negative affect, and negatively related to feeling thermometer. Also, all prejudice measures were correlated significantly with each other. Correlation between social distance and negative affect was positive, whereas these two variables were negatively correlated to feeling thermometer. Support for minorities was related negatively to each threat variable, social distance and negative affect, positively to contact quality and feeling thermometer. Perceived group size was related positively to contact quantity, symbolic threat, social distance, and negative affect, and negatively to feeling thermometer and minority support. Lastly, right-wing ideology was related positively to quality of contact, quantity of contact, feeling thermometer and perceived group size, and negatively to stereotyping and negative affect (See Table 4).

In terms of demographics, age of participants was related positively to contact quantity and social distance from Syrians, and negatively to negative affect and perceived group size. Education was not significantly related to any threat or prejudice variable, but it was negatively related to quality and quantity of contact, perceived group size and ideology. Parents' education and monthly income were negatively correlated with contact quantity, social distance, minority support, perceived group size, and right-wing ideology, with mother education being negatively correlated to negative affect (See Table 5).

Table 4. Intercorrelations among Variables

	Contact Quality	Contact Quantity	Realistic Threat	Symbolic Threat	Negative Stereotyping	Social Distance	Negative Affect	Feeling Thermometer	Minority Support	Perceived Group Size	Ideology
Contact Quality	-										
Contact Quantity	.40**	-									
Realistic Threat	-.33**	-.05	-								
Symbolic Threat	-.41**	-.10	.69**	-							
Negative Stereotyping	-.56**	-.16**	.43**	.55**	-						
Social Distance	-.47**	-.07	.33**	.50**	.52**	-					
Negative Affect	-.53**	-.32**	.30**	.38**	.52**	.43**	-				
Thermometer	.59**	.27**	-.38**	-.42**	-.56**	-.57**	-.62**	-			
Minority Support	.43**	.11	-.36**	-.44**	-.44**	-.44**	-.46**	.43**	-		
Perceived Group Size	.07	.14*	.09	.17**	.06	.24**	.14*	-.17**	-.15*	-	
Ideology	.35**	.40**	-.05	-.08	-.16**	-.10	-.24**	.28*	.00	.14*	-

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

Table 5. Intercorrelations among Demographics and Other Variables

	Age	Education	Mother Education	Father Education	Monthly Income
Contact Quality	.03	-.18**	-.07	-.04	-.07
Contact Quantity	.15*	-.28**	-.30**	-.24**	-.23**
Realistic Threat	.02	-.03	-.05	-.08	-.09
Symbolic Threat	.02	-.10	-.07	-.12*	-.11
Composite Threat	.02	-.07	-.06	-.11	-.11
Negative Stereotyping	.02	-.02	.02	.00	-.01
Social Distance	.14*	-.07	-.20**	-.24**	-.25**
Negative Affect	-.14*	.10	.12*	.08	-.02
Thermometer	.09	-.04	-.01	.01	.09
Minority Support	-.08	.01	.14*	.17**	.13*
Perceived Group Size	-.23**	-.13*	-.23**	-.23**	-.20**
Ideology	.06	-.30**	-.41**	-.41**	-.30**

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

3.4 Results concerning hypotheses

Three multiple mediation analyses with PROCESS Macro were conducted to test the first three hypotheses. In the model, realistic threat, symbolic threat, and negative stereotyping were entered as mediators of the relationship between contact quality and prejudice variables. Age, gender, education and group (i.e. Istanbul HD, Istanbul LD and Şanlıurfa) were entered as control variables. Gender did not have a significant relationship with threat and prejudice variables, hence, was excluded from the analyses. The results supported the first hypothesis. Contact quality negatively predicted realistic and symbolic threat perceived from Syrians as well as negative

stereotyping of Syrians. Higher contact quality predicted higher scores on the feeling thermometer, lower behavioral prejudice and lower negative affect towards Syrians.

The second hypothesis concerning the relationship between threat and prejudice variables was partially supported. Higher realistic threat predicted colder feelings towards Syrians, but it did not predict more negative affect and greater social distance. Symbolic threat positively predicted social distance, while it did not predict warmth feelings and negative affect. Lastly, higher levels of negative stereotyping predicted greater negative affect towards and greater social distance from Syrians, as well as colder feelings. Hence, negative stereotyping was a predictor of both behavioral and affective prejudice.

The third hypothesis, which proposed mediation by threat variables, was also partially supported. Bootstrapping procedure with 5000 samples revealed that negative stereotyping consistently mediated the link between contact quality and each prejudice variable. Realistic threat mediated the relationship between contact quality and feeling thermometer, whereas for other prejudice variables the indirect effect of realistic threat was not significant. Symbolic threat was the mediator between contact quality and social distance, while it was not a significant mediator for other prejudice variables (see Table 6). Total and direct effects were significant for all three analyses, indicating partial mediation by threat variables (See Figures 3, 4 and 5).

Table 6. Summary of Indirect Effects of Contact Quality on Prejudice

Outcome		Effect	SE	LLCI	ULCI	p
Social Distance						
	TOTAL	-0.35	0.06	-0.4755	-0.2463	
	Realistic Threat	0.02	0.04	-0.0637	0.0849	0.61
	Symbolic Threat	-0.15	0.05	-0.2600	-0.0558	0.00
	Stereotyping	-0.22	0.06	-0.3571	-0.1100	0.00
Negative Affect						
	TOTAL	-0.16	0.03	-0.2316	-0.1033	
	Realistic Threat	-0.01	0.02	-0.0610	0.0169	0.41
	Symbolic Threat	-0.03	0.02	-0.0807	0.0161	0.23
	Stereotyping	-0.12	0.03	-0.1930	-0.0629	0.00
Feeling Thermometer						
	TOTAL	0.38	0.08	0.2292	0.5446	
	Realistic Threat	0.09	0.06	0.0111	0.2311	0.03
	Symbolic Threat	0.02	0.06	-0.0889	0.1447	0.67
	Stereotyping	0.26	0.08	0.1083	0.4331	0.00

