THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EXPOSING MEDIA NEWS ABOUT
SYRIANS AND PREJUDICE TOWARD THEM: THE MODERATING ROLE OF
TRUST IN MEDIA NEWS

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ABSTRACT

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EXPOSING MEDIA NEWS ABOUT SYRIANS AND PREJUDICE TOWARD THEM: THE MODERATING ROLE OF TRUST IN MEDIA NEWS

ŞİMŞEK, Yağmur

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The studies examining the impact of media on intergroup attitudes showed that negative media contact influences attitudes towards outgroups as positive contact does. In particular, exposure to media news impacts attitudes and prejudices toward the outgroups. Additionally, some studies have shown that trust in the media may play a role in the relationship between exposure to media news and attitudes. In this regard, this study aimed to examine the effect of exposure to news about Syrians in different media channels on social distance preferences and negative emotions towards Syrians living in Türkiye. Moreover, it aimed to examine the role of trust in news across different media channels in this relationship. According to the results of the analyses conducted with 362 participants to test these purposes, we found that exposure to news in mainstream media and Internet news pages predicts social distance preferences for Syrians. Furthermore, we found that social media news exposure predicted social distance preferences and negative emotions toward Syrians. Moderation analysis results showed that only trust in mainstream media news played a role in the relationship between exposure to mainstream media news and social distance

preferences. These results were discussed by evaluating prejudice components and different media channels.

Keywords: Media Exposure, Social Distance, Out-Group Emotions, Trust in Media, Syrians

ÖZ

SURİYELİLERLE İLGİLİ MEDYA HABERLERİNE MARUZ KALMA VE
ONLARA YÖNELİK ÖNYARGI ARASINDAKİ İLİŞKİ: MEDYA
HABERLERİNE GÜVENİN DÜZENLEYİCİ ROLÜ

ŞİMŞEK, Yağmur

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Medyanın gruplar arası tutumlar üzerindeki etkisini inceleyen çalışmalar, olumsuz medya temasının da olumlu temas gibi dış gruplara yönelik tutumları etkilediğini göstermiştir. Özellikle medya haberlerine maruz kalma, dış gruba yönelik tutumları ve önyargıları etkilemektedir. Buna ek olarak, bazı çalışmalar medyaya güvenin medya haberlerine maruz kalma ve tutumlar arasındaki ilişkide rol oynayabileceğini göstermiştir. Bu bağlamda, bu çalışma farklı medya kanallarında Suriyelilerle ilgili haberlere maruz kalmanın sosyal mesafe tercihleri ve Türkiye'de yaşayan Suriyelilere yönelik olumsuz duygular üzerindeki etkisini incelemeyi amaçlamıştır. Ayrıca, farklı medya kanallarındaki haberlere duyulan güvenin bu ilişkideki rolünü incelemeyi amaçlamıştır. Bu amaçları test etmek için 362 katılımcı ile yapılan analizlerin sonuçlarına göre, ana akım medya ve internet haber sayfalarındaki haberlere maruz kalmanın Suriyelilere yönelik sosyal mesafe tercihlerini yordadığını bulduk. Ayrıca, sosyal medya haberlerine maruz kalmanın Suriyelilere yönelik sosyal mesafe tercihlerini ve olumsuz duyguları yordadığını bulduk. Moderasyon analizi sonuçları ise, ana akım medya haberlerine maruz kalma ile sosyal mesafe tercihleri arasındaki

ilişkide sadece ana akım medya haberlerine güvenin rol oynadığını gösterdi. Bu sonuçlar, önyargı bileşenleri ve farklı medya kanalları değerlendirilerek tartışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Medyaya Maruz Kalma, Sosyal Mesafe, Dış Grup Olumsuzluğu, Medyaya Güven, Suriyeliler

To those who live under pressure and who are forced to leave their homes

I have been with you most of my days during this process and I am very happy that we will be together and support each other in our future processes. I never feel alone for coming to Istanbul because I have you.

I'm also very grateful to my dearest friends Şule and Nazmiye for always supporting and encouraging me even though we cannot be together physically.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. General Introduction

The Ministry of Interior of Türkiye, Presidency of Migration Management's latest data (2024) showed that 3.143.635 Syrians have been under temporary protection. The provinces Syrians mostly live in are İstanbul, Gaziantep, and Şanlıurfa. As it is seen, a sizable Syrian population lives in border cities and major cities in Türkiye. For this reason, Syrians are visible in many parts of Türkiye. In some circumstances, this visibility leads to disagreements between Syrians and local people and the discrimination of Syrians (Akdemir, 2019). Syrians have been exposed to discriminatory attitudes in daily areas such as public transport, the workplace, and schools (Öztoraman-Adıgüzel & Tanyaş, 2020). Especially after the president of Türkiye at the time gave a speech in 2016 stating that Syrians would be granted citizenship, the issue of citizenship came to the agenda, and negative attitudes toward Syrians were reinforced (Koyuncu, 2018). Also, the well-being of Syrians is affected highly by their own discrimination experiences and discrimination toward their children (Şafak-Ayvazoğlu et al., 2021), which makes it essential to examine the prejudice and discrimination against Syrians living in Türkiye.

In the literature, numerous factors were found to be related to natives' prejudice toward Syrians (Çiftçi, 2022; Öztürk, 2020; Padır, 2019; Yanbolluoğlu, 2018). The media is one of the factors influencing prejudice toward Syrians (Dal & Tokdemir, 2021; Gönültaş & Mulvey, 2023; Kardeş et al., 2017; Torun & Demirtaş, 2018). The Contact Hypothesis (Allport, 1954) examines how establishing inter-group contact influences bias toward opposing groups and explains the influence of media in Türkiye on perceptions of Syrians. It was observed that distinct groups' media contact, in addition

to direct contact methods, could affect attitudes. While positive media contact experience reduces prejudice (Alrababa'h et al., 2021; Breves, 2020; Massey et al., 2021; Ramasubramanian, 2015; Schiappa et al., 2006; Wong et al., 2017; Vezzali et al., 2015), negative media contact may boost negative attitudes toward minorities (Ahmed, 2017; Ahmed et al., 2021; Burscher et al., 2015; Dhanani & Franz, 2020; Saleem et al., 2017; Schemer & Meltzer, 2020; Shaver et al., 2017; Tamborini et al., 2017). Additionally, it is known that mere exposure to media is a sufficient method to establish contact through media (Wojcieszak & Azrout, 2016). It was also observed that a significant contributing component to the explanation of the association between media exposure and prejudice was one's trust in the media (Agovino et al., 2022; Earle, 2017; Tsai et al., 2020). Besides, to understand the association between media exposure and prejudice rather than evaluating the media as a whole, it is crucial to assess various media sources independently and consider the variations in the media's information (Strömbäck et al., 2020). Considering all these findings from the literature, the current study will examine the relationship between exposing news about Syrians and prejudice toward them specific to different news sources, including mainstream media, social media, and internet news. Further, the moderating role of trust in different media sources containing news about Syrians for this relationship will be analyzed specifically for different news sources.

In the following sections, we will first examine Türkiye's immigration history. Afterward, since our study focuses on Syrians, we will emphasize the Syrians' migration to Türkiye. Finally, we will explain Türkiye's policies towards Syrians.

1.1.1. Türkiye's Migration History

When looking at Türkiye's migration history, because of the belief that the existence of several ethnic groups contributed to the fall of the Ottoman Empire, in the years following the establishment of the Turkish Republic, Türkiye was accepting immigrants, mostly from Turkish and Muslim groups or groups that can be easily adapted to Turkish culture such as Bosnians and Pomaks (Kirişçi, 2007). In the 1970s, the arrival of immigrants was not much supported; however, significant waves of immigration continued. An example of one of the most considerable migration

movements is that in 1989, many Turkish people in Bulgaria migrated to Türkiye because of the Bulgarian government's minority policies (Kirişçi, 2007). However, following the 1990s, the policy of welcoming immigrants, many of whom were Turkish or had cultures similar to Türkiye's, loosened. Türkiye has been accepting immigrants from neighboring nations such as Iran and countries in the European Union (Kirişçi, 2007).

Further, Türkiye has also allowed illegal immigrants in transit, which are primarily from Middle Eastern countries such as Afghanistan, Iran, and Syria (Kirişçi, 2007). These illegal immigrants, who migrate irregularly, use Türkiye as a transitory stopover before fleeing to European countries (Demirhan & Aslan, 2015). Still, many people from distinct countries have been migrating to Türkiye by legal means and regularly. Additionally, many foreigners who previously immigrated to Türkiye have left, but many continue to live in Türkiye, especially Syrians (Demirhan & Aslan, 2015). Before examining the arrival of Syrians, who are the subjects of this study, and the consequences of their arrival, it is essential to understand the reasons and history behind why Syrians migrated to Türkiye.

1.1.2. Syrians' Migration to Türkiye

With witnessing the Arab Spring, there were changes in the demands of the Syrians from the regime. Syrians spoke out against corruption, worsening poverty, and political repression, but the government did not take responsibility for these problems and blamed unknown conspiratorial forces (Lesch, 2013). Deraa, a city located in southwest Syria, was especially symbolized by the beginning of the uprisings in Syria. In March 2011, school-age children wrote on school walls about overthrowing the regime, which was inspired by a phrase used in an uprising in Egypt; as a result, they were arrested, sent to Damascus, and subjected to torture (Lesch, 2013). Accordingly, in Deraa, many people, especially the relatives of the detained children, started organizing protests. In the following days, the number of protesters increased, and many protesters were killed by the security forces (Lesch, 2013). The protests existed not only in Deraa but also in many parts of Syria naturally, indicating how big the

problem in Syria was (Lesch, 2013). The turmoil ensued as the Assad regime government reacted very harshly to the protests, and the opposition militarized the peaceful protests. As a result, all the repressions resulted in many people's deaths and forced evacuation (Beaujouan & Rasheed, 2020). The countries hosting the most displaced Syrians have been Türkiye, Jordan, Lebanon, and Iraq's Kurdistan Region (Beaujouan & Rasheed, 2020).

According to the Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD), the first arrival of Syrians fleeing the war to Türkiye was with 260 Syrians from the Yayladağı district of Hatay, a city close to the Syrian border, on 29 April 2011 (2017). Also, AFAD coordinated the services such as health and education services provided to Syrians under temporary protection status in and outside the temporary accommodation services (2017) and according to a field study conducted by Çatak (2020), Syrians who emigrated to Türkiye had different experiences depending on their conditions during their migration. Syrians with sufficient financial means could migrate by their own vehicles or planes when the border crossings were open in Türkiye. In addition to economic differences, according to the impact of the war in the regions of Syria, there were differences in the experiences in the migration process. It was seen that some Syrians came to Türkiye via different cities using several vehicles. For instance, entering Türkiye illegally when the border gates were closed was also one of the methods used. Further, some Syrians crossed the border on foot, even without taking any belongings, when they needed to make a quick decision to avoid war (Çatak, 2020). When the factors influencing why Syrians chose Türkiye as a migration route were examined, it was seen that existing relationship networks in Türkiye and pre-established ties with Türkiye were important factors (Çatak, 2020). In addition, Syrians' perception of Türkiye's safety is a significant factor in their decision to migrate there (Çatak, 2020; Öztoraman-Adıgüzel & Tanyaş, 2020). Syrians also stated that they migrated to Türkiye instead of other neighboring countries since Türkiye is economically better off (Çatak, 2020) and the perception that Türkiye is an Islamic country (Öztoraman-Adıgüzel & Tanyaş, 2020).

Türkiye provided camps with good conditions for Syrians and gave them the right to benefit from health services in the country free of charge (Amnesty International,

2014). Türkiye implemented an open-door policy for Syrians, but many Syrians without passports were still not allowed to enter Türkiye through the official entry zones. As a result, many of them had to live in unsuitable conditions in areas far from official entry areas, or many had to enter dangerously through informal entry zones with the help of smugglers. In these informal spots, border guards subjected Syrians to weapons and violent protection strategies that resulted in injury and death (Amnesty International, 2014). In addition to the difficulties experienced during the migration process, Syrians also encountered challenges after migrating to Türkiye. Syrians, especially those who settled in Istanbul, have faced economic difficulties since they had difficulties in paying for rent and basic needs (Öztoraman-Adıgüzel & Tanyaş, 2020). Further, due to their language barriers and lack of Turkish language skills, Syrians experienced problems, such as communicating with natives. For example, Syrian children have difficulty understanding lessons in schools due to this language barrier (Öztoraman-Adıgüzel & Tanyaş, 2020). Another challenge Syrians face is the emotional turmoil experienced after migration. Specifically, Syrians experienced loneliness and craving (Öztoraman-Adıgüzel & Tanyaş, 2020). The life satisfaction of many Syrians decreased after settling in Türkiye from Syria. Upon examining the variables contributing to Syrian reduced life satisfaction, it is evident that both personal and professional strains are significant (Şafak-Ayvazoğlu et al., 2021). Stated personal strains include emotional and social experiences arising in connection with displacement. For instance, with the displacement, Syrians had to leave their family members and lost their social support (Şafak-Ayvazoğlu et al., 2021). As professional strains affect their life satisfaction, Syrians have been forced to work long hours for minimal wages (Şafak-Ayvazoğlu et al., 2021).

1.1.3. Türkiye's Syria Policy

Looking at Türkiye's policy on Syrian immigration flow, it can be said that Türkiye has followed a path of accepting Syrians who had to leave their country. Before 2011, when Syrians started to come to Türkiye, the government of Türkiye had good relations with Syria in a way that opened the borders, granted visa rights, ensured commercial relations, and strengthened socio-cultural ties (Altıok & Tosun, 2020).

However, after this period, Türkiye supported the groups resisting the Syrian state. It allowed many Syrians who fled from their state to aim for humanitarian and pragmatic reasons, such as exerting influence on the border since its former good relation with Syria deteriorated (Altıok & Tosun, 2020). This policy lasted until 2015, but a different path has been followed since 2015. Türkiye's open-door policy has become more limited as Türkiye turned to preventing the Kurds in Syria from gaining power and protecting its borders (Altıok & Tosun, 2020). Also, conflicts extended between locals and Syrians living in Türkiye, altering locals' opinion toward Syrians and Türkiye's reducing economic power pushed the government to establish a connection between the presence of Syrians and the emergence of possible socio-political problems in Türkiye (Içduygu & Nimer, 2020). Concerning this, the Turkish government has emphasized establishing safe places in Syria and guaranteeing the repatriation of Syrians living in Türkiye (Içduygu & Nimer, 2020). Nevertheless, many Syrians still live in Türkiye as The Ministry of Interior of Türkiye, Presidency of Migration Management's latest data (2024) showed that 3.143.635 Syrians have been under temporary protection.

It is also important to highlight that the expressions used for Syrians are critical in understanding their rights within their legal status and Türkiye's policy. According to the 1951 Geneva Convention, those who have taken refuge in Türkiye and are of European origin can apply for refugee status. However, non-European foreigners who migrated to Türkiye cannot have refugee status, even if they came from Europe (Ekmekci, 2017). Due to Türkiye's acceptance of the geographic limitation clause in this convention, Syrians are not recognized as refugees. They were given temporary protection status, giving them access to health, education, and labor rights. However, there are also Syrians living in Türkiye who have residence permits but not temporary protection status and are irregular migrants (Akcapar & Simsek, 2018). The status of Syrians who have come to Türkiye can be misrepresented as immigrants, asylum seekers, or refugees both in the literature and in the media, and terminological confusion has arrived (Fansa, 2021). Although many studies in the literature use the definitions of a refugee, asylum seeker, or immigrant for Syrians, in this study, rather than these definitions, the expressions of "Syrians," "Syrians living in Türkiye," or

"Syrians under temporary protection" will be used to reflect policies about Syrians accurately.

In the current study, the focus is on prejudices against Syrians thus in the following sections, the concept of prejudice will be introduced and examined in the context of immigrants and ethnic minorities, and findings regarding the existence of prejudices against Syrians living in Türkiye will be presented. In continuation, by examining the concept of media contact, the relationship between negative contact through the media and attitudes towards out-groups will be examined by presenting studies conducted in Türkiye and other parts of the world. Lastly, by introducing the concept of trust in the media, it will be given that trust in different news sources may differ, and how trust in the media can have a moderating role in the relationship between media exposure and prejudice will be presented with similar studies conducted on this subject.

1.2. Prejudice in the Context of Ethnic Minorities and Immigrants

Under this heading, we will first explain the concept of prejudice with the opinions of different researchers and examine the concept of prejudice in the context of immigration. Then, we will explain the prejudices Syrians face in Türkiye and the factors affecting this prejudice.

1.2.1. The Concept of Prejudice

Prejudice has been a complex and uniformly studied construct. Duckitt (2010) discussed how prejudice has been studied throughout history. According to this, until the 1920s, prejudice was not considered a social issue or a scientific concept. It was seen as a natural reaction made up of differences between groups. In line with this, prejudice and discrimination can be considered twentieth-century constructs. Prejudice studies were conducted in light of the psychological views prevalent in certain years from 1920 to the present. The researcher also stated that since 2000, a new view has prevailed that prejudice has been perceived as complex, having a motivational basis and affective nature, based on differences between people and intergroup relations such as intergroup threat and competition.

In addition to how prejudice has been examined over the years, the definition and scope of prejudice have changed in line with different scientists' views. In 1954, Allport wrote *The Nature of Prejudice*, which became a classic in prejudice studies in social psychology. For Allport, there are two keys for a situation to be considered as prejudice: favor or disfavor attitudes and overgeneralized beliefs. Allport also stated that attitudes and beliefs may be distinguished depending on the situation; however, it is not obligatory since the presence of one, the other is also seen. He differentiated behaviors, called discrimination toward groups, from attitudes and beliefs by emphasizing people's behavior towards other groups and what they feel or think is not directly connected. Allport (1954) showed his stance on the definition and scope of prejudice with the definition of ethnic prejudice: "Ethnic prejudice is an antipathy based on a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or an individual because he is a member" (p. 9). Since Allport, prejudice has been examined by other researchers. One of the researchers working on prejudice, Brown (2010), reviewed Allport's definition of prejudice. He criticized the "faulty" statement used for prejudicial attitude since he thought that stating that an attitude is at fault implies the right attitude also exists and that assessments between groups are relative is ignored in this way. Brown also noted that Allport's expression of "inflexible generalization" is unsuitable for thinking in prejudice because it implies that prejudice is entirely irrational and immutable. He considered prejudice a phenomenon consisting of cognitive, emotional, and behavioral structures. and he evaluated all three within a general prejudice phenomenon. Dependently, he defined *prejudice* as "an attitude, emotion or behaviour towards members of a group which directly or indirectly implies some negativity towards that group" (Brown, 2010, p. 11).

Whereas, many contemporary psychologists studying prejudice consider beliefs about outgroups, appraisal of these beliefs, and behaviors toward the outgroups distinctly. In line with this view, three distinct concepts are encountered: stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination. In this triadic structure, prejudice is defined as attitudes towards different groups (Kite, 2016). In the light of these definitions, in the current study prejudice is examined through emotional dimension and behavioral intention components.

Another point that should be carefully considered regarding prejudice is the persistence of prejudice and the form in which it persists. It is thought that prejudice toward some groups has declined (Crandall & Warner, 2005), and while overt forms of prejudice have lessened, subtle forms of prejudice continue (Dovidio, 2001). However, it is important to note that the factors or forms of prejudice may vary depending on the social group. The factors affecting attitudes toward outgroups would change depending on distinct outgroups. For instance, the indicator of the prejudice and the level of the prejudice may change between prejudice based on ethnic group and prejudice depending on sexual orientation (Zanna, 1994). Also, according to another study, distinct minority groups evoke distinct emotions in locals in light of the threat they pose (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005). Prejudice not only varies depending on different "-ism" but also according to different groups examined within a similar "-ism." For instance, a study conducted in Türkiye showed that users displayed their prejudices against Syrians on social media, and they made comparisons between Syrians and Ukrainians. While Ukrainians were praised with adjectives such as protecting the homeland, Syrians were criticized for leaving their homeland and being traitors (Dora & Sadakaoğlu, 2022), which indicated double-sided attitudes toward these two groups who were similarly forced to migrate. As can be seen, it is critical to understand precisely which sample of prejudice is examined. Therefore, the current study will first examine prejudice in the focus of immigration and then discuss prejudice against Syrians within the context of Türkiye.

1.2.2. Prejudice in Immigration Context

Prejudice against immigrants is crucial to understand since it is related with how immigration policies are evaluated in the country and how these policies are successful. Further, prejudicial attitudes toward immigrants also affect the concordance within the country and the conditions of immigrants, such as trusting locals and immigrants' satisfaction with life (Esses, 2021). When examining why the natives have prejudices against immigrants, it is seen that different factors emerge as reasons. The most notable factor inducing prejudice was the perceived threat from immigrants. Specifically, two distinct types of threat, a realistic threat, and a symbolic threat, were presented in the Integrated Threat Theory (Stephan & Renfro, 2002), and

these types of threats were found to lead to prejudice (Stephan et al., 2005). It is not surprising since, in the real world, immigrants request resources from the places they migrated to and work in jobs there. At the same time, they may have a different culture than those living where they migrated. Negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety were also found to be related to prejudice toward immigrant groups (Stephan et al., 2005). The racial group to which one belongs or social identity may also impact prejudices against immigration. According to Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 2004), people want to maintain or increase their self-esteem. For this motivation, people compare their groups with other outgroups and assess the value of their groups. People can develop a positive self-view by understanding that their groups are more valuable than others (Tajfel & Turner, 2004). This situation may result in prejudice toward groups other than people's groups under some conditions. Further, different forms of national attachment, such as nationalism and patriotism, personality characteristics, and contact experiences with immigrants, also affect how native people appraise immigrants (Dinesen et al., 2016; Esses, 2021; Visintin et al., 2017). In addition to general factors affecting prejudice, the immigration context is a determining factor. For instance, how immigration is perceived in the immigrant country and historical factors vary in different countries (Esses, 2021). Also, a country's cultural orientation, such as focusing on personal accomplishments, was effective in prejudice toward immigrants (Shin & Dovidio, 2018). As another example, divergent immigrants face different attitudes from natives depending on their nationality, legal status, or religious belief (Esses, 2021). Considering that attitudes towards immigrant groups rely on the context, it is crucial to conduct an examination specific to the immigrant group in question, as highlighted. Accordingly, in the next section, prejudice against Syrians, who are the focus of the current study, and related factors with prejudice against Syrians will be examined through the studies conducted in Türkiye.

1.2.3. Prejudice Toward Syrians Living in Türkiye

In the literature, many studies indicate negative attitudes, prejudice, and stereotypes toward Syrians in the Türkiye. A study revealed that Syrians were among the

immigrant groups most discomforted by locals, alongside immigrants from Afghanistan, Iraq, and Iran. In contrast, immigrants from Eastern Europe, Turkic Republics, and Eastern Europe were reported as eliciting lower levels of discomfort in locals (Şengül, 2022). In this sense, it can be said that among the groups experiencing migration, Syrians are one of the ethnic minority groups most exposed to negative attitudes in Türkiye.

