

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE NATIONAL IDENTIFICATION AND
ATTITUDE TOWARDS SYRIAN REFUGEES IN THE CONTEXT OF TURKEY:
THE ROLE OF SOCIAL CONTACT AND LOCUS OF CONTROL FACTORS

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis examines the relationship between national identification of citizens and citizen's attitude towards Syrian refugees in Turkey. The Social Identity Theory and Integrated Threat Theory were used as a theoretical background for the stated examination. In addition, the role of the concepts of social contact and of locus of control in the relationship between identification and attitude was investigated. Research data was gathered from 552 individuals from 46 cities in Turkey through a survey package both in online and offline contexts. The results of regression analysis showed that national identification of citizens in Turkey predicts their negative attitude towards Syrian refugees. Also, moderational analysis showed that refugee locus of control factor moderates the relationship between national identity and attitude. Finally, supplementary analyses were conducted to present demographical differences in the citizens' attitudes toward refugees.

Keywords: Social Identity, Perceived Threat, Social Contact, Locus of Control, Syrian Refugees

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE BAĞLAMINDA ULUSAL KİMLİK ÖZDEŞİMİ VE SURİYELİ MÜLTECİLERE KARŞI TUTUM ARASINDAKİ İLİŞKİ: SOSYAL TEMAS VE KONTROL ODAĞI FAKTÖRLERİNİN ROLÜ

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Mevcut tez Türkiye'deki vatandaşların ulusal özdeşimi ile vatandaşların Suriyeli mültecilere karşı sergilediği tavır arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemektedir. Sosyal Kimlik Teorisi ve Bütünleşik Tehdit Teorisi bahsedilen inceleme için kuramsal altyapı olarak kullanılmıştır. Buna ek olarak, sosyal temas ve kontrol odağı kavramlarının özdeşim ve tavır arasındaki ilişkide oynadığı rol araştırılmıştır. Araştırma verisi Türkiye'deki 46 şehirden 552 birey tarafından çevrimiçi ve çevrimdışı ortamda tamamlanan bir anket paketi aracılığıyla toplanmıştır. Regresyon analizi sonuçları Türkiye'deki vatandaşların ulusal özdeşiminin, vatandaşların Suriyeli mültecilere karşı sergilediği negatif tutumu yordadığını göstermiştir. Aynı zamanda, moderasyon analizi mülteci kontrol odağı faktörünün, ulusal özdeşim ve tutum arasındaki ilişkiyi modere ettiğini göstermiştir. Son olarak, vatandaşların mültecilere karşı tutumlarındaki demografik farklılıkları sergilemek için ek analizler yapılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sosyal Kimlik, Algılanan Tehdit, Sosyal Temas, Kontrol Odağı, Suriyeli Mülteciler

To the humane struggle in the name of unconditional justice

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM.....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
ÖZ.....	v
DEDICATION.....	vi
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	ix
LIST OF TABLES.....	xii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xiii
CHAPTER	
1.INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 General Introduction.....	1
1.2 Attitudes toward Syrian Refugee in Turkey in the Past Literature.....	3
1.3 Integrated Threat Theory.....	7
1.4 Social Identity Theory and The Concept of National Identification.....	14
1.5 The Concept of Social Contact.....	21
1.6 The Concept of Locus of Control.....	24

1.7 Study Variables andHypotheses.....	27
2. METHOD.....	29
2.1 Participants.....	29
2.2 Instruments.....	33
2.2.1 Demographics.....	33
2.2.2 Negative Attitude towards Syrian Refugees.....	33
2.2.3 Identification with the National Identity.....	36
2.2.4 Social Contact with the Syrian Refugees.....	37
2.2.5 Locus of Control of Citizens in Turkey in the case of Syrian Refugees.....	39
2.3 Procedure.....	40
3. RESULTS.....	41
3.1 Descriptive Statistics for Study Variables.....	42
3.2 Correlations for Study Variables	43
3.3 Analyses for Main Hypotheses.....	45
3.4 Supplementary Analyses.....	48
4. DISCUSSION.....	50
4.1 Contributions and Implication.....	55
4.2 Limitations and Future Directions.....	57
REFERENCES.....	59
APPENDICES	
A. HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL.....	70
B. DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS.....	72
C. ATTITUDES TOWARDS SYRIAN REFUGEES SCALE.....	73

D. MULTI-COMPONENT IN-GROUP IDENTIFICATION SCALE.....	75
E. SOCIAL CONTACT SCALE.....	76
F. LOCUS OF CONTROL AND ANTI-IMMIGRANT SENTIMENT SCALE.....	78
G. INFORMED CONSENT FORM.....	79
H. DEBRIEFING FORM.....	81
I. TURKISH SUMMARY/ TÜRKÇE ÖZET.....	83
J. THESIS PERMISSION FORM/ TEZ İZİN FORMU.....	95

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

Table 2.1 Demographic Characteristics of the Study Sample.....	30
Table 2.2 Loadings on Factors for the Negative Attitude Scale.....	34
Table 2.3 Loadings on Factor for the National Identification Scale.....	37
Table 2.4 Loadings on Factor for the Contact Scale.....	38
Table 3.1 Means, Standard Deviations, and Reliability Statistics of the Study Variables.....	42
Table 3.2 Correlations between the Study Variables.....	44

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES

3.1. Moderational Model predicting Negative Attitude.....	48
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1.General Introduction

In 2010, a societal uprising in the Middle East had started, which was described by certain social science experts as the cause of an ultimate transformation in the stated geography following the decolonization movements (Agdemir, 2016). The chain of events was defined as the “Arab Spring” (Merriam-Webster's collegiate dictionary, n. d.) while major reasons for the widespread rebellious context had been identified as ongoing human rights violations (Cockburn, 2011), accelerating unemployment, destabilized economic situation, and extreme increase in the population that embodied the Arab countries in general (Manfreda, 2019). In 2011, overall social and political irregularity evolved into a multi-sided civil war in Syria, which includes various domestic and foreign forces (“Syria's Civil War”, 2018). Since then, it has been declared by official associations that further human rights violations occur in Syria due to the civil war (Barnard et al., 2017). As a consequence, approximately 400.000 people have died (“Syria Death Toll”, 2016), 27 % of the housing stock became uninhabitable, incentives for productive activity diminished in a considerable extent, and social networks had disappeared (“The Toll of War”, 2017). Besides, in the form of a serious damage to the entire world’s social order and economic system, more than five and a half million Syrian people immigrated to other countries, especially to the ones in the surrounding area such as Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, Egypt, and Turkey. At the end, Turkey became number one refugee hosting country with the updated exact number of 3.614.108 registered Syrian refugees (UNHCR, 2019). Even though these people are legally recognized as “asylum seekers” by the Turkish Government (T.R. Ministry of Migration Management, 2013), recently the term “refugees” is used in official and unofficial settings (Makovsky, 2019). Also in the current study, people who have migrated from Syria to Turkey will be identified as refugees. And, the hosted Syrian refugees in Turkey consists of 43.6% of children, 24.9% of adult females along

with 31.5% of adult males (UNHCR, 2019) while currently 96% of them live out of the refugee camps (T.R. Ministry of Migration Management, 2019). Moreover, as long as the conflictual environment continues in Syria and the already existing damages are not overcome, the returning of the refugees to their homeland seems unlikely to happen (Culbertson, 2019).

The arrival of the Syrian refugees in Turkey and its permanent nature have caused various changes in economic, political, and social structures. The economic effects involve opportunities through factors such as increased labor demand, investors who prefer Turkey rather than Syria following the civil war, and improvement in certain industries due to material supply by Turkey to the war victims (Orhan & Gündoğar, 2015). On the other hand, there also appeared economic risks especially in consequence of unfair competition between smaller businesses, which Syrians started to contribute, and bigger ones that still are in Turkish citizen's power. Further, the growing rent prices in the cities with high numbers of Syrian refugees and increase in inflation in border cities create other risk factors (Orhan & Gündoğar, 2015). The political effects are centered around reforms made by Turkish Government regarding the migration policies. Mainly, legal changes were first conducted on law for work permits about foreigners and, later, on law for Turkish Citizenship (Akcapar & Simsek, 2018). Apart from current law regulations, on a societal level, some researchers declare the possibility of ascending political polarization through the combined effect of already existing polarization in Turkey and security concerns of the public (Orhan & Gündoğar, 2015). Lastly, in the social sphere, divergent worldviews between locals and refugees in terms of culture or/and religion along with distinct languages that these groups possess as native language engender a contradiction for people in general depending on the demands of national identity ideology, which constitutes Nation-States' basic ideology (Baban & Rygiel, 2018).

The above summarized chain of events and its macro-level results affect almost each and every individual in Turkey including both Syrian refugees and the citizens of the country. Even though the experienced process is relatively new in the historical timeline of civilization, social science researchers from various disciplines target to explain related concepts to be able to predict the future of millions of people. Among

the topics that highly attracts the attention of researchers, there exist the attitude of citizens in the hosting country against the refugees. This is because literature suggest that the attitudes as a concept have a strong predictive power in terms of actions that take part in social interactions between groups such as discrimination, cohesion, and conflict resolution (Ajzen & Fishbein, 2005). Moreover, when the negative attitudes of citizens towards refugees become extreme, it carries the potential to transform into xenophobia and hate crimes against refugees (Ünal, 2014), which makes the studying of current state of attitudes, before it reaches to a destructing point, very important. Thus, in the current study its aimed to reveal the attitudes of citizens toward Syrian refugees in Turkey through using the Integrated Threat Theory (ITT) and Social Identity Theory (SIT) as main theoretical background while including the concepts of social contact and locus of control to further elaborate on the predicted relationship.

In the following sections the attitudes of local people in Turkey toward Syrian refugees according to the past literature, the summaries of stated theories along with their relation to the current topic, and potential contributions of two different concepts which are social contact and locus of control will be respectively presented. Lastly the defined variables and hypothesis of the study will be asserted.

1.2. Attitudes toward Syrian Refugee in Turkey in the Past Literature

In the literature, there are contradictory findings regarding the attitude of citizens toward Syrian refugees in Turkey. First of all, prior studies found that the attitudes of people were not shaped in distinct patterns while the hospitality was emphasized as a necessary reaction for war victims by the majority (Tolay, 2013). Some of the subsequent findings revealed that people, in general, possess a positive attitude in the form of benefit perception (Mehmet et al., 2017) and empathize with the difficult living conditions of refugees (Yitmen & Verkuyten, 2018). On the other hand, certain amount of findings suggested that citizens are inclined to adopt a negative attitude while justify it with concerns about security, adaptation of Syrians into Turkish culture, permanent staying of the refugees in the country, and the possibility of declining in economic well-being (Demir, 2015; Genç & Özdemirkıran, 2015). However, there were also studies, which showed that citizens in Turkey have both benefit and threat perceptions at the same time (Topal et al., 2016; Yitmen & Verkuyten, 2018).