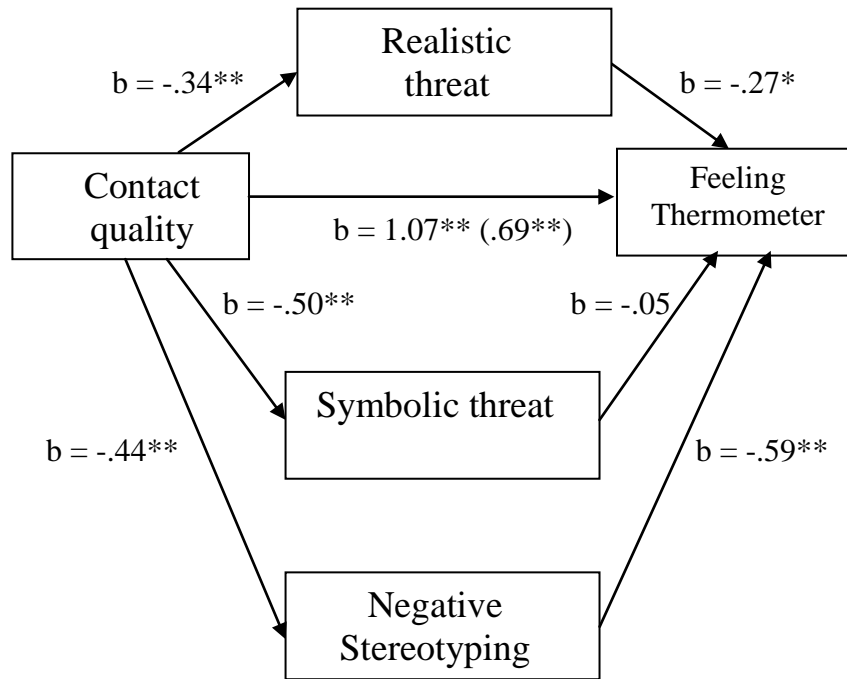


Figure 3. Multiple mediation summary for feeling thermometer

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$. Direct effects are given in parentheses.

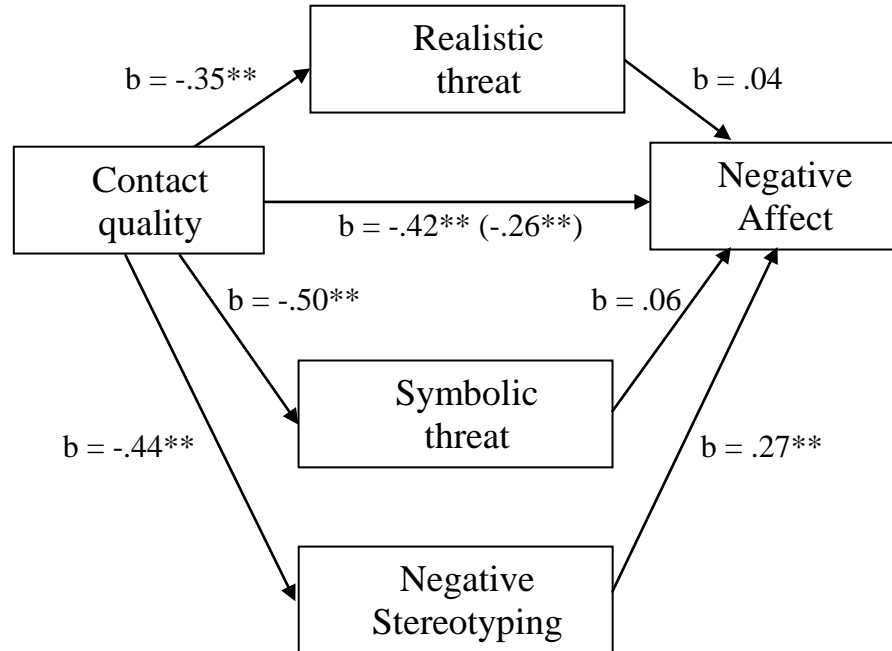


Figure 4. Multiple mediation summary for negative affect

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$. Direct effects are given in parentheses.

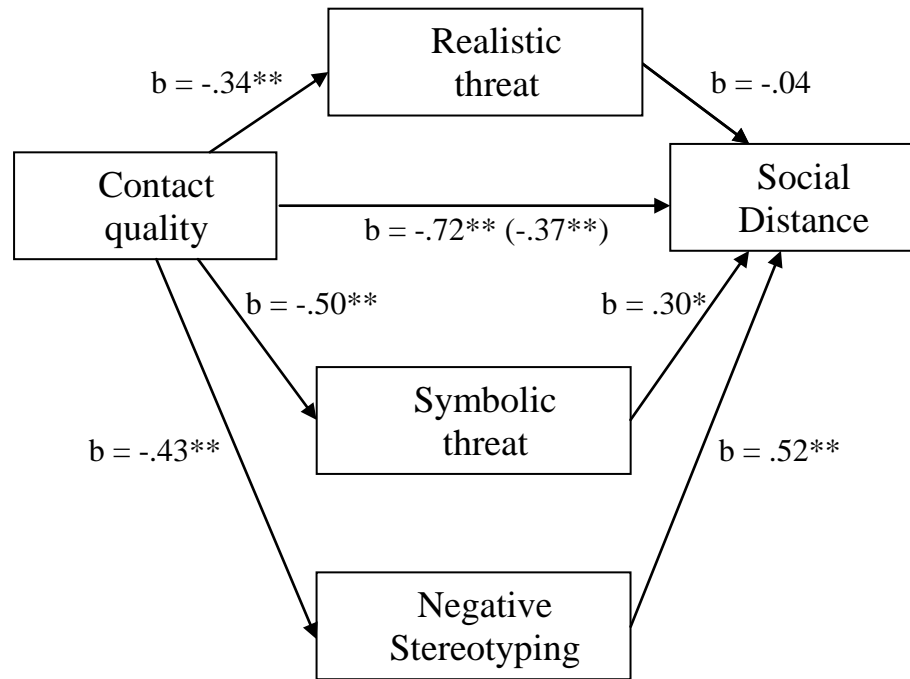


Figure 5. Multiple mediation summary for social distance

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$. Direct effects are given in parentheses.