Economic issues such as an increase in unemployment and rent prices emerge as an essential theme in attitudes toward Syrians (Aslan et al., 2018; Doğan & Ünal, 2021; Erdoğan, 2014; Topkaya & Akdağ, 2016). Local people living in Türkiye think that local workers suffer economically since Syrian workers are employed with low wages (Aslan et al., 2018). Specifically, some people indicate that Syrians create an economic burden since Türkiye is not an economically developed country (Aslan et al., 2018). Studies also demonstrated that cultural differences between Syrians and locals appear critical when examining locals' attitudes toward Syrians (Aslan et al., 2018; Erdoğan, 2014). Some natives believe that Türkiye's and Syria's cultures differ because Syrian culture represents Arab culture more, and cultural differences may result in conflicts between the two groups (Aslan et al., 2018). Moreover, it has been seen that locals mention Syrians with negative stereotypes and crime-related events (Aslan et al., 2018; Çömez Polat & Kaya, 2017; Doğan & Ünal, 2021; Erdoğan, 2014). For instance, Syrians are perceived to conduct crimes such as theft, extortion, and damage to public property, even if it is seen that the crime rate of Syrians is lower than the crime rate of locals in reality (Erdoğan, 2014). Moreover, a perception that Syrian women have conducted prostitution activities in Türkiye also exists (Doğan & Ünal, 2021; Erdoğan, 2014). As in the previous criminal elements, there was no real source basis for the allegations of prostitution. Instead, rumors and word-of-mouth exaggeration were effective in these claims (Erdoğan, 2014). It has also been observed that negative characteristics are attributed to them based on their origin. For example, some expressions refer to Syrians as problematic or thieves, which are pointed out as Middle Eastern or Arab features (Çömez Polat & Kaya, 2017). In addition to negative features, it has been observed that the locals overestimate the number of Syrians living in Türkiye (Çömez Polat & Kaya, 2017; Erdoğan, 2014). For instance, while 30 thousand Syrians are reported to reside in Ankara, which is the capital city of Türkiye, according

to official sources, some locals claimed that the actual number of Syrians in this place may be between 200 and 300 thousand. However, it is essential to note that number exaggeration originates from the government's lack of conveying correct information and people's lack of trust in the government (Erdoğan, 2014). One can also argue that some locals' misconceptions, who look from a nationalistic point of view, about Syrians as traitors in line with escaping from war contribute to negative attitudes toward them. This situation occurs because some locals claim that participating in the war shows allegiance to the nation; however, leaving the country and not participating in the war indicates treason (Doğan & Ünal, 2021).

It might be crucial to look at the attitudes made by the majority toward Syrians as well as the experiences and statements of the Syrians to comprehend the discrimination and negative attitudes that are directed toward them. On top of natives' attitudes toward Syrians, Syrians' perceived negative attitudes and discrimination experiences from natives also reveal the prejudice toward them. Syrians living in Türkiye perceive that they are the target of discrimination regarding their language, ethnicity, and immigration act (Şafak-Ayvazoğlu et al., 2021). Accordingly, when Syrians speak Arabic, they are exposed to the gaze of natives, and speaking their language arouses discrimination. In terms of ethnic discrimination, Syrians perceive that they are discriminated against by natives when their Syrian identity is brought out (Şafak-Ayvazoğlu et al., 2021). Most importantly, their immigration act is another factor affecting perceived discrimination against Syrians. Also, it converges with ethnicity in a way that the Syrian identity evokes both ethnic identity and being a refugee. According to Syrians, the settlement of Syrians in Türkiye evokes discrimination since natives think that Syrians ran away from war instead of staying and fighting for their country. Syrians have been depleting natives' economic sources (Şafak-Ayvazoğlu et al., 2021), which seems to be in line with the studies presented above indicating the attitudes of natives towards Syrians. Furthermore, they also perceive that native children discriminate against their children because of their Syrian identity (Şafak-Ayvazoğlu et al., 2021).

The literature contains several studies examining the variables influencing anti-Syrian attitudes in Türkiye. It has been discovered that personality qualities and values, such

as being less religious, may influence negative attitudes and prejudice against Syrians (Çiftçi, 2022). Sociodemographic factors such as age, gender, educational status, and income were also found to be related to negative attitudes toward Syrians. It was observed that as the income level increased, negative attitudes towards Syrians decreased (Öztürk, 2020). In terms of educational status, while Öztürk (2020) found that there was a positive relationship between increased education level and negative attitudes towards Syrians when compared with high school graduates, primary school graduates, and those with lower education status; Padır (2019) found that people who graduated from university and had higher education degree had a lower negative attitude when compared with primary school graduates and high school graduates. Also, it was found that male participants had more negative attitudes than females, and negative attitudes increased as the age of the participants increased (Padır, 2019). Furthermore, it was found that prejudice toward Syrians is influenced by negative and positive contact experiences with them (Yanbolluoğlu, 2018).

Media also emerges as a factor affecting attitudes towards Syrians (Dal & Tokdemir, 2021; Gönültaş & Mulvey, 2023; Torun & Demirtaş, 2018). Different media sources were considered when examining attitudes toward Syrians in the literature (Dal & Tokdemir, 2021; Gönültaş & Mulvey, 2023). This study will examine the impact of different media channels on prejudices against Syrians by considering the emotional and behavioral intention dimensions of prejudice. Considering emotional and behavioral intention dimensions of prejudice will provide the opportunity to compare these dimensions. In connection with this, this study focuses on the impact of the media on prejudice against Syrians. Before examining the various media sources' effects on the prejudice toward Syrians living in Türkiye, the effect of the media on prejudice will be viewed.

1.3. The Effect of Media on Prejudice

In the following headings, in light of the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954), we will examine media contact. After the general review, we will examine the studies in the literature that investigate contact through media news, which is the main focus of this study. Next, we will examine the portrayal of Syrians in news from different media

sources in Türkiye. At the end of this section, we will examine the relationship between establishing contact with Syrians through news and prejudice against Syrians.

1.3.1. Media Contact

Understanding the contact theory, which serves as the foundation for research in this area, is crucial to comprehending how media affects prejudice. The Intergroup Contact Hypothesis was introduced by Allport (1954), who stated that contact between groups might lessen intergroup bias under optimal conditions: equal status between the groups in the situation, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and the support of authorities, law, or custom. Later research revealed that these four optimal conditions are optional to receive positive results from intergroup contact (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Meta-analysis studies have shown that intergroup contact reduces prejudice and facilitates positive attitudes through different groups (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Smith et al., 2009). In addition to face-to-face contact, the researchers have also investigated the role of indirect contact methods, which can be considered as an umbrella term indicating members of the groups do not establish direct physical contact with one another (Haji & Noguchi, 2020), and indicated that it is an effective strategy to combat bias (Zhou et al., 2019). When indirect contact techniques were initially developed, there was a belief that they offered a solution to the challenges posed by direct contact, such as applicability in real conditions. However, it has since come to light that the two contact kinds are distinct and independent (White et al., 2021). It was seen that the indirect contacts are more flexible and can be executed cheaply, which makes them more applicable in realistic environments such as work environments. Furthermore, indirect contact provides the opportunity to reach many parts of society as long as it is combined with the media and politics (White et al., 2021).

There are some methods within the category of indirect contact techniques, such as extended contact, which indicates realizing that a member of the ingroup is closely related to a member of the outgroup (Wright et al., 1997), and imagined contact, which points out imagining establish contact with out-group members (Crisp & Turner,

2012). One of the other ways within the scope of indirect contact is to establish contact through the media. Media contact studies are frequently referred to in the literature as parasocial and vicarious contact. Schiappa and his colleagues (2005) presented the parasocial contact hypothesis, which indicates that establishing parasocial interaction with outgroup members through the media decreases prejudice. Specifically, parasocial contact can be defined as exposing positive out-group members' presentations while establishing parasocial interaction, which results in reduced prejudice toward out-groups (Schiappa et al., 2006). In addition, White and colleagues (2021) highlighted that only exposure to outgroups through the media cannot be defined as parasocial contact. Even some researchers consider only exposure as parasocial contact (Lissitsa & Kushnirovic, 2021; Schemer & Meltzer, 2020), some of the researchers stated that for the method of contact to be classified as parasocial contact, viewers need to develop an emotional connection with the outgroup individuals they witness (White et al., 2021). Since there is no clarity in the literature about what parasocial contact involves, the concepts of media contact or media exposure will be used in this study instead of the concept of parasocial contact. Even if it is not examined within the parasocial contact, mere exposure to the outgroup through news was also found to be an effective media contact method in improving attitudes (Sharples, 2013; Wojcieszak & Azrout, 2016). The mechanism of establishing contact through exposure is that the exposed people get to know people from the outgroup and, with this recognition, love them (Schieferdecker & Harwood, 2023).

Another technique that has gained attention in contact research through the media is vicarious contact, which shows exposure to interaction between ingroup and outgroup interaction, resulting in attitude changes (Joyce & Harwood, 2014). Many contact studies have demonstrated that positive content in the media, whether through parasocial or vicarious contact, can reduce prejudice. Accordingly, it is possible to reduce the prejudices of majority groups towards minority groups by way of characters in TV shows (Massey et al., 2021; Schiappa et al., 2006), characters in books (Vezzali et al., 2015), video games characters (Breves, 2020), exposing celebrities from groups who are subject to prejudice (Alrababa'h et al., 2021; Ramasubramanian, 2015; Wong et al., 2017).

Although indirect contact studies mostly focus on positive contact and prejudice reduction effects, negative indirect contact might lead to negative attitudes towards out-groups. For instance, to examine the effect of extended negative contact on negative attitudes, Mazziotta and colleagues (2015) asked Germans whether their friends had negative contact with Turks living in Germany. They found that extended negative contact with Turks was effective in negative attitudes towards them. Similarly, while examining attitudes toward police officers, Lim and Lee (2021) found that conducting extended negative contact with police officers was related to negative attitudes toward them. Furthermore, the negative content in media is also effective in negative attitudes by playing a role in fostering it, in addition to the notion that positive information or portrayal of outgroups in the media effectively lessens prejudice (Banas et al., 2020). After giving general contact information, it is important to examine media via news, which is the subject of the current study, as a separate heading. The following section will assess the impact of exposure to the news content and the development of contacts through the news on prejudice.

1.3.2. Previous Studies about Media News and Prejudice

Media contact affects prejudices against out groups such as immigrant and ethnic minority populations (Visintin et al., 2017). However, the effect of media on prejudice highly depends on which media source is in question. It was shown that encountering immigrants through television and newspaper news brings out prejudice toward immigrants while encountering them through films and series results in positive attitudes (Visintin et al., 2017). This difference emerges because of the information about immigrants given in the media sources in a way that television and newspapers portray immigrants negatively (Visintin et al., 2017). In this sense, one could assert that the news media conveys negative attitudes and prejudices by presenting out groups negatively. Accordingly, in the literature, studies examining media contact through media news exposure generally focus on negative contact. For instance, Schemer and Meltzer (2020) conducted an experimental study examining negative mediated contact with refugees. The media contact was analyzed separately through parasocial and vicarious contact with TV program videos that provided news about refugees. The study's result indicated that observing the interaction between ingroup

members and refugee group members and observing just refugees who were depicted as negative resulted in prejudice toward refugees (Schemer & Meltzer, 2020). Studies focusing on exposing the news also revealed the association between negative news and prejudice. For instance, studies showed that hours participants spent reading or watching the news were found to be in relationship with both more anger and less warmth toward Muslims (Shaver et al., 2017), and using Western media sources led to prejudice toward Muslim minorities (Ahmed, 2017). In addition to direct prejudicial attitudes, exposing TV and newspaper news about immigration was found to have a positive relationship with supporting parties that advocate anti-immigrant politics (Burscher et al., 2015). In other studies, exposing news containing negative portrayals of Muslims raised support for civil rights limitations for Muslims, military intervention in Muslim nations (Saleem et al., 2017), and reduced support for donations to Middle Eastern children who are in need (Tamborini et al., 2017). Some other studies have shown that prejudice and digital media news exposure are associated, just as they are with mainstream media. In this sense, studies examine prejudice against Asian people in the light of COVID-19 news. These studies showed that the frequency of using social media was associated with negative stereotypes and feelings toward Chinese immigrants (Ahmed et al., 2021) and prejudice toward Asian American people (Dhanani & Franz, 2020).

Although it is emphasized that the media news generally increases negative attitudes and prejudice due to the negative news content, there are also controversial findings in the literature. Exposing news, including admiring famous African American people, resulted in decreased stereotypes and prejudices of Whites toward African Americans. Further, it was discovered that participants' positive attitudes led them to support affirmative action legislation (Ramasubramanian, 2015). In this example, it seems that positive representations of outgroups might also appear in some news sources, and prejudice decreases with a positive portrayal. Nevertheless, exposing negative portrayals of out-groups was also found to lessen prejudice. For instance, a study conducted by Lissitsa and Kushnirovich (2019) with Jewish people examined the exposure to negative content about Arabs and prejudice toward Arabs. The results of the study were astonishing since the researchers found that exposing negative content about Arabs in traditional media channels was not associated with prejudice. Further,

it was found that exposing negative news about Arabs in digital media channels decreased subtle forms of prejudice, and it was not related to blatant forms of prejudice (Lissitsa & Kushnirovich, 2019). The researchers explained this finding, suggesting that acknowledging the unfavorable media coverage may be the first step toward developing positive attitudes toward Arabs and that such coverage may also highlight egalitarian viewpoints (Lissitsa & Kushnirovich, 2019). Similarly, the study conducted by Sharples (2013) showed that participants' exposure to information about various ethnic out-groups in the news media positively affected their attitudes towards out-groups. Even, the researcher found that this relationship was not moderated by how participants perceive negativity from the news supporting the idea in the previous study.

Although it is generally seen that media news causes negative attitudes since it negatively portrays the out-groups, as can be seen, the literature offers mixed results in terms of how news media affects attitudes. The results differ depending on the places where the study is conducted and the groups studied. This backed up the notion that different minority groups are portrayed differently in the news and that, as represented in the news, a hierarchy of bias is developed against these groups in the public (Meeusen & Jacobs, 2017). It is also important to highlight that depending on the ethnic minorities covered by the news, the positivity-negativity level of the news and the language used for those minorities might result in varied levels and components of bias (Graf et al., 2020). Furthermore, it is important to consider distinct media channels differently since these sources carry distinct characteristics and they may influence attitudes differently.

How do these distinct media sources differ, and in which way do they differ? While television and newspapers are included in the scope of mainstream news media, news sources in the context of the Internet are generally referred to as non-mainstream news media (Fletcher & Park, 2017; Kalogeropoulos et al., 2019). The functioning of these sources differs from one another. For instance, unlike traditional media, news released online gives readers room for interpretation and encourages them to participate in politics. With the help of these comments, people's demands and opinions are understood (Narmanlıoğlu, 2016). However, gatekeeping, or the sharing of opinions

in line with the news pages' viewpoints, was seen on online news pages, just as it was in the mainstream media (Narmanlıoğlu, 2016). Considered another news source, social media platforms widely used today have positive aspects. Social media provides convenience to readers by facilitating access to information and increasing the speed of information dissemination (Pınarbaşı & Astam, 2020). Through social media, readers can obtain information from different news sources. In addition, thanks to the hashtags and bookmarks available on social media, different information and comments about a shared topic can be displayed (Pınarbaşı & Astam, 2020). However, considering the nature and algorithm of social media, there are also negative aspects of getting news through social media. For instance, users can share existing news on social media and create news-like posts. These user-created contents are shown as accurate using expressions and evidence similar to those used in the news. Also, with other users liking and sharing these posts, they can reach many users quickly (Taş & Taş, 2018). Users might share news on social media to gain status or establish interaction with other people (Lee et al., 2011). In light of this, social media has a structure that makes it difficult to distinguish between news-like content and news created due to expert evaluations. Thus, news-like content containing false information can quickly become widespread as users' basis in evaluating the content's accuracy and falsity fails (Taş & Taş, 2018). Although both sources are web-based and mentioned together, there are differences between social media and online web pages. For instance, a study showed that while news sides related to higher trust in political institutions, social media was related to lower trust in them since, unlike internet news pages, social media facilitates the flow of alternative information that conflicts with political institutions (Ceron, 2015) which may indicate how social media and website algorithms and contents may differ and produce various attitudes. Considering these, the next section will examine how Syrians are reflected in distinct media sources broadcasting in Türkiye to evaluate the relationship between news and prejudice in a context-specific manner.

1.3.3. Narratives about Syrians in the Media in Türkiye

In Türkiye, television news is the preferred news source for individuals to get information about their place and what is happening in the world (Horoz, 2013). The

discourses about immigrants used in television news play a significant role in shaping how the problem is understood and fuel existing societal concerns (Boztepe, 2017). A study examining the news made between 1 December 2015 and 31 January 2016 in different popular television news channels in Türkiye, including liberal, conservative, and leftist ideologies, showed that representations and discourses about Syrians made in television news are highly problematic (Boztepe, 2017). However, it should be highlighted that how Syrians are portrayed in the news is also highly related to the ideological stance of television channels, and there are differences between news channels in this regard. For instance, in Kanal 7, which is a channel displaying an ideology close to the government, it is seen that the Syrians are approached through the concept of philanthropy, and there are statements highlighting that the government takes care of the Syrians in a way that supports the government's policies regarding Syrians. Conversely, it was seen on Halk TV, which is a channel standing against the government ideologically, the government's Syrian policies are criticized by presenting Syrians as the actors of adverse events, such as unregistered and illegal workers (Boztepe, 2017). Although the channels differ ideologically, it was seen that they were similar in terms of including negative portrayals since they include dramatizing elements and emphasizing criminal concepts (Boztepe, 2017). Another tool that comes to mind when considering the mainstream media is newspapers. When the newspapers in Türkiye are examined, negative news about Syrians is found to be quite common. For example, according to one of the findings from the study conducted by Göker and Keskin (2015), which examined the news about Syrians published in newspapers with high triage between 1 January 2015 and 30 June 2015, it was found that the majority of the news (78%) examined a hostile approach toward Syrians. The researchers also detected that the contents of newspaper news about Syrians relate to newspapers' ideological attitudes (Göker & Keskin, 2015) as in TV news. Nevertheless, the researchers pointed out that the emphasis on the "problem" is fundamental, even though the political stances of the newspapers differ (Göker & Keskin, 2015).

To summarize, in the mainstream media, the news emphasizing Syrians are associated with crime is common (Boztepe, 2017; Gölcü & Dağlı, 2017; Gezik, 2022). The emphasis on the fact that the immigrants involved in criminal activities are Syrians has

been repeated both in the headlines of the news and in the news texts. The term "Syrian" was used together with criminal stereotypes such as "thief" and "human trafficker" (Gölcü & Dağlı, 2017). With this news, perceptions may arise in a society that Syrians threaten security and disturb peace (Gezik, 2022). It is also emphasized in the mainstream media news that Syrians are an economic burden (Boztepe, 2017; Gezik, 2022). According to this, Syrians put a financial strain on Türkiye by working illegally or for low wages (Boztepe, 2017), and they are responsible for the rise in unemployment rates and the deterioration of the economy (Gezik, 2022).

As is seen in the news in the mainstream media, the representations of Syrians are also negative in the digital news media channels in Türkiye. Çambay (2019) analyzed the news on the websites of popular media channels standing on different ideologies. As a result of the study, the most frequent themes revealed by the news were threats to security and illegal residence, which are very similar to recurring themes seen in mainstream media. For instance, in a news article with the headline "dangerous tension," it was reported that Syrians killed a Turkish youth and that Syrians attacked houses and shops in the neighborhood of the murdered person (Çambay, 2019), which may indicate that the link between Syrians and criminal activities was established. According to the study, internet news also emphasized how the Syrians create social turmoil and that there was tension between the locals and the Syrians (Çambay, 2019). The study also indicated that Syrians were portrayed in internet news with themes including posing a health threat, affecting the economy, increasing in number and not returning to their country, and being uncivilized (Çambay, 2019). Alp (2018) investigated local media news pages regarding Syrians, which likewise indicated negative depictions of Syrians. In this study, it was discovered that Syrians were associated with criminal attributes such as being quarrelsome and stealing without presenting any evidence. As in other studies, it was emphasized that Syrians were blamed for unemployment in some news sites (Alp, 2018). According to another study, crimes like murder, injury, theft, and fraud rose to the top in news reports linking Syrians to crime (Uslu & Aksu Kargın, 2022).

The frequency of exposing negative news regarding Syrians in social media news is relatively high, just as on the internet news pages (Koçak & Küçük, 2020). Fake news

concerning Syrians is also widely disseminated on social media. These reports were made up of unreal stories written on images and videos, most of which were not even related to Syrians and were stereotypical (Taş & Taş, 2018). The main themes that emerge in this fake news are that Syrians are associated with crime and have privileges that put locals at a disadvantage. In the visuals supporting the news in connection with the themes, a general message of typical Syrians was given by using long-distance and generalizing shots, in which people stood in similar positions and turned to similar places (Taş & Taş, 2018). Besides, the people used in the images were also stereotyped by their clothing and physiological characteristics, and a general definition of Syrian was produced in connection with the story. For instance, Syrian men were portrayed with dark skin tones and wore keffiyehs in the news images that were examined for the study. Moreover, reflecting the aggressive stereotype of Syrians, the people in these pictures had their fists raised in the air and looked with angry eyes (Taş & Taş, 2018). Even though images and videos had nothing to do with Syrians, the news was created based on them. For instance, it was proven that the video shown in the news shared by many people stating that a Syrian beat a doctor in Türkiye was, in fact, a report from an earlier occurrence in Russia (Taş & Taş, 2018). Likely, such an abundance of negative portrayals of Syrians in the news media will affect the attitudes and prejudices of Turkish citizens' attitudes toward Syrians.

1.3.4. The Effect of Media in Türkiye on Prejudice Against Syrians

Some studies examine the relationship between attitudes toward Syrians and media exposure in Türkiye. A study examining reader comments on internet news about tensions and fights between Syrians and locals showed that users mainly made negative comments to Syrians in light of the news they read (Türk, 2019), which may show how influential the news media are on people's attitudes towards Syrians and stereotypes about them. According to this study, stereotypical negative statements about Syrian identity were observed in the reader's comments. In these comments, the reluctance towards the presence of Syrians and the emphasis on Syrians' higher population draw attention (Türk, 2019). Moreover, concerns about security and social order, such as increasing incidents of harassment, murder, and robbery, were also seen in the reader's comments. Another topic that attracted attention in the statements made

on the news was the reluctance to live with Syrians in the urban area. In the comments, the locals did not support the social acceptance of the Syrians by stating that they were unwilling to live in the same society as the Syrians and that they should even be sent to the border camps (Türk, 2019). Furthermore, there were statements in the readers' comments that state resources and taxes were spent on Syrians (Türk, 2019). As it is seen, the readers' sentiments are very similar to the media's portrayals of Syrians. There were also reader comments that approached Syrians with an Islamic discourse with an attitude of solidarity, but these comments were very few (Türk, 2019). Another study examining the perspectives of users on the Ekşi Sözlük platform, a widespread social platform in Türkiye where users can create and comment entries about Syrians, showed that media news was frequently referenced, especially in statements that conveyed Syrians as disruptive (Kardeş et al., 2017) which may also show that the media plays a role in obtaining information and shaping attitudes about Syrians. While these studies did not specifically look at how the news affects attitudes toward Syrians, it is still possible to see how the news affects unfavorable opinions about Syrians in reader comments.

Further, Torun and Demirtaş (2018) conducted a study that directly examined how news about Syrians affects the perception of local university students through interviews. The participants indicated that the negative news about Syrians was more reported than positive and neutral news, and this common negative news affected participants' negative perceptions about Syrians by eliciting negative emotions such as uneasiness and sadness. The participants also used negative stereotypes when describing Syrians in light of the media portrayals such as needy and forlorn (Torun & Demirtaş, 2018).

There are also few quantitative studies presenting the relationship between media news and prejudice and attitudes toward Syrians. One of the studies concerning the issue showed a relationship between participants' social distance preferences and negative media perceptions about Syrians in different media channels (TV programs, newspapers, social media) (Gönültaş & Mulvey, 2023). Another study examining the relationship between using different media types as news sources and perceived threats toward Syrians revealed varying outcomes depending on the news source and the cities

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where participants live (Dal & Tokdemir, 2021). It was found that while the use of mainstream media channels and the internet pages of these channels increased the threat perception towards Syrians, the use of social media decreased the threat perception towards them. The city where participants live was also found to be effective in this relationship: it was discovered that among participants residing in Gaziantep, a city which is close to Syria border and many Syrians migrated, the feeling of threat against Syrians increased with the increase in the use of television as a means of getting news among the participants living in Gaziantep, but such an effect was not seen in the participants living in Istanbul and Diyarbakır (Dal & Tokdemir, 2021). Researchers stated that these results may be related to the fact that the current threat perception was found to be more intense in Istanbul and Diyarbakır compared to Gaziantep since social contact with Syrians is high in Gaziantep. For this reason, television news may not be effective in the threat perception in Diyarbakır and Istanbul, where the threat toward Syrians is already high (Dal & Tokdemir, 2021). Since different factors, such as different media channels and direct contact experience, may play a role in media and prejudice relations, factors that play a role in this relationship should be considered.