Compared to the studies that defined the attitudes of people in Turkey in a static manner, there were also ones that investigated the changing nature of the attitudes. For instance, in certain cities such as Ankara and Istanbul the negative attitude which already existed increased in remarkable amounts due to the perception of Syrian refugees' integration-failure to the society and the considering of refugees as not good for the city-life (Düşündere & Çilingir). Similarly, the percentage of people who wish Syrians return to their own country increased to 86.2 (Erdoğan, 2017) from 38.9 (Erdoğan, 2014) since 2014.

Specific demographic characteristics contributed to the diversification in the attitudes of citizens. Among the highly related demographic factors there appeared gender of the citizens. Women, in most of the studies, showed relatively more positive attitudes toward Syrian refugees in Turkey compared to men (Ankaralı et al., 2017; Aktaş et al., 2018; Keleş et al., 2016). Another significant demographic factor was the places that citizens reside. Accordingly, Düşündere and Çilingir (2017) found that citizens who live in Istanbul and Ankara possessed higher negative attitude levels in a great extent compared to the citizens who reside in Antalya or Diyarbakır. Also, people from East Anatolia and Southeast Anatolia displayed more positive attitudes compared to the citizens live in the other regions of Turkey (Ankaralı et al., 2017). Additionally, people exhibited a more positive attitude towards Syrian refugees in the cities with higher numbers of refugees compared to the cities with lower numbers. However, the relationship was valid as long as the ratio of the refugees and local people were low (Keleş et al., 2016). Education levels of the citizens were another significant predictor for the attitudes. High school and university graduates revealed a more negative attitude compared to the citizens with higher education graduation (Keleş et al., 2016). Besides, increased endorsement of religiosity played a buffering effect in the negative attitudes that are held against Syrian refugees (Aktaş et al., 2018). In terms of age, younger people in Turkey were generally inclined to possess a relatively more positive attitude compared to older people (Ankaralı et al., 2017).

There also appeared basic psychological factors, which played a role in the citizen's attitudes formations toward refugees. To begin with, the shared cultural values perception, such as religion, among the citizens gave rise to more positive attitude

tendency (Topal et al., 2016). Further, national identification was a highly studied concept that was measured to explain its role in the attitude of people. It was presented that the increased levels of national identification of citizens were related to accelerating negative attitude and the main concern for people was about the possible threats to national identity along with potential danger to the national security. It was also proposed that these negative attitudes, which were explained by the increased national identity, invite negative behavioral intention against Syrian refugees (Yitmen & Verkuyten, 2018). Similarly, Aktaş et al. (2018) found that a national and/or conservative worldview ideology has led to negative attitudes toward refugees in Turkey. Other research findings also supported the positive association between increased levels of national identification and increased negative attitude, while they also contributed to the previous studies by showing the buffering effect of adopted multiculturalism in the link between national identification and attitude (Yitmen & Verkuyten, 2018). Lastly, in a qualitative research, it was observed that citizens explain their negative attitude with a discourse that is based on a nationalist approach. Hereunder, local people in Turkey blame Syrian refugees by being war deserters and not being loyal citizens to their own country. The view that is shared by individuals in Turkey against Syrian refugees in favor of not being good-enough in terms of defending their homeland was also nestled with a masculine discourse. Accordingly, being a war deserter was also interpreted as caused by the responsibility avoidance by Syrian men since citizens in Turkey perceived them as not defending their land (Güney & Konak, 2016). Also, citizens expressed that citizenship for Syrians would create quite disadvantaged context for themselves (Yıldız & Uzgören, 2016). And, the nonacceptance of the citizens regarding the conferring citizenship to Syrians was mainly sourced by the threat they perceive to cultural and national values (Gülyaşar, 2017).

In a lesser number of experiments were conducted compared to the correlational studies regarding the related topic. In one of them, it was found that the negative attitude towards Syrian refugees reduced through the imagined lower social contact. But in reality, same individuals experienced attitude in a less negative manner when the contact increased. Researchers stated that increased levels of disagreeable position of the citizens sourced by the possibility of constituting a family together with Syrian

refugees or of being have to involved in close relationships with them as friends or neighbors (Erişen, 2018). In another experiment, researchers showed that both priming refugees in threatening roles such as possessing militant ties in Syria and priming the vulnerability of refugees through emphasizing the unjust treatment against children and women Syrians led people to endorse a more negative attitude (Getmasky et al., 2018). On the other hand, Lazarev and Sharma (2017) found that priming the religion that Syrian refugees identify themselves caused a decline in the levels of negative attitude, which was measured by the increased wish to donate for refugees.

In an exceptional study, the attitude of the mukhtars as a subgroup in the population were examined in Istanbul. They expressed that as the Syrian population gets higher, the complaints about the issue of local people also increases. In the common language used by many mukhtars, the Arab nationality appeared as a justification ground for the negative conduct against refugees. Syrian people were accused of not being hygienic, healthy, and being unqualified due to their nationalistic characteristics. Besides, mukhtars expressed their worry regarding a possibility of the established new Arab republic. And mostly, their complaints were sourced by begging activities of Syrian refugees along with the security concerns. Lastly, mukhtars declared that the public shared a feeling of general anxiety because of the existence of Syrian refugees in the neighborhood (Genç & Özdemirkıran, 2015).

Beyond the psychological factors and demographic characteristics, the general situation that Turkey face as a country promoted certain ways of attitude formation and maintenance for the public. The major macro-level factor was the economic difficulties that many individuals utter they experience. Along with this line, even though people were inclined to tolerate the existence of Syrian refugees, they reflected that Syrians are unwanted in Turkey due to the country's already existing economic challenge (Ankaralı et al., 2017). Similarly, certain amount of people indicated that they do not adopt a particularly negative attitude against Syrian refugees, however they also do not want refugees to stay in Turkey. In this sense, Yıldız and Uzgören (2016) revealed that citizens appreciate that Syrians suffer from the state of war and they need protection on the basis of civil rights. However, they were extremely concerned about the possible negative effects of Syrians to the economy and security in Turkey.

Similarly, in the universities, students were willing to attend classes with Syrians but they complained about their rights to access universities (Ergin, 2016). The already existing social conflict in Turkey was another reason for people to reject the cohabiting with refugees since they felt worried that further conflict might be experienced (Ankaralı et al., 2017). On the contrary, Getmansky et al. (2018) suggested that political violence that is experienced in Turkey following the coup attempt in 2016 caused people to empathize with the Syrians, who migrated following the war situation in their country; and impelled people to acquire a more positive attitude toward Syrian refugees.

To sum up, the current situation in Turkey indicate that people, in general, are inclined to perceive Syrian refugees as a threat to various domains of societal life. And, the severity of this trend is on the rise, especially in the cities that densely accommodate Syrian populations. Accordingly, in the following section the Integrated Threat Theory (ITT) will be explained in detail along with the presentation of related studies, which will be used as a theoretical framework in the prediction of attitudes of citizens in Turkey toward Syrian refugees.

1.3. Integrated Threat Theory

Integrated Threat Theory (ITT) aims to explain the prejudice, which is defined as negative affect (Stephan & Stephan, 1993), between social groups through the concepts of realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotypes (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). In the literature, the concept of prejudice is defined as the aversive attitude that is practiced by ingroup members toward outgroup members (Allport, 1954). In the case of realistic threats, ingroup members perceive that outgroup members constitute a threat to their existence, to the economic and political power of the group, and to the general well-being of the group. On the other hand, symbolic threat is perceived by the ingroup when they accept that their worldview is superior to the outgroup's conception of the world, and the differences between two group's moral values, social norms, beliefs, and attitudes in broad terms create a threat for the ingroup' value system. Lastly, intergroup anxiety occurs when the ingroup members feel a discomfort since they perceive that their interaction with the outgroup members will be negative (Stephan & Stephan, 1985), while negative

stereotypes define the ingroup's expectation of unpleasant general characteristics belong to the outgroup (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). In the revised version of the theory the negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety were defined as the subcategories of symbolic and realistic threats while the latter two components constituted the major threat types (Stephan et al., 2009). Ingroup members, who strongly identify with the group, consider that the social policies favor outgroup members, contact with the outgroup members in a negative manner rather than positive, and ignorant about the features of outgroup members experience prejudice in a greater extent. Besides, the increased gap between the status of the groups and prior conflict history between the groups induce a convenient environment for the prejudice formation (Stephan & Stephan, 2000).

The relationship between the perceived threat and attitudes toward refugees or immigrants have been studied by researchers around the world. Consistently, symbolic and realistic threats were found to be significant variables, which explains or predicts negative views by citizens regarding the refugees. In a study, conducted in Australia, it was demonstrated that general public perceive refugees as a threat to economic power and to local people's cultural worldview (Schweitzer et al., 2005). People who asserted that the existence of refugees present danger to value system of society in Australia and to the resources of the society possessed more negative attitude compared to the ones with a lesser amount of threat or no threat perception. Accordingly, citizens in Australia perceived refugees as constituting both realistic and symbolic threats, and they justified the prejudice against outgroup members on the basis of these perceptions (Schweitzer et al., 2005). However, the economic well-being of the country and possible restriction in the benefits along with facilities provided by social services to the public were the primary concerns of the Australian people. This means, the aversive state against refugees majorly sourced by the threat against comfortable living conditions for the citizens rather than the threat against the accepted social norms and beliefs. In other words, realistic threat perception explained the negative attitude in a greater extent compared to the perceived symbolic threat in this context (Schweitzer et al., 2005). Another study conducted in European and Hungarian context, showed that approximately 60% of local people felt worry and fear related to the current mass migration in the world, which was operationalized through symbolic

and realistic threats (Simonovits, 2016). The strong correlation between the two types of threats was interpreted as the inseparable nature of symbolic and realistic categories while predicting the attitudes toward refugees. However, while people experienced the both categories in excessive levels, similar to the prior research finding, realistic threat was a bigger concern for the local people compared to the symbolic one (Simonovits, 2016). On the other hand, Kiehne (2014) found that symbolic threat was a much more effective component in terms of being inclined to demonstrate an anti-immigrant attitude, even though both realistic and symbolic threats highly contributed to the formation of aversive views for refugees by citizens.