Finally, three simple moderation analyses were conducted to test the fourth hypothesis. The results indicated that contact quality did not moderate the relationship between contact quantity and prejudice variables. For feeling thermometer, the interaction between quality and quantity of contact was not significant, $F(1, 284) = 1.01, p = .32, \Delta R^2 = .002$. Also, for negative affect, there was not a significant effect of the quality of contact as a moderator, $F(1, 285) = .45, p = .50, \Delta R^2 = .001$. Finally, for social distance, the interaction term between contact quality and quantity did not reach significance, $F(1, 285) = .05, p = .83, \Delta R^2 = .000$.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

The present study investigated the perceptions of threat, and prejudice, and intergroup contact in the context of Syrian refugees in Turkey. The main aim was to test the propositions of Integrated Threat Theory (ITT; Stephan & Stephan, 2000). The first hypothesis was supported. Consistent with previous findings in the contact literature (Barlow et al., 2012; Islam & Hewstone, 1993), quality of contact with Syrians negatively predicted perceived symbolic threat, perceived realistic threat, negative stereotyping, social distance, negative affect and positively predicted warm feelings. Among threat variables, contact quality had the strongest relationship with negative stereotyping, followed by symbolic threat, and realistic threat. The second hypothesis concerning the link between threat perceptions and prejudice found a partial support. Realistic threat predicted cold feelings towards Syrians; it was not a predictor of social distance and negative affect. Symbolic threat, on the other hand, negatively predicted social distance but not negative affect and warmth feelings. Negative stereotyping predicted greater negative affect and social distance, and colder feelings. Hence, negative stereotyping was the only threat variable which significantly predicted each prejudice variable.

The findings of the present study partially supported the third hypothesis concerning the mediator role of perceived threat between contact and prejudice. Symbolic threat was a mediator between contact quality and social distance, and realistic threat was a mediator between contact quality and feeling thermometer. Negative stereotyping mediated the effect of contact quality on each prejudice variable.

Previous literature did not provide full support for ITT propositions either. Symbolic and realistic threat were not significant mediators of contact effects on prejudice. Tausch and colleagues (2009) found that realistic threat was a significant predictor of prejudice variables whereas symbolic threat was not. The reason for a significant relationship between symbolic threat and social distance in the present study may be due to measurement differences. Tausch et al. (2009) measured symbolic threat in terms of intergroup differences, whereas symbolic threat measure in the present study also included items concerning perceived threat from these differences. Also, they found that contact quality predicted symbolic threat but not realistic threat (Tausch et al., 2009), while contact quality predicted both symbolic and realistic threat in the present study. Tausch et al. (2009) operationalized contact quality as lack of negative experiences (e.g. being bullied, being verbally abused) whereas the present study focused on perceptions regarding the intergroup contact, which may have led to a difference concerning the role of contact quality in predicting threat variables.

Moreover, Gonzales et al. (2008) identified negative stereotyping to be the mediator of contact and prejudice, but not symbolic and realistic threat. They focused on contact only in terms of quantity which might be the reason behind the lack of mediation (Gonzales et al., 2008). However, the present study focused on quality of contact, and the results provided support for the mediator role of realistic threat for affective prejudice, and symbolic threat for behavioral prejudice. Gonzales et al. (2008) tested ITT propositions in the context of prejudice towards Muslims in the Netherlands in which symbolic threat played a more important role than realistic threat as an antecedent to prejudice. Realistic threat perceptions are prevalent in the context of Syrian refugees in Turkey (Erdoğan, 2013; Ozden; 2013). Also, Gonzales et al. (2008) measured realistic threat only in terms of

economic threat whereas the present study addressed other aspects of realistic threat including the fear of crime and competition over public services. These factors may be responsible for the significant role of realistic threat in predicting prejudice in the present study. Hence, the comparison between the present findings and the previous ones shows that there is a differential role of symbolic and realistic threat in mediating the contact effects on prejudice for different target groups. On the other hand, similar with previous research, negative stereotyping appeared as a consistent mediator (Gonzales et al., 2008).

The fourth hypothesis was not supported by the data. The relationship between contact quantity and prejudice variables was not significantly moderated by contact quality. There might be several reasons behind this result. Tredoux and Finchilescu (2010) could not also observe significant moderation of contact quantity-prejudice link by contact quality. They found that when contact quality was high, the amount of contact did not significantly predict prejudice. For moderate and low levels of contact quality, however, higher contact led to less prejudice, which was a counter-intuitive finding (Tredoux & Finchilescu, 2010). They reasoned that since poor contact quality indicated higher levels of prejudice to begin with, the additive effect of contact quantity might be higher for people engaging in poor intergroup contact, whereas for high levels of contact quality, prejudice was relatively low, leaving little room for improvement (Tredoux & Finchilescu, 2010).

Tredoux and Finchilescu (2010) studied college students and operationalized quality of contact as intergroup friendship. It can be suggested that the absence of close friendship does not signify negative contact. Their results implied that as long as there is no conflict, even minor encounters would have led to reductions in prejudice. In other words, in order for more contact to be effective in reducing

prejudice, intergroup interactions should be rather distant. Concerning the present study, contact quality measure may not have addressed negative intergroup encounters. Lower scores on contact quality measure might have signified the lack of meaningful or positive contact, rather than the presence of negative contact. A more fine-tuned examination of moderation by contact quality could be achieved by examining both the negative and positive forms of contact. Lastly, relatively moderate levels of contact quality in the present study may have played a role. It may be the case that moderation of contact quality can be observed only with extreme levels of contact quality, therefore, the nature of the distribution of contact quality scores may have served as an obstacle testing this hypothesis.