1.4. Trust in Media Sources

As reflected, the relationship between media exposure and attitudes is complicated; the literature indicated some factors that may effectively increase media effects on prejudice. In light of this, socioeconomic factors such as education level (Héricourt & Spielvogel, 2014) and individual differences such as the importance of group identity (Seate & Mastro, 2017) emerged as influential factors. The public's trust in the media, which is a concept examined in this study, is another factor that boosts its influence (Agovino et al., 2022; Earle, 2017).

Initially, we will explain the concept of media trust and evaluate the differences between different media channels. Next, we will examine trust in the media in Türkiye. Finally, we will explore the studies in the literature that have examined the moderating role of trust in the media in the relationship between media news and prejudice.

1.4.1. Media Trust

When examining the news media trust, it has been seen that there are different ways to describe trust and the news media (Strömbäck et al., 2020), and to define and measure trust, there is no standard definition or assessment technique (Fisher, 2018). Some researchers use media trust and credibility concepts interchangeably (Fisher, 2018; Tsfati & Cappella, 2003), and some use skepticism as the reverse of trust, such as mistrust (Tsfati, 2010). Generally speaking, trust explains how two parties, the trustor and the trusted, develop a relationship over time. Using this broad definition of trust as a foundation, trust in the media can be explained as a person's relationship with the media (Tsfati, 2010). The concept of mistrust is accordingly referred to as a person's feelings that the media is unreliable; that is, it impedes society instead of advancing it (Tsfati, 2010). However, it is noteworthy that common descriptions like trueness or reliability of the media fail to capture the complexity of the structure of trust in the media, which varies according to individuals' perceptions. (Fisher, 2018).

As Strömbäck and colleagues (2020) stated, while thinking about media trust, many researchers have been considering trust in general media structure instead of specific types of media sources (e.g., Fletcher & Park, 2017; Kalogeropoulos et al., 2019). Additionally, there have been initiatives to narrow the scope of media trust. For instance, Williams (2012) classified media trust into three categories: trust for media content, publishers, and the media's organizational structure. Also, in media credibility studies, classification is made as the credibility of media, source, and message. Regarding this, media type points out trusting specific media channels such as television or newspaper, while source credibility is related to the source that provides the message. Lastly, the credibility of a message refers to what message is presented (Fisher, 2018). Moreover, Strömbäck and his colleagues (2020) brought a unique perspective on trust in the media. According to them, the media conception is complex and may refer to the multiple facets of various current media. In line with this, they proposed that while considering trust, it can be taken into account to examine the information given by the media instead of focusing on the media as an organization since measuring different levels of media trust is important. Specifically, they proposed measurements at different levels, such as the type of media (television,

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newspaper) and the media's content, to determine media trust (Strömbäck et al., 2020). In this study, media sources were analyzed independently, as Strömbäck and colleagues have recommended, because they operate differently, and people's trust in them differs.

1.4.2. Media Trust in Türkiye

In this study, the functioning of the media in Türkiye is influential in the idea that media trust may be related to attitudes. As was reflected in *Narratives about Syrians in the Media of the Tükiye* section, media channels have become polarized in the light of political and ideological divisions, which causes news channels to convey news differently (Boztepe, 2017; Çambay, 2019). Some people in Türkiye cannot be sure that the news they read in the media is accurate since the media is fragmented and has a political framework (Bozdağ & Koçer, 2022). It is thought that the media is ideologically driven, and the media presents and chooses news stories in a biased manner (Güz et al., 2017). There is the emergence of gatekeeping in Türkiye, where news sources share information and comments that are compatible with their ideology more frequently while giving less space to those that do not (Narmanlıoğlu, 2016). However, it is important to note that some people follow media channels that do not stand in ideological view of them, in addition to channels reflecting their views. Therefore, it is thought that ideological stances may not be the only factor in determining distrust in the media (Güz et al., 2017).

Further, the media has a reporting function, but this function depends on how the media relates to politics. When considering how politics might influence the media, it is stated that the media might be subject to several legislative restrictions, and people in positions of authority also control the authority of the organizations tasked with monitoring the media (Akdağ, 2020). Political forces use these means to convey what they want to reach the audience and pressure the media (Akdağ, 2020). In this regard, when Turkish media is evaluated, it is known that the media in Türkiye has functioned based on political and economic pressure from the government (Akser & Baybars-Hawks, 2012), and many people believe that those influence the media in positions of authority (Güz et al., 2017). When assessing all these, media trust should not be

disregarded when assessing how media news affects attitudes, especially in Türkiye. The following section will show previous studies in the literature showing the moderating role of trust in the media in the relationship between media and outgroup attitudes.

1.4.3. News Media, Trust in Media, and Prejudice Relationships

People who are skeptical of the media tend to be more circumspect and less accepting of some of the goods offered by the media (Tsfati, 2002). Considering that trust in the media influences people's attitudes, it might be a significant factor in the relationship between exposing media and prejudice. In light of this, Ahmed (2017) pointed out that while examining the effects of the media, researchers should consider media trust's effect on changing existing prejudice. However, limited studies examining the role of media trust in the relationship between media and prejudice offered mixed results. In this sense, a study conducted by Agovino et al. (2022) using the news and pro-immigration indexes of 19 countries conducted between 2005-2009, including Türkiye, through a database. This comprehensive study showed that for those who trust the media highly, frequent immigration coverage and negativity of this coverage were found to be negatively related to pro-immigration attitudes; however, for those who do not trust the media, frequent coverage and negativity of the coverage radicalized participants' existing attitudes (Agovino et al., 2022). The study above used news from 2005 to 2009 from the Bloomberg News Index as its news source. However, considering that many people have been displaced by the civil war in Syria since 2011 and have migrated to many places (Beaujouan & Rasheed, 2020), there may be differences between the news published between the years mentioned and those published after immigration flow that emphasize the importance of the existence of current studies on this subject. Another study, which considered the political stances of the news, also supported the moderator role of trust in media: Exposing news about Syrian refugees and about ISIS from conservative sources increased negative attitudes toward Syrians and toward Muslims for those who trusted new sources highly. However, this effect was not found in exposing liberal sources, including news about Syrian refugees (Earle, 2017), which supports the idea of how important the portrayal of immigrants is in attitudes. Further, on this subject, a study conducted by Tsai and

colleagues (2020) examined the relationship between getting news about COVID-19 from different media outlets, traditional media, social media, and new websites and prejudice toward Asian people. In addition, the moderating role of trusting information about COVID-19 from specified media outlets was also examined. The moderation role of trust in media in getting news and prejudice toward Asians was seen in social media and internet sites. Surprisingly, it was found that getting less information from social media was related to prejudice for people who trusted social media highly. Moreover, getting news from websites frequently was found to be related to less prejudice in people who trusted internet sites (Tsai et al., 2020).

1.5. Aims of the Study and Research Questions

The literature showed that the negative portrayal of outgroups in media news has adverse effects on attitudes toward these outgroups. However, very few studies in the literature examine the moderating role of trust in the media in the relationship between exposure to media news and prejudices, which present mixed results (Agovino et al., 2022; Earle, 2017; Tsai et al., 2020). Also, in Turkish literature, even if there are studies examining media news' connection with attitudes (Dal & Tokdemir, 2011; Gönültaş & Mulvey, 2023; Torun & Demirtaş, 2018), there is no study that takes into account trust in news media while analyzing the relationship between media news and prejudice to the best of our knowledge. Furthermore, the significance of this study lies in its consideration of media coverage on sentiments toward Syrians, a minority group widely inhabited in Türkiye.

Considering the literature, the study's first aim is to examine the effect of exposure to news about Syrians in different media channels (mainstream media, social media, Internet news pages) on prejudice against Syrians. Accordingly, the hypotheses were created as follows:

H1: Exposing news about Syrians in mainstream media sources will predict prejudice toward Syrians, measured by social distance intentions toward Syrians (1a) and negative outgroup emotions toward Syrians (1b).

H2: Exposing news about Syrians on social media sources will predict prejudice toward Syrians, which is measured by social distance intentions toward Syrians (2a) and negative outgroup emotions toward Syrians (2b).

H3: Exposing news about Syrians in Internet news sites will predict prejudice toward Syrians, measured by social distance intentions toward Syrians (3a) and negative outgroup emotions toward Syrians (3b) (see Figure 1)
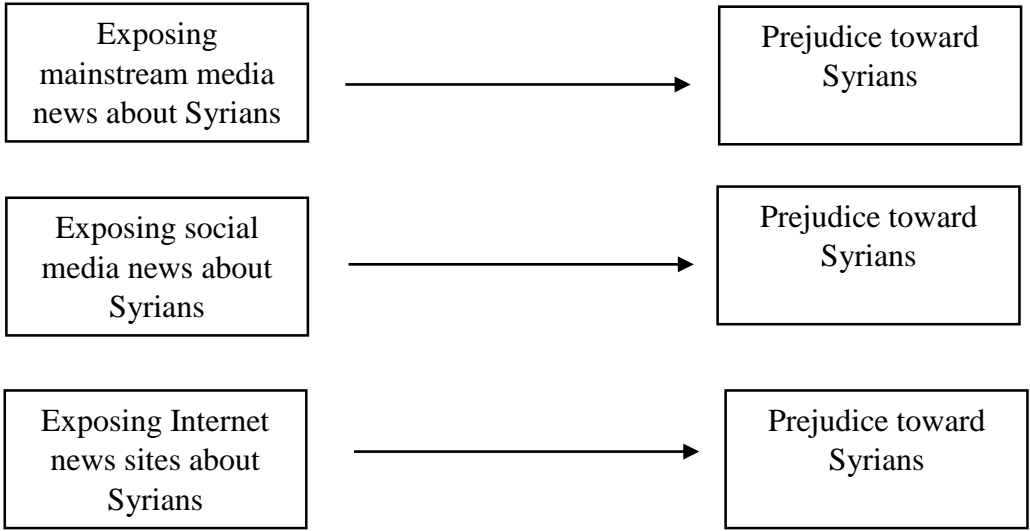
Figure 1. *Summary of the hypotheses examining the effect of exposure to news on prejudice against Syrians*

Moreover, since some factors were found to explain the media news and prejudice better, this study also aims to examine whether their relation varies with trust in news sources. Instead of formulating hypotheses, research questions were developed in this study because the literature only provides a few studies on this topic, particularly when studying various media outlets, and the few existing studies provide inconsistent findings. Thus, according to the aims of the study, the research questions are:

RQ1: How does trust in the news about Syrians in mainstream media sources moderate the relationship between exposing news in mainstream media sources about Syrians and prejudice toward Syrians, measured by social distance intentions toward Syrians (1a) and negative outgroup emotions toward Syrians (1b).

RQ2: How does trust in the news about Syrians in social media channels moderate the relationship between exposing news in social media channels about Syrians and prejudice toward Syrians, measured by social distance intentions toward Syrians (2a) and negative outgroup emotions toward Syrians (2b).

RQ3: How does trust in the news about Syrians in Internet news sites moderate the relationship between exposing news in Internet news sites about Syrians and prejudice toward Syrians, measured by social distance intentions toward Syrians (3a) and negative outgroup emotions toward Syrians (3b) (see Figure 2).
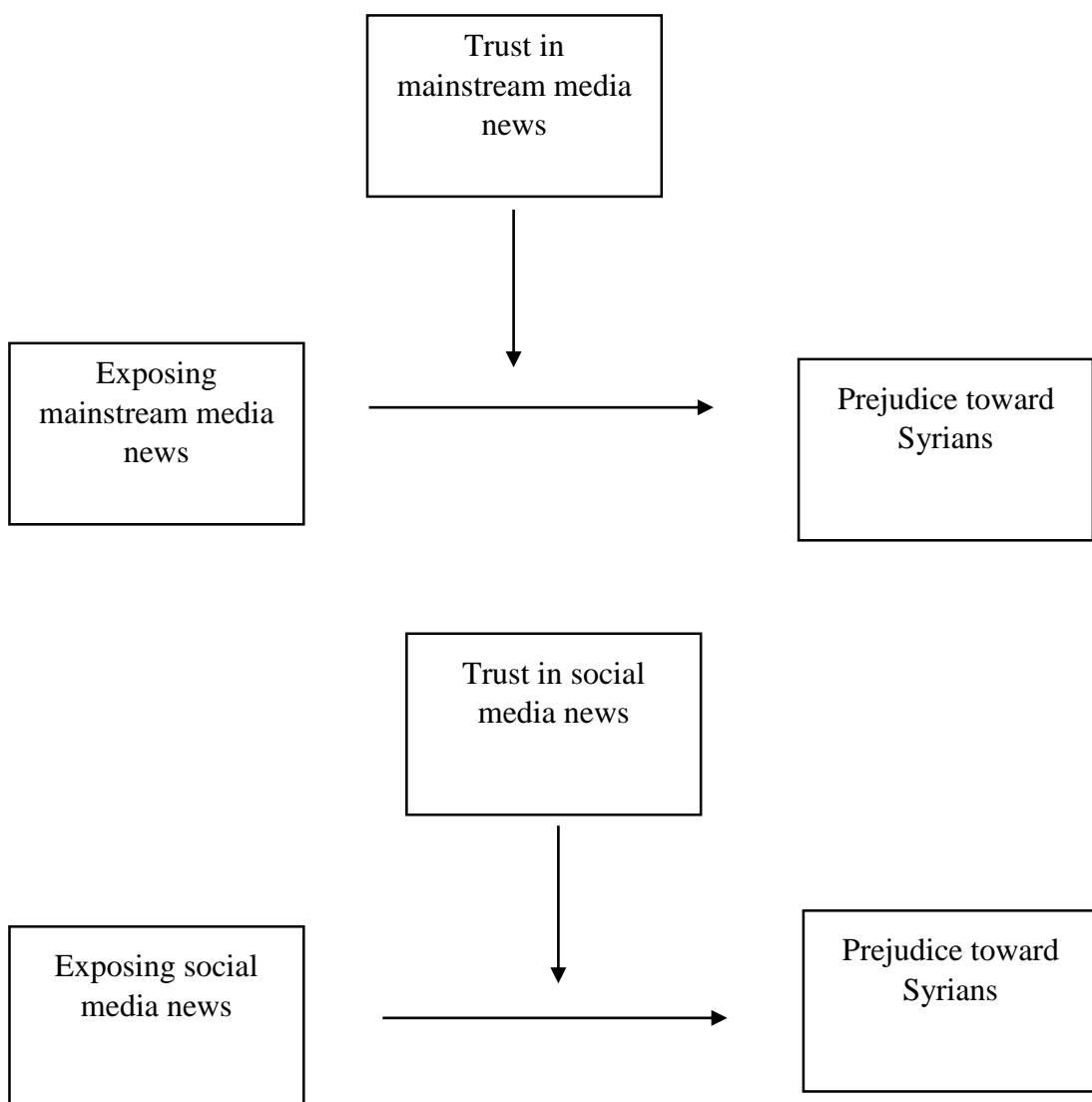
Figure 2. *Summary of the research questions examining the role of trust in news in exposure to news and prejudice against Syrians*
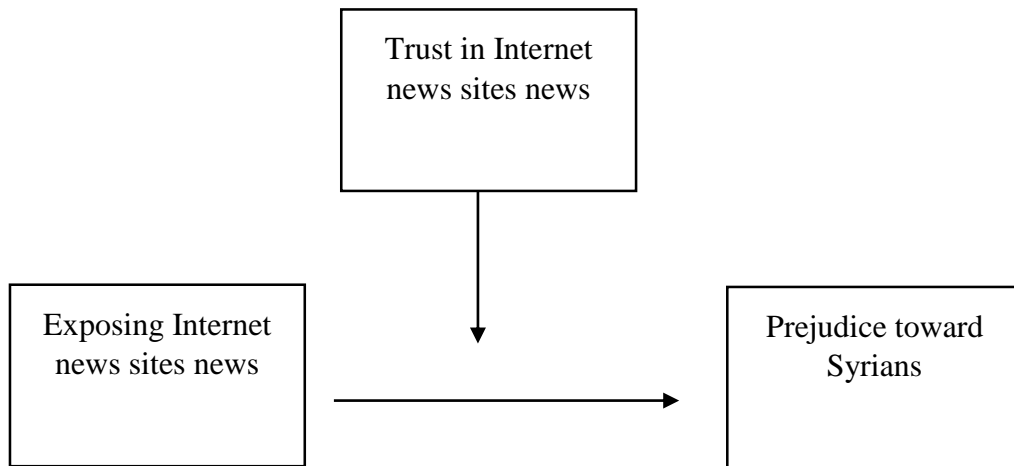
Figure 2. *Summary of the research questions examining the role of trust in news in exposure to news and prejudice against Syrians (continued)*

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

2.1. Participants

Individuals had to meet specific criteria to participate in the study, including being over 18 years old and from Türkiye. We recruited participants using a convenience sampling method, making announcements through messaging platforms such as WhatsApp, Telegram, and various social media channels. We also contacted some participants, especially university students, via email and through the Sona System, offering bonus points to incentivize their participation. Eventually, 362 participants whose answers were sufficient for data analyses left.

2.2. Instruments

2.2.1. Demographic Information Form

We created a form of 11 items to measure participants' demographic information. The form included questions about participants' gender, age, ethnic identity, education status, and income. Participants were also asked how religious they would describe themselves on a scale ranging from 0 (*not religious at all*) to 10 (*very religious*) and which religious belief system best describes their religious beliefs to measure religious belief and level of religious belief. Moreover, to get the best understanding of their political opinions, participants were asked to indicate their political views on a scale ranging from 0 to 10, with *extreme right* at one end and *extreme left* at the other.

To determine the face-to-face social contact experiences of the participants, firstly, they were asked how often they encountered Syrians in daily life. Afterward, to

measure the participants' positive contact experiences, they were asked how often they had positive and good contact with Syrians in their daily lives, and to measure their negative contact experiences, we asked how often they had negative and bad contact with Syrians in their daily lives as in a previous study (Yanbolluoğlu, 2018). The response format of the scale was a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*Never*) to 5 (*Always*), as in the previous study.

2.2.2. Frequency of News Exposure Survey Questions

In the literature, exposing content about various social groups through media was highly measured with the frequency of exposing content about these groups (Lissitsa & Kushnirovich, 2019; Visintin et al., 2017). In the current study, to measure the frequency with which the participants were exposed to content about Syrians in media channels, they were asked how often they encountered content about Syrians in the news as in the previous studies, asked through the various media channels which were mainstream media, social media, and news websites. Participants were also asked how often they encountered negative content about Syrians in the news in the mainstream media, social media, and news websites. The response format was a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*very few*) to 5 (*frequently*) for all six questions.

2.2.3. 9-Item News Credibility Scale

The News Credibility Scale was first developed by Gaziano and McGrath (1986) to measure the credibility of television and newspaper news separately. It consists of 16 items and two factors. Then, they narrowed it down to 12 items within the Credibility factor. The Credibility factor consisted of 12 items (e.g., Is fair or unfair, Does or does not separate fact and opinion). The scale was highly reliable when used to measure television and newspaper credibility separately ($\alpha = .91$) (Newhagen & Nass, 1989). Abdulla and colleagues (2004) applied the scale through different media sources, such as television, newspaper, and internet news, to test whether the factor structure of media credibility will change in different news media. The scale used for newspaper credibility consisted of three factors: Balance, honesty, and currency. Abdulla and colleagues' (2004) 11-item adapted version for newspaper credibility asked whether

the news is balanced, reporting the whole story, objective, fair, and accurate for the Balance factor; whether the news is honest, believable, and trustworthy comprised Honesty factor. Lastly, the items asked whether the news was up-to-date, current, and timely formed the Currency factor. We preferred the scale used to measure newspaper credibility because the newspaper credibility scale was examined in subsequent studies (Prochazka & Schweiger, 2019; Strömbäck et al., 2020; Yale et al., 2015).

Yale and colleagues (2015) recommended using the 9-item scale form rather than the 11-item version due to the high correlation between Balance and Honesty subfactors (ranging between .91 and .93), average variance extracted (AVE) values of the constructs were lower than the R^2 correlation values between the constructs, and the high correlation of items under different factors, They confirmed the single-factor structure by applying the second-order factor method ($X2$ (24, $N = 399$) = 47.84, $p<$ .001) and reliability of the 9-item scale in 3 different samples (ranged between .88, .90, and .91).

In Abdulla et al.'s (2004) study, participants evaluated the different media sources. In a Yale and colleagues (2015) study, the credibility of the newspaper articles was appraised by testing Abdulla et al.'s version of newspaper credibility. In the current study, a 9-item News Credibility Scale adapted by Yale et al. (2015) was applied to mainstream media channels (TV, newspapers), social media, and internet sites to measure participants' trust toward these sources individually. The question wording of the scales formed as "*Please consider the news about Syrians in the mainstream media (newspapers, TV channels)/social media/news websites. Please indicate to what extent you think the news in the mainstream media (newspapers, TV channels)/social media/news websites meet the following qualities by choosing a number between 1 and 5*". In the current study, the response format of the scale was a 5-point Likert-type, which ranges from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*).

We adapted the 9-item News Credibility Scale items to Turkish since there is no scale in the literature measuring trust in media in Turkish. We adapted the scale by using a translation-back translation method.

2.2.4. Social Distance Scale

The Social Distance Scale was first adapted by Emory Bogardus (1967), which determines how people would behave to outgroup members in different circumstances. Specifically, it brings out the extent to which people are willing to form specified types of relationships in given situations, such as willingness to establish relationships as close friends or neighbors with outgroup members other than their groups (Kite, 2016). The reliability of the scale was indicated by many research conducting toward distinct outgroups such as individuals with special needs (Firat & Koyuncu, 2022) for test-retest reliability, people with schizophrenia ($\alpha = .90$) (Angermeyer et al., 2003), different ethnic groups ($\alpha = .94$) (Sakuragi, 2006), LGBT ($\alpha = .82$) and Muslims ($\alpha = .82$) (Soral et al., 2018) for internal reliability.

Balaban (2013) adapted the social distance scale to Turkish to measure social distance preferences toward Kurdish people. The scale includes six items expressing hypothetical social relation situations with an outgroup (e.g., If you married a Kurdish person, If you worked in the same place with a Kurdish person, If you had a Kurdish boss). The response format of the scale was 7-point Likert-type, ranging from 1 (*I would not feel uncomfortable at all*) to 7 (*I would feel highly uncomfortable*), and higher scores on the scale indicate higher prejudice toward outgroups. The internal consistency reliability of the scale was high in the adapted version ($\alpha = .93$). Also, Yanbolluoğlu (2018) designed this adapted scale to measure locals' social distance preferences towards Syrians by changing question-wording to Syrians instead of Kurdish. When conducted with different samples for measuring social distance toward Syrians, the internal consistency reliability was found to be high again ($\alpha = .94$). Yanbolluoğlu (2018) measured that the scale had a single-factor structure. In our sample, the scale also exhibited excellent internal consistency reliability ($\alpha = .94$).

2.2.5. Semantic Differential Task/Outgroup Emotions

Since one of the components of prejudice is the emotion dimension (Brown, 2010), in the current study, the emotion dimension of prejudice will be measured with an

semantic differential scale. Firstly, the test was developed by Write and colleagues (1997). Then, it was adapted by Golec de Zavala and colleagues (2013) to measure how people feel toward specific outgroups through opposed emotion pairs, which are cold and warm, unfriendly and friendly, trustful and distrustful, positive and negative, respect and contempt, admiration and disgust. They found the internal consistency reliability of the scale as .75. According to the semantic differential task, these bipolar emotion adjectives are located at two opposite extremes, and participants are expected to evaluate their emotions between these two extremes. The researchers coded the emotional pairs to show that the higher the score, the higher the negative emotions.