Along with the ones that compared the effect sizes of threat categories in predicting attitude, there were also studies that asserted the equal explanation power belong to symbolic and realistic threat perception. For instance, in a study performed by Stephan et al. (2005) findings indicated that the degree of acquired negative attitudes was the most when the researchers induced to the participants increased levels of threats both in symbolic and realistic terms compared to the manipulation of threat perception solely included realistic or symbolic content. Further, the attitudes of South Africans against African immigrants was examined by emphasizing the simultaneous appearance of realistic and symbolic threats in the case of negative attitudes (Laher, 2008). It was reported that, on the one hand, South Africans as a group shared a common feeling of anxiety due to their concern about immigrant's effect on accommodation opportunities and employment. And, these aversive evaluations regarding the possible restrictions on material resources for local people formed the realistic threat perception for South Africans, which eventually leads them to adopt xenophobic attitudes. Also, African immigrants were accused by being unhealthy and unreliable for the societal life. (Laher, 2008). On the other hand, the other factor that foster the anxiety was the perceived threat to cultural beliefs and values by the immigrants who owns different life-styles than the South African's traditional way of comprehending the social world. This later psychological state of the local people formed the perceived symbolic threat dimension of the prejudice against African immigrants. Lastly, general public avoided to make contact with immigrants due to the negative ascriptions that are made for outgroup members (Laher, 2008).

Some of the studies explained specific kinds of attitude against refugees related to the threat perception instead of broadly defined public opinions. Croucher (2013) revealed that in France, Germany, and the United Kingdom as immigrant hosting countries in great numbers in the Western Europe, the increased level of symbolic and realistic threat perceptions was related to the increased social rejection of immigrants. In this case, the nonacceptance was explained by ways of citizen's assertion about the low levels of acculturation motivation by immigrants (Croucher, 2013). The study underlined the relationship between perceived threat by citizens, rather than the actual danger to the societal life in cultural or material domains, and being resistant to the adaptation advances of immigrants (Croucher, 2013). The prevalent attitude, which was basically justified through the required assimilation perception encompasses a specific content that correlates with the threat perception of local people. Other studies also provided support for the positive association between justified assimilation policies and threat perception (Silva et al., 2018). Further, moral exclusion of immigrants in the form of marginalizing, excluding, and dehumanizing constituted another conceptually restricted way of practicing prejudice by local people due to the perceived symbolic and realistic threat (Leighton, 2012). Lastly, the perception of treats, both in symbolic and realistic aspect, played a particular and determinative role in people's support inclinations for social policies, which are planned to conduct by governments that target immigrant-related problems. Accordingly, the increased threat perception correlated with the accelerated levels of opposition to affirmative actions (Renfro et al., 2006), that aim to improve educational and employment opportunities for disadvantaged groups (Merriam-Webster's collegiate dictionary, n. d.). And, in a similar vein, people became more inclined to support policies that target restrictions and preventions on immigrant inclusion in the societal life of hosting countries, as the levels of symbolic and realistic threat perceptions increased (Pattison & Davidson, 2019).

The remaining studies, generally, focused on the possible interactions between individual or contextual differences and the threat perception while elaborating on the attitudes against outgroup members. In Georgia, for instance, increased prejudice levels were significantly sourced by the increased levels of symbolic and realistic threats; however, the relationship was stronger for people who identify themselves

with religious terms in a greater extent compared to people who do not or do identify themselves with religiosity in a lesser amount (Makashvili et al., 2018). Another factor that created group differences in the relationship between attitude towards refugees and perceived threat was the age of the citizens. The younger people adopted aversive evaluations more intensely compared to older people (Simonovits, 2016). In terms of the contact that occurred between local people and refugees, the amount of fear people endorsed due to the perceived threat that is explained by the noncontrollable nature of refugee intake showed an increased pattern when there was a sole distant encounter without interaction or communication. As opposed to that, as the contact reached to a deeper level from a superficial level, the relationship between local people's aversive reactions and perceived threat became weaker (Simonovits, 2016). Similarly, the increased amount of contact decreased the intensity of negative attitudes toward immigrants that occurred due to the increased level of perceived threat in Luxembourg (Callens et al., 2015). Further, people who identify themselves with left wing political orientation adopted a threat perception in a lesser extent compared to the people who defined their political orientation through right wing political orientation (Simonovits, 2016). Lastly, when the citizens' attitude was in favor of the assimilation of the refugees, which indicates a negative standing, due to the increased levels of perceived symbolic and realistic threats; uncertain government policies made a stronger link between threat perception and negative attitude (Silva et al., 2018). On the other hand, threat perception by the citizens, thus the support for assimilation of refugees, decreased when the government policies put forward integration promoting discourses (Silva et al., 2018).

The consequence of the news coverages with a threat content in terms of the public's attitude against refugees was investigated in Flanders and Netherlands to be able to examine the relationship between threat perception and citizen's attitude. First of all, researchers revealed that North Africans, as the immigrant population in the specified geography, were mostly presented as a threat to the peaceful environment in the society. In this regard, immigrants were depicted with criminal acts in the news. In a lesser extent, they were presented as constituting a threat for cultural and economic life of the citizens. Further, the asserted threat in cultural domain was mostly associated with the criminal acts conducted by the North Africans (Jacobs, 2017). In

the study results, it appeared that people react, especially and consistently, to the criminal threat content with a strong negative attitude, which encompasses all the immigrants. And, citizens started to adopt negative emotions as they were exposed to the news that presented immigrants in the form of an economic threat. The increase in the perceived immigrant numbers in the country and in the fear to become the subject of the crimes enhanced the levels of anti-immigrant attitudes belong to the general public (Jacobs, 2017). Similarly, media messages that contained threat perceptions while reflecting on immigrants created increased level of negative attitude by citizens in the form of supporting punitive policies. Further, the outgroup derogation and anger that is directed at immigrants strengthened the averseness of the already existing attitude due to the content of media messages (Kim et al., 2018).

Other studies investigated the possible mediating role of threat perception in the relationship between certain concepts and attitudes toward immigrants. For instance, Stewart et al. (2019) showed that conservative political ideology was associated with more negative attitudes compared to the liberal political ideology. And, the increased levels of threat perceptions that include both symbolic and realistic components mediated the relationship between increased levels of negative attitude and increased level of conservative ideology adoption. Similarly, Costello and Hodson (2010) suggested that the link between increased levels of social dominance orientation and increased levels of negative attitude was mediated with increased levels of threat perceptions. Accordingly, when the symbolic and realistic threat perception was apparent in the minds of citizens, individuals with higher social dominance orientation were less willing to support immigrant empowering social policies and more inclined to accept that immigrants were responsible to change their own living conditions; compared to the individuals with lower levels of social dominance orientation. However, the link between the distinct attitudes of the two group and the levels of social dominance orientation disappeared when there was no threat perception (Costello & Hodson, 2010).

In the context of Turkey, it was observed that when the negative attitudes were conceptualized as decreased warmth feelings and being socially distant towards refugees, higher levels of symbolic threat perception was found to be correlated with

increased social distance while the increased levels of realistic threat perception predicted lesser amounts of warmth feelings. However, the degree of perceived threat in both symbolic and realistic domains was negatively correlated with the contact quality that is made between local people and Syrian refugees (Özkeçeci, 2017). In other words, as the quality of contact between Syrians and local people enhanced, the threat perception experienced by the local people became weaker. Further, the positive link between decreased contact quality and the increased negative feelings shared by the public against Syrians was mediated through the enhanced realistic threat perception; and the relationship of decreased contact quality with being socially distant towards refugees was again mediated by the enhanced symbolic threat perceptions (Özkeçeci, 2017). Besides, Yangın (2017) found that when the public in Turkey endorsed the threat perceptions in a greater extent, their inclination to exclude Syrian refugees from the social life became stronger. Also, the perception of Syrian's assimilation into mainstream culture in Turkey became as a necessity in a more convincing manner for the public when they adopted higher levels of threat perception (Yangın, 2017). Lastly, it was revealed that the increased levels of aversive attitudes toward Syrian refugees in Turkey by the citizens who endorse higher levels of social dominance orientation occurred through the mediating role of increased levels of threat perceptions (Karaoğlu, 2015).

The above summary points out to the fact that ITT provides a scientifically valid and consistent theoretical background for the study of attitudes toward refugees. Even though the studies that have been conducted in the context of Turkey are not as common as the ones that focused on the issue while considering the environment in the countries around the world, the existing literature demonstrates that the threat perception is a scientifically meaningful concept to be able to generate hypothesis regarding the attitudes toward Syrian refugees in Turkey and its relation to potentially significant psychological factors. In this regard, in the following section, the concept of national identification, which also constitutes one of the subgroups of antecedents of threat perception, will be explained through the lenses of Social Identity Theory to be able to elaborate on the concept in a more detailed way. And, the related previous literature also will be presented in the below section.

1.4. Social Identity Theory and The Concept of National Identification

Social Identity Theory (SIT) explains the role of group membership in social life along with the formation and maintenance of the group identity in the process (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Theory suggests that there appear two distinct categories of social behavior, which are interpersonal and intergroup behaviors. Accordingly, interpersonal behaviors are observed when individuals interact with each other based on their individual characteristics. On the other hand, when the interaction patterns between individuals or group of individuals are affected by the individual's group memberships and its qualifications, these behaviors are named intergroup. While a daily conversation between a wife and a husband is an example for interpersonal behaviors, interactions between the delegates of two different parties who strive to negotiate generates an example for the intergroup behaviors (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Tajfel and Turner (1979) claims that when the intergroup behaviors between social groups are majorly governed by conflictual motivation, the behaviors of the individuals belong to the opposite groups will be determined by the norms and values of the group itself, rather than the characteristics and preferences that each individual independently possess. The researchers further reveal the concepts of social mobility and social change as two distinct categories, which specify the behaviors of social groups toward each other in the form of an adopted belief systems. When group members assume that social mobility applies to the nature of their group existence, they generally believe that it is possible to abandon the group they currently belong and to identify themselves with another group to be able to acquire more satisfying living conditions. Such an acceptance means that group members believe that the nature and structure of the group arise from flexible and permeable social rules. However, in the case of defining the social change as the valid force in the dynamics of a specific group, members of the group perceive that unsatisfactory conditions they come across due to their membership cannot be changed through redefining their belongingness to the group and they assume that staying in the disadvantaged conditions is an obligatory social role. In social groups, which internalized the general social rules on the basis of social change category, group members socialize in a way to perceive outgroup members as a unified social category that does not hold various individual characteristics. In other words, in such a context, outgroup members are