The results also showed that social distance and negative affect levels were moderate, while positive feelings and perceived threat were slightly above mid-range among participants. Contact quantity levels were below mid-range while contact quality levels were around mid-range. Hence, it can be concluded that on average, the participants did not express extreme levels of prejudice against Syrians. They did not perceive high levels of threat from Syrians, either. Both of these findings are consistent with the previous findings (Erdoğan, 2014).

Correlational analyses showed that contact quantity was also negatively related to affective prejudice and negative stereotyping, although the shared variances were less than they are for contact quality. Contact quality shared about 30% of the variability with prejudice measures, whereas contact quantity shared less than 10% of the variability with affective measures of prejudice. The results also showed that there was a positive relationship between contact quality and quantity, which may hint to the possibilities that higher contact may have led to an opportunity for a deeper and more meaningful contact with Syrians or higher contact quality may have led to the willingness to have more contact with Syrians.

Şanlıurfa and LD Istanbul groups allowed us to make comparisons regarding quantity of contact. Şanlıurfa had higher levels of contact quantity but similar levels of contact quality compared to the LD Istanbul group. They also perceived higher levels of symbolic and realistic threat, and social distance. Hence, higher contact quantity does not necessarily lead to decreased prejudice. In contrast, it might lead to increased prejudice, as suggested by previous research (Voci & Hewstone, 2003). The effect of contact quality can be similarly interpreted. The HD Istanbul group had higher levels of contact quality compared to the Şanlıurfa group, although both had similar levels of contact quantity. The results indicated that Şanlıurfa participants had higher levels of threat and prejudice compared to HD Istanbul participants. Hence, contact quality, rather than contact quantity, should be focused on for improving intergroup perceptions. Also, social distance was higher in the Şanlıurfa group than the LD Istanbul group, although affective prejudice measures did not differ between the two. This may be due to a higher ratio of Syrian refugees to Şanlıurfa residents, which may have led to a better conceptualization of social situations described in the social distance scale than LD Istanbul participants.

Intercorrelations among variables also showed that negative stereotyping shared the largest variance for each prejudice variable followed by symbolic threat. Realistic threat explained the smallest variance for each prejudice variable. It can be asserted that negative stereotyping is a more influential precursor of prejudice towards Syrians. Prevalence of stereotyping towards Syrians in Turkey was addressed by many researchers (Erdogan, 2014; Ozden, 2013) as well as by mass media (Kirisci, 2014). Spontaneous responses of the participants hint at some possible reasons behind the differential roles of each threat variable. Some of the issues addressed by realistic threat items such as higher rents were considered the responsibility of Turkish citizens and Turkish government. However, negative

stereotyping directly targets refugees themselves, which were expressed in the form of personality characteristics. The stronger relationship between prejudice variables and symbolic threat compared to that of realistic threat may stem from the former signifying an anticipation of a long-term societal and cultural change in Turkey.

Support for Syrian rights was closely related to attitudes towards Syrians. Each prejudice measure and each perceived threat measure was negatively related to support for Syrians' rights. The strength of this relationship was moderate. This finding implies that negative attitudes and threat perceptions may be targeted in order to increase Turkish citizens' support for future policies regarding social and economic integration of Syrians into the Turkish society. Support for Syrian rights was at moderate levels for each group, consistent with moderate prejudice and threat levels.

As an additional variable, political ideology was also included in the present study. Previous research suggested that the refugee influx was seen as a strategic decision of the Turkish government by the locals (Cagaptay & Menekse, 2014). Also, government policies regarding refugee crisis was criticized as being short-sighted (Kirişçi, 2014). Therefore, political orientation, a construct possibly linked to support for the government, was also an important variable to investigate. It was shown that right-wing ideology was correlated negatively to stereotyping and negative affect, and positively to the feeling thermometer, the quality and quantity of contact, whereas it had no significant relationship with the realistic and symbolic threat. These results may provide support to the view that right-wing ideology, which generally indicates support for the current Turkish government, may act as a buffer against prejudice towards Syrian refugees. Interestingly, however, the relationship between political ideology and support for minorities was not significant.

Perceived group size was included in the present study to measure perceptions regarding the density of Syrian refugees living in the same neighborhood. The results showed that it was positively related to contact quantity, although the effect size was rather small, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, whereas no significant relationship with contact quality was observed. Also, group differentiation regarding perceived group sizes reflected the actual refugee density in those regions. LD Istanbul participants had lower perceived group size than HD Istanbul participants. However, perceived group size was not related to prejudice and threat variables in the same way contact quantity was. Perceived group size was positively related to symbolic threat and each of the prejudice variables. Therefore, it is not suitable to use perceived group size as a proxy for intergroup contact. Spontaneous reactions of participants indicated that the highest levels of perceived group size implied discontent. For instance, some participants uttered sentences such as "They are everywhere", thereby showing discomfort felt by the presence of Syrian refugees. This might be one potential reason behind the relationship between prejudice and perceived group size.

The present study is the first to engage in comprehensive theory testing about perceptions of Syrians in Turkey. Although there have been some empirical studies that investigated the perception of Syrians, most of them have been exploratory in nature rather than being theory-driven (Erdogan, 2014; Ozden, 2013). Apart from its theoretical contributions, the present study also focused on issues that have large societal relevance in Turkey's current state. The past and the future of Syrian refugees, as well as their impact on Turkey's socio-cultural climate, are issues that are widely discussed among the public and in mass media.

Another major strength of this study lies in its focus on a community sample, rather than a university sample. Concerning the measures that were used in

the study, sampling characteristics were of crucial importance. Most of the issues investigated were highly relevant for the public such as higher rents, crime rates, and unemployment, especially for the ones living in areas highly populated by refugees. Hence, the results of the present study can be used for public policy considerations. Also, before the main study, the pilot study conducted with a small number of participants helped to identify issues that relevant in the context of Syrians in Turkey. This allowed to form more valid measures of perceived threat and negative stereotyping scales tailored to the perceptions of Syrians in Turkey, rather than an exact replication of measures used by previous studies.