The Turkish adaptation of the Golec de Zavala's (2013) scale was conducted by Korkmaz (2016) with samples from Türkiye, Bulgaria, and Germany. The internal consistency reliabilities were found to be .85, .86, and .79 through three samples living in distinct countries. In the current study, we asked participants to evaluate how they feel towards Syrians using bipolar emotion pairs with the 5 points as in the previous study. Cold-warm and unfriendly-friendly emotion pairs were reverse-coded so that high scores indicate negative emotions. With our sample, the internal consistency reliability value was .83.

2.3. Procedure

The News Credibility Scale was initially adapted in Turkish using a translation-back translation method. The scale was translated by two psychology graduate students who work in social science. Before the back translation process, we evaluated and compared both translations. We determined the items by considering to what extent the items would be understandable to the participants semantically and close to the original scale. Two psychology graduate students who were not involved in the translation process conducted the back translation process. After that, we compared the items in the original scale and those created after the back translation process and made an evaluation. The advisor and her two colleagues working in academia in psychology reevaluated the scale items and the adapted version of the scale to Turkish created.

Before collecting data, permission was obtained from the researchers who developed or adapted the scales planned to be used for the study. Subsequently, ethical permission was acquired from the Middle East Technical University Human Participants Ethics Committee. After obtaining permission, data was collected through the Qualtrics online system. The study link in Qualtrics was shared on various social media platforms such as WhatsApp, Telegram, and Instagram. In addition, some participants were reached through the METU SONA system, and bonus points for lectures were provided to those who participated in the current study. Participants were first presented with an Informed Consent form to confirm their voluntary participation. Through this form, participants who wanted to participate in the study voluntarily were informed about the purpose of the study and the requirements. Participants who agreed to participate in the study voluntarily were asked the Demographic Information Form, frequency of News Exposure questions, Turkish adapted form of News Credibility Scale, Turkish adapted form of Semantic Differential Task/Outgroup Emotions, and Turkish adapted form of Social Distance Scale scale questions, respectively. At the end of the study, a Debriefing Form was presented to the participants to inform them about the purpose of the study. The study took approximately 8 minutes.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Firstly, we conducted a preliminary analysis to check for assumptions and to determine missing values. Before testing hypotheses and research questions, we conducted exploratory factor analyses and reliability analyses for the News Credibility Scale adapted to Turkish for the mainstream media, social media, and online news sites separately within the scope of this study. Then, we presented descriptive statistics and correlation analyses between the variables. After determining the variables proper for further analyses in terms of being correlated with predictor variables, we conducted regression analyses to test whether exposing mainstream media, social media, and Internet news sites news about Syrians predicted outgroup emotions and social distance preferences. Lastly, we tested research questions asking whether trust in mainstream media, social media, and Internet news moderated the relationship between exposing news and outgroup emotions and social distance preferences with moderation analyses.

3.1. Preliminary Analysis

Four hundred sixty-six participants started to scale; however, some still needed to complete many parts of the questionnaire. Participants who did not answer at least 70% of the questions were filtered out and were not included in the study; therefore, 104 participants were excluded from the study prior to analysis.

The remaining 362 participants' data were checked for missing values. All the items were checked for frequency of missing values. No item's missing value was more than 5%, so the imputation method was used to substitute missing values for the main study variables. Instead of composing scale score and computing scale-level imputation

before the analysis, the item-level imputation method was used for scales including multiple items since the item-level imputation method resulted in more power when compared to scale-level imputation, even if they do not differentiate from each other in terms of the level of bias (Gottschall et al., 2012). For the main study variables, item-level imputation was conducted with the Expectation-Maximization method. Afterward, we formed the scale scores by calculating the average scores of items.

Univariate outlier analysis was conducted after missing value imputation and scale score formation. Z scores were created for each primary study variable. No outlier individuals were identified since no individual's scale scores fell outside the acceptable range, which was determined between the range of -3.29 and 3.29. Then, the normality assumptions were tested for the main study variables. Since the variables' skewness and kurtosis values fell between -2 and +2, it is reasonable to assume that they were normally distributed: frequency of exposing news through mainstream media (*skewness* = -0.09 , *kurtosis* = -0.81), frequency of exposing negative news through mainstream media (*skewness* = -0.38, *kurtosis* = -0.80), frequency of exposing news through social media (*skewness* = -0.69 , *kurtosis* = -0.01), frequency of exposing negative news through social media (*skewness* = -1.11, *kurtosis* = 0.97), frequency of exposing news through Internet news sites (*skewness* = -0.39, *kurtosis* = -0.42), frequency of exposing negative news through Internet news sites (*skewness* = -0.54, *kurtosis* = -0.50), trust in mainstream media (*skewness* = 0.31, *kurtosis* = -0.05), trust in social media (*skewness* = 0.13, *kurtosis* = -0.55), trust in Internet news sites (*skewness* = 0.08, *kurtosis* = -0.11), social distance (*skewness* = 0.12 , *kurtosis* = -1.12), outgroup emotions (*skewness* = -0.12, *kurtosis* = -0.08).

3.2. Exploratory Factor Analysis for News Credibility Scales

An exploratory factor analysis was conducted to determine the factor structure of the Turkish version of the News Credibility Scale applied for three separate media sources (mainstream media, social media, and Internet news). A listwise deletion method was applied for handling missing values, which involves removing all data for a case that contains one or more missing values.

3.2.1. Exploratory Factor Analysis for News Credibility Scale: Mainstream Media

To determine the factor structure of the 9-Item News Credibility Scale (Yale et al., 2015) applied to mainstream media channels, the Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) was conducted using principal component extraction and direct oblimin rotation methods. Before performing the primary analysis, Bartlett's test of sphericity was conducted to check the assumption of sphericity. Also, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was performed to see whether the factorability assumption was accomplished. The result of the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy showed that the factorability assumption was not violated (KMO = .885). Also, Bartlett's test of sphericity was found to be significant ($\chi 2$ (36) = 2657.889, $p < .001$), indicating the sphericity assumption was not violated. Moreover, since no item's correlation with each other was greater than .90, multicollinearity was not suspected (Yong & Pearce, 2013), and no items were removed.

When the eigenvalues table was checked, it was found that two factors indicated eigenvalues larger than 1, which were 5.503 for the first factor and 1. 549 for the second factor. Together, these factors explained 78.358% of the variance. The scree plot also showed that a two-factor structure was the best fit for data. Upon checking the pattern matrix table, six items, balanced, objective, report the whole story, accurate, honest, and believable, were loaded on the first factor and explained 61.143% of the variance. Three up-to-date, current, and timely items were loaded on the second factor, explaining 17.215% of the variance. For the Balanced/Honesty factor, loadings of the items ranged from .658 to .941, and for the Currency factor, they ranged from .797 to .939 (see Table 1). According to the component correlation matrix, the correlation between the two factors was adequate ($r = .442$), so we can say that they are not highly related. Thus, a two-factor structure best fits the data for the Turkish-adapted version of the scale assessing the reliability of news from mainstream media. As recommended by Yale and colleagues (2015), the scale should be viewed as a single factor when it is regarded as a study variable since they found that validity problems were eliminated while conducting second-order factor analysis. In light of this, an analysis was conducted with the total score.

Table 1. *Factor Loadings of Adapted Version of the News Credibility Scale Items for Mainstream Media*

	Factors	
	First factor	Second factor
Objective	**.94**	-.15
Balanced	**.89**	-.17
Report the whole story	**.83**	.08
Accurate	**.80**	.21
Honest	**.79**	.20
Believable	**.66**	.33
Current	-.03	**.94**
Up-to-date	-.001	**.93**
Timely	.10	**.80**

3.2.2. Exploratory Factor Analysis for News Credibility Scale: Social Media

The same analyses were conducted on trust in mainstream media. The results showed that the factorability assumption (KMO = .887) and sphericity assumption ($\chi 2$ (36) = 3108.074, $p < .001$) were not violated.

Table 2. *Factor Loadings of Adapted Version of the News Credibility Scale Items for Social Media*

	Factors	
	First factor	Second factor
Honest	**.94**	-.02
Objective	**.93**	-.10
Accurate	**.91**	-.01
Report the whole story	**.87**	.02
Balanced	**.79**	.03
Believable	**.74**	.18
Up-to-date	-.01	**.97**
Current	.01	**.95**
Timely	.03	**.91**

According to the primary analysis, two factors were found to be appropriate. The eigenvalues were 5.795 for the first factor and 1.491 for the second. These two factors explained 80.948% of the variance. Also, the scree plot confirmed the two-factor structure. The same six items indicated in the previous analysis were loaded on the Balanced/Honesty factor and explained 64.385% of the variance. The other three items were loaded on the currency factor and explained 16.563% of the variance. The pattern matrix table revealed that the first factor's factor loadings ranged from 737 to .939. It ranged from .910 to .967 for the second factor (see Table 2).

The correlation between the factors indicated was found to be .539. It can be interpreted that the factors are not highly related. As found in mainstream media's credibility, the Turkish adapted version of the social media credibility scale indicated a two-factor structure.

3.2.3. Exploratory Factor Analysis for News Credibility Scale: Internet News Sites

Analyses carried out in other studies were repeated in this study. Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin's measure of sampling adequacy (KMO = .873) and Bartlett's test of sphericity ($\chi 2\,(36) = 2871.382,\ p < .001$) showed that assumptions were not violated.

The EFA's results demonstrated that two components were suitable as in previous studies. For the Balanced/Honesty factor, the eigenvalue was 5.667, and 62.964% of the variance was explained. The eigenvalue was 1.456 for the Currency factor, and 16.181% of the variance was explained. Together, these two factors explained 79.145% of the variance. The scree plot also showed two factors. According to the pattern matrix table, a similar factor distribution was seen in the previous two studies. The same six items were loaded in the first factor, and the other three were loaded in the second. For the first component, the factor loadings were between .721 and .939, while for the second factor, the range was between .890 and .966 (see Table 3).

The specified factors showed a correlation of .514 between them, so there was a moderate relationship between the factors. Thus, The Turkish version of the credibility

for Internet news revealed a two-factor structure, similar to what was discovered in the news media credibility for other media sources.

Table 3. *Factor Loadings of Adapted Version of the News Credibility Scale Items for Internet News Sites*

	Factors	
	First factor	Second factor
Objective	**.94**	-.12
Balanced	**.90**	-.12
Honest	**.84**	.11
Report the whole story	**.83**	.07
Accurate	**.83**	.11
Believable	**.72**	.18
Current	-.04	**.97**
Timely	.04	**.90**
Up-to-date	.06	**.90**

3.3. Internal Consistency Reliability Analyses for News Credibility Scale

The reliability analyses were conducted to measure the internal consistency reliability of the Turkish News Credibility Scale applied for three separate media sources (mainstream media, social media, and Internet news). Reliability analyses were also carried out to check the internal consistency reliability of the subfactors.

3.3.1. Internal Consistency Reliability Analysis for News Credibility Scale Applied for Mainstream Media

The internal consistency reliability of the items was high when the scale was applied to measuring trust toward mainstream media (α= .92). Also, the internal consistency reliability among the items loaded in the first factor (α= .93) and second factor (α= .89) was high.

3.3.2. Internal Consistency Reliability Analysis for News Credibility Scale Applied for Social Media

The internal consistency reliability when the scale used for measuring trust toward social media was found to be .93. For the factors' internal consistency reliability, high reliability was found for the first factor (α= .94) and the second factor (α= .94).

3.3.3. Internal Consistency Reliability Analysis for News Credibility Scale Applied for Internet News Sites

The scale used to gauge people's trust in online news sources showed high internal consistency reliability (α= .92). Regarding the internal consistency reliability of the factors; it was discovered that the first factor (α =.93) and second factor (α =.92) had excellent reliability.

After examining the factor structure and reliability of the Turkish adapted version of the News Credibility Scale, we imputed trust in mainstream media, social media, and Internet news variables with the EM imputation method and prepared them for main analyses.

3.4. Descriptive Statistics for the Demographics and Main Study Variables

Three hundred fifty-four participants indicated their age, ranging between 18 and 65, and 8 did not answer the question. The majority of participants were females ($n = 238$, 65.7%), followed by males ($n = 107$, 29.6%), individuals who did not identify within a binary gender system ($n = 7$, 1.9%). Additionally, some participants chose not to answer the question ($n = 8$, 2.2%), and two responses needed to be included (0.6%). Additionally, most participants identified their ethnic background as Turk ($n = 323$, 89.2%), followed by Kurd ($n = 14$, 3.9%). Other participants identified with ethnic backgrounds, such as Arab and Alevi, constituting 5.9% of the participants ($n = 21$). One participant chose not to answer (0.3%), and three left this question blank (0.8%). Most participants comprised undergraduate students ($n = 194$, 53.6%) and graduates

($n = 69$, 19.1%). There were also a significant number of graduate students and people who graduated from graduate schools: 40 master's students (11%), 13 master's graduates (3.6%), 17 Ph.D. students (4.7%) and 2 PhD graduates (0.6%). While there was one primary school graduate (0.3%), five high-school graduates (1.4%), 12 college students (3.3%), and seven college graduates (1.9%). 2 participants (0.6%) did not answer this question. When asked about their income level, most participants stated that they spend thinkingly *(n = 244, 67.4%)*, which indicated that most participants were from the middle class. Other participants stated that they spend without thinking ($n = 8$, 2.2%), spend easily ($n = 58$, 16%), spend hardly on anything other than their basic needs ($n = 41$, 11.3%), and spend hardly even for their basic needs ($n = 5$, 1.4%). Six participants did not answer the question (1.7%).

The participants' religiosity level was relatively low. Most participants identified themselves as Muslim ($n = 215$, 59.4%), while many also stated no religious beliefs ($n = 109$, 30.1%). A few people also identified as Christian ($n = 3$, 0.8%), and those who identified with other religious beliefs ($n = 10$, 2.8%). While 23 participants (6.4%) stated they did not want to answer, 2 participants left the question blank (0.6%). Moreover, participants' political opinions represented comparatively more left-wing. Upon evaluating the participants' face-to-face contact experiences with Syrians, it was found that the frequency of encountering Syrians, establishing positive contact with Syrians, and establishing negative contact with Syrians was slightly low (see Table 4).

Table 4. *Demographics of Participants*

Variables	*N*	*%*	*M*	*SD*	*Min-Max*
Age	354		27	9.84	18-65
Gender	362				
Female	238	65.7			
Male	107	29.6			
Not identify within a binary gender system	7	1.9			
Not want to answer	8	2.2			
Missing	2	0.6			
Ethnicity	362				
Turk	323	89.2			

Table 4. *Demographics of Participants (continued)*

Variables	*N*	*%*	*M*	*SD*	*Min-Max*
Kurd	14	3.9			
Arab	2	0.6			
Alevi	4	1.1			
Rum	1	0.3			
Other	14	3.9			
Not want to answer	1	0.3			
Missimg	3	0.8			
Income	362				
Spend without thinking	8	2.2			
Spend easily	58	16.0			
Spend thinkingly	244	67.4			
Spend hardly on anything other than their basic needs	41	11.3			
Spend hardly even for their basic needs	5	1.4			
Missing	6	1.7			
Education					
Primary school graduate	1	0.3			
High-school graduate	5	1.4			
College Student	12	3.3			
College graduate	7	1.9			
University student	194	53.6			
University graduate	69	19.1			
Master's student	40	11.0			
Master's graduate	13	3.6			
PhD student	17	4.7			
PhD graduate	2	0.6			
Missing	2	0.6			
Religiosity	358		4.33	2.95	0-10
Religion	362				
Muslim	215	59.4			
Christian	3	0.8			
Other	10	2.8			
No religious belief	109	30.1			
Not want to answer	23	6.4			
Missing	2	0.6			
Political opinion	354		4.26	1.66	0-9

Table 4. *Demographics of Participants (continued)*

Variables	N	%	M	SD	Min-Max
The frequency of encountering Syrians	360		2.99	0.90	1-5
The frequency of establishing positive contact with Syrians	359		2.05	0.93	1-5
The frequency of establishing negative contact with Syrians	358		2.24	1.10	1-5

Table 5. *Descriptive Statistics for the Main Study Variables*

Variables	Original Data				Imputed Data			
	N	M	SD	Min-Max	N	M	SD	Min-Max
The frequency of exposing news								
Mainstream media	362	3.23	1.17	1-5	362	3.23	1.18	1-5
Social media	362	3.76	1.06	1-5	362	3.76	1.06	1-5
Internet news sites	362	3.42	1.08	1-5	362	3.42	1.08	1-5
The frequency of exposing negative news								
Mainstream media	362	3.37	1.24	1-5	362	3.37	1.24	1-5
Social media	361	4.06	0.99	1-5	362	4.06	0.99	1-5
Internet news sites	362	3.59	1.15	1-5	362	3.59	1.15	1-5
Trust in media news								
Mainstream media	362	2.48	0.83	1-4.9	362	2.48	0.83	1-4.9
Social media	362	2.85	0.93	1-5	362	2.86	0.93	1-5
Internet news sites	360	2.64	0.82	1-5	362	2.64	0.82	1-5
Social distance preferences	362	3.80	1.85	1-7	362	3.80	1.85	1-7
Out-group emotions	359	3.43	0.78	1.2-5	362	3.43	0.78	1.2-5

Note. Variables range: "The frequency of exposing news": 1-5, " The frequency of exposing negative news": 1-5, "Trust in media news": 1-5, "Social distance": 1-7, "Out-group emotions": 1-5

Descriptive statistics were also performed for the main study variables. The mean, standard deviation, and score range values for mentioned variables were presented as descriptive information. Firstly, since the midpoint of the exposure measures was 3, the frequency of exposing news through social media scores of the participants, the frequency of exposing news through mainstream media, and the frequency of exposing

news through Internet news sites were slightly high. Moreover, the scores of participants' exposure to negative news through social media, the frequency of exposure to negative news through mainstream media, and the frequency of exposure to negative news through Internet news sites were also slightly high. Participants' trust in distinct media sources regarding Syrians was less than 3, the scale's midpoint. As indicators of prejudice, the social distancing preferences of the participants were slightly low since the scale's midpoint was 4. However, outgroup emotions can be considered high, considering that the scale's midpoint was 3 (see Table 5).

3.5. Bivariate Correlations for Study Variables

The Pearson two-tailed correlation coefficients were conducted to explore the correlation between the main study variables and the demographic variables. The results showed that the social distance preferences of participants and the frequency of exposing news through mainstream media, frequency of exposing news through social media, and frequency of exposing news through Internet news sites were positively and significantly correlated. However, the social distance was not found to correlate with the frequency of exposing negative news through mainstream media, the frequency of exposing negative news through social media, and the frequency of exposing negative news through Internet news sites. Also, there was a high correlation between the frequency of exposing news through mainstream media and the frequency of exposing negative news through mainstream media, between the frequency of exposing news through social media and the frequency of exposing negative news through social media, and between frequency of exposing news through Internet news sites and frequency of exposing news through Internet news sites. The frequency of exposing news and the frequency of exposing negative news were highly correlated and measured similar constructs since, as shown in the literature review, news about Syrians is mostly negative already. Moreover, the frequency of exposing news was related to social distance, while exposing negative news was not for all three news media sources. Based on these, the frequency of exposing news variables for all three media sources will be determined as predictor variables and included in further analyses to prevent multicollinearity. The outgroup emotions, another indicator of

prejudice in the current study, were positively and significantly correlated with the frequency of exposure to news through social media and Internet news sites.

The correlation coefficients for trust in media sources and demographic variables were also conducted (see Table 6). Dummy variables were used to calculate the correlation coefficient for the categorical demographic variables and other study variables. For gender, since the majority of the participants consisted of females ($n = 238$, %65.7) and males ($n = 107$, %29.6) and other categories were low in number, coding was created as "female = 1" and "male = 0". Other categories were not included in the analysis. Coding was not created for the ethnic identity and religion variables. It was not included in the further analysis since most participants were Turk ($n = 323$, 89.2%) and Muslim ($n = 215$, 59.4%), and there were not enough participants from other categories to make comparisons (see Table 6).

3.6. Regression Analysis

We determined that the criterion for taking a variable as a control variable is that its relationship with the dependent variable is at least .20. In light of this, the frequency of conducting positive and negative contact with Syrians was included as a control variable for all analyses for distinct media types.

3.6.1. Regression Analysis for Exposing Mainstream Media News and Social Distance

Since negative and positive contact was determined as a control variable, hierarchical regression analysis was performed to see whether exposing mainstream media news predicted social distance preferences toward Syrians by considering negative and positive contact experiences. Negative and positive face-to-face contact was added in the first block, and the second block included exposing mainstream media news. The results showed that negative and positive face-to-face contact explained 31% of the variance in social distance ($F(2, 359) = 81.04$, $p < .001$). Together, negative face-to-face contact, positive face-to-face contact, and exposure to mainstream media news explained a 32% variance in social distance ($F(3, 358) = 56.25$, $p < .001$).

Table 6. *Pearson Correlation Coefficients for the Study Variables*

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1. Exposing mainstream media news																				
2. Exposing negative mainstream media news	.58***																			
3. Exposing social media news	.42***	.26***																		
4. Exposing negative social media news	.34***	.38***	.65***																	
5. Exposing Internet news sites news	.54***	.42***	.59***	.52***																
6. Exposing negative Internet news sites news	.47***	.59***	.44***	.61***	.78***															
7. Trust in mainstream media	.20***	.24***	.02	-.04	.05	.08														
8. Trust in social media	.13*	.02	.32***	.20***	.16**	.10	.30***													
9. Trust in Internet news sites	.11*	.07	.14**	.05	.19***	.15**	.56***	.60***												
10. Social distance	.13*	.00	.20***	.09	.15**	.07	.08	.31***	.20***											

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Table 6. *Pearson Correlation Coefficients for the Study Variables*

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
11. Outgroup negativity	.05	-.03	.25***	.19***	.13*	.07	.02	.33***	.15**	.66***										
12. Age	-.01	.03	-.09	-.11*	.00	.01	-.05	-.08	-.05	.08	-.02									
13. Education	.11*	.07	-.05	-.02	.02	-.01	.12*	-.10	.02	-.10	-.11*	.20***								
14. Income	-.04	-.08	.00	.04	.01	.04	.03	.00	.00	-.05	-.04	-.08	-.21***							
15. Religiosity	.00	-.05	-.01	-.09	-.05	-.09	.14**	.07	.11*	.05	-.07	-.01	.06	-.05						
16. Political opinion	-.02	-.09	-.06	-.14**	-.11*	-.17**	.06	-.04	.03	.08	.01	-.08	.03	-.04	.40***					
17. General contact	.28***	.16**	.29***	.18***	.24***	.17***	.10	.16**	.12*	.13*	.04	-.14**	.13*	.03	.10*	.07				
18. Positive contact	-.01	.09	-.05	-.03	-.03	.01	.01	-.22***	-.10*	-.47***	-.51***	.00	.10*	.07	.13*	-.01	.17***			
19. Negative contact	.10	.04	.19***	.07	.12*	.10	.04	.27***	.14**	.35***	.30***	-.12*	-.03	.04	.11*	.08	.35***	-.09		
20. Gender	.05	.07	-.01	-.04	.04	.01	.17**	.04	.09	-.04	-.08	-.24***	-.05	-.01	.16**	-.03	.09	.11*	.05	

Note 1. * $p < .05$ (2-tailed), ** $p < .01$ (2-tailed), *** $p < .001$ (2-tailed)
Note 2. The gender variable was dummy coded as "1= Female" and "0=Male"

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The negative face-to-face contact ($\beta = .52$, *SE* = .07, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.38, .67]) and positive face-to-face contact ($\beta = -.87$, *SE* = .09, $p < .001$, 95% CI [-1.04, -.70]) significantly predicted social distance. After the control variables' impact is eliminated, exposing mainstream media news explained 1% of the variance ($\Delta F(1, 358) = 4.90$, $p < .05$) and predicted social distance significantly (*B* = .15, *SE* = .07, $p < .05$, 95% CI [.02, .29]) (see Table 7). Therefore, the hypothesis stating that exposing news about Syrians in mainstream media sources will predict social distance intentions toward Syrians (H1a) was supported.