stigmatized with broad and similar characteristics by the ingroup members with a belief that the attributed properties are caused by the very existence of the outgroup itself (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In a similar vein, the adoption of social change rules makes ingroup members inclined to act towards stigmatized outgroup members as a unified whole, instead of establishing genuine and particular interactions with various individuals belong to outgroup based on independent social experiences. And, the behaviors of the ingroup members, which are presented as a group action, are defined by the embraced group characteristics while interacting with outgroup members when the social change is recognized as the dominant belief system in the group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Following the explanation of basic components that settle the group relations, Tajfel and Turner (1979) also refer status quo as a critical element in the antagonistic relations between groups, which they define as the ranking of prestige of the certain group of individuals in a given society. Theory conceptualizes the discrepancy between groups as subordinate and dominant sides based on the status quo and asserts that the formation of this variation originates from the distribution of resources in an unbalanced manner. Subordinate group is defined as the one that is conscious of the inequality in the social realm and rejects their nonprivileged position in the society. The psychological rejection by the disadvantaged group also might come into existence in a group action that claim equal rights and living conditions. In such a case, the dominant group that keep the greater part of resources is disposed to counter react to the resistance of subordinate group with the purpose of defending their privileged position. For such an aim, the relatively more powerful group could search for qualities of the group that make them believe are superior than the subordinate group's overall specialties and emphasize the difference between two groups. Besides that, justifying the status quo difference becomes one of the primary coping strategy of the individuals that reside in the dominant group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). However, a potential opposition to the settled state in the society is not necessary to excite an aversive interaction between the groups. Individuals who identify themselves with a certain group perceive the outgroup members as contenders just because the latter group does not define its existence with the prior group. To be able to rationalize this aversive tendency, ingroup members interpret the presence of outgroup members and their

general behaviors in a negative way while they favor the ingroup members unconditionally. The whole process that is clarified through the theory is named social categorization and discriminating outgroup by ways of favoring individuals in a specified group is defined as the ingroup bias (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). SIT suggests that discrimination towards individuals who belong to groups other than one's own group and ingroup bias occur simultaneously and are automatic results of intergroup categorization.

In the final step, SIT describes the phenomenon of social category, which includes a certain amount of individuals as the emotionally attached members of the category, and these individuals share a common understanding regarding the category they belong to, along with the agreed properties that the membership provide to them (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In this way, it becomes possible for the individuals to subjectively understand their role in social life. The cognitive segmentation and organization in the society, further provide an opportunity for people to choose to perform social action as a group that are defined as meaningful in the frame of their group existence. Accordingly, the social categorization process starts with the identification of individuals with specified groups, and its maintenance. The identification gains a positive and superior value through a constant social comparison with "others" who are defined as not belonging to the identified social group. And, internalization of the value systems of the social groups create the exact form of membership to social categories that becomes psychological tools to define self by referencing the group membership. Lastly, factors such as similarity, proximity, and situational context play a crucial role in the process of outgroup-ingroup interaction formation (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Among various social categories, the globally governing model of nation-states ensure people, in a widespread and powerful way, the category of nation as a basis to identify themselves. Kelman (1997) suggests that at the foundation of national identification formation there exist the universal need of populations to be protected in terms of interests and rights, along with the need to feel dignity. And, as people become attached to their nation, they also feel loyalty to the other people in the same nation. By this way, individuals find an opportunity to define themselves as a particular

population that ensure the independent existence of their country and the integrity of the country, rather than being a random community (Kelman, 1997). Such a specified relationship between the populations and their state make people acquire the feelings of self-respect and of perceived control over their lives. In the process, individuals define their self-concepts partly based on the common elements of the nation such as language, religion, shared memories, history, traditions, customs, and societal values, which provides ingroup members a ground for a comfortable communication (Kelman, 1997). According to Kelman (1997), the special bond between the people who characterize themselves with the same nation must be consciously explicit for the individuals to be able to define them as nationally identified. Common cultural and material elements shared by the group, connectedness that is constituted through the special bond between the group members and the final result of feeling as a group function altogether to separate the ingroup members from outsiders in a distinct way (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000). And in the case that a group of people distinguish themselves from rest of the people in terms of their nationality, the gains and losses of the nation turn into important experiences while people construct their self-concept and their worldviews, which determine the subjective meaning of their relationship with the social world. The general feeling of satisfaction is another yield of internalizing national identity; however, the significance and/or centrality of the category does not apply to each individual in the same degree (Kelman, 1997).

Identification with the nation creates a psychological control over one's defined roles and position in the society by being formed through a willful act (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000). Brubaker and Cooper use the term social location as a synonym to self-identification to various categories in the society including the nation, which refers to the intentional behavior of individuals to comprehend the world and their relation to the environment with their own meaning systems and choices. The importance of the emphasize on individual's rational choice while defining their self-concept through nationalistic characteristics is sourced by its opportunity to create an alternative to the social identities that are perceived as imposed by external factors such as the already existing categories in the society. However, some researchers suggest that since the social categories in the society already are formulated by states to govern populations in a more controlled way, the influence of the state power in the identification process

is inevitable (Kertzer & Ariel, 2002). Similarly, Grotenhuis (2016) argues that at the core of the national identity concept, state policies that favor the homogeneity among populations belong to certain nations take part to form a dominant identity. The researcher further explains the logic of such policies through the aimed cooperation among the members who belong the same nations to provide the security and consistency in the societies. And, the assimilation or integration of minority groups, such as refugees, in the society becomes a justified process in such a model (Grotenhuis, 2016). As a consequence, even though national identification is approached in the social sciences as a constructed phenomenon, the political discourses that individuals are exposed to in daily life make people believe that national identity is an essential quality that must be defended by the ingroup members (Grotenhuis, 2016).

Lastly, Scheve et al. (2014) approach to the elements that constitute the national identification through three different categories. First one is the symbolic representations that belong to a particular nation that encompass the psychologically shared entities by ingroup members such as the memories regarding the nation's history. The second category is the very existence of social and political institutions, and their respective values that regulates people's rights in domains such as health and education. The third one refers to the feeling of solidarity between ingroup members, which arise from positive and reciprocal attitudes among the members. For the last category, the interdependency between the people who identify themselves with the same nation becomes a crucial factor while constituting the feeling of belonging to a distinct group (Scheve et al., 2014). The positive attitude among the ingroup members ensures a context that embody individual differences within the same nation; however, when the ethnic culture becomes a major defining element in the nation, minorities such as immigrants in the society, carry the risk of being socially excluded since they are perceived as not possessing the nation's defining feature (Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014).

In the previous literature, many studies found meaningful relationship between national identification levels of local people and attitude towards outgroup members in general, and specifically towards refugees or immigrants in the society. In a study

conducted with the population in Finland, study findings indicated that both majority and minority groups presented high levels of psychological ownership of Finland as their degree of national identification increased. And, the increased level of perceived ownership was correlated with negative attitudes toward immigrants in the country for the majority group (Brylka et al., 2015). Similarly, in the Southern United States, increased levels of identification with being a southern correlated with negative attitudes toward Black people in the region who were perceived as outgroup members, through the mediating role of Southern ownership (Wright, 2018). A study, which was conducted with Dutch children between the ages of 10 to 12, also, showed that children who identified themselves with their nation in a greater extent presented higher levels of social distance toward children who belong to other nations compared to the children who identify themselves by being Dutch in a lesser extent (Verkuyten, 2010). Further, for the population in Europe, it was found that social projects that support the improved living conditions for refugees was not supported by individuals who highly identify themselves with their nation and when these individuals, also, identified themselves by being European the intensity of opposition to immigrant favoring policies further increased (Wieners, 2017)

Certain amount of studies made a distinction between patriotism and nationalism, which are both categories of national identity, while measuring the association between national identification and attitudes toward immigrants. The major difference between the patriotism and nationalism is defined in the literature as subsequent one's emphasis on excluding other nations (Merriam-Webster's collegiate dictionary, n. d.). Both categories include people's love and loyalty they feel for their nation, however nationalism further contains the feeling of superiority on the basis of one's nation against other people who are not categorized as the members of that nation (Merriam-Webster's collegiate dictionary, n. d.). Accordingly, Grigoryan (2014) conceptualized national identity as nationalism when the identification process was defined through a group comparison factor along with the openness to ingroup criticism. On the other hand, when the definition of national identity did not involve the concepts of group comparison and ingroup criticism, identification process was conceptualized as patriotism. Besides that, the concept of nation was presented in the study either as a cultural or political unit. The results of the study revealed that nationalism as a form

of national identification with a group comparison factor and with low levels of criticism acceptance significantly correlated with negative attitudes towards immigrants in Russia. However, as the degree of patriotism increased while accepting nation as a political entity, rather than a cultural one, the anti-immigrant attitudes became weaker (Grigoryan, 2014). In a similar vein, Blank and Schmidt (2003) found that while there was a positive correlation between nationalism and intolerance toward outgroup members, patriotism and intolerance was negatively correlated for the individuals who identified themselves with being East German or West German. Also, for the population in Canada, the study findings indicated that there was no correlation between anti-immigrant attitudes and patriotism levels of individuals, or the two variables were slightly and negatively correlated. However, the degree of negative attitudes toward immigrants increased for the individuals who identify themselves with nationalism in a greater extent compared to the individuals whose national identification levels were lower (Barnes, 2015). In another study, the results suggested that the positive correlation between national identification and derogation of outgroup members was much stronger when the identification was conceptualized as nationalism by including the intergroup comparison factor, instead of patriotism (Mummendey et al., 2010). A distinction between civic versus ethno-national aspect of national identification was also made, and it was found that while the prior one, which emphasized the acquired characteristics, was related to positive attitudes toward immigrants by local people; the later one, which focused on the essential properties, predicted anti-immigrant attitudes (McAllister, 2016).

The summary of the previous literature about the specified relationship suggests that the context and the targeted population play a crucial role while examining the significance and direction of the relationship between national identification and attitude towards immigrants in a given society. Regarding this issue, Oppenheimer and Barrett (2011) asserts that instead of deducing a universal social reality based on the researches on national identity levels of ingroup members and attitude toward outgroup members, the sociohistorical contexts of various societies and their influence on specific contents of national identity formation must be considered while generating scientific hypotheses. Thus, the historical and current context of the Turkey must be recognized while predicting the attitudes of citizens toward Syrian refugees in Turkey

in relation to national identification levels of citizens. Besides, the possible moderating role of certain factors in the relationship must be tested to be able to produce a valid scientific knowledge that provide pathways of the interrelations between various factors. For this reason, in the following section, the concept of social contact will be explained in the light of Intergroup Contact Theory, with the consideration of its potential contribution as a moderator in the possible relationship between national identification and attitude towards refugees.