In addition, the sample was drawn from the cities that are near and far from the Syrian border, (e.g., Şanlıurfa and Istanbul), as well as high and low refugee density neighborhoods within Istanbul. The sample was also composed of a large number of participants from a very wide range of socioeconomic status, educational background, and refugee exposure. This allowed for a diverse range of participants, contributing to the external validity of the study. Mean age and gender proportions were similar in each group, which made valid group comparisons possible. This large sample size, on the other hand, provided high statistical power.

Another advantage of the study lies in its data collection method which allowed for a better control of environmental variables. For instance, researchers made sure that the participants did not discuss their answers with anyone else, or they did not use any means of communication during the survey. Also, unreliable data could be eliminated based on the participants' explicit responses.

In addition, conducting the surveys in person allowed the researchers to make important observations. Often the thought processes behind the answers were revealed by some participants via their explicit comments during and after the survey. Some of these comments were brought up frequently and are worth

mentioning. One of the most widespread statement was that Syrians did not defend their countries. Often the target of the criticism were young Syrian men. They were criticized for staying idle and non-productive, as well as not fighting for their countries. Some participants even advocated compulsory duty within the Turkish army for young Syrian men. The situation of Syria was sometimes compared with that of the Turkish nation, with the latter described as high in solidarity. A frequent example given to support this idea was the failed coup attempt in July 2016. The events that followed the coup attempt were shown as evidence for Turkish people's bravery, and some stated that if a civil war were to break out in Turkey, Turkish people would not have acted like Syrians. Some male participants who outwardly stated negative opinions about Syrians underlined that the only reason Syrians were being tolerated was because the bad state the women and children were in. A small number of participants, on the other hand, acknowledged that the best option was to run away from the civil war since there was no clear opponent to fight against for the Syrians.

It should also be emphasized that in the minds of many participants, there was a particular categorization of Syrian refugees. In relation to their work and socioeconomic status, Syrian men who are not in the workforce were criticized for being free-riders for the support that they get from the Turkish government, whereas the ones who work with low wages were praised for putting an effort and being victims of the war. Another most criticized aspect regarding the refugees was their high reproduction rate. It was also stated that Syrians were starting families without sufficient means to provide for their children. Syrians who were rich and capable of supporting themselves were perceived as much fewer in number than the ones who are in need; hence they were the source of economic problems in Turkey. In line with this idea, Syrian refugees were criticized by their lack of solidarity such

that those who were financially well off were reluctant to help their poorer compatriots.

There was a concern for being perceived as biased towards Syrians. Participants who stated their negative evaluations explicitly generally followed with remarks regarding the harsh situation that Syrians face. This may be due to social desirability concern. There may be another reason for this tendency. A wide range of questions may have led participants to think more thoroughly about Syrian refugees, and to empathize with them. Therefore, both survey results and personal observations during data collection point out to a complex picture of attitudes towards Syrian refugees. To give an example of this complexity, participants usually stated that the government was to be blamed for unregulated refugee influx. The lack of monitoring regarding the acceptance of a large number of Syrians through the borders was heavily criticized. The resulting economic problems such as higher rents and lower wages were also perceived as being the government's fault. Most participants agreed on the problem of increased rents due to a large number of Syrians residing in the neighborhood; however, they blamed the landlords for being opportunistic and the government for poor regulation of housing.

4.1 Limitations and future directions

There are certain limitations of this study. Demand characteristics may have played a role due to the presence of the researcher such that participants may have felt obliged to present themselves in a positive light; i.e., less prejudiced towards Syrians. Also, even though the participants were warned beforehand not to discuss questions with others, some participants answered in a way that their responses

could be heard by other participants. This may have contaminated the results of the study.

There could be systematic differences between the individuals who agreed to participate in the study and those who did not. Also, there may have been misunderstandings concerning the format of survey questions. For instance, due to its bipolar format contact quality scale was hard to understand for some participants. Still, the Cronbach's alpha was in the acceptable range for contact quality.

There are a few points worth mentioning regarding the social distance scale. This scale was first developed by Bogardus (1926) to assess behavioral intentions towards an outgroup. It has been utilized by many researchers in prejudice research. Items on the scale were ordered such that the situations described in the latter items imply less social distance from the outgroup. For instance, in this study, the third item measured the attitude towards being close neighbors with Syrians, whereas the last two items measured attitudes towards close friendships and marriage to a Syrian. Therefore it is assumed that a person who holds negative attitudes towards the idea of being close neighbors with a Syrian should find the idea of being married to a Syrian also as equally unfavorable, if not more. Nonetheless, the explicit comments of some participants implied that this was not necessary. For instance, some participants who marked living with a Syrian in their neighborhood would be highly uncomfortable, were not disturbed by the idea of being friends with a Syrian. They underlined that they would not build friendship with a Syrian if they do not get along well in the first place. Hence, friendship and marriage were considered as exceptional cases to intergroup relations. In other words, they indicated marriage or close friendship can take place regardless of race or ethnicity. Research suggests that in order for prejudicial views to attenuate in the face of

intergroup contact, there should be considerable change in the categorization of outgroup members (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009). In the present study, it was observed that friendships and marriages were seen as outside of intergroup relations, thus implying the process of recategorization of outgroups, where the group membership becomes less salient (Cameron, Rutland, Brown, & Douch, 2009). Prejudice reduction towards outgroup is facilitated when recategorization occurs simultaneously with appreciation of dual identities, in which group membership differences between people are acknowledged (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009). It can be asserted that dual identity phase was missing for most participants who singled out "good" Syrians as exceptions to Syrians in general and not representative of their group. Therefore the reactions showed that the prejudicial attitudes were still in place, but the items of the social distance scale may not have measured the prejudicial attitudes towards Syrians as intended. This tendency may have resulted in lower validity of the social distance scale.