Table 7. *The Regression Analysis for Exposing Mainstream Media Predicting Social Distance*

Variable	B	95% CI		SE	β	R²	ΔR²
		LL	UL				
Step 1						.31	.31***
Constant	4.40***	3.87	4.93	.27			
Positive contact	-.87***	-1.04	-.70	.09	-.44***		
Negative contact	.52***	.38	.67	.07	.31***		
Step 2						.32	.01*
Constant	3.95***	3.28	4.61	.34			
Positive contact	-.87***	-1.04	-.70	.09	-.44***		
Negative contact	.51***	.36	.65	.07	.30***		
Exposing mainstream media	.15*	.02	.29	.07	.10*		

Note 1. Positive contact and negative contact were included as control variables.
Note 2. CI = confidence interval, LL = lower limit, UL = upper limit
Note 3. *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

3.6.2. Regression Analysis for Exposing Mainstream Media News and Outgroup Emotions

As in the previous analysis, regression analysis was conducted by adding positive and negative contact in the first block and mainstream media exposure in the second. The results demonstrated that positive and negative contact explained approximately 33% of the variance ($F(2, 359) = 87.32$, $p < .001$). Both positive contact (*B* = -.41, *SE* =.04, $p < .001$, 95% CI [-.48, -.34]) and negative contact (*B* = .18, *SE* = .03, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.12, .24]) predicted out-group emotions significantly. However, after adding the exposure to the mainstream media variable, there was no significant change, $\Delta F(1,$

358) = .237, p = .627 (see Table 8). Therefore, the hypothesis stating that exposing news about Syrians in mainstream media will predict negative out-group emotions toward Syrians (H2b) was not validated.

Table 8. *The Regression Analysis for Exposing Mainstream Media Predicting Outgroup Emotions*

Variable	B	95% CI		SE	β	R²	ΔR²
		LL	UL				
Step 1						.33	.33***
Constant	3.86***	3.64	4.08	.11			
Positive contact	-.41***	-.48	-.34	.04	-.49***		
Negative contact	.18***	.12	.24	.03	.25***		
Step 2						.33	.00
Constant	3.82***	3.54	4.10	.14			
Positive contact	-.41***	-.48	-.34	.04	-.49***		
Negative contact	.18***	.12	.24	.03	.25***		
Exposing mainstream media	.01	-.04	.07	.03	.02		

Note 1. Positive contact and negative contact were included as control variables.
Note 2. CI = confidence interval, LL = lower limit, UL = upper limit
Note 3. *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

3.6.3. Regression Analysis for Exposing Social Media News and Social Distance

Hierarchical regression was conducted by adding controls to the first block and adding exposure to social media news to the second block. The findings showed that face-to-face contact variables explained 31% of the variance in social distance ($F(2, 359)$ = 81.04, p < .001) and predicted social distance significantly: for negative contact, B = .52, SE = .07, p < .001, 95% CI [.38, .67] and for positive contact, B = -.87, SE = .09, p < .001, 95% CI [-1,04, -.70]). After adding exposing social media news, they explained 33% of the variance in social distance together $F(3, 358)$ = 57.83, p < .001). Even after ruling out negative and positive contact, social media news exposure positively predicted social distance (B = .22, SE = .08, p < .01, 95% CI [.07, .37]) and created a 2% variance chance in social distance ($\Delta F(1, 358)$ = 8.17, p < .01) (see Table 9). In light of this, our data supported the hypothesis that exposing news about Syrians on social media will predict social distance intentions toward Syrians (H2a).

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Table 9. *The Regression Analysis for Exposing Social Media Predicting Social Distance*

Variable	B	95% CI		SE	β	R²	ΔR²
		LL	UL				
Step 1						.31	.31***
Constant	4.40***	3.87	4.93	.27			
Positive contact	-.87***	-1.04	-.70	.09	-.44***		
Negative contact	.52***	.38	.67	.07	.31***		
Step 2						.33	.02**
Constant	3.64***	2.90	4.38	.37			
Positive contact	-.86***	-1.03	-.69	.09	-.43***		
Negative contact	.48***	.34	.63	.07	.29***		
Exposing social media	.22**	.07	.37	.08	.13**		

Note 1. Positive contact and negative contact were included as control variables.
Note 2. CI = confidence interval, LL = lower limit, UL = upper limit
Note 3. *p* < .05. **p* < .01. ***p* < .001.

3.6.4. Regression Analysis for Exposing Social Media News and Outgroup Emotions

The hierarchical regression analysis conducted in the previous analysis was repeated by controlling positive and negative contact variables. The results showed that negative and positive contact explained 33% of the variance with $F(2, 359) = 87.32$, $p < .001$. As negative contact increased, outgroup emotions was increased ($B = .18$, $SE = .03$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.12, .24]). Also, as positive contact increased, outgroup emotions increased ($B = -.41$, $SE = .04$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [-.48, -.34]).

Table 10. *The Regression Analysis for Exposing Social Media Predicting Outgroup Emotions*

Variable	B	95% CI		SE	β	R²	ΔR²
		LL	UL				
Step 1						.33	.33***
Constant	3.86***	3.64	4.08	.11			
Positive contact	-.41***	-.48	-.34	.04	-.49***		
Negative contact	.18***	.12	.24	.03	.25***		

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Table 10. *The Regression Analysis for Exposing Social Media Predicting Outgroup Emotions*

Variable	B	95% CI		SE	β	R²	ΔR²
		LL	UL				
Step 2						.36	.03***
Constant	3.41***	3.10	3.71	.15			
Positive contact	-.41***	-.48	-.34	.04	-.48***		
Negative contact	.16***	.10	.22	.03	.22***		
Exposing social media	.13***	.07	.19	.03	.18***		

Note 1. Positive contact and negative contact were included as control variables.
Note 2. CI = confidence interval, LL = lower limit, UL = upper limit
Note 3. *p* < .05. **p* < .01. ***p* < .001.

After exposing the social media variable was added, 36% of the variance in outgroup emotions was explained with $F(3, 358) = 66.52$, $p < .001$. Social media exposure created a 3% chance of variance ($\Delta F(1, 358) = 17.10$, $p < .001$). It correlated with out-group emotions significantly ($B = .13$, $SE = .03$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.07, .19]) (see Table 10). Accordingly, the hypothesis for exposing news about Syrians on social media will predict negative out-group emotions toward Syrians (H2b) was supported.

3.6.5. Regression Analysis for Exposing Internet News Sites and Social Distance

Hierarchical regression analyses for other media channels were also conducted for Internet news pages. The findings indicated that positive and negative contact variables explained 31% of the variance in social distance ($F(2, 359) = 81.04$, $p < .001$) and both positive contact ($B = -.87$, $SE = .09$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [-1.04, -.70]) and negative contact ($B = .52$, $SE = .07$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.38, .67]) predicted social distance significantly.

By adding exposing internet news sites, they were able to account for 32% of the variance ($F(3, 358) = 56.44$, $p < .001$). After ruling out negative and positive contact, exposing Internet news sites explained 1% of the variance ($\Delta F(1, 358) = 5.03$, $p < .05$). Exposing Internet news sites predicted social distance significantly and positively ($B = .17$, $SE = .07$, $p < .05$, 95% CI [.02, .32]) (see Table 11). Therefore, we supported the hypothesis (H3a).

Table 11. *The Regression Analysis for Exposing Internet News Sites Predicting Social Distance*

Variable	B	95% CI		SE	β	R^2	ΔR^2
		LL	UL				
Step 1						.31	.31***
Constant	4.40***	3.87	4.93	.27			
Positive contact	-.87***	-1.04	-.70	.09	-.44***		
Negative contact	.52***	.38	.67	.07	.31***		
Step 2						.32	.01*
Constant	3.85***	3.14	4.55	.36			
Positive contact	-.86***	-1.03	-.69	.09	-.43***		
Negative contact	.50***	.36	.65	.07	.30***		
Exposing Internet news sites	.17*	.02	.32	.07	.10*		

Note 1. Positive contact and negative contact were included as control variables.
Note 2. CI = confidence interval, LL = lower limit, UL = upper limit
Note 3. *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

3.6.6. Regression Analysis for Exposing Internet News Sites and Outgroup Emotions

The same regression analysis was conducted. The results indicated that positive and negative contact explained 33% of the variance in outgroup emotions with $F(2, 359)$ = 87.32, $p < .001$. Positive contact ($B = -.41$, $SE = .04$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [-.48, -.34]) and negative contact ($B = .18$, $SE = .03$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.12, .24]) predicted social distance significantly. Together, exposing Internet news sites and control variables explained approximately 33% of the variance in outgroup emotions ($F(3, 358) = 59.77$, $p < .001$).

Table 12. *The Regression Analysis for Exposing Internet News Sites Predicting Outgroup Emotions*

Variable	B	95% CI		SE	β	R^2	ΔR^2
		LL	UL				
Step 1						.33	.33***
Constant	3.86***	3.64	4.08	.11			
Positive contact	-.41***	-.48	-.34	.04	-.49***		
Negative contact	.18***	.12	.24	.03	.25***		

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Table 12. *The Regression Analysis for Exposing Internet News Sites Predicting Outgroup Emotions (continued)*

Variable	B	95% CI		SE	β	R²	ΔR²
		LL	UL				
Step 2						.33	.006
Constant	3.67***	3.38	3.97	.15			
Positive contact	-.41***	-.48	-.34	.04	-.49***		
Negative contact	.17***	.11	.24	.03	.24***		
Exposing Internet news sites	.06	-.003	.12	.03	.08		

Note 1. Positive contact and negative contact were included as control variables.
Note 2. CI = confidence interval, LL = lower limit, UL = upper limit
Note 3. *p* < .05. **p* < .01. ***p* < .001.

However, exposing Internet news sites did not significantly change the model ($\Delta F(1, 358) = 3.46$, $p = .06$) (see Table 12). In light of this, we could not support the hypothesis that exposing news about Syrians in Internet news sites will predict negative out-group emotions toward Syrians (H3b).

3.7. Moderation Analyses

Moderation analyses were conducted to determine the moderator's role in the trust in different media sources concerning exposing distinct media news and prejudice components: social distance preferences and outgroup emotions. These analyses were conducted with PROCESS MACRO Version 4.2, Model 1 (Hayes, 2022). All the analyses included positive and negative face-to-face contact variables as control variables.

3.7.1. Moderator Role of Trust in Mainstream Media in Relation Between Exposing Mainstream Media News and Social Distance

The moderation analysis testing the moderator role of trust in mainstream media in relation between exposing mainstream media news and social distance result showed that the model explained 33% of the variance in social distance with $F(5, 356) = 35.33$, $p < .001$. Upon analyzing the outcomes in a variables manner, it was seen that exposing

mainstream media ($B = .15$, SE $= .07$, $p < .05$, 95% CI [.01, .29]), negative face-to-face contact ($B = .49$, $SE = .07$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.34, .63]) and positive face-to-face contact ($B = -.87$, $SE = .09$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [-1.04, -.70]) significantly predicted social distance. However, trust in mainstream media did not predict social distance significantly ($B = .10$, $SE = .10$, $p = .32$, 95% CI [-.10, .30]). Nevertheless, the interaction of trust in mainstream media and exposing mainstream media news significantly predicted social distance ($B = .16$, $SE = .08$, $p < .05$, 95% CI [.01, .31]). Specifically, the interaction of exposing mainstream media and trust in mainstream media explained an additional approximately 1% variance in social distance with $\Delta F(1, 356) = 4.15$, $p < .05$. Therefore, trust in mainstream media moderated the relationship between exposing mainstream media and social distance toward Syrians. For low trust in mainstream media, exposing mainstream media did not predict social distance preferences ($B = .02$, $SE = .09$, $p = .79$, 95% CI [-.15, .20]). For average trust in mainstream media, mainstream media exposure predicts social distance significantly ($B = .15$, $SE = .07$, $p < .05$, 95% CI [.01, .29]). Lastly, for the high trust in mainstream media, mainstream media exposure also predicted social distance significantly ($B = .28$, $SE = .10$, $p < .01$, 95% CI [.08, .48]) (see Figure 3). In other words, as trust in mainstream media increased, the relationship between exposing mainstream media news and social distance preferences increased.[1]
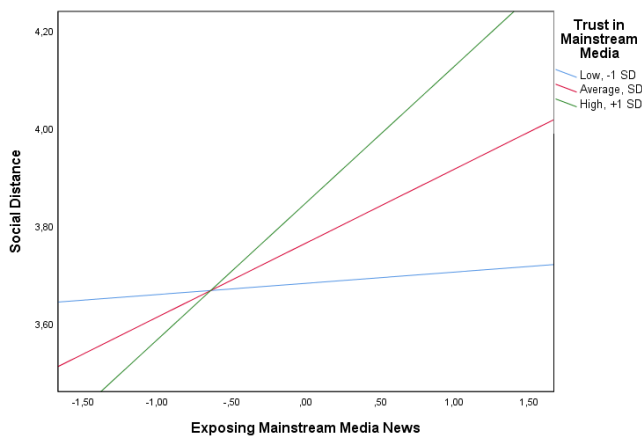
Figure 3. The conditional effect of the moderator role of trust in mainstream media news in relation between exposing mainstream media news and social distance

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[1] We conducted the same analysis using negative mainstream media news exposure as a predictor. Although the interaction effect was significant, when we looked at the conditional effects, there was no significant effect in all three cases.

3.7.2. Moderator Role of Trust in Mainstream Media in Relation Between Exposing Mainstream Media News and Outgroup Emotions

The moderation analysis tested the moderator's role of trust in mainstream media in relation between exposing mainstream media news and outgroup emotions. The result of the analysis indicated that the overall model explained 34% of the variance in outgroup emotions significantly ($F(5, 356) = 35.98$, $p < .001$). On the variable level, while exposing mainstream media ($B = .02$, $SE = .03$, $p = .48$, 95% CI [-.04, .08]) and trust in mainstream media ($B = -.007$, $SE = .04$, $p = .87$, 95% CI [-.09, .08]) did not predict outgroup emotions significantly, negative contact ($B = .17$, $SE = .03$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.11, .23]) and positive contact ($B = -.41$, $SE = .04$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [-.48, -.34]) did.

This variance also came from the interaction of exposing mainstream news and trust in mainstream media, which was significant ($B = .07$, $SE = .03$, $p < .05$, 95% CI [.01, .13]). Specifically, the interaction between exposure to mainstream media and trust in mainstream media created a significant change in outgroup emotions ($\Delta F(1, 356) = 4.22$, $p < .05$, with $\Delta R^2 = .008$). However, when we looked at three different conditions for trust in mainstream media, which were low, average, and high, the relationship between media exposure and out-group emotions was not significant in all three conditions, so we cannot conclude that trust in mainstream media moderated the relationship between mainstream media exposure and out-group emotions.[2]

3.7.3. Moderator Role of Trust in Social Media in Relation Between Exposing Social Media News and Social Distance

The moderation analysis examining the moderator role of trust in social media to exposing social media news and social distance revealed that the overall model was found to be significant, and 33% of the variance was explained ($F(5, 356) = 36.32$, $p < .001$). Trust in social media ($B = .22$, $SE = .10$, $p < .05$, 95% CI [.03, .41]), positive

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[2] We conducted the same analysis using negative mainstream media news exposure as a predictor. Although the interaction effect was significant, when we looked at the conditional effects, there was no significant effect in all three cases.

contact (B = -.81, SE = .09, p < .001, 95% CI [-.99, -.64]), negative contact (B = .44, SE = .08, p < .001, 95% CI [.29, .59]) and exposing social media news (B = .17, SE = .08, p < .05, 95% CI [.01, .33]) significantly predict social distance preferences of participants; interaction term (B = .05, SE = .08, p = .53, 95% CI [-.10, .20]) did not predict. Examining the interaction term in detail, it was found that interaction between exposing social media news and trust in social media did not create a significant change in social distance $(\Delta F(1, 356)$ = .39, p = .53, with ΔR^2 = .001). The results can be interpreted as trust in social media not playing a moderator role in exposing social media and social distance.[3]

3.7.4. Moderator Role of Trust in Social Media in Relation Between Exposing Social Media News and Outgroup Emotions

According to the moderation analysis examining the moderator role of trust in social media in relation between exposing social media news and negative outgroup emotions results, the overall model explained 37% of the variance in outgroup emotions with $F(5, 356)$ = 42.22, p < .001. When the relationship between variables and dependent variables was evaluated, the results indicated that exposing social media news (B = .11, SE = .03, p < .01, 95% CI [.04, .17]), trust in social media (B = .11, SE = .04, p < .01, 95% CI [.03, .19]), positive contact (B = -.38, SE = .04, p < .001, 95% CI [-.46, -.31]) and negative contact (B = .14, SE = .03, p < .001, 95% CI [.08, .20]) significantly and positively predicted outgroup emotions.

However, the interaction term did not predict outgroup emotions (B = .01, SE = .03, p = .72, 95% CI [-.05, .07]). More specifically, the interaction between exposing social media news and trust in social media news did not significantly change outgroup emotions ($\Delta F(1, 356)$ = .13, p = .72, with ΔR^2 = .001). Therefore, the association between social media news exposure and outgroup emotions was not moderated by trust in social media news.[4]

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[3] We conducted the same analysis using negative social media news exposure as a predictor. The interaction effect was not significant.
[4] We conducted the same analysis using negative social media news exposure as a predictor. The interaction effect was not significant.

3.7.5. Moderator Role of Trust in Internet News Sites in Relation Between Exposing Internet News Sites and Social Distance

The moderation analysis testing the moderator role of trust in internet news sites in relation between exposing internet news sites and social distance outcome indicated that 33% of the variance was explained in the social distance with $F(5, 356) = 35.73$, $p < .001$). Particularly, all variables except interaction term predicted social distance significantly: exposing Internet news sites ($B = .16$, $SE = .08$, $p < .05$, 95% CI [.01, .31]), trust in Internet news sites ($B = .20$, $SE = .10$, $p < .05$, 95% CI [.01, .40]), positive contact ($B = -.84$ $SE = .09$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [-1.01, -.66]) and negative contact ($B = .47$, $SE = .07$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.33, .62]). The interaction between exposing Internet news sites and trust in Internet news sites was not significant ($B = .13$, $SE = .08$, $p = .14$, 95% CI [-.04, .29]). The interaction of the variables did not create a significant variance in social distance with $\Delta F(1, 356) = 2.24$, $p = .14$. Therefore, it can be concluded that trust in Internet news sites did not moderate the relationship between exposure to Internet news sites and social distance.[5]

3.7.6. Moderator Role of Trust in Internet News Sites in Relation Between Exposing Internet News Sites and Outgroup Emotions

The result of the moderation analysis for the moderator role of trust in internet news sites in relation between exposing internet news sites and outgroup emotions showed that the overall model explained 34% of the variance ($F(5, 356) = 36.39$, $p < .001$). Only negative face-to-face contact ($B = .17$, $SE = .03$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [.11, .23]) and positive face-to-face contact ($B = -.40$, $SE = .04$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [-.47, -.33]) predicted out-group emotions significantly. However, other variables did not predict outgroup emotions: exposing Internet news sites ($B = .06$, $SE = .03$, $p = .08$, 95% CI [-.01, .12]), trust in Internet news sites ($B = .05$, $SE = .04$, $p = .28$, 95% CI [-.04, .13]) and the interaction term ($B = .04$, $SE = .04$, $p = .32$, 95% CI [-.03, .11]). Furthermore, the interaction did not create change in variance $(\Delta F(1, 356) = .98$, $p = .32$, with ΔR^2

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[5] We conducted the same analysis using negative Internet news sites news exposure as a predictor. The interaction effect was significant ($B = .19$, $SE = .08$, $p < .05$, 95% CI [.03, .36]).

= .002). Consequently, trust in Internet news sites did not moderate the relationship between exposing Internet news sites and outgroup emotions.[6]

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[6] We conducted the same analysis using negative Internet news sites news exposure as a predictor. The interaction effect was not significant.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

In our current study, we aimed to examine the effect of exposing distinct media news sources on prejudice toward Syrians and the role of trust in distinct media sources in this relationship. In light of this, we hypothesized that news about Syrians in mainstream media, social media, and Internet news sites would predict social distance preferences and out-group emotions towards Syrians. Additionally, we examined the research question of what role trust in news about Syrians in these media channels would play in the relationship specified for each media channel and prejudice components separately. Before testing our hypotheses and research questions, we conducted factor analyses to test the factor structure of the adapted version of the News Credibility Scale. In light of the hypotheses, we conducted regression analyses to check whether exposing mainstream media, social media, and Internet news sites news about Syrians predicted negative emotions and social distancing preferences toward Syrians. Then, we conducted moderation analyses to explore the moderator role of the trust in news about Syrians in mainstream media, social media, and Internet news sites in the relationship between exposing these news sources and prejudice components. In light of our findings, we will discuss the results of the analyses, strengths of the study, practical implications, and limitations under headings.

4.1. The Turkish Adapted Version of the News Credibility Scale

We conducted a factor analysis to adapt the News Credibility Scale to Turkish. The factor analysis results in this study showed that the two-factor solution best fit the data for trust in three different media sources when the scale was applied in Turkish. In other words, Balance and Honesty were combined into a single factor. The other

Currency factor emerged as a second factor in our studies. Also, through the trust in distinct media sources, the two factors were not highly correlated.

Initially, news credibility was measured with three factors (Abdulla et al., 2004); however, Yale and colleagues (2015) proposed a second-order factor model while adapting the scale into 9-item, including credibility as a second-order factor and three subfactors as first-order factors. While reaching this conclusion, they also tested the two-factor structure combining Balance and Honesty factors since these factors were highly correlated. However, their two-factor structure did not fit better than the three-subfactor solution (Yale et al., 2015). Nevertheless, as Prochazka and Schweiger's (2019) findings also indicated a strong link between the Honest and Balance components, they also examined the two-factor structure by combining Honesty and Balance factors into a single Balance factor while measuring general trust toward news media. The two-factor structure was good for their data, and discriminant validity problems were slightly eliminated. Therefore, when we applied the scale to a sample in Türkiye, we obtained results that were compatible with Prochazka and Schweiger's results.

4.2. Exposing Media News and Prejudice Relationship

Before explaining the results of the primary analyses, discussing the correlation between exposing media news and exposing negative media news variables with prejudice components is essential. Pearson correlation analyses showed that while most news exposure through distinct media sources was significantly related to prejudice components, negative news exposure through different media sources was not. Therefore, we decided to eliminate negative exposure variables and continued our primary analyses with the exposing news variables since these variables are also highly correlated. This situation may have arisen because the news about Syrians was already negative (Alp, 2018; Boztepe, 2017; Çambay, 2019; Gezik, 2022; Gölcü & Dağlı, 2017) and the negative emphasis we used when asking may have been unnecessary. Furthermore, differences in results in terms of relationship with prejudice components may also be due to deficiencies in our measurements. Firstly, we asked participants about the frequency of exposure to news about Syrians, and then we asked them about

the frequency of exposing negative news about Syrians. After answering the general exposure questions, participants may perceive the negative exposure question as a different and sharper exposure than the previous one and answer accordingly. In other words, the order of asking questions and the measurement deficiencies of similar variables by these questions may effectively obtain such a result.

4.3. The Effect of Media News on Prejudice

We hypothesized that exposure to media channels would predict social distance preferences and out-group emotions. To test our hypotheses, we conducted hierarchical regression analyses. According to the results of regression analyses, most of the hypotheses were supported:

- Exposing mainstream media news predicted social distance preferences (H1a)
- Exposing social media news predicted social distance preferences (H2a) and outgroup emotions (H2b)
- Exposing Internet news predicted social distance preferences (H3a)

The findings corroborated the ideas expressed in the literature that prejudice is strengthened by unfavorable media coverage (Banas et al., 2020). Specifically, as reflected in previous research (Ahmed, 2017; Ahmed et al., 2021; Dhanani & Franz, 2020; Schemer & Meltzer, 2020; Shaver et al., 2017) exposing negative news portrayals of minorities was in a relationship with prejudice. This finding is highly promising since it supports the idea that only exposure is an influential media contact method that directs attitudes (Sharples, 2013; Wojcieszak & Azrout, 2016). However, in the studies examining only exposure, findings showed that attitude will improve just by being exposed to outgroups in the media instead of reducing prejudice, as found in the current study. Even so, it was shown that exposing the outgroup can impact attitudes toward them. In other words, even though a parasocial relationship is not established with outgroup members, as in parasocial contact (Schiappa et al., 2005), or interaction between the outgroup and ingroup is not observed, as in vicarious contact (Joyce & Harwood, 2014), an effective contact on prejudice can be established by just exposing the outgroup through exposing media news.