1.5. The Concept of Social Contact

The Intergroup Contact Theory (Allport, 1954) suggests that the aversive interactions between majority and minority groups in a society could improve through the social contact between the two groups by ways of increased intergroup understanding. Diminishing levels of prejudice along with a lesser tendency of stereotyping and discrimination by ingroup members toward outgroup members are among the possible consequences of intergroup contact according to the theory. The acquired knowledge about the outgroup members due to the formed contact is considered as the main reason for the improvement in group relations (Allport, 1954). Through the learned facts about the outgroup, it becomes possible to reconceptualize the mistaken information about the members of the outgroup, which causes simple generalizations (Allport, 1954).

Allport (1954) indicated that when the majority and minority groups interact with each other, it is important that they possess equal status in the society to be able to overcome prejudicial attitudes. Thus, the shared qualities such as similar socio-economic background and personal characteristics provides an environment for the opposing groups to interact in a positive manner. Further, reunite of the resources and attempts of each group on the purpose of solving a problem creates a common goal for each side and facilitates the possibility of peaceful social interactions. However, in the process of striving to approach the common goal, there must be a cooperating environment between the individuals who belong to different groups. Lastly, when the outgroup and ingroup members start to develop positive attitudes toward each other, the support of a recognized authority in favor of the improvements becomes crucially

important (Allport, 1954). Even though, the factors of equal status, common goal, cooperation, and support from authority are defined as optimal conditions for the development of nonprejudicial opinions between opposing groups in the theory, the current literature suggest that they are not imperatives (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Later studies, also, emphasized the distinct importance of the quality in the potential contact between outgroup and ingroup members while predicting the transformation of negative attitudes into positive ones (Tropp & Page-Gould, 2015).

The empirical support for the specified relationship between decreased negative attitude toward outgroup members and increased social contact between ingroup and outgroup members was provided by many researchers around the world. For instance, for the population in Italy, study findings revealed that the contact between local people and immigrants was correlated with decreased levels of prejudice and with increased levels of positive attitude toward immigrants through the mediating role of lower levels of anxiety experienced by local people. Likewise, in New Zealand, negative attitudes toward immigrants were demonstrated in a lesser extent by local people who felt decreased levels of anxiety as a consequence of experienced social contact with immigrants (Ward & Masgoret, 2006). Besides, individuals who made contact with immigrants in the work environment showed increased levels of positive attitudes in favor of immigrants' rights (Voci & Hewstone, 2003). Savelkoul et al. (2011), also, found that in Netherlands, aversive attitudes that the majority possessed toward Muslim immigrants as a minority group loose strength as a consequence of social contact between the members of two groups in the work environment. Similarly, in a large scaled study, which encompasses France, Great Britain, Netherlands, and West Germany, it was found that the social contact between locals and immigrants was associated with lower levels of prejudice against immigrants by ways of increased empathy towards outgroup members, higher identification with outgroup members, and the revision of the ingroup itself. The prejudice lowering effect of contact was more powerful for the individuals who developed intimate relationships with outgroup members such as friendship (Pettigrew, 1997). The enhanced effect of intimate interactions with immigrants through contact in terms of lowering discriminatory attitude by local people was also observed in the West European context (McLaren, 2003).

There also exist research findings that advocate a reverse relationship between social contact and attitude toward outgroup members. In this regard, Enos (2014) suggested that the resulting demographic alteration that is sourced by immigrants, transform the effect of social contact between locals and immigrants into an aversive one, and social contact leads to a dismissive attitude toward immigrants in such a context. However, the majority of studies that are conducted to examine the stated relationship show that social contact between ingroup and outgroup members, mostly, is correlated with positive social interaction experiences such as developing friendships with the other group (Savelkoul et al., 2011), learning to take perspective of the outgroup members, and starting the feeling trust toward the outgroup members (Hewstone et al., 2006). And the positive correlation between intergroup contact and socially constructive interactions between the groups was even more powerful when the group size of immigrants reached to large amounts in the society (Schlueter & Scheepers, 2010; Wagner et al., 2006). Besides, some researchers indicated that, in the case of social contact that is made between ingroup and outgroup members in a certain context such as a neighborhood, even the individuals who live in that area but do not experience contact directly become inclined to overcome aversive perceptions about the outgroup members (Christ et al., 2014).

The moderating role of intergroup contact in the relationship between certain antecedents of negative attitude towards outgroup members and the attitude itself was also studied in the previous literature. Accordingly, In Germany, Northern Ireland, and England, it was found that the positive association between decreased levels of identification with the ingroup and avoidance of social distancing from the outgroup by ingroup members was moderated by the friendships that are made between the opposing group members (Kauff et al., 2016). In a study that included 21 European countries' populations, it was found that the anti-immigrant political discourses were more effective on the individuals who do not possess immigrant friends or coworkers. On the other hand, local people, who had intimate relationships with immigrants were more resilient against the aversive effects of such discourses (Bohman, 2015). Lastly, the negative perceptions about the immigrants due to the increased numbers of immigrant arrivals lost strength due to the social contact experience between locals and immigrants (McLaren, 2003).

In the context of Turkey, it was found that the quantity of social contact between Syrian refugees and local people mediates the relationship between threat perception that is sourced by refugees and discrimination against refugees. Accordingly, the decreased levels of contact quantity depended on accelerated degrees of cultural threat perception and as the amount of contact decreased the negative attitudes toward refugees became lesser (Padır, 2019). On the other hand, negative attitudes were observed in a wider extent when the increased cultural threat perception of local people yielded a decrease in the contact quality. In a similar vein, displayed xenophobia against Syrian refugees became more powerful when the quality of the contact between the two groups reduced as a consequence of increased general threat perception (Padır, 2019). Further, Kahya (2019) asserted that the contact between refugees and local people was correlated with increased levels of tolerance and with lesser amounts of felt dissatisfaction by local people toward refugees in Turkey. However, the context in Turkey requires further examination to be able to show the true nature and pattern of the relationships between contact, attitude, and other related factors.

In the following section, the concept of locus of control will be explained considering its potential moderating role in the prediction of attitudes toward Syrian refugees in Turkey.

1.6. The Concept of Locus of Control

The Locus of Control (LoC) is a concept that is derived from the Social Learning Theory (SLT), which is developed by Rotter in 1954. SLT discusses that experiences in life, histories of learning processes that individuals possess, and the interaction of these two processes with stimuli in the physical and social environment determine the behavior formation of people (Rotter, 1954). Such an approach created a counter argument against the understanding of behavior until then, which was explained as mere reactions to stimuli around the individual by defining the subject of behavior as a passive entity. In this line, Rotter suggests that while people strive to understand the reasons of their actions they rely on beliefs, which are originated from previously experienced reinforcements regarding the specific action. Adopted beliefs as a product of the learning process, further yields to the emergence of new attitudes and behaviors for individuals (Rotter, 1966). The LoC, as a phenomenon that is conceptualized

according to the stated new understanding of behavior, introduces the distinct psychological patterns that determine the perceived source of events for individuals in various degrees. The externality as opposed to the internality of the source becomes the major factor that specify the individual differences in terms of LoC (Rotter, 1966).

When an individual is generally inclined to perceive that the things that happen in one's life can be explained by outside factors, such as chance or destiny, and cannot be controlled by the individual him/herself, this means that the individual possess an external LoC (Rotter, 1966). As a result, these individuals believe that changing the existing situations in life is not an issue that depend on their abilities and skills (Carlson et al., 2007). On the other hand, when an individual possesses an internal LoC, s/he believes that the essential responsibility of the outcomes in life belongs to him/herself, and the happenings in life can be controlled by internal factors such as individual strivings or abilities (Rotter, 1966). Thus, in the case of possessing an internal LoC, individuals become inclined to praise their own personal characteristics and they also possess a tendency to blame themselves in the case of personal failures (Carlson, et al., 2007). The difference between the two general groups of people, in terms of the LoC, make people with a belief system that favors the internal control more resilient towards unexpected or/and unwanted situations compared to the ones with an external control adoption by ways of threat perception in a lesser degree (Carlson, et al., 2007).

Harell et al. (2016) used the concept of LoC to predict the attitudes of citizens toward immigrants in Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom. The researchers grounded the logic of the study on the expectation that when people possess an internal LoC, they must hold a belief that the changing structures in the society due to the immigration can be changed through their individual efforts. And, such a belief in personal responsibility must make the effects of immigration less threatening, thus must make individuals more prone to embrace positive attitudes toward immigrants compared to the individuals with an external LoC (Herall et al., 2016). Addition to the prediction of well-studied difference between attitudes of individuals who possess external versus internal LoC in various domains, Harell et al. (2016) genuinely presented a dimensional notion called immigrant's LoC, which, in accordance with the original concept, acquires internal versus external aspects. Accordingly, they argued

that when people perceive immigrants as responsible for the outcomes of migration and feel that they themselves do not have control to change the situation, that means that these individuals possess an “immigrant internal LoC” (Harell et al., 2016). On the other hand, when individuals interpret the situation that occurred due to the migration as sourced by external factors rather than by the immigrants, they own an “immigrant external LoC” (Harell et al., 2016). And, the research findings revealed that in all three countries, citizens who possessed an internal LoC, instead of an external one were more tolerant to the immigrants in their country as expected. Moreover, citizens who attributed the source of changes in society following the immigration to the immigrant’s internal defects, such as laziness or being lack of power will, possessed more negative attitudes toward immigrants compared to the citizens who perceived that external factors, such as the applied governmental policies, generated the source of problem (Harell et al., 2016).

The positive correlation between being more tolerant towards outgroup members and possessing an internal LoC also was shown by other studies (Strickland, 1977). The previous literature, also, suggests that when the ingroup members perceive that the disadvantaged conditions that outgroup members are exposed to are sourced by external circumstances, such as the historical factors, they experience prejudice toward outgroup members in a lesser extent (Gill & Andreychik, 2007). Supporting the link between outgroup external LoC and relatively more positive attitudes toward them, other researchers indicated that when ingroup members believe that outgroup members are mistreated due to an external motivation, rather than due to the outgroup member’s internal characteristics, they possess compassionate feelings toward outgroup instead of aversive attitudes (Gill et al., 2013).