In support for minorities scale, all items aimed to measure positive support for the improvement of Syrians' economic and social rights in Turkey. However, the first and the fifth items, which were related to the educational rights of Syrians, were seen as incongruent by some participants. This suggests that the underlying sentiment was the dominance of the host culture rather than the acceptance of the refugees. Participants who endorsed the first item about Syrian children being included in the education system did not agree with the fifth item stating that Syrians should be able to open their own schools, which was considered as disobedience. Hence, even though these items were intended to measure the support for educational rights of Syrians, they may have tapped onto different constructs within the minds of the participants. This may have led to not finding any difference

among the groups in terms of minority support. It may also explain the low internal reliability.

Comments of the participants revealed that direct contact between Syrian refugees and Turkish citizens were limited due to the language barrier. With only a minority of Turkish citizens (those with knowledge of Arabic) being able to communicate with Syrians, there may be more opportunities for indirect rather than direct contact. The effects of indirect forms of contact (e.g., vicarious contact and extended contact) on prejudice may be avenues for future research. Extended contact is defined as having friends who have outgroup friends, which can be an important variable in the context of Syrian refugees. Vicarious contact with Syrians has also particular importance since mass media and social networking sites are now becoming increasingly influential information channels.

The present study used a correlational design to examine the link between intergroup contact, perceived threat and attitudes towards Syrians. Hence, causality could not be inferred among the variables. Future research may use experimental and longitudinal design. Indirect and direct contact interventions may help identify the causal relationships between prejudice, perceived threat, and contact variables. In addition, interventions regarding threat variables may also be helpful in examining the causal link between threat and prejudice. Also, for a more fine-tuned measurement of contact quality, negative and positive forms of contact could be separately studied. Since the perception of Syrian refugees is interwoven with conflict, it may be fruitful to address negative experiences in contact quality in future studies.

4.2 Conclusion

The present study investigated the perceptions of Syrian refugees in Turkey and the antecedents of prejudicial attitudes by incorporating a detailed theoretical framework. It examined the relationship between affective and behavioral prejudice, threat perceptions, and intergroup contact. The findings provided evidence regarding the role of threat perceptions as the mediator of contact effects on prejudice. The study also contributed to the literature by highlighting the differential importance of threat perceptions in predicting various dimensions of outgroup attitudes.

APPENDIX A

SCALES (TURKISH)

BOGARDUS SOSYAL MESAFE ÖLÇEĞİ

Şimdi ise, Suriyelilerle çeşitli sosyal ilişkiler kurmanın sizde uyandıracığı hisleri ölçmek istiyoruz. Lütfen aşağıda verilen durumların sizde yaratacağı etkiyi, 1 (hiç rahatsızlık duymam) 7 (çok büyük rahatsızlık duyarım) arasında belirtiniz. Size uygun cevabı yuvarlak içine alınız.

	Hiç rahatsızlık duymam						Çok büyük rahatsızlık duyarım
1. Suriyeli bir patronunuz olsa	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Suriyeli biri ile aynı yerde çalışıyor olsanız	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Suriyeli biri ile aynı sokakta yaşıyor olsanız	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Suriyeli bir kapı komşunuz olsa	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Suriyeli bir yakın arkadaşınız olsa	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Suriyeli biri ile evlenseniz	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

HİS TERMOMETRESİ

Peki, Türkiye'deki Suriyelilere karşı hislerinizi tek bir cevap ile belirtecek olsanız ne derdiniz? Cevabınızı bir ısı termometresi gibi düşünün. 0° soğuk, yani çok olumsuz hissediyorum; 100° sıcak, yani çok olumlu hissediyorum anlamındadır. Size en uygun cevabı yuvarlak içine alınız.

SOĞUK										SICAK
0°	10°	20°	30°	40°	50°	60°	70°	80°	90°	100°
Çok					Ne olumlu					Çok
olumsuz					ne de olumsuz					olumlu

ÖNYARGISAL TUTUMLAR ÖLÇEĞİ

Türkiye'deki Suriyelilere karşı neler hissediyorsunuz? Aşağıda bazı duygular verilmiştir. Bunların sizin hislerinizi ne kadar yansıttığını belirtiniz. Size en uygun cevabı yuvarlak içine alınız.

	Hislerimi hiç yansıtmıyor			Hislerimi tamamen yansıtıyor			
1. Düşmanlık	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Hayranlık	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Antipati	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Benimseme	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Üstünlük	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Sevgi	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Hor görme	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Onaylama	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Nefret	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.Şefkat	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.Dışlama	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.Sıcaklık	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

TEMAS KALİTESİ ÖLÇEĞİ

Suriyelilerle olan iletişiminiz sizce nasıldır? Mesela olumlu mu olumsuz mu? Yakın mı uzak mı? Doğal mı zoraki mi? Aşağıdakilerden hangisine daha yakın olduğunuzu belirtiniz. Size en uygun cevabı yuvarlak içine alınız.

1. Yüzeysel	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Derin
2. Doğal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Zoraki
3. Huzursuz	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Huzurlu
4. Rekabetçi	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Uzlaşmacı
5. Yakın	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Uzak
6. Olumsuz	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Olumlu

TEMAS MİKTARI ÖLÇEĞİ

1. Suriyeli kaç kişi tanıyorsunuz? Lütfen size uygun cevabın yanına çarpı işareti (x) koyunuz.

- Hiç
- 1 kişi
- 2-3 kişi
- 4-6 kişi
- 7-10 kişi
- 11-15 kişi
- 16-20 kişi
- 21-30 kişi
- 30 kişiden fazla

2. Suriyeli tanıdıklarınızla ne kadar sık görüşüyorsunuz? Lütfen size uygun cevabın yanına çarpı işareti (x) koyunuz.

- Hiç
- Yılda birkaç kez
- Ayda bir kez
- Ayda birkaç kez
- Haftada bir kez
- Haftada birkaç kez
- Her gün

GERÇEKÇİ TEHDİT ÖLÇEĞİ

Lütfen Türkiye'deki Suriyelilerle ilgili aşağıdaki ifadelere ne kadar katıldığınızı belirtiniz. Size en uygun cevabı yuvarlak içine alınız.