We hypothesized that exposing news from media sources will predict both types of prejudice components. However, when prejudice components were examined, exposing news through different sources consistently predicted social distance, while only exposing news through social media predicted out-group emotions. The results were consistent with the literature concerning how intergroup contact affected the behavioral intention component of prejudice (Mazziotta et al., 2011), as exposing all types of media channels was found to be related to social distance. However, findings from mainstream media and Internet news sites were controversial with the earlier findings in the literature since it was discovered that negative contact is related to the emotional dimension of prejudice (Aberson, 2015). It was even found that the affective component of prejudice is more related to intergroup contact than the cognitive component (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). In addition to the effect of direct contact, indirect contact was also found to be influential in shaping the affective component of prejudice (Mazziotta et al., 2011).

However, this situation may change depending on which type of media contact was involved. For some scholars, parasocial contact includes establishing emotional ties with outgroup members depicted in the media (Schiappa et al., 2006; White et al., 2021). For instance, through parasocial contact, people can form socioemotional bonds with characters depicted in media channels, reducing prejudice toward outgroups (Bond, 2021). In this study, media contact was conceptualized and measured as establishing contact through mere exposure, and we did not examine whether emotional bonds were established with the Syrians reflected in the news. Considering these, the reason why media contact did not change the affective component of prejudice for two types of media channels in the current study may be that mere exposure may not create a profound change in attitudes. In particular, the absence of an emotional effect through simple exposure suggests that it may only exert a surface-level influence rather than inducing a significant shift in people's emotional prejudices. Vicarious contact, another media contact type, is established by observing ingroup and outgroup members' interactions. It is possible that observing this interaction creates a more powerful effect than merely exposing news about outgroups. Studies comparing media contact types in the literature are pretty limited. Although the effects of negative parasocial contact and vicarious contact on prejudice have been compared in the

literature by Schemer and Meltzer (2020), parasocial contact was established by exposing participants to news in the mentioned study. Therefore, future studies can compare the effects of media contact concepts on prejudices by differentiating mere exposure and parasocial contact.

Furthermore, we hypothesized that all media sources will be associated with prejudice components. When media sources were evaluated separately, social media news predicted both prejudice components, unlike mainstream media and internet news pages. These findings supported the idea that social media news has a greater influence on attitudes (Ahmed et al., 2021; Soral et al., 2020). Additionally, some studies suggest that, in contrast to traditional media, social media is more closely linked to unfavorable attitudes toward outgroups. For example, Soral and colleagues (2020) found that social media users were more likely to show prejudice toward Muslims than traditional media users. The researchers explained this finding with the claim that in the digital media, hate speeches have become norms, which in turn results in Islamophobia. Specifically, they claimed that because digital media are subject to less stringent legal constraints, hate speech becomes the norm. Also, the ideas spread here significantly impact users (Soral et al., 2020). Similarly, in the context of Türkiye, negative news about Syrians on social media may have a greater impact on prejudice by creating a norm.

According to another study conducted with Jews, digital media was found to be associated with a subtle form of prejudice toward Arabs; however, the relationship direction was not parallel to this study, and such an effect was not observed in traditional media (Lissitsa & Kushnirovich, 2019). It is worth emphasizing that these studies did not distinguish between digital news sources and traditional media in these studies. In contrast, our study deals with social media and internet news pages separately. However, in our study, participants may have perceived internet news pages as the news channels they watched and the web pages of the newspaper news they read. Furthermore, as a study showed, in addition to the news provided by other media channels, fake news about Syrians is also quite common on social media. Discourses and visuals that promote a negative view of Syrians also reinforce these fake news stories (Taş & Taş, 2018). Considering social media's ability to support phobic norms and spread fake news, it is likely that it has a greater impact on prejudice.

However, new studies should be conducted on this subject, as studies comparing different media sources examining news media and prejudice relationships are uncommon.

Also, we controlled the positive and negative face-to-face experiences with Syrians through the analyses. It was seen that direct contact experiences predicted prejudice components significantly and explained high variance in the model. However, exposing news variables explains a very low variance in the prejudice components after controlling the effect of the direct contact variables. In fact, even when we control face-to-face contact, it still has a significant effect, although it has low explanatory power. In other words, media contact variables do not strongly affect prejudice. However, it is still valuable to explain their effects and the differences in results according to news sources and prejudice components.

Participants' direct contact experiences may explain why there was no significant link between exposure to media news and negative outgroup emotions and low variance for social distance preferences. In other words, face-to-face contact may have a more significant impact than media contact on feelings towards Syrians and may influence the impact of media contact. Supporting our claim, Fuochi et al. (2020) revealed that the impact of exposing media news on prejudice was influenced by face-to-face interaction by considering buffering effect, which indicated the prejudice-reinforcing effect of media exposure decreases with positive face-to-face contact. It is not to argue that media exposure does not affect the majority's prejudice. In fact, instead of being a replacement where there is no direct contact, indirect forms of contact are separate types of contact that complement direct contact (White et al., 2021). However, face-to-face contact experiences may be a more determining factor in prejudices against Syrians in Türkiye than news in the media.

In addition to direct contact, different forms of indirect contact may be more effective than media contact in prejudice against Syrians. For instance, Landmann and colleagues (2022) showed that the relationship between indirect contact and prejudice towards refugees depends on the type of indirect contact, in other words, the relational closeness of the contact. They found indirect contact forms involving relational

closeness, such as contact through friends, neighbors, or colleagues, are more effective in prejudice against refugees than in media contact involving less closeness. Accordingly, other types of indirect contacts, such as extended contact, may be more effective in prejudice, mainly including the dimension of emotions towards Syrians. Future studies may compare attitudes towards Syrians living in Türkiye, both face-to-face contact and other types of indirect forms of contact, with media contact.

4.4. Trust in Media News as a Moderator

We looked over whether trust in media news moderated the relationship between media news exposure and prejudice components for all three media channels. In light of this, we formulated research questions. Our study observed that trust in mainstream media moderated the relationship between exposure to news about Syrians and social distance preferences. However, this moderation had minimal impact on the model and was not evident on internet news sites or social media. As in regression analyses, direct contact variables were controlled for throughout the analysis, revealing their significant impact. The prominence of face-to-face contact with Syrians as a highly significant factor might have explained why the media trust did not play a moderator role in several analyses and low variance for significant results.

A similar study by Tsai et al. (2020) explored this question across mainstream media, social media, and internet news sites. Their findings contradicted ours, showing that media trust moderated the relationship between COVID-19 news and prejudice toward Asians, particularly in social media and internet news sources. Our results differ from theirs, and existing literature on this topic presents mixed findings due to limited research examining the moderating role of media trust and various media sources independently. Therefore, conclusive interpretations are challenging. Tsai et al. (2020) also focused on COVID-related news and prejudice against Asians, unlike our study, which explored direct outgroup representations. This situation once again emphasizes the importance of measuring the content shown in the media source and different contents separately when studying the media trust field (Strömbäck et al., 2020) since prejudice toward distinct outgroups varies depending on which outgroup is examined (Dora & Sadakaoğlu, 2022; Zanna, 1994). The research study of several outgroups and

different news contents could have brought about this outcome discrepancy. This research question should be tested in different groups and with news content in future studies.

Although it is impossible to reach a clear conclusion considering the limited number of studies in the literature, the different findings depending on media sources can be explained by the nature of these media sources. Filter bubbles and echo chambers on social media and other digital media channels can indicate differentiation from mainstream media. Specifically, algorithms in these media channels may lead users to be exposed to views similar to their own and to support their existing views. Additionally, users may be restricted from being exposed to various views that include different views (Kitchens et al., 2020). Since users are already exposed to views consistent with their own views on digital media, trust in the media may not determine the relationship between exposure and prejudice. Even if trust in social media and Internet news sites did not play a role as moderators in the relationship between media news exposure and out-group, trust in social media news significantly predicted both prejudice components, and trust in Internet news sites significantly predicted social distance in the current study. This finding would suggest that even if users of digital media are typically exposed to content that aligns with their own opinions, prejudices of users may be influenced by the similarity or divergence of opinions and, consequently, the trust that these users place in these news sources. Furthermore, in social media, users can create news-like posts in addition to sharing current news. By employing language and supporting information that is similar to what is found in the news, these user-generated materials are presented as accurate. In light of this, users could find it challenging to discern whether the information is accurate, which leads to the spread of false information (Taş & Taş, 2018). Given the tendency of social media to spread misleading information, the level of trust in social media may be a determinative factor in out-group attitudes.

Moreover, in the current study, our sample mainly consists of young people, which also can be related to the results of our study. Young people in Türkiye mostly use digital media sources to get news. Digital media sources have supplanted mainstream media for them as well. (Yanardağoğlu, 2021). The fact that young people believe

traditional media behave according to the prevailing political and economic viewpoint at the moment is one of the aspects that brings out the result (Yanardağoğlu, 2021). Also, it is possible to see censorship in the mainstream media in Türkiye, especially during important social events. The following actions have the potential to lead to this situation: demoting media personnel who report critically and giving increased authority to those who report news that aligns with the views of those in power (Uzun, 2014). In addition to this, media professionals gradually self-censor out of fear of losing their jobs and being censored. Media workers close to the current government's views also practice self-censorship by avoiding reporting some events out of sympathy (Uzun, 2014). In light of these, when the arrival of Syrians in Türkiye is considered an important social circumstance, trust in the news about Syrians in the mainstream media can play a decisive role for both the young audience and other audiences living in Türkiye, unlike digital news sources.

4.5. Strengths and Contributions of the Study

In terms of examining hypotheses, this study contributed to the literature by showing that exposing media news, including Syrians, predicts prejudice toward Syrians. In addition, to the best of our knowledge, it is the first study in the literature to examine the impact of news about Syrians in different media channels on different components of prejudice, including emotional and behavioral components. It was also a valuable discovery that various outcomes were obtained for different media sources and components of prejudice, indicating the necessity of assessing these variations while studying media contact.

Moreover, studies examining the moderating role of media trust in the relationship between media contact and prejudice are limited in the literature (Agovino et al., 2022; Earle, 2017; Tsai et al., 2020). Further, among the studies we have come across, the only study that examined mainstream media, social media, and internet news pages separately was the study of Tsai and colleagues (2020), which examined prejudice toward Asians. Considering these, this study is one of the few studies examining the role of media trust. Specifically, the current study is the first in the literature on Syrians to look at the role of media trust across various media channels. With this study, we

tried to fill the gap in the literature, but since the role of media trust has yet to be studied much, it is not possible to draw a definitive conclusion. More studies should study the role of trust in media while studying media news and attitudes toward outgroup relationships. Nonetheless, regarding the differentiation of media channels and as a direction for future research, it is noteworthy that the moderating role of media credibility in this study was observed in the mainstream media, and its effect was not observed in other media sources.

Furthermore, the current study is the first to adapt the Media Credibility scale to Turkish and examine its factor structure in Turkish literature. Moreover, we showed that the scale is reliable and the two-factor structure was appropriate when adapted to Turkish, supporting the literature (Prochazka & Schweiger, 2019; Yale et al., 2015). When measuring media credibility, we created separate questions for different media channels specifically for Syrians instead of measuring general trust. In this sense, this study is also crucial in testing the measurement of Media Credibility in the way Strömbäck and colleagues (2020) suggested.

4.6. Practical Implications

The current study showed that only exposing news about Syrians affected prejudice toward Syrians at large. In other words, the media also plays a role in prejudices against Syrians. Syrians are often portrayed negatively in Turkish media news. In this sense, producing positive media portrayals of Syrians is critical to creating positive attitudes toward Syrians. For this to emerge, those working in the media may limit the negative representations of Syrians in the news and diversify the positive representation. Also, due to the existence of fake news content and images about Syrians (Taş & Taş, 2018), those working in the media may make audiences monitor this fake news in order to avoid boosting prejudices against Syrians in society. In Turkish media, there are no representations of Syrians other than news, such as series or programs. Positive Syrian representations can be created in the news and various TV series and programs. For example, positive Syrian characters can be created in TV series, and a parasocial interaction can be established with the audience. Thus, it can be ensured that locals have positive attitudes through contact. Moreover, those who

work in the media field may prepare informative content regarding the fact that the Syrians in their media reports do not reflect the entire Syrian group and the selectivity of media content. Another important finding is that trust in the media is not a determining factor in social media and Internet news sites. In line with our discussions on this subject, consumers can receive informative training concerning the existence of algorithms in digital media that may not present true information even if they promote their own opinions. As a result, users who come across news in digital media may begin to doubt the accuracy of the information, which could lead to an evolution of the news's impact on their attitudes.

Since we also found that face-to-face contact with Syrians was highly associated with prejudice, policymakers may enable locals in Türkiye to establish more face-to-face contact with Syrians. In this sense, instead of creating separate classes for Syrians, Syrian children and local children may be educated together in classes in schools in Türkiye. Syrian and Turkish people may come together in workplaces or residential neighborhoods. In addition, policymakers may make decisions with non-governmental organizations working for Syrians and develop strategies to bring locals and Syrians together. Together with these organizations, they can also carry out works to prevent prejudice against Syrians in society and impose deterrent penalties against those who engage in prejudice and discrimination toward Syrians.

4.7. Limitations of the Study and Suggestions

Although this study has many contributions to the literature and practical implications, it also has limitations. Even if we noted that there are generally negative representations of Syrians in the news media in Türkiye (Alp, 2018; Boztepe, 2017; Çambay, 2019; Gölcü & Dağlı, 2017; Gezik, 2022), it should not be forgotten that the media in Türkiye is ideologically divided and the news are presented accordingly (Boztepe, 2017; Çambay, 2019). For instance, it was observed that discourses about Syrians were shaped according to whether the news channels reflected liberal or conservative ideology (Boztepe, 2017). This study evaluated the news about Syrians in media channels in general but did not make a specific analysis of news channels with different ideologies. However, prejudices against Syrians may change in line with

the different discourses of media channels with different ideologies. Additionally, participants' trust levels in different media channels may vary accordingly. Future studies should take into account the ideological differences of news channels. Furthermore, we did not distinguish between exposure and selective exposure for the exposing news variable. However, selective exposure may also have occurred during media news exposure. That is, media users may choose news content that supports their ideological views (Dahlgren et al., 2019). While evaluating the differences in results of this study across different media channels, we mentioned that encountering news that supports attitudes may be compelling. In order to test our views and determine selective exposure, future researchers working in this field can measure media exposure by considering these. Also, some scholars stated that survey studies might not be reliable while studying in the media exposure and media contact field (Banas et al., 2020; Prior, 2009) since it can be challenging for participants to be aware of and remember experiences of media exposure (Banas et al., 2020). However, considering the limitations in the literature, it is important to conduct a survey study to understand the effect while measuring with instruments. This study can be repeated with experimental studies and compare with survey studies. In terms of measuring prejudice, prejudice component variables may be measured with implicit measures in addition to explicit measures, as we conducted in the current study. In the future, researchers can examine the differences in results between implicit and explicit measurements by taking implicit measurements into account.

Moreover, the current study's findings may not be generalizable to a varied population since most of our sample consisted of university and graduate students. Also, most of them were women from the middle class. The participants also had low levels of religiosity and were more politically inclined to the left, unlike the general Turkish population. Although there was no significant relationship in our study, these groups were not represented because the mentioned factors were found to be influential on attitudes towards Syrians (Çiftçi, 2022; Padır, 2019; Öztürk, 2020). Therefore, it may not be possible to generalize the findings to the Turkish population.

Also, we did not evaluate the validity of the News Credibility Scale or test the second-order factor model while adapting it. Despite these limitations, we contributed to the

literature in Türkiye by adapting the News Credibility scale, which is highly evaluated in the literature, to Turkish and by showing that it is a reliable scale in the Turkish sample. We can briefly provide some recommendations for future scholars who will examine this scale. Future research should consider construct validity problems. Furthermore, researchers who will use this scale in the future should also check for convergent and discriminant validity of the scale. The second-order factor method recommended by Yale and colleagues can also be tested and compared with the two-factor solution.

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APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER

ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

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Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu   16 AĞUSTOS 2023

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Leman Korkmaz

Danışmanlığını yürüttüğünüz Yağmur ŞİMŞEK'in *"Suriyelilere Yönelik Negatif Haberlere Maruz Kalma ve Önyargı Arasındaki İlişkide Medyaya Yönelik Güvenin Düzenleyici Rolü"* başlıklı araştırmanız İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek **0400-ODTUİAEK-2023** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım

Prof. Dr. Ş. Halil TURAN
Başkan

Prof.Dr. İ. Semih AKÇOMAK
Üye

Doç. Dr. Ali Emre Turgut

Doç. Dr. Şerife SEVİNÇ

Do   t Perit ÇAKIR
           ve

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Süreyya ÖZCAN KABASAKAL
Üye

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Müge GÜNDÜZ
Üye

B. INFORMED CONSENT FORM

ARAŞTIRMAYA GÖNÜLLÜ KATILIM FORMU

Bu araştırma, ODTÜ Psikoloji Bölümü Yüksek Lisans öğrencisi Yağmur Şimşek tarafından Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Leman Korkmaz danışmanlığındaki yüksek lisans tezi kapsamında yürütülmektedir. Bu form sizi araştırma koşulları hakkında bilgilendirmek için hazırlanmıştır.

Çalışmanın Amacı Nedir?

Araştırmanın amacı, Türkiye'de yaşayan Suriyelilerin haberlerde nasıl yansıtıldığını ve Suriyelilere yönelik tutumları keşfetmektir.

Bize Nasıl Yardımcı Olmanızı İsteyeceğiz?

Araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ederseniz, ilk olarak elinizde bulunan gönüllü katılım formunu doldurmanız istenecektir. Daha sonra, sizden anketlerde yer alan soruları yanıtlamanız istenecektir. Bu çalışmanın yaklaşık 15 dakika sürmesi beklenmektedir.

Sizden Topladığımız Bilgileri Nasıl Kullanacağız?

Araştırmaya katılımınız tamamen gönüllülük temelinde olmalıdır. Çalışmada sizden kimlik veya kurum belirleyici hiçbir bilgi istenmemektedir. Cevaplarınız tamamıyla gizli tutulacak ve sadece araştırmacılar tarafından değerlendirilecektir. Katılımcılardan elde edilecek bilgiler toplu halde değerlendirilecek ve bilimsel amaçlarla kullanılacaktır.

Katılımınızla ilgili bilmeniz gerekenler:

Çalışma, genel olarak kişisel rahatsızlık verecek sorular veya uygulamalar içermemektedir. Ancak, katılım sırasında sorulardan ya da herhangi başka bir nedenden ötürü kendinizi rahatsız hissederseniz soruları yarıda bırakıp çıkmakta serbestsiniz.

Araştırmayla ilgili daha fazla bilgi almak isterseniz:

Anketler sonunda, bu çalışmayla ilgili sorularınız cevaplanacaktır. Bu çalışmaya katıldığınız için şimdiden teşekkür ederiz. Çalışma hakkında daha fazla bilgi almak için Psikoloji Bölümü öğretim üyelerinden Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Leman Korkmaz ile ya da yüksek lisans öğrencisi Yağmur Şimşek ile iletişim kurabilirsiniz.

Yukarıdaki bilgileri okudum ve bu çalışmaya tamamen gönüllü olarak katılıyorum.

C. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION FORM

Katılımcı Demografik Form

Lütfen aşağıdaki soruları cevaplayınız. Vereceğiniz bilgiler araştırmacılar tarafından sadece yüksek lisans tezinde ve bilimsel yayınlarda kullanılacaktır. Bunun haricinde herhangi bir şekilde paylaşılmayacaktır.

Cinsiyetiniz:
- o Kadın
- o Erkek
- o Kendimi ikili toplumsal cinsiyet sistemi üzerinden tanımlamıyorum
- o Sunulan seçenekler benim cinsiyet kimliğimi yansıtmıyor, cinsiyet kimliğim: ……...
- o Cevaplamak istemiyorum

Yaşınız: ………………

Etnik Kimliğiniz:

- o Türk
- o Kürt
- o Arap
- o Alevi
- o Ermeni
- o Rum
- o Sunulan seçenekler benim etnik kimliğimi yansıtmıyor, etnik kimliğim: ………
- o Cevaplamak istemiyorum

Eğitim durumunuz:

- o Okur-yazar
- o İlkokul mezunu
- o Ortaokul mezunu
- o Lise öğrencisi
- o Lise mezunu
- o Yüksek okul öğrencisi
- o Yüksek okul mezunu

o Üniversite (Lisans) öğrencisi
o Üniversite (Lisans) mezunu
o Yüksek lisans öğrencisi
o Yüksek lisans mezunu
o Doktora öğrencisi
o Doktora mezunu

Gelir Düzeyiniz:

o Hiç düşünmeden harcama yaparım
o Rahat harcama yaparım
o Düşünerek harcama yaparım
o Temel ihtiyaçlarım dışında zor harcama yaparım
o Temel ihtiyaçlarımı bile zor karşılarım

Kendinizi ne kadar dindar olarak tanımlarsınız?

Hiç Dindar Değilim										Çok Dindarım
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Aşağıda belirtilen seçeneklerden hangisi dini inancınızı en iyi şekilde tanımlar?

o Müslüman
o Hristiyan
o Yahudi
o Sunulan seçenekler benim dini inancımı yansıtmıyor, dini inancım: …………...
o Herhangi bir dini inancım yok
o Cevaplamak istemiyorum

Politik görüşünüz nedir?

Aşırı Sol										Aşırı Sağ
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Suriyelilerle günlük hayatınızda ne sıklıkla karşılaşırsınız?

Hiçbir zaman	Nadiren	Bazen	Sık sık	Her zaman
1	2	3	4	5

Suriyelilerle olan ilişkinizi düşündüğünüzde, günlük hayatınızda ne sıklıkla Suriyelilerle **olumlu ve iyi** temas kurarsınız?

Hiçbir zaman	Nadiren	Bazen	Sık sık	Her zaman
1	2	3	4	5

Suriyelilerle olan ilişkinizi düşündüğünüzde, günlük hayatınızda ne sıklıkla Suriyelilerle **olumsuz ve kötü** temas kurarsınız?

Hiçbir zaman	Nadiren	Bazen	Sık sık	Her zaman
1	2	3	4	5

D. NEWS EXPOSURE QUESTIONS

Ne sıklıkla **ana akım medyadaki haberlerde (TV, gazete vb.)** Suriyeliler ile ilgili içeriklerle karşılaşıyorsunuz? (1= oldukça az, 5= çok sık)

Oldukça az				Çok sık
1	2	3	4	5

Ne sıklıkla **ana akım medyadaki haberlerde (TV, gazete vb.)** Suriyeliler ile ilgili **negatif** içeriklerle karşılaşıyorsunuz? (1= oldukça az, 5= çok sık)

Oldukça az				Çok sık
1	2	3	4	5

Ne sıklıkla **sosyal medyadaki haberlerde** Suriyeliler ile ilgili içeriklerle karşılaşıyorsunuz? (1= oldukça az, 5= çok sık)

Oldukça az				Çok sık
1	2	3	4	5

Ne sıklıkla **sosyal medyadaki haberlerde** Suriyeliler ile ilgili **negatif** içeriklerle karşılaşıyorsunuz? (1= oldukça az, 5= çok sık)

Oldukça az				Çok sık
1	2	3	4	5

Ne sıklıkla haber yapan **internet sitelerindeki haberlerde** Suriyeliler ile ilgili içeriklerle karşılaşıyorsunuz? (1= oldukça az, 5= çok sık)

Oldukça az				Çok sık
1	2	3	4	5

Ne sıklıkla haber yapan **internet sitelerindeki haberlerde** Suriyeliler ile ilgili **negatif** içeriklerle karşılaşıyorsunuz? (1= oldukça az, 5= çok sık)

Oldukça az				Çok sık
1	2	3	4	5

E. TURKISH ADAPTED VERSION OF SOCIAL DISTANCE SCALE

(BALABAN, 2013)

Suriyeliler ile çeşitli sosyal ilişkiler kurmaya yönelik tutumunuz ölçmek istenmektedir. Lütfen aşağıda verilen durumların sizde yaratacağı etkiyi, 1 ile 7 arasında bir rakam seçerek belirtiniz. (1=hiç rahatsızlık duymam, 7= çok büyük rahatsızlık duyarım)

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

F. TURKISH ADAPTED VERSION OF SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL TASK/OUT-GROUP EMOTIONS

KORKMAZ (2016)

Suriyeliler için genel olarak nasıl hissediyorsunuz? 1 ile 5 arasında bir rakam seçerek değerlendiriniz. Ölçeğin bir ucu bir duyguyu nitelerken diğer ucu bu duygunun tam tersini ifade etmektedir. Lütfen hislerinize göre değerlendirme yapınız.