Harell et al. (2016) implied that LoC is a powerful predictor in the research of attitudes toward immigrants. However, the related literature does not contain a wide array of scientific results. Thus, it is important to examine the validity of LoC in the prediction of attitudes toward immigrants/refugees in divergent context along with its possible relation with other psychological factors.

In the following section, the definitions of study variables will be made and the hypotheses that are constituted based upon the previous literature along with the current situation in Turkey will be presented.

1.7. Study Variables and Hypotheses

In the current study, the attitudes of citizens toward Syrian refugees in Turkey will be examined through the theoretical frameworks offered by IIT and SIT along with the contributions of social contact and LoC. Firstly, the attitudes of the individuals, which stands for the dependent variable, will be measured by an attitude scale that is constructed based on the symbolic and realistic threat perceptions. Secondly, national identification levels of the individuals, which stands for the independent variable, will be measured to test if there is a meaningful relationship between the degree of identification with the Turkish nationality and negative attitudes toward Syrian refugees. Thirdly, the experienced contact between citizens and Syrian refugees will be measured to test the moderational role of social contact in the possible relationship between national identification and attitudes toward refugees. Besides, the moderating role of general contact will be tested by using both the quality and quantity measures of the contact. Lastly, the LoC of the individuals will be assessed with the subcategories of individual LoC and refugee LoC, to analyze a possible moderating role of LoC concept in the relationship between national identification of citizens and citizen's attitude toward Syrian refugees in Turkey. The individual LoC possess two dimensions as internal and external while the prior one explain the degree of perceived control by internal resources of individual such as personality and skills, the later one measure the degree of perceived control by external resources, such as luck. On the other hand, refugee LoC, also, possess two dimensions as internal and external, and while internal refugee LoC measures the degree of perceived control belong to refugees' internal characteristics, such as being lazy; external refugee LoC assesses the degree of perceived control belong to external factors, such as political environment, regarding the source of refugees' living conditions in Turkey. Accordingly, the hypotheses of the current study are as follows:

Hypothesis 1: The increased levels of national identification by the citizens in Turkey is associated with increased levels of negative attitude towards Syrian refugees in Turkey.

Hypothesis 2: The general social contact between Syrian refugees and citizens in Turkey moderates the relationship between national identity and attitude towards Syrian refugees. As the general contact level between citizens and Syrian refugees increase, the relationship between national identity and attitude towards refugees will weaken.

Hypothesis 3: The quality of social contact between Syrian refugees and citizens in Turkey moderates the relationship between national identity and attitude towards Syrian refugees. As the contact quality between citizens and Syrian refugees increase, the relationship between national identity and attitude towards refugees will weaken.

Hypothesis 4: The quantity of social contact between Syrian refugees and citizens in Turkey moderates the relationship between national identity and attitude towards Syrian refugees. As the contact quantity between citizens and Syrian refugees increase, the relationship between national identity and attitude towards refugees will weaken.

Hypothesis 5: The individual LoC moderates the relationship between national identification and attitude towards Syrian refugees in Turkey. The internal individual LoC weakens the relationship, while the external individual LoC strengthen the relationship.

Hypothesis 6: The refugee LoC moderates the relationship between national identification and attitude towards Syrian refugees in Turkey. The internal refugee LoC strengthen the relationship, while the external refugee LoC weaken the relationship.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

2.1. Participants

The total number of the participants were 667 prior to the analysis. However, 98 people did not complete the online survey. Besides, since the current study aims to measure the attitude of citizens of Turkish Republic 9 people who live abroad were deleted from the data set. Lastly, 1 multivariate and 7 univariate outliers were excluded from the study. In the end, there remained 552 participants whose data were used for the analysis. Participants consisted of 294 female (53.3%) and 258 male (46.7%). The age range was from 16 to 70 ($M = 34.45$, $SD = 12.58$). There were 46 cities that participants declared as the residence, however the majority were from bigger cities such as İstanbul (16.3%), Ankara (15.6%), İzmir (7.8%), Adana (13%), and Mersin (8.9%). The place of residence was approached as two different groups, which are Syrian refugee populated cities in higher numbers and remaining 40 cities with relatively lower numbers of Syrian refugees. The cities that consisted the first group with higher refugee population were İstanbul, Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Hatay, Adana, and Mersin; and 45.2% of the participants fell into this group. The remaining 54.8% of the participants were in the other group. The distinction between the residence groups was made based on the report of International Refugee's Rights Foundation (2018). The majority of the participants graduated from university (44.2%), and high school graduates followed them in the rank (33.3%). The remaining participants were literate (1.4%), secondary school graduates (0.9%), and master's or doctoral degree graduates (20.1%). The percentage of the higher education participants constitutes a nonrepresentative statistic in terms of the population in Turkey, thus the educational level characteristics of the sample must be considered when interpreting the study findings.

More than half of the participants stated that they live with a middle-income level (%55.3). The percentage of single (44.7%) and married (50.5%) people were very

close to each other with a much lesser number of participants who expressed they are widow (4.7%). Number of the children in participant’s household showed a frequency that are close to each other with 153 individuals living with 1 child (27.7%), 169 individuals living with 2 children (30.6%), and 136 individuals living with more than three children (24.7%); while 94 individuals expressed there is no child in the household (17%). And the participants majorly consisted of individuals who live in the household with more than 3 people (60.3%), along with the ones who live alone (9.6%), with another person (12%), and with other two people (28.1%).

The sample characteristics in terms of the religiosity levels and political orientation formed a nonrepresentative distribution. The number of the participants who do not identify themselves with religion at all was the highest (25.9%) and who identified themselves with absolute religiosity were only the 17% of the total sample. As opposed to the statistic in the current study, only 1.2% of the population in Turkey do not define themselves in religious terms (Pew-Templeton Global Religious Futures Project, 2010). The rest of the participants chose among low (15.6%), middle (13.6%), more than middle (16.3%), and high levels (11.6%) of religiosity. Lastly, 359 participants defined their political orientation as left-wing (65.04%), 93 of them defined their political orientation as right-wing (16.85%), and 100 of them did not define themselves in political terms (18.11%). However, the majority of people who are the citizens of Turkish Republic (83.1%) define themselves with right-wing political orientation (Toprak et al., 2009). For the distribution of sample’s demographic characteristics see Table 2.1.

Table 2.1.

Demographic Characteristics of the Study Sample					
<i>Variables</i>	<i>Range</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
Age	16-70	34.45	12.58	552	
Gender				294	53.3
	Female			258	46.7
	Male				

Note. *M* = Mean, *SD* = Standard Deviation

Table 2.1. (continued)

Demographic Characteristics of the Study Sample					
<i>Variables</i>	<i>Range</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
Place of residence					
	İstanbul			90	16.3
	Gaziantep			9	1.6
	Şanlıurfa			10	1.8
	Hatay			20	3.6
	Adana			72	13
	Mersin			49	8.9
	Other*			302	54.8
Education Level					
	Literate			8	1.4
	Secondary school			5	0.9
	High school			184	33.3
	College/University			244	44.2
	Master's/Doctoral			111	20.1
Income					
	Low			37	6.7
	Lower-middle			80	14.5
	Middle			305	55.3
	Upper-middle			116	21
	High			14	2.5
Marital Status					
	Single			247	44.7
	Married			279	50.5
	Widow			26	4.7
# of children in the household					
	None			94	17
	One child			153	27.7
	Two child			169	30.6
	Three or more child			136	24.7

Note. *M* = Mean, *SD* = Standard Deviation, * The “other” category stands for 40 cities that participants live such as İzmir, Osmaniye, Kocaeli, and Edirne. The split between the other category and remaining cities are made based on the Syrian population in the cities.

Table 2.1. (continued)

Demographic Characteristics of the Study Sample					
<i>Variables</i>	<i>Range</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
# of individuals in household					
One individual				53	9.6
Two individual				66	12
Three individual				155	28.1
More than three individual				278	60.3
Religiousness					
None				143	25.9
Low				86	15.6
Middle				75	13.6
More than middle				90	16.3
High				64	11.6
Absolute				94	17
Political view					
Left-wing				359	65.04
Right-wing				93	16.85
Apolitical				100	18.11

Note. *M* = Mean, *SD* = Standard Deviation, * The “other” category stands for 40 cities that participants live such as İzmir, Osmaniye, Kocaeli, and Edirne. The split between the other category and remaining cities are made based on the Syrian population in the cities.

2.2. Instruments

The survey package for the current study consisted of a demographic questionnaire and four other scales that separately measure the study variables. The first scale was the Attitude towards Syrian Refugees Scale that measured the dependent variable, which is the attitude toward Syrian Refugees in Turkey. The second scale was the adapted version of Multi-component In-group Identification Scale that measured the independent variable, which is the levels of national identification of citizens in Turkey. The third scale was the Turkish version of Social Contact Scale, which was adopted to the contact with Syrian Refugees. The Scale measured the contact quality and quantity of participants with Syrian refugees. Lastly, the translated version of LoC and Anti-Immigrant Sentiment Scale was used to measure individual’s perception regarding the source of control. There exist two subscales of the LoC measurement, and first one assesses the internality versus externality of the individual control while the second one assesses the internality versus externality of the refugees’ control.

Internal reliability coefficients of each scale and results of factor analyses are presented in the below section along with the detailed descriptions of scales.

2.2.1. Demographics

A demographic questionnaire was presented to the participants that includes gender, age, place of residence, educational level, income level, marital status, number of children in the household, number of individuals in the household, religiosity identification, and political orientation.

2.2.2. Negative Attitude towards Syrian Refugees

The Attitudes towards Syrian Refugees Scale, which was developed by Sunata et al. (2016), was used to measure the attitudes toward Syrian refugees in Turkey. The scale consists of 26 items such as “It bothers me to see Syrian refugees in the city center” and “I avoid to be friends with Syrian refugees”, which aims to assess the attitude of citizens based on the symbolic and realistic threat perceptions of individuals. The scale contained 9 reverse coded items (3, 4, 11, 15, 17, 21, 22, 25, and 26) such as “It does not bother me to be neighbors with Syrian refugees”. It was a 5-point Likert scale, from 1 (I totally disagree) to 5 (I totally agree). The higher scores indicated more negative attitudes toward Syrian refugees. The internal reliability of the scale was satisfactory ($\alpha = .94, n = 552$).