	Kesinlikle katılmıyorum		Ne katılıyorum ne katılmıyorum			Kesinlikle katılıyorum	
1. Suriyelilerin gelmesi ile birlikte iş ücretlerinde düşüşler olmuştur.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Suriyeliler işlerimizi elimizden almaktadır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Suriyelilerin bulunduğu ortamlarda suç oranları artmıştır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Suriyeliler üzerimizde ekonomik açıdan bir yük oluşturmaktadır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Suriyelilerin sınavsız olarak üniversiteye girebilmesini adil bulmuyorum.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Suriyelilerin gelmesi ile birlikte sağlık hizmetlerine erişim zorlaşmıştır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Suriyelilerin ülkemize gelişi ile yasadışı evlilikler artmıştır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Suriyeli erkekler genç kızları ve kadınları rahatsız ediyorlar.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Suriyelilerin gelmesi ile birlikte kiralarda artış olmuştur.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

SEMBOLİK TEHDİT ÖLÇEĞİ

Lütfen Türkiye'deki Suriyelilerle ilgili aşağıdaki ifadelere ne kadar katıldığınızı belirtiniz. Size en uygun cevabı yuvarlak içine alınız.

	Ne katılıyorum						
	Kesinlikle katılmıyorum			ne katılmıyorum			Kesinlikle katılıyorum
1. Suriyeliler, aile ilişkileri ve çocuk yetiştirme tarzları açısından bize benzemezler.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Suriyelilerin örf ve adetleri bizimkinden farklıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Suriyelilerin dini inanışları bizimkilerden farklıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Suriyeliler yaşam tarzları açısından bize benzemezler.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Suriyelilerin ahlaki değerleri bizimkinden farklıdır	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Suriyeliler kültürel değerlerimize karşı bir tehdit oluşturmaktadır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Suriyelilerin kendi örf ve adetlerini yaşatmaya çalışması Türkiye'ye zarar verir.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Suriyelilerin aile ilişkileri ve çocuk yetiştirme tarzları toplumumuza zarar verir.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Suriyelilerin yaşam tarzları toplumumuz için tehdit oluşturmaktadır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

OLUMSUZ KALIPYARGI ÖLÇEĞİ

Lütfen Türkiye'deki Suriyelileri tanımlarken aşağıdaki sıfatların her birini ne dereceye kadar kullanacağınızı belirtin. Size en uygun cevabı yuvarlak içine alınız.

	Hiç			Çok			
1. Zeki	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Becerikli	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Çalışkan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Sıcakkanlı	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. İyi huylu	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. İçten	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Dürüst	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Arkadaş canlısı	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Terbiyesiz	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Tehlikeli	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. Güvenilir	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. İyi niyetli	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. Güvenilir	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. İyi niyetli	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. Pis	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. Kaba	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. Ahlaki açıdan zayıf	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. Hain	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19. Yardımsever	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20. Uyumsuz	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

21. Asi/ Başına buyruk	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22. Mağdur	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23. Fakir	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24. Gamsız	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25. Saygısız	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26. Eğitimsiz	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27. Kavgacı	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28. Suça meyilli	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

ÇOKKÜLTÜRLÜLÜĞE DESTEK ÖLÇEĞİ

Aşağıdaki görüşlere ne derece katılıyorsunuz? Size en uygun cevabı yuvarlak içine alınız.

	Kesinlikle katılmıyorum		Ne katılıyorum ne katılmıyorum			Kesinlikle katılıyorum	
1. Türkiye’de Suriyelilerin kendi okullarını kurma hakkı olmalı.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Türkiye’de Suriyelilere yönelik ayrımcılığa karşı daha fazla önlem alınmalı.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Türk hükümeti Suriyelilerin isteklerini dinlemiyor.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Türkiye’de Suriyelilere vatandaşlık hakkı verilmelidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Suriyeli çocuklar eğitim sistemimize dahil edilmelidir	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

DEMOGRAFİK BİLGİ FORMU

Şimdi de sizinle ilgili son birkaç sorumuzu yanıtlamanızı rica ediyoruz.

1. Cinsiyetiniz

1) Kadın

2) Erkek

2. Yaşınız:yaşındayım

3. Eğitim durumunuz: (Kaç yıl okula gittiniz?) :yıl

4. Annenizin eğitim durumu (Kaç yıl okula gitmiş?) :yıl

5. Babanızın eğitim durumu (Kaç yıl okula gitmiş?):yıl

6. Aylık hane halkı geliri : TL

7. Siyasi konularda “sol”dan ve “sağ”dan bahsedildiğini sık sık duyuyoruz. Aşağıda bir sol-sağ cetveli verilmiştir. Burada “1” en solu, “7” ise en sağ gösteriyor. Sizin kendi görüşleriniz bu cetvelin neresinde yer alır?

Sol			Orta			Sağ
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

8. Son seçimlerde hangi partiye oy verdiniz?

1) AKP 2) CHP 3) HDP 4) MHP 5) DİĞER.....

ALGILANAN GRUP BÜYÜKLÜĞÜ

Sizce bu mahallede ne kadar Suriyeli yaşıyor?