	Soğuk				*Sıcak*
Suriyeli	1	2	3	4	5

	Düşmanca				*Arkadaşça*
Suriyeli	1	2	3	4	5

	Güvenli				*Güvensiz*
Suriyeli	1	2	3	4	5

	Olumlu				*Olumsuz*
Suriyeli	1	2	3	4	5

	Saygı				*Küçümseme*
Suriyeli	1	2	3	4	5

	Hayranlık				*İğrenme*
Suriyeli	1	2	3	4	5

G. TURKISH ADAPTED VERSION OF NEWS CREDIBILITY SCALE FOR MAINSTREAM MEDIA BY CURRENT STUDY

Lütfen Suriyelilerle ilgili **ana akım medyada (gazeteler, TV Kanalları) yapılan haberleri** göz önünde bulundurun. **Ana akım medyadaki haberlerin** aşağıdaki nitelikleri ne derece sağladığını düşündüğünüzü 1 ile 5 arasında bir rakam seçerek belirtiniz. (1= hiç katılmıyorum, 5= tamamen katılıyorum)

	Hiç katılmıyorum				Tamamen katılıyorum
Dengeli (farklı görüşlere eşit ölçüde yer veren)	1	2	3	4	5
Objektif (tarafsız/ yansız)	1	2	3	4	5
Olayı tamamıyla aktaran	1	2	3	4	5
Doğru	1	2	3	4	5
Dürüst	1	2	3	4	5
İnandırıcı/İnan ılır	1	2	3	4	5
Güncel	1	2	3	4	5
Günümüze/ şimdiye dair	1	2	3	4	5
Haberi zamanında veren	1	2	3	4	5

H. TURKISH ADAPTED VERSION OF NEWS CREDIBILITY SCALE FOR SOCIAL MEDIA BY CURRENT STUDY

Lütfen Suriyelilerle ilgili **sosyal medyada yapılan haberleri** göz önünde bulundurun. **Sosyal medya haberlerinin** aşağıdaki nitelikleri ne derece sağladığını düşündüğünüzü 1 ile 5 arasında bir rakam seçerek belirtiniz. (1= hiç katılmıyorum, 5= tamamen katılıyorum)

	Hiç katılmıyorum				Tamamen katılıyorum
Dengeli (farklı görüşlere eşit ölçüde yer veren)	1	2	3	4	5
Objektif (tarafsız/ yansız)	1	2	3	4	5
Olayı tamamıyla aktaran	1	2	3	4	5
Doğru	1	2	3	4	5
Dürüst	1	2	3	4	5
İnandırıcı/İnanılır	1	2	3	4	5
Güncel	1	2	3	4	5
Günümüze/ şimdiye dair	1	2	3	4	5
Haberi zamanında veren	1	2	3	4	5

I. TURKISH ADAPTED VERSION OF NEWS CREDIBILITY SCALE FOR INTERNET NEWS SITES BY CURRENT STUDY

Lütfen Suriyelilerle ilgili **haber yapan internet sitelerindeki haberleri** göz önünde bulundurun. **İnternet sitelerindeki haberlerin** aşağıdaki nitelikleri ne derece sağladığını düşündüğünüzü 1 ile 5 arasında bir rakam seçerek belirtiniz. (1= hiç katılmıyorum, 5= tamamen katılıyorum)

	Hiç katılmıyorum				Tamamen katılıyorum
Dengeli (farklı görüşlere eşit ölçüde yer veren)	1	2	3	4	5
Objektif (tarafsız/ yansız)	1	2	3	4	5
Olayı tamamıyla aktaran	1	2	3	4	5
Doğru	1	2	3	4	5
Dürüst	1	2	3	4	5
İnandırıcı/İnan ılır	1	2	3	4	5
Güncel	1	2	3	4	5
Günümüze/ şimdiye dair	1	2	3	4	5
Haberi zamanında veren	1	2	3	4	5

J. DEBRIEFING FORM

KATILIM SONRASI BİLGİ FORMU

Bu araştırma daha önce de belirtildiği gibi ODTÜ Psikoloji Bölümü Yüksek Lisans öğrencisi Yağmur Şimşek tarafından Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Leman Korkmaz danışmanlığındaki yüksek lisans tezi kapsamında yürütülmektedir. Araştırmanın amacı, Suriyeliler ile ilgili farklı medya kanallarındaki (ana akım medya, sosyal medya, İnternet haber sayfaları) negatif haberlere maruz kalmanın Suriyelilere yönelik önyargılar üzerindeki yordayıcı etkisini incelemek ve bu etkinin farklı haber kaynaklarına yönelik güven ile nasıl değişkenlik göstereceğini incelemektir.

Literatüre bakıldığında, çeşitli gruplarla medya üzerinden negatif veya pozitif temas kurmanın bu gruplara yönelik önyargı üzerinde etkili olduğu görülmüştür. Bu doğrultuda, anketler sırasında katılımcılara, farklı medya kanallarında (ana akım medya, sosyal medya, İnternet haber sayfaları) Suriyeliler ile ilgili negatif haberlerle ne sıklıkla karşılaştıklarına ve Suriyelilere yönelik önyargılarına yönelik sorular sorulmuştur. Bu sorular ile Suriyeliler ile negatif haberlere maruz kalma ve Suriyelilere yönelik önyargı arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemek amaçlanmıştır. Aynı zamanda, katılımcılara farklı medya kanallarına güvenlerine yönelik sorular da sorulmuştur. Katılımcıların, bu sorulara verdikleri yanıtlar ile maruz kalma ve Suriyelilere yönelik önyargı arasındaki ilişkinin farklı haber kaynaklarına yönelik güven ile nasıl değişkenlik gösterdiği incelenmek istenmiştir. Çalışma ana akım medya, sosyal medya, İnternet haber sayfaları olmak üzere üç ayrı medya kaynağı içermektedir çünkü farklı medya kanallarının tutumlar üzerinde farklı etkileri olabileceği düşünülmektedir.

Bu çalışmadan alınacak ilk verilerin Aralık 2023'te elde edilmesi amaçlanmaktadır. Elde edilen bilgiler <u>sadece</u> yüksek lisans tezinde ve bilimsel amaçlarla kullanılacaktır.

Çalışmanın sağlıklı ilerleyebilmesi ve bulguların güvenilir olması için çalışmaya katılacağını bildiğiniz diğer kişilerle çalışma ile ilgili detaylı bilgi paylaşımında bulunmamanızı dileriz. Bu araştırmaya katıldığınız için tekrar çok teşekkür ederiz.

Araştırmanın sonuçlarını öğrenmek ya da daha fazla bilgi almak için aşağıdaki isimlere başvurabilirsiniz.

Leman Korkmaz

Yağmur Şimşek

1. Giriş

1.1. Genel Giriş

İçişleri Bakanlığı Göç İdaresi Başkanlığı'nın son verileri (2024) 3.143.635 Suriyelinin geçici koruma altında olmakta oduğunu gösterdi. Görüldüğü üzere, Türkiye'nin sınır illerinde ve büyük kentlerinde oldukça büyük bir Suriyeli nüfus yaşamaktadır. Bu nedenle, Türkiye'nin birçok yerinde Suriyeliler görünürdür. Bu görünürlük bazı durumlarda Suriyeliler ile yerel halk arasında anlaşmazlıklara ve Suriyelilere yönelik ayrımcılığa yol açmaktadır (Akdemir, 2019).

Medya, Suriyelilere yönelik önyargıyı etkileyen faktörlerden biridir (Dal ve Tokdemir, 2021; Gönültaş ve Mulvey, 2023; Kardeş vd., 2017; Torun ve Demirtaş, 2018). Gruplar arası temasın dış gruplara yönelik önyargıları nasıl etkilediğini inceleyen Temas Teorisi (Allport, 1954), Türkiye'deki medyanın Suriyeli algıları üzerindeki etkisini açıklamaktadır. Ayrıca medyaya maruz kalma ile önyargı arasındaki ilişkinin açıklanmasına önemli katkı sağlayan bir bileşenin kişinin medyaya olan güveni olduğu da gözlemlenmiştir (Agovino vd., 2022; Earle, 2017; Tsai vd., 2020).). Literatürden elde edilen tüm bu bulgular göz önüne alındığında, bu çalışmada Suriyelilerle ilgili haberlere maruz kalma ile onlara yönelik önyargıların ana akım medya, sosyal medya ve internet haberleri gibi farklı haber kaynakları özelinde incelenmesi amaçlanmaktadır. Ayrıca Suriyelilerle ilgili haberlerin yer aldığı farklı kaynaklara duyulan güvenin bu ilişkide aracı rolünün olup olmadığı farklı haber kaynakları özelinde incelenecektir.

Türkiye, İran gibi komşu ülkelerden ve Avrupa Birliği ülkelerinden göçmen kabul etmektedir (Kirişçi, 2007). Ayrıca Türkiye, çoğunluğu Afganistan, İran ve Suriye gibi

Orta Doğu ülkelerinden gelen yasadışı göçmenlerin transit geçişine de izin vermektedir (Kirişçi, 2007). Halen farklı ülkelerden pek çok insan yasal yollardan ve düzenli olarak Türkiye'ye göç etmektedir. Ayrıca daha önce Türkiye'ye göç etmiş birçok yabancı ülkeyi terk etmiş ancak birçoğu, özellikle Suriyeliler, Türkiye'de yaşamaya devam etmektedir (Demirhan ve Aslan, 2015).

Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığı'na (AFAD) göre, savaştan kaçan Suriyelilerin Türkiye'ye ilk gelişi 29 Nisan 2011 (2017) tarihinde Suriye sınırına yakın Hatay'ın Yayladağı ilçesinden 260 Suriyeli ile oldu. Ayrıca AFAD, geçici koruma statüsündeki Suriyelilere geçici barınma hizmetleri içinde ve dışında sunulan sağlık ve eğitim hizmetleri gibi hizmetleri koordine etmiştir (2017). Türkiye, Suriyelilere iyi şartlara sahip kamplar sunmuş ve onlara ülkedeki sağlık hizmetlerinden ücretsiz yararlanma hakkını vermiştir (Uluslararası Af Örgütü, 2014). Türkiye, Suriyelilere yönelik açık kapı politikası uyguladı ancak pasaportu olmayan pek çok Suriyelinin resmi giriş bölgelerinden Türkiye'ye girişine hâlâ izin verilmiyordu. Sonuç olarak birçoğu resmi giriş alanlarından uzak bölgelerde uygun olmayan koşullarda yaşamak zorunda kaldı ya da birçoğu kaçakçıların yardımıyla tehlikeli bir şekilde gayri resmi giriş bölgelerinden girmek zorunda kaldı. Bu gayri resmi noktalarda sınır muhafızları Suriyelileri silahlara ve şiddet içeren koruma stratejilerine maruz bırakarak yaralanma ve ölümle sonuçlandı (Uluslararası Af Örgütü, 2014). Göç sürecinde yaşanan zorlukların yanı sıra Suriyeliler Türkiye'ye göç ettikten sonra da zorluklarla karşılaştı (Öztoraman-Adıgüzel & Tanyaş, 2020).

Suriyeliler için kullanılan ifadelerin, onların hukuki statüleri ve Türkiye politikası kapsamındaki haklarını anlamak açısından kritik öneme sahip olduğunu vurgulamak da önemlidir. 1951 Cenevre Sözleşmesi'ne göre Türkiye'ye sığınan ve Avrupa kökenli olanlar mülteci statüsüne başvurabiliyor. Ancak Türkiye'ye göç eden Avrupalı olmayan yabancılar, Avrupa'dan gelmiş olsalar dahi mülteci statüsüne sahip olamamaktadırlar (Ekmekci, 2017). Türkiye'nin bu sözleşmedeki coğrafi sınırlama maddesini kabul etmesi nedeniyle Suriyeliler mülteci olarak tanınmamaktadır. Onlara sağlık, eğitim ve çalışma haklarına erişim sağlayan geçici koruma statüsü verildi. Ancak Türkiye'de yaşayan, oturma izni olan ancak geçici koruma statüsü olmayan ve düzensiz göçmen olan Suriyeliler de bulunmaktadır (Akçapar ve Şimşek, 2018).

1.3. Etnik Azınlıklar ve Göçmenler Bağlamında Önyargı

1954'te Allport, sosyal psikolojideki önyargı araştırmalarında bir klasik haline gelen *The Nature of Prjudice*'ı yazdı. Allport'a göre bir durumun önyargı olarak değerlendirilmesinin iki anahtarı vardır: olumlu ya da olumsuz tutumlar ve aşırı genelleştirilmiş inançlar. Allport ayrıca duruma göre tutum ve inançların farklılaşabileceğini ancak birinin bulunması halinde diğerinin de görülmesinin zorunlu olmadığını ifade etti. İnsanların diğer gruplara yönelik davranışlarının, hissettiklerinin veya düşündüklerinin doğrudan bağlantılı olmadığını vurgulayarak, gruplara yönelik ayrımcılık olarak adlandırılan davranışları tutum ve inançlardan ayırdı. Önyargı üzerine çalışan araştırmacılardan Brown (2010), Allport'un önyargı tanımını gözden geçirmiştir. O önyargıyı bilişsel, duygusal ve davranışsal yapılardan oluşan bir olgu olarak değerlendirdi. Brown bu üç yapının farklı olduğunu belirtti; ancak üçünü de genel bir önyargı olgusu içerisinde değerlendirdi. Önyargıyı inceleyen birçok çağdaş psikologa göre ise, dış gruplar hakkındaki inançlar, bu inançların değerlendirilmesi ve dış gruplara yönelik davranışlar ayrı bileşenler olarak kabul edilmektedir. Bu görüş doğrultusunda üç farklı kavramla karşılaşılmaktadır: Kalıp yargılar, önyargı ve ayrımcılık. Bu üçlü yapıda önyargı, farklı gruplara yönelik tutumlar olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Bu tanımlar ışığında mevcut çalışmada önyargı, duygusal boyut ve davranışsal niyet bileşenleri üzerinden incelenmektedir (Kite, 2016).

Literatürde, Türkiye bağlamında Suriyelilere yönelik olumsuz tutumlara, önyargılara ve stereotiplere işaret eden pek çok çalışma bulunmaktadır. İşsizlik ve kira fiyatlarındaki artış gibi ekonomik konular Suriyelilere yönelik tutumlarda önemli bir tema olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır (Aslan vd., 2018; Doğan ve Ünal, 2021; Erdoğan, 2014; Topkaya ve Akdağ, 2016). Araştırmalar ayrıca yerel halkın Suriyelilere yönelik tutumlarını incelerken Suriyeliler ile yerel halk arasındaki kültürel farklılıkların kritik öneme sahip olduğunu ortaya koydu (Aslan vd., 2018; Erdoğan, 2014).Ek olarak, yerel halkın Suriyelilerden olumsuz stereotiplerle ve suçla ilgili olaylardan bahsettiği görülmüştür (Aslan vd., 2018; Çömez Polat ve Kaya, 2017; Doğan ve Ünal, 2021; Erdoğan, 2014).

Literatürde Türkiye'de Suriye karşıtı tutumları etkileyen değişkenleri inceleyen birçok çalışma bulunmaktadır. Daha az dindar olmak gibi kişilik özellikleri ve değerlerin Suriyelilere yönelik olumsuz tutumları ve önyargıları etkileyebileceği keşfedilmiştir (Çiftçi, 2022). Yaş, cinsiyet, eğitim durumu ve gelir gibi sosyodemografik faktörlerin de Suriyelilere yönelik olumsuz tutumlarla ilişkili olduğu tespit edildi (Öztürk, 2020; Padır, 2019). Ayrıca Suriyelilere yönelik önyargının, onlarla yaşanan olumsuz ve olumlu temas deneyimlerinden etkilendiği tespit edilmiştir (Yanbolluoğlu, 2018). Medya da Suriyelilere yönelik tutumları etkileyen bir faktör olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır (Dal ve Tokdemir, 2021; Gönültaş ve Mulvey, 2023; Torun ve Demirtaş, 2018).

1.3. Medyanın Önyargı Üzerindeki Etkisi

Meta-analiz çalışmaları, gruplararası temasın önyargıyı azalttığını ve farklı grupların önyargıyı açığa çıkarması yoluyla olumlu tutumları kolaylaştırdığını göstermiştir (Pettigrew ve Tropp, 2006; Smith ve diğerleri, 2009). Araştırmacılar, yüz yüze temasın yanı sıra, grup üyelerinin birbirleriyle doğrudan fiziksel temas kurmadığını belirten bir şemsiye terim olarak değerlendirilebilecek dolaylı temas yöntemlerinin rolünü de araştırmışlardır (Haji ve Noguchi, 2020) ve önyargıyla mücadelede etkili bir strateji olduğunu belirtmiştirlerdir (Zhou vd., 2019). Medyayla temas çalışmaları literatürde sıklıkla parasosyal ve temsili temas olarak anılmaktadır. Schiappa ve meslektaşları (2005), dış grup üyeleriyle medya aracılığıyla parasosyal etkileşim kurmanın önyargıyı azalttığını belirten parasosyal temas hipotezini ortaya attılar. Spesifik olarak, parasosyal temas, parasosyal etkileşim kurarken olumlu dış grup üyelerinin sunumlarına maruz kalmak olarak tanımlanabilir ve bu da dış gruplara yönelik önyargıların azalmasıyla sonuçlanmaktadır (Schiappa ve ark., 2006). Ayrıca White ve meslektaşları (2021) yalnızca medya aracılığıyla dış gruplara maruz kalmanın parasosyal temas olarak tanımlanamayacağını vurgulamıştır. Parasosyal temas kapsamında incelenmese bile, sadece haber yoluyla dış gruba maruz kalmanın da tutumları geliştirmede etkili bir medya temas yöntemi olduğu bulunmuştur (Sharples, 2013; Wojcieszak ve Azrout, 2016). Medya yoluyla temas araştırmalarında dikkat çeken bir diğer teknik, iç grup ve dış grup etkileşimi arasındaki etkileşime maruz kalmayı gösteren ve tutum değişikliklerine yol açan temsili temastır (Joyce ve

Harwood, 2014). Birçok temas çalışması, ister parasosyal ister temsili temas yoluyla olsun, medyadaki olumlu içeriğin önyargıyı azaltabildiğini göstermiştir (Breves, 2020; Massey vd., 2021; Schiappa vd., 2006; Wong vd., 2017). Dolaylı temas çalışmaları çoğunlukla olumlu temas ve önyargı azaltıcı etkilere odaklansa da olumsuz dolaylı temas dış gruplara yönelik olumsuz tutumlarda etkilidir. (Mazziotta vd., 2015; Lim & Lee, 2021). Ayrıca, medyadaki olumlu bilgilerin veya dış grupların tasvir edilmesinin önyargıyı etkili bir şekilde azalttığı fikrinin yanı sıra, medyadaki olumsuz içerik de olumsuz tutumları teşvik etmede rol oynayarak olumsuz tutumlar üzerinde etkilidir (Banas vd., 2020).

Medyanın önyargı üzerindeki etkisi büyük ölçüde hangi medya kaynağının söz konusu olduğuna bağlıdır. Göçmenlerle televizyon ve gazete haberleri aracılığıyla karşılaşmanın göçmenlere yönelik önyargıyı, film ve diziler aracılığıyla karşılaşmanın ise olumlu tutumları doğurduğu gösterilmiştir (Visintin vd., 2017). Bu farklılık, medya kaynaklarında göçmenlerle ilgili bilgilerin televizyon ve gazetelerde göçmenleri olumsuz şekilde tasvir edecek şekilde verilmesinden kaynaklanmaktadır (Visintin vd., 2017). Buna göre literatürde medya haberlerine maruz kalma yoluyla medya temasını inceleyen çalışmalar genellikle olumsuz temasa odaklanmaktadır (Ahmed, 2017; Burscher vd., 2015; Schemer & Meltzer, 2020; Shaver et al., 2017). Medya haberlerinin genel olarak olumsuz haber içeriği nedeniyle olumsuz tutumları ve önyargıları artırdığı vurgulansa da literatürde tartışmalı bulgular da bulunmaktadır (Lissitsa & Kushnirovich, 2019; Ramasubramanian, 2015). Sonuçlar çalışmanın yapıldığı yerlere ve çalışılan gruplara göre farklılık göstermektedir. Bu durum, haberlerde farklı azınlık gruplarının farklı şekilde yansıtıldığı ve haberlerde de yansıtıldığı gibi, kamuoyunda bu gruplara karşı bir önyargı hiyerarşisinin geliştirildiği fikrini desteklemiştir (Meeusen ve Jacobs, 2017).

Türk medyasında Suriyelilerin nasıl temsil edildiğine bakıldığında, ana akım medyada Suriyelilerin suçla ilişkilendirildiğini vurgulayan haberler yaygındır (Boztepe, 2017; Gölcü ve Dağlı, 2017; Gezik, 2022). Ana akım medya haberlerinde Suriyelilerin ekonomik yük olduğu da vurgulanmaktadır (Boztepe, 2017; Gezik, 2022). Ana akım medyada yer alan haberlerde görüldüğü gibi Türkiye'deki dijital haber medya kanallarında da Suriyelilerin temsili olumsuzdur (Alp, 2018; Çambay, 2019). İnternet

haber sayfalarında olduğu gibi sosyal medya haberlerinde de Suriyelilerle ilgili olumsuz haberlerin yer alma sıklığı nispeten yüksektir (Koçak ve Küçük, 2020). Suriyelilerle ilgili yalan haberler sosyal medyada da yaygın olarak yayılmaktadır. Bu haberler, çoğu Suriyelilerle dahi ilgisi olmayan, kalıplaşmış, resim ve videoların üzerine yazılan gerçek dışı hikâyelerden oluştuğu görüldü. Bu sahte haberlerde ortaya çıkan ana temalar, Suriyelilerin suçla ilişkilendirildiği ve yerel halkı dezavantajlı duruma düşüren ayrıcalıklara sahip olduğu yönündeydi (Taş ve Taş, 2018). Türkiye'de Suriyelilere yönelik negative tutumlar ile medyaya maruz kalma arasındaki ilişkiyi inceleyen çalışmalar mevcuttur (Gönültaş & Mulvey, 2023; Torun & Demirtaş, 2018; Türk, 2019). Farklı medya türlerinin haber kaynağı olarak kullanılması ile Suriyelilere yönelik algılanan tehditler arasındaki ilişkiyi inceleyen bir başka çalışma, haber kaynağına ve katılımcıların yaşadıkları şehirlere bağlı olarak farklı sonuçların ortaya çıktığını da ortaya koymuştur (Dal ve Tokdemir, 2021).