The Varimax rotation was used to conduct principal component analysis to reveal the factor structure of the attitude scale. Both the KMO statistic ($KMO = .96$) and the Barlett’s statistic ($\chi^2(325) = 7381.15, p = .000$) were satisfactory. Accordingly, there appeared three factors that are conceptually meaningful. The first factor composed of 14 items and was related to the sharing of public sphere, which conceptually coincides to the symbolic threat perception in the form of threat to cultural norms. The factor explained 26.89% of the total variance and was named “Public Sphere Usage (PSU)”. The internally consistent first factor’s ($\alpha = .92, N = 552$) item loadings ranged from .42 to .78. The second factor composed of 9 items and was related to the sharing of legal rights belong to citizens in the country, which coincides to the realistic threat perception in the form of threat to political and economic rights. This factor explained

19.38% of the total variance and entitled as “Legal Rights Sharing (LRS)”. The second factor was also internally consistent ($\alpha = .87$, $N = 552$) and the item loadings ranged from .48 to .76. The last and the third factor consisted of 3 items, which was entitled as the harmony with Turkish culture, which similar to the first factor coincides to the symbolic threat, but in a more nation-based specific manner, in the form of threat to cultural values. The factor explained 7.71% of the total variance and it was named as “Harmony with Culture (HC)”. The range of the item loadings belong to third factor was from .47 to .72, however reliability analysis was not conducted due to the low number of items.

The whole scale explained 53.98% of the total variance. For the factor loadings of the attitude scale see Table 2.2.

Table 2.2.

Loadings on Factors for the Negative Attitude Scale				
<i>Items</i>	<i>PSU</i>	<i>LRS</i>	<i>HC</i>	
1.It bothers me when I see a Syrian Refugee in the city center.	.60			
2.Syrian refugees must adapt to the Turkish culture.				.71
3.It does not bother me to be neighbors with Syrian refugees.*	.48			
4.I support the voting right for the Syrian refugees in the next elections.*		.76		
5.The possibility of Syrian refugees carrying contagious disease disturbs me.	.42			
6.I avoid to be friends with a Syrian refugee.	.74			
7.I think Syrian refugees limit the job opportunities for people who work in Turkey.		.50		
8.I think Syrian refugees must learn Turkish.				.72
9.I think Syrian refugees increase the crime rates.	.55			
10.Recognizing Syrian refugees as citizens would bother me.		.65		

Note. *PSU* = Public Sphere Usage; *LRS* = Legal Rights Sharing; *HC* = Harmony with Culture. Factor loadings are taken from the pattern matrix and factor loadings. Percentages of variance explained was calculated after extraction. Items are rated on a scale from 1 (I totally disagree) to 5 (I totally agree). *Items were reverse-coded prior to the analyses.

Table 2.2. (continued)

Loadings on Factors for the Negative Attitude Scale			
<i>Items</i>	<i>PSU</i>	<i>LRS</i>	<i>HC</i>
11.I would be volunteer for the social projects about Syrian refugees.*	.57		
12.I think it is wrong that Syrian refugees does not pay taxes.		.53	
13.I do not want Syrian refugees to reside in my neighborhood or the surroundings.	.71		
14.Syrian refugees must be deported.	.68		
15. I don't mind that Syrian refugees have free access to public transport for a certain period of time.*		.48	
16. I feel uncomfortable using the toilet used by Syrian refugees.	.67		
17. I think Syrian refugee children born in Turkey must be Turkish citizens.*		.58	
18.When I see Syrian refugees on the bus, I prefer not to sit next to him/her.	.78		
19. The fact that there are Syrian refugees in the park where I always take my child makes me nervous.	.75		
20. Syrian refugees in Turkey, should take more punishment than the citizens when they were involved in a crime.		.64	
21. Syrian refugees should benefit from the same health care services with the citizens of Turkey.*		.56	
22. It doesn't bother me that Syrians are in my country as refugees.*	.57		
23. The begging of Syrian refugees on the streets abuses the good feelings of citizens.	.51		
24. I think it must be more difficult for Syrian refugees to enter Turkey.		.65	
25. I am not uncomfortable with my child being friends with Syrian refugee children.*	.69		
26. The reality that the majority in Turkey and Syrian refugees believe in the same religion creates an environment of trust.*			.47
Percent of variance explained	26.89	19.38	7.71
Cronbach's alpha	.92	.87	-

Note. *PSU* = Public Sphere Usage; *LRS* = Legal Rights Sharing; *HC* = Harmony with Culture. Factor loadings are taken from the pattern matrix and factor loadings. Percentages of variance explained was calculated after extraction. Items are rated on a scale from 1 (I totally disagree) to 5 (I totally agree). *Items were reverse-coded prior to the analyses.

2.2.3. Identification with the National Identity

The Turkish version of Multi-component In-group Identification Scale (Leach et al., 2008), which was adopted by Balaban (2013), was used to measure the degree of identification with nationality in Turkey. The scale consists of two dimensions which are group-level self-investment and group-level self-definition. While the first dimension comprehends solidarity, satisfaction, and centrality components; the second one includes self-stereotyping and in-group homogeneity components. The scale consisted of 14 items such as “I feel solidarity with Turks” and “It is pleasant to be Turkish” and “I often think about the fact that I am Turk”. It was a 7-point Likert scale, from 1 (I totally disagree) to 7 (I totally agree). Higher scores indicated higher levels of identification with Turkish nationality. The internal reliability of the scale was satisfactory ($\alpha = .96, n = 552$).

The Varimax rotation was used to conduct principal component analysis to reveal the factor structure of the attitude scale. Both the KMO statistic ($KMO = .94$) and the Barlett’s statistic ($\chi^2 (91) = 8781,77, p = .000$) were satisfactory. Accordingly, there appeared two factors that are theoretically meaningful. The first factor composed of 10 items and included the group-level self-investment dimension. The factor explained 48.41% of the total variance. The internally consistent first factor’s ($\alpha = .96, N = 552$) item loadings ranged from .45 to .87. The second factor composed of 4 items and was belonged to the group-level self-definition dimension. This factor explained 27.71% of the total variance. The second factor was also internally consistent ($\alpha = .91, N = 552$) and the item loadings ranged from .66 to .89. The whole scale explained 76.12% of the total variance. For the factor loadings of the national identification scale see Table 2.3.

Table 2.3.

Loadings on Factor for the National Identification Scale		
<i>Items</i>	<i>SI</i>	<i>SD</i>
1.I feel a bond with Turks.	.79	
2.I feel solidarity with Turks.	.79	
3.I feel committed to Turks.	.84	
4.I am glad to be a Turk.	.87	
5.I think Turks have a lot to be proud of.	.83	
6.Its pleasant to be Turk.	.87	
7.Being Turk gives me a good feeling.	.86	
8.I often think about the fact that I am Turk.	.46	
9.The fact that I am Turk is an important part of my identity.	.73	
10.Being Turk is an important part of how I see myself.	.66	
11.I have a lot in common with the average Turkish person.		.70
12.I am similar to the average Turkish person.		.66
13.Turkish people have a lot in common with each other.		.89
14.Turkish people are very similar to each other.		.89
Percent of variance explained	48.41	27.71
	Cronbach's alpha	.96 .91

Note. *SI* = Self Investment; *SD* = Self Definition. Factor loadings are taken from the pattern matrix and factor loadings. Percentages of variance explained was calculated after extraction. Items are rated on a scale from 1 (I totally disagree) to 7 (I totally agree).

2.2.4. Social Contact with the Syrian Refugees

The Turkish version (Akbaş, 2010) of the Social Contact Scale (Islam & Hewstone, 1993), in the format that was adopted to contact with Syrian refugees, was used to measure the social contact levels. The scale consisted of 2 domains which are quantitative aspects and qualitative aspects. The first domain used items such as “How often do you contact with Syrian refugees as neighbors?” to measure the frequency of contact with Syrian refugees in formal and informal situations. The second domain measured the quality of contact based on equality, volition, sincerity, pleasantness, and cooperation. Both quantity and quality were assessed through 5-point Likert format, from 1 (Never) to 5 (Always), with 5 items for each domain. Higher scores indicated more frequent or better qualified contact depending on the domain. Similarly, higher scores indicated better contact for the general contact, which was measured by using two domains. The internal reliability of the scale in total was good ($\alpha = .79, N = 552$). However, since the quality and quantity domains possessed distinct

characteristics separate reliability analyses also were made. And, the result showed satisfactory reliability for quality of contact domain ($\alpha = .89, N = 552$), while it was good for the quantity of contact domain ($\alpha = .75, N = 552$).

The Varimax rotation was used to conduct principal component analysis to reveal the factor structure of the attitude scale. Both the KMO statistic ($KMO = .86$) and the Barlett's statistic ($\chi^2 (45) = 2612,69, p = .000$) were satisfactory. Compatible with the original scale dimensions, there appeared two factors. The first factor composed of 5 items of the contact quantity (CQn) dimension. The factor explained 25.58% of the total variance. The internally consistent first factor's ($\alpha = .75, N = 552$) item loadings ranged from .58 to .76. The second factor composed of 5 items that is belong to the contact quality (CQ1) dimension. Second factor explained 36.30% of the total variance. The second factor was also internally consistent ($\alpha = .89, N = 552$) and the item loadings ranged from .70 to .89.

The whole scale explained 61.88% of the total variance. For the factor loadings of the contact scale see Table 2.4.

Table 2.4.

Loadings on Factor for the Contact Scale

<i>Items</i>	<i>SI</i>	<i>SD</i>
1.How often you have contact with Syrian refugees in informal places such as school or workplace?	.72	
2. How often you have contact with Syrian refugees as neighbors?	.71	
3. How often you have contact with Syrian refugees as friends/close friends?	.76	
4. How often you communicate with Syrian refugees in informal content?	.69	
5. How often you make home visits to familiar Syrian refugees?	.58	

Note. *SI* = Self Investment; *SD* = Self Definition. Factor loadings are taken from the pattern matrix and factor loadings. Percentages of variance explained was calculated after extraction. Items are rated on a scale from 1 (I totally disagree) to 7 (I totally agree).

Table 2.4. continued)

Loadings on Factor for the Contact Scale

<i>Items</i>	<i>SI</i>	<i>SD</i>
6.To what extent you experience the contact with Syrian refugees as equals?		.70
7.To what extent you experience the contact with Syrian refugees voluntarily?		.83
8.To what extent you experience the contact with Syrian refugees sincerely?		.86
9.To what extent you experience the contact with Syrian refugees pleasantly?		.89
10.To what extent you experience the contact with Syrian refugees cooperatively?		.75

Note. *SI* = Self Investment; *SD* = Self Definition. Factor loadings are taken from the pattern matrix and factor loadings. Percentages of variance explained was calculated after extraction. Items are rated on a scale from 1 (I totally disagree) to 7 (I totally agree).

2.2.5 Locus of Control of Citizens in Turkey in the case of Syrian Refugees

For the current study, the Locus of Control and Anti-Immigrant Sentiment Scale (Harell et al., 2016) was first transformed into a 5-point Likert type scale and adapted to Turkish through back-translation technique. The current version of the scale consisted of two subscales. First subscale assessed the individual LoC with two items, which are “Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me” and reverse coded “When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work”. The items measured the perceived source of control in social reality. As the scores increased, the levels of externally controlled reality perception also increased. The other subscale consisted of 6 items, which two of them measured internal immigrant LoC such as “Refugees face with economic hardship because they are lazy”. And the remaining four items measured external immigrant LoC such as “Refugees face with economic hardship because of the unjust conditions in Turkey”. As the scores increased the level of perception that states immigrants are responsible for the hardship they face also increased. Since the first subscale (individual LoC) possessed only two items reliability analysis was not made for it. The refugee LoC subscale showed poor reliability ($\alpha = .61, n = 552$). However, subtracting any items

did not improve the reliability score. Suggestions to improve the poor outcome for the subscale is stated in the discussion part.

Since the Individual LoC subscale contained only two items factor analysis was considered to be unnecessary to apply. On the other hand, the KMO statistic ($KMO = .60$) was not satisfactory to conduct factor analysis for the Refugee LoC scale.

2.3. Procedure

An approval from Middle East Technical University (METU) Human Subjects Ethics Committee (HSEC) was obtained prior to the data collection. The survey was formed and distributed online through Qualtrics. The link that was generated on Qualtrics was shared on Facebook and the related online groups related to immigration studies. Additionally, an ethical approval was obtained from Osmaniye Korkut Ata University (OKU) Scientific Research and Publishing Ethics Committee. And, paper-pencil administration of the survey was made with the OKA students who study in faculty of art and sciences. The aim of the study was introduced to the participants as the research on the attitudes of citizens in Turkey toward Syrian Refugees who live in Turkey.

At the first part of the survey package an informed consent was presented, which briefly explains the ethical rights of participants, aim of the study, and communication information with the researcher. At the second part, participants were asked to complete a demographic questionnaire. Afterwards, the attitude scale, national identification scale, contact scale, individual LoC scale, and refugee LoC scale were presented respectively. At the last part, debriefing was made to the participants, which explains the study target in more detail and thanks for the scientific contributions. The online survey took approximately 10 minutes to complete. However, the completion of paper-pencil method was 20 minutes in general.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

The total of 667 participants started the survey package, however 98 of them did not complete it. Thus, the ones who left the survey undone were excluded from the study. Besides, 9 people who filled the whole package but resided in abroad were excluded due to the disharmony with the study topic. Remaining data belonged to 560 people were analyzed for the missing value. The analysis revealed that there were no missing data. The reason for that was the forced choice arrangement in the online survey and the face to face clear announcement along with the strict by-one-by control of each surveys in paper-pencil administration.

The result of the Mahalanobis distances calculation, which was made to detect multivariate outliers, showed that there was a single outlier (*Mahalanobis distance* (6) = 24.25, $p < .001$). Additional 7 univariate outliers were determined by z scores that are lower or higher than the critical value ± 3.29 . The data that is belonged to eight outliers in total were deleted from the dataset. As a result, 552 participants were used for the analyses.

The analysis that is made to check the normality assumption revealed that none of the variables, which are negative attitude (*skewness* = -0.18, *kurtosis* = -0.92), national identification (*skewness* = -0.41, *kurtosis* = -1.11), contact in general (*skewness* = -0.75, *kurtosis* = -0.28), contact in quality (*skewness* = 0.69, *kurtosis* = -0.68), contact in quantity (*skewness* = 1.05, *kurtosis* = 0.67), individual LoC (*skewness* = 0.07, *kurtosis* = -0.39), and refugee LoC (*skewness* = 0.07, *kurtosis* = -0.41) were normally distributed. The squareroot, reflecting, logarithm and inverse transformations were made to improve normality, but none of them served for a normal distribution. Thus, the results must be interpreted while considering the possibility of Type I error. The assumptions of linearity, homoscedasticity, multicollinearity, and singularity are met by all the variables.

3.1. Descriptive Statistics for Study Variables

Negative attitude levels ($M = 3.20$, $SD = 0.94$) and the national identification levels ($M = 4.73$, $SD = 1.81$) of the participants were moderately high in general. Such a result indicates that citizens in Turkey highly identify themselves with their nationality and they adopt a negative attitude, which is conceptualized based on the perceived threat in the current study, towards Syrian refugees in Turkey. On the other hand, general contact levels with the Syrian refugees were low ($M = 1.99$, $SD = 0.80$). However, the quality of the contact ($M = 2.23$, $SD = 1.19$) was relatively higher compared to the quantity of the contact ($M = 1.74$, $SD = 0.69$). The scores regarding the domains of contact shows that even though the experienced social interactions between the citizens and Syrian refugees in Turkey is low, citizens do not perceive these interactions as extremely unsatisfactory. Participants presented moderate levels of individual LoC ($M = 2.53$, $SD = 0.83$), which means that people in Turkey do not make an apparent distinction between the source of control in social reality in terms of its external and internal aspects. Lastly, the scores on refugee LoC ($M = 3.09$, $SD = 0.86$) was somewhat more than moderate levels. Scores on refugee LoC expresses a tendency to perceive Syrian refugees in Turkey as both responsible and nonresponsible for the hardship they experience; even though the responsibility ascription is slightly higher. For the mean scores along with the standard deviations of study variables, and reliability statistics of the scales that were used to acquire the stated scores see Table 3.1.

Table 3.1.

Means, Standard Deviations, and Reliability Statistics of the Study Variables

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Likert Scale</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Cronbach α</i>
Negative Attitude	1-5	552	3.20	0.94	.94
National Identification	1-7	552	4.73	1.81	.96
General Contact	1-5	552	1.99	0.80	.79

Note. M = Mean, SD = Standard Deviation.

Table 3.1. (continued)

Means, Standard Deviations, and Reliability Statistics of the Study Variables					
<i>Variables</i>	<i>Likert Scale</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Cronbach α</i>
Contact Quality	1-5	552	2.23	1.19	.89
Contact Quantity	1-5	552	1.74	0.69	.75
Individual LoC	1-5	552	2.53	0.83	-
Refugee LoC	1-5	552	3.09	0.86	.61

Note. *M* = Mean, *SD* = Standard Deviation, *LoC* = Locus of Control.

3.2. Correlations for Study Variables

Pearson two-tailed correlation analysis was used to examine the correlations between study variables. Results of the analysis showed that negative attitude as the dependent variable was strongly and positively correlated with the national identification as the independent variable ($r = .60, p < .01$). On the other hand, negative attitude and general contact as the possible moderator was negatively correlated in a strong manner ($r = -.61, p < .01$). National identification and general contact were also negatively correlated ($r = -.33, p < .01$). And, the two domains of the general contact which are quantity and quality were positively correlated ($r = .43, p < .01$). Additionally, the general contact was very strongly correlated with quantity ($r = .74, p < .01$) and quality ($r = .92, p < .01$) domains in a positive direction. Both the quality and quantity of contact were negatively correlated with negative attitude, however the relationship was strong for the contact quality ($r = -.66, p < .01$) while it was weak for the contact quantity ($r = -.28, p < .01$). As the second moderator variable refugee LoC was positively correlated with the negative attitude in a strong manner ($r = .66, p < .01$). However, there was no significant correlation between the individual LoC and negative attitude ($r = -.20, p > .01$). Besides, individual LoC and refugee LoC were moderately correlated in a negative direction ($r = -.59, p < .01$). For the relationship between two moderator variables contact quantity was only very weakly correlated with the refugee LoC ($r = -.12, p < .01$) while there was no significant correlation between contact quantity and individual LoC ($r = -.06, p > .01$). Contact quality was again negatively correlated with refugee LoC in a moderate manner ($r = -.49, p < .01$), but there was also no correlation between contact quality and individual LoC ($r = -.08, p > .01$). Similarly, general contact was moderately and negatively correlated with

refugee LoC ($r = -.41, p < .01$), but there was no significant correlation between general contact and individual LoC ($r = -.08, p > .01$). Lastly, national identification was negatively correlated with both quantity ($r = -.18, p < .01$) and quality ($r = -.34, p < .01$) of contact. National identification was also positively correlated with refugee LoC ($r = .46, p < .01$), but again there was no significant correlation between identification and individual LoC ($r = -.03, p > .01$).

Results show that as the national identification level of citizens in Turkey increases, the levels of negative attitudes toward Syrian refugees in Turkey also increase. On the other hand, as the general contact, contact quality, and contact quantity increase the levels of negative attitude toward refugees decreases. Similarly, as the general contact, contact quality, and contact quantity increase, the national identification levels of the citizens decreases. The significant correlation between refugee LoC and attitude reveals that as the levels of perceiving refugees as internally responsible for their condition increases, negative attitude towards them also increases. However, as the general, quantitative, and qualitative contact levels increases, the levels of perception that refugees are responsible for the hardship they experience decreases. Lastly, as the levels of national identification increased, the levels of perceiving refugees as responsible also increased. For the correlations among the study variables see Table 3.2.

Table 3.2.

Correlations between the Study Variables							
<i>Variables</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>
Negative Attitude	1						
National Identification	.60*	1					
General Contact	-.61*	-.33*	1				
Contact Quality	-.66*	-.34*	.92*	1			
Contact Quantity	-.28*	-.18*	.74*	.43*	1		
Individual LoC	-.02	-.03	-.08	-.08	-.06	1	
Refugee LoC	.66*	.46*	-.41*	-.49*	-.12*	-.05	1

Note. $N = 552$. *LoC* = Locus of Control. * $p < .01$, two-tailed.

3.3. Analyses for Main Hypotheses

To test the hypotheses, a simple linear regression and five groups of hierarchical regression analysis were conducted. For the hierarchical regression, all the independent variables were centered prior to the analysis. The negative attitude was always entered as the dependent variable. Independent variables were national identification levels; contact levels in general, quantity, and quality domains; individual LoC; refugee LoC; and the interactions between national identification with the rest of the variables. After identifying the potentially significant moderator variables among general, qualitative, and quantitative contact; individual LoC; and refugee LoC through regression analysis, The Sobel Test and Hayes' moderation macro for SPSS was used to test the significance of moderation with a 95% bootstrap confidence interval based on 5000 bootstrap samples. The results of the analysis are reported in the below section.

3.3.1. National Identification and Negative Attitude towards Syrian Refugees

A simple linear regression analysis