Hiç

Az

Yarı yarıya

Fazla

Çok fazla

APPENDIX B

SCALES (ENGLISH)

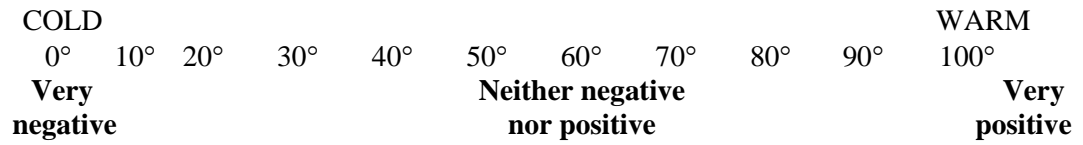
BOGARDUS SOCIAL DISTANCE SCALE

Now we would like to measure your feelings during various social interactions with Syrians. Please indicate the effect of each social interaction would have on you between 1 (I would not feel uncomfortable at all) to 7 (I would feel extremely uncomfortable). Circle the answer that fits you best.

	I would not feel uncomfortable at all				I would feel extremely uncomfortable		
1. If your boss is a Syrian	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. If you work in the same place with a Syrian	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. If you live in the same street with a Syrian	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. If you have a neighbor who is a Syrian	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. If you have a close friend who is a Syrian	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. If you are married to a Syrian	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

FEELING THERMOMETER

Please indicate how you feel about Syrians in Turkey by using the feeling thermometer below. In this thermometer, 0° means cold, i.e., very negative; 100° means warm, i.e., very positive.



PREJUDICIAL ATTITUDES SCALE

For each of the items below, please indicate your attitudes towards Syrians in Turkey by circling the answer that fits you best.

	Does not reflect my feelings at all						Reflects my feelings completely
1.Hostility	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.Admiration	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.Dislike	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.Acceptance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.Superiority	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.Affection	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.Contempt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.Approval	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.Hatred	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.Sympathy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.Rejection	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.Warmth	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

CONTACT QUALITY SCALE

How would you characterize the contact you have with Syrians? For instance; is it positive or negative? Is it distant or intimate? Circle the answer that fits you best.

1. Superficial	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Deep
2. Natural	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Forced
3. Unpleasant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Pleasant
4. Competitive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Cooperative
5. Intimate	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Distant
6. Negative	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Positive

CONTACT QUANTITY SCALE

1. How many Syrians do you know personally?

None

1

2-3

4-6

7-10

11-15

16-20

21-30

More than 30

2. How often do you have contact with them?

Never

Few times a year

Once a month

Few times a month

Once a week

Few times a week

Everyday

REALISTIC THREAT SCALE

Please indicate your opinion about the statements about Syrians in Turkey. Circle the answer that fits you best.

	Completely disagree						Neither agree nor disagree					Completely agree	
1. There has been a decrease in the wages with the coming of Syrians.	1		2		3		4		5		6		7
2. Syrians are taking our jobs.	1		2		3		4		5		6		7
3. Crime rates have increased in the places where Syrians inhabit.	1		2		3		4		5		6		7
4. Syrians constitute an economic burden on us.	1		2		3		4		5		6		7
5. I think Syrians should be allowed to enter college without an exam.	1		2		3		4		5		6		7
6. Access to health services became more difficult with the arrival of Syrians.	1		2		3		4		5		6		7
7. Illegal marriages have increased with the arrival of Syrians.	1		2		3		4		5		6		7
8. Syrian men are harassing young girls and women.	1		2		3		4		5		6		7
9. Rents have increased with the arrival of Syrians.	1		2		3		4		5		6		7

SYMBOLIC THREAT SCALE

Please indicate your opinion about the statements about Syrians in Turkey. Circle the answer that fits you best.

	Completely disagree		Neither agree nor disagree			Completely agree	
1. Syrians are not similar to us in terms of family relations and child-rearing practices.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Traditions and customs of Syrians are different from ours.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Religious beliefs of Syrians are different from ours.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Syrians are different from us in terms of their lifestyle.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Syrians have different moral values from us.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Syrians pose a threat to our cultural values.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. It would be harmful to Turkey if Syrians try to maintain their customs and traditions.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Syrians' family relations and child-rearing practices are harmful to our society.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Syrians' lifestyle poses a threat to our society.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

NEGATIVE STEREOTYPING SCALE

How would you define the Syrians in Turkey? Please circle the answer that fits you best.

	Not at all				Extremely		
1. Intelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Competent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Hard-working	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Warm	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Good-natured	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Sincere	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Honest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Shameless	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Dangerous	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. Trustworthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. Well-intentioned	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. Cheater	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. Ignorant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15. Dirty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16. Rude	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. Morally inferior	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18. Traitor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

19. Helpful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20. Incompatible	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21. Rebellious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22. Victim	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23. Poor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24. Careless	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25. Disrespectful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26. Uneducated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27. Quarrelsome	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28. Crime-prone	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

SUPPORT FOR MULTICULTURALISM SCALE

Please indicate your opinion about the statements about Syrians in Turkey. Circle the answer that fits you best.

	Completely disagree				Neither agree nor disagree				Completely agree
1. Syrians should have the right to build their own education system in Turkey.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
2. Precautions should be taken against discrimination of Syrians in Turkey.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
3. Turkish government does not pay attention to requests of Syrians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
4. Syrians should be granted the citizenship in Turkey.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
5. Syrian kids should be included in our education system.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		

DEMOGRAPHICS SURVEY

Now we request you to answer some questions about yourself.

1. Your gender:

1) Female

2) Male

2. Your age: I amyears old.

3. Your level of education (How many years did you attend school?):

.....years

4. Your mother's level of education (How many years did she attend school?):

.....years

5. Your father's level of education (How many years did he attend school?):

.....years

6. Your monthly income:..... TL

7. About politics, we hear "left" and "right" frequently in daily life. There is a left-right scale below. "1" represents leftmost while "7" represents rightmost political view. Where would your political view fall on this scale?

Left			Middle			Right
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

8. Which political party did you vote for in the last elections?

1) AKP 2) CHP 3) HDP 4) MHP 5) OTHER.....

PERCEIVED GROUP SIZE

How many Syrians do you think live in this neighborhood?

None

Few

Half-and-half

Many

Too many

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