1.4. Medyaya Yönelik Güven

Genel anlamda güven, güvenen ve güvenilen iki tarafın zaman içinde nasıl bir ilişki geliştirdiğini açıklar. Güvenin bu geniş tanımını temel alarak medyaya güven, kişinin medyayla olan ilişkisi olarak açıklanabilir (Tsfati, 2010). Güvensizlik kavramı buna göre kişinin medyanın güvenilmez olduğuna dair duygularıdır; yani toplumu ilerletmek yerine kösteklemektedir (Tsfati, 2010). Strömbäck ve meslektaşları (2020), medyaya güven konusunda benzersiz bir bakış açısı getirdi. Onlara göre medya kavramı karmaşıktır ve çeşitli mevcut medyanın çok yönlü yönlerini ifade edebilir. Bu doğrultuda güveni değerlendirirken medyaya olan güvenin farklı düzeylerde ölçülmesinin önemli olması nedeniyle bir örgüt olarak medyaya odaklanmak yerine medyanın verdiği bilgilerin incelenmesinin dikkate alınabileceğini öne sürmüşlerdir. Özellikle medya güvenini belirlemek için medya türü (televizyon, gazete) ve medyanın içeriği gibi farklı düzeylerde ölçümler önerdiler (Strömbäck vd., 2020).

Medyaya olan güven insanların tutumlarını etkilediğinden ötürü, medyaya maruz kalma ile önyargı arasındaki ilişkide önemli bir faktör olabilir. Bunun ışığında Ahmed (2017), araştırmacıların medyanın etkilerini incelerken medyaya güvenin mevcut önyargıyı değiştirmedeki etkisini dikkate alması gerektiğine dikkat çekti. Ancak

medya ile önyargı arasındaki ilişkide medya güveninin rolünü inceleyen sınırlı çalışmalar karışık sonuçlar ortaya koydu (Agovino vd., 2022; Earle, 2017). Ayrıca bu konuyla ilgili olarak Tsai ve meslektaşları (2020) tarafından yapılan bir çalışmada, farklı medya kuruluşlarından, geleneksel medyadan, sosyal medyadan ve yeni web sitelerinden COVID-19 hakkında haber alma ile Asyalılara yönelik önyargı arasındaki ilişki incelenmiştir. Ayrıca, belirli medya kuruluşlarından gelen COVID-19 hakkındaki bilgilere güvenmenin düzenleyici rolü de incelendi. Bu etki sosyal medya ve internet sitelerinde görüldü. Şaşırtıcı bir şekilde, sosyal medyadan daha az bilgi almanın, sosyal medyaya yüksek güvenen kişilerde önyargıyla ilişkili olduğu ortaya çıktı. Ayrıca web siteleri için sık sık haber almanın, internet sitelerine güvenen kişilerde daha az önyargıyla ilişkili olduğu bulundu (Tsai vd., 2020).

1.5. Çalışmanın Amacı ve Araştırma Soruları

Literatüre bakıldığında çalışmanın ilk amacı, farklı medya kanallarında (ana akım medya, sosyal medya, internet haber sayfaları) Suriyelilerle ilgili haberlere maruz kalmanın Suriyelilere yönelik önyargıya etkisini incelemektir. Buna göre hipotezler şu şekilde oluşturulmuştur:

H1: Ana akım medya kaynaklarında Suriyelilerle ilgili haberlere maruz kalma, Suriyelilere yönelik olumsuz dış grup duyguları (1a) ve Suriyelilere yönelik sosyal mesafe niyetleri (1b) ile ölçülen Suriyelilere yönelik önyargıyı yordayacaktır.

H2: Sosyal medya kaynaklarında Suriyelilerle ilgili haberlere maruz kalma, Suriyelilere yönelik olumsuz dış grup duyguları (2a) ve Suriyelilere yönelik sosyal mesafe niyetleri (2b) ile ölçülen Suriyelilere yönelik önyargıyı yordayacaktır.

H3: İnternet haber kaynaklarında Suriyelilerle ilgili haberlere maruz kalma, Suriyelilere yönelik olumsuz dış grup duyguları (3a) ve Suriyelilere yönelik sosyal mesafe niyetleri (3b) ile ölçülen Suriyelilere yönelik önyargıyı yordayacaktır.

Ayrıca medya haberlerini ve önyargıyı daha iyi açıklayan bazı faktörler bulunduğundan bu çalışma aynı zamanda bunların haber kaynaklarına duyulan

güvenle ilişkisinin değişip değişmediğini de incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalışmada hipotez formüle etmek yerine araştırma soruları geliştirildi, çünkü literatürde, özellikle çeşitli medya kuruluşları incelendiğinde bu konu hakkında yalnızca birkaç çalışma yer alıyor ve mevcut az sayıda çalışma da tutarsız bulgular sunuyor. Dolayısıyla çalışmanın amaçlarına göre araştırma soruları şunlardır:

S1: Ana akım medya kaynaklarında Suriyelilerle ilgili haberlere duyulan güven, Suriyeliler hakkında ana akım medya kaynaklarında yer alan haberlerin ifşa edilmesi ile Suriyelilere yönelik olumsuz dış grup duyguları (1a) ve Suriyelilere yönelik sosyal mesafe niyetleri (1b) ile ölçülen Suriyelilere yönelik önyargı arasındaki ilişkiyi nasıl etkiliyor? .

S2: Sosyal medya kanallarında Suriyelilerle ilgili haberlere duyulan güven, sosyal medya kanallarında Suriyelilerle ilgili haberlerin ifşa edilmesi ile Suriyelilere yönelik olumsuz dış grup duyguları (2a) ve Suriyelilere yönelik sosyal mesafe niyetleri (2b) ile ölçülen Suriyelilere yönelik önyargı arasındaki ilişkiyi nasıl etkiliyor? .

S3: İnternet haber sitelerinde Suriyelilerle ilgili haberlere duyulan güven, İnternet haber sitelerinde Suriyelilerle ilgili haberlerin ifşa edilmesi ile Suriyelilere yönelik olumsuz dış grup duyguları (3a) ve Suriyelilere yönelik sosyal mesafe niyetleri (3b) ile ölçülen Suriyelilere yönelik önyargı arasındaki ilişkiyi nasıl etkiliyor?

2. Yöntem

2.1. Katılımcılar

Araştırmaya katılabilmek için bireylerin 18 yaş üstü olmak ve Türkiye'de ikamet etmek gibi belirli kriterleri karşılaması gerekiyordu.

2.2. Ölçme Araçları

Veriler, katılımcıların genel, pozitif ve negatif yüz yüze temas deneyimleri (Yanbolluoğlu, 2018) sorularını da içeren Demografik Bilgi Formu, genel ve negative

haberlere maruz kalma sıklığı soruları, araştırmacı ve danışmanı tarafından Türkçe'ye çevirilmiş 9-Maddeli Haber Güvenilirliği Ölçeği (Yale et al., 2015), Sosyal Mesafe Ölçeği (Bogardus, 1967; Balaban, 2013) ve Semantik Diferansiyel Ölçek/Dış-Grup Negatifliği (de Zavala, 2013; Korkmaz, 2016) aracılığı ile toplandı.

2.3. İşlem

Haber Güvenilirliği Ölçeği ilk olarak çeviri-geri çeviri yöntemi kullanılarak Türkçeye uyarlandı. Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi İnsan Araştımaları Etik Kurulu'ndan etik izin alındı. İzin alındıktan sonra Qualtrics aracılığıyla veriler toplandı. Katılımcılara ilk olarak gönüllü katılımlarını teyit etmek için Bilgilendirilmiş Onam formu sunuldu. Sonra sırasıyla çalışmanın ölçme araçları sunuldu. Çalışmanın sonunda Bilgilendirme Formu sunuldu. Çalışma yaklaşık 8 dakika sürdü.

3. Sonuçlar

3.1. Ön Analiz

Soruların en az %70'ine yanıt vermeyen katılımcılar elenerek çalışmaya dahil edilmedi ve 362 katılımcının verileri ile analiz yapıldı. Ana çalışma değişkenlerinin eksik değerlerini değiştirmek için beklenti maksimizasyonu atama yöntemi kullanıldı. Hiçbir bireyin ölçek puanı -3,29 ile 3,29 aralığı arasında belirlenen kabul edilebilir aralığın dışına çıkmadığı için aykırı değer tespit edilmedi.. Değişkenlerin çarpıklık ve basıklık değerleri -2 ile +2 arasında olduğundan normal dağılım gösterdikleri varsayıldı.

3.2. Haber Güvenilirliği Ölçekleri için Açıklayıcı Faktör Analizi

Ana akım medya, sosyal medya ve İnternet haber sayfaları özelinde uygulanan 9 Maddeli Haber Güvenilirliği Ölçeği'nin faktör yapısını belirlemek amacıyla temel bileşen çıkarımı ve doğrudan oblimin döndürme yöntemleri kullanılarak Açımlayıcı Faktör Analizi yapıldı. Üç haber kaynağı özelinde de küresellik ve faktörlenebilirlik

varsayımları ihlal edilmedi. Ölçeğin üç medya kaynağı için Türkçeye uyarlanan versiyonunun verilerine en iyi şekilde iki faktörlü yapı uydu (Tablo 1, 2 ve 3).

3.3. Haber Güvenilirliği Ölçeği İçin İç Tutarlılık Güvenilirliği Analizleri

Üç haber kaynağı için de iç tutarlılık güvenilirliği değerleri yüksekti: ana akım medya (α= .92), sosyal medya (α= .93) ve İnternet haber siteleri (α= .92).

3.4. Demografik ve Ana Çalışma Değişkenlerine İlişkin Tanımlayıcı İstatistikler

Tanımlayıcı istatistik sonuçları Tablo 4 ve Tablo 5'te sunulmuştur.

3.5. Çalışma Değişkenleri için Bivariate Korelasyonlar

Değişkenler arasındaki Pearson iki kuyruklu korelasyon katsayıları değerleri Tablo 6'da sunulmuştur.

3.6. Regresyon Analizleri

Suriyelilerle olumlu ve olumsuz temas kurma sıklığı, önyargı bileşeni değişkenleriyle yüksek düzeyde korelasyona sahip olduğundan, farklı medya türleri için yapılan tüm hiyerarşik regresyon analizlerinde kontrol değişkeni olarak dahil edilmiştir. Sonuçlara göre, ana akım medya haberlerine maruz kalma anlamlı olarak Suriyelilere yönelik sosyal mesafe tercihlerini yordarken olumsuz dış grup duygularını yordamadı. Yani, birinci hipotez kısmen desteklendi. Sosyal medya haberlerine maruz kalma ise hem sosyal mesafe tercihlerini hem de dış grup duygularını yordadı ve çalışmanın ikinci hipotezi desteklendi. İnternet haber sayfalarındaki haberlere maruz kalma is sadece sosyal mesafe tercihlerini yordadı. Böylece üçüncü hipotez de kısmen desteklendi.

3.7. Moderasyon Analizleri

Farklı medya haberlerine maruz kalma ve önyargı bileşenleri arasındaki ilişkide farklı medya haberlerine güvenin düzenleyici rolünü incelemek amacıyla PROCESS

MACRO Versiyon 4.2, Model 1 (Hayes, 2022) aracılığı ile moderasyon analizlerleri yürütüldü. Tüm analizler, kontrol değişkenleri olarak pozitif ve negatif yüz yüze temas değişkenlerini içeriyordu.

Sonuçlara göre, ana akım medya haberlerine güven ana akım medya haberlerine maruz kalma ve sosyal mesafe tercihleri arasındaki ilişkiyi anlamlı bir şekilde anlamlı bir şekilde düzenleyici rol oynarken, ana akım medya haberlerine maruz kalma ve dış grup duyguları arasındaki ilişkide düzenleyici bir rol oynamadı. Sosyal medya haberleri ve önyargı değişkenleri arasındaki ilişkide ise sosyal medya haberlerine yönelik güvenin düzenleyiic bir rolü yoktu. Benzer şekilde, İnternet haberlerine güvenin de İnternet haberlerine maruz kalma ve önyargı değişkenleri arasındaki ilişkide düzenleyici bir rolü yoktu.

4. Tartışma

4.1. Haber Güvenilirliği Ölçeğinin Türkçeye Uyarlanmış Hali

Prochazka ve Schweiger'in (2019) bulguları Dürüst ve Denge bileşenleri arasında güçlü bir bağlantıya işaret ettiğinden, haber medyasına yönelik genel güveni ölçerken bu faktörleri birleştirerek iki faktörlü yapıyı da incelediler. İki faktörlü yapı verileri açısından iyiydi ve ayırt edici geçerlilik sorunları bir miktar ortadan kaldırıldı. Dolayısıyla ölçeği Türkiye'deki bir örneklem üzerinde uyguladığımızda Prochazka ve Schweiger'in sonuçlarıyla uyumlu sonuçlar elde ettik.

4.2. Medya Haberlerine Maruz Kalma Önyargı Arasındaki İlişki

Farklı medya kaynakları aracılığıyla haberlere maruz kalma değişkenlerinin çoğu önyargı bileşenleriyle önemli ölçüde ilişkiliyken, farklı medya kaynakları aracılığıyla olumsuz haberlere maruz kalma bu durumla ilişkili değildi. Bu nedenle, olumsuz maruz kalma değişkenlerini çıkarmaya karar verdik ve bu değişkenler de yüksek düzeyde korelasyona sahip olduğundan, birincil analizlerimize genel maruz kalma değişkenleriyle devam ettik. Bu durum Suriyelilerle ilgili haberlerin zaten olumsuz olmasından kaynaklanmış olabilir (Alp, 2018; Boztepe, 2017; Çambay, 2019; Gezik,

2022; Gölcü ve Dağlı, 2017). Ayrıca önyargı bileşenleriyle ilişki açısından sonuçların farklılaşması ölçümlerimizdeki eksikliklerden de kaynaklanıyor olabilir.

4.3. Medya Haberlerinin Önyargı Üzerindeki Etkisi

Bulgular, literatürde ifade edilen, olumsuz medya yayınlarının önyargıyı güçlendirdiği yönündeki fikirleri doğruladı (Banas ve diğerleri, 2020). Özellikle, önceki araştırmalara da yansıdığı gibi (Ahmed, 2017; Ahmed ve diğerleri, 2021; Dhanani ve Franz, 2020; Schemer ve Meltzer, 2020; Shaver ve diğerleri, 2017), azınlıklara ilişkin olumsuz haber tasvirlerine maruz kalma önyargıyla ilişki ilişkiliydi.

Ancak önyargı bileşenleri incelendiğinde, farklı kaynaklar aracılığıyla haberlere maruz kalma tutarlı olarak sosyal mesafeyi yordarken, yalnızca sosyal medya üzerinden haber ifşa edilmesi grup dışı duyguları yordadı. Sonuçlar, gruplar arası temasın önyargının davranışsal niyet bileşenini nasıl etkilediğine ilişkin literatürle tutarlıydı (Mazziotta ve diğerleri, 2011). Ancak ana akım medya ve internet haber sitelerinden elde edilen bulgular, literatürdeki daha önceki bulgular ile tutarsızdı çünkü olumsuz temasın önyargının duygusal boyutuyla ilişkili olduğu keşfedildi (Aberson, 2015). Hatta önyargının duygusal bileşeninin bilişsel bileşenden çok gruplararası temasla ilişkili olduğu bulunmuştur (Tropp ve Pettigrew, 2005).

Bu çalışmada medya temasının her iki medya kanalı için duygusal önyargı bileşenini değiştirmemesinin nedeni, yalnızca maruz kalmanın tutumlarda derin bir değişiklik yaratmaması olabilir. Özellikle basit maruz kalmanın insanların duygusal önyargılarında bir değişiklikten ziyade yüzeysel düzeyde bir etkiye sahip olabileceğini düşündürmektedir.

Medya kaynakları ayrı ayrı değerlendirildiğinde sosyal medya haberleri ana akım medya ve internet haber sayfalarından farklı olarak her iki önyargı bileşenini de yordamaktadır. Bu bulgular, sosyal medya haberlerinin tutumlar üzerinde daha büyük bir etkiye sahip olduğu fikrini destekledi (Ahmed vd., 2021; Soral vd., 2020). Ek olarak, bazı araştırmalar geleneksel medyanın aksine sosyal medyanın dış gruplara yönelik olumsuz tutumlarla daha yakından bağlantılı olduğunu öne sürmektedir (örn.

Soral ve ark., 2020). Ayrıca, sosyal medyanın fobik normları destekleme ve sahte haber yayma özelliği (Taş ve Taş, 2018) göz önüne alındığında önyargı üzerinde daha büyük bir etkiye sahip olması muhtemeldir.

Ayrıca doğrudan temas deneyimlerinin önyargı bileşenlerini anlamlı düzeyde yordadığı ve modeldeki yüksek varyansı açıkladığı görülmüştür. Katılımcıların doğrudan temas deneyimleri, medya haberlerine maruz kalma ile olumsuz dış grup duyguları arasında neden anlamlı bir bağlantı olmadığını ve sosyal mesafe tercihlerindeki düşük varyansı açıklayabilir.

Doğrudan temasın yanı sıra farklı dolaylı temas biçimleri de Suriyelilere karşı önyargıda medya temasından daha etkili olabilir (örn. Landmann ve ark., 2022). Ek olarak, Suriyelilere yönelik duygu boyutu başta olmak üzere, genişletilmiş temas gibi diğer dolaylı temas türleri önyargıda daha etkili olabilir. Gelecekteki çalışmalarda Türkiye'de yaşayan Suriyelilere yönelik hem yüz yüze hem de diğer dolaylı iletişim biçimlerine yönelik tutumlar medya temasıyla karşılaştırılabilir.

4.4. Medya Haberlerine Güvenin Düzenleyici Rolü

Tsai ve arkadaşları (2020), medyaya duyulan güvenin, özellikle sosyal medya ve internet haber kaynaklarında, COVID-19 haberleri ile Asyalılara yönelik önyargı arasındaki ilişkiyi yönlendirdiğini ortaya koydu. Bizim sonuçlarımız onlarınkinden farklıydı ve bu konuyla ilgili mevcut literatür sınırlı olmanı yanında karışık bulgular sunmaktadır. Bu nedenle kesin yorumlar zordur. Bu durum medya güveni alanını incelerken medya kaynağında gösterilen içeriğin ve farklı içeriklerin ayrı ayrı ölçülmesinin önemini bir kez daha vurgulamaktadır.

Sosyal medya ve dijital medya kanallarındaki algoritmalar, kullanıcıların kendilerine benzer görüşlerle karşılaşmasına ve mevcut görüşlerinin desteklenmesine yol açabilmektedir (Kitchens vd., 2020). Kullanıcılar zaten dijital medyada kendi görüşleriyle tutarlı görüşlere maruz kaldıklarından medyaya olan güven, maruz kalma ve önyargı arasındaki ilişkiyi belirlemeyebilir. Medya haberlerine maruz kalma ve grup dışı arasındaki ilişkide sosyal medyaya ve İnternet haber sitelerine güven

moderatör olarak bir rol oynamasa da, sosyal medya haberlerine güven her iki önyargı bileşenini de, İnternet haber sitelerine güven ise sosyal mesafeyi anlamlı şekilde yordadı mevcut çalışmada. Bu bulgu, dijital medya kullanıcılarının genellikle kendi düşüncelerine uygun içeriklerle karşı karşıya kalsalar bile, kullanıcıların önyargılarının görüşlerin benzerliği veya farklılığından ve dolayısıyla bu kullanıcıların bu haber kaynaklarına duyduğu güvenden etkilenebileceğini düşündürmektedir. Ayrıca sosyal medyada kullanıcılar güncel haber paylaşımının yanı sıra haber benzeri paylaşımlar da oluşturabilmektedir. Bunun ışığında kullanıcılar, bilgilerin doğru olup olmadığını ayırt etmekte zorlanabilir ve bu da yanlış bilgilerin yayılmasına neden olabilir (Taş ve Taş, 2018). Sosyal medyanın yanıltıcı bilgi yayma eğilimi göz önüne alındığında, sosyal medyaya olan güven düzeyi grup dışı tutumlarda belirleyici bir faktör olabilir.

Ayrıca bu araştırmada örneklemimizin ağırlıklı olarak gençlerden oluşması da çalışmamızın sonuçlarıyla ilişkilendirilebilir. Gençlerin geleneksel medyanın şu anda hakim olan siyasi ve ekonomik bakış açısına göre davrandığına inanmaları da bu sonucu ortaya çıkaran unsurlardan biridir (Yanardağoğlu, 2021). Bunun yanında, Türkiye'de ana akım medyada, özellikle önemli toplumsal olaylarda sansürü görmek mümkün. Bunların ışığında, ana akım medyada Suriyelilerle ilgili haberlere duyulan güven, dijital haber kaynaklarından farklı olarak hem genç izleyiciler hem de Türkiye'de yaşayan diğer izleyiciler için belirleyici bir rol oynuyor olabilir.

4.5. Çalışmanın Güçlü Yanları ve Katkıları

Bu çalışma, Suriyeliler de dahil olmak üzere medyada çıkan haberlerin Suriyelilere yönelik önyargıyı öngördüğünü göstererek literatüre katkı sağlamıştır. Ayrıca bildiğimiz kadarıyla farklı medya kanallarında Suriyelilerle ilgili haberlerin duygusal ve davranışsal bileşenler de dahil olmak üzere önyargının farklı bileşenleri üzerindeki etkisini inceleyen literatürdeki ilk çalışmadır. Ek olarak, bu çalışma, literatürde Suriyelileri konu alan ve çeşitli medya kanalları üzerinden medya güveninin rolünü inceleyen ilk çalışmadır. Ayrıca bu çalışma, Medya Güvenilirliği ölçeğini Türkçeye uyarlayan ve faktör yapısını Türkçe literatürde inceleyen ilk çalışmadır.

4.6. Pratik Çıkarımlar

Medyada çalışanlar Suriyelilerin haberlerdeki olumsuz temsillerini sınırlayabilir ve olumlu temsili çeşitlendirebilir. Ayrıca Suriyelilere ilişkin yalan haber içerikleri ve görsellerin varlığı nedeniyle (Taş ve Taş, 2018), medyada çalışanlar toplumda Suriyelilere yönelik önyargıların artmaması için seyircilerin bu yalan haberleri gözlemlemesini sağlayabilir. Haberlerde, çeşitli dizi ve programlarda da olumlu Suriye temsilleri oluşturulabilir. Suriyelilerle yüz yüze temasın büyük oranda önyargıyla ilişkili olduğunu da tespit ettiğimizden, politika yapıcılar Türkiye'deki yerel halkın Suriyelilerle daha fazla yüz yüze iletişim kurmasına olanak tanıyabilir.

4.7. Araştırmanın Sınırlılıkları ve Öneriler

Bu çalışmada medya kanallarında Suriyelilerle ilgili haberler genel olarak değerlendirilmiş ancak farklı ideolojilere sahip haber kanallarının spesifik bir analizi yapılmamıştır. Gelecek çalışmalarda haber kanallarının ideolojik farklılıkları dikkate alınmalıdır.

Araştırmanın bir diğer eksikliği ise medyaya maruz kalma ve medyayla temas alanında çalışırken anket çalışmalarının güvenilir olmayabilmesidir (Banas vd., 2020; Prior, 2009), çünkü katılımcıların medyaya maruz kalma deneyimlerin farkında olması ve hatırlaması zor olabilir. (Banas ve ark., 2020). Ek olarak, önyargı için örtük ölçümler yerine açık ölçüm yöntemleri kullandık. Gelecekte çalışmacılar bu ölçümleri de dikkate almalıdır.

Üstelik mevcut çalışmanın bulguları, örneklemimizin özelliklerinden ötürü çeşitli popülasyonlara genellenemeyebilir. Ayrıca Haber Güvenilirliği Ölçeği'nin geçerliliğini değerlendirmedik veya uyarlarken ikinci kademe faktör modelini test etmedik. Gelecekteki araştırmalar yapı geçerliliğini dikkate almalıdır. Ayrıca gelecekte bu ölçeği kullanacak araştırmacıların ölçeğin yakınsak ve ayırt edici geçerliliğini de kontrol etmeleri gerekmektedir. Yale ve üniversitelerin önerdiği ikinci kademe faktör yöntemi de test edilebilir ve iki faktörlü çözümle karşılaştırılabilir.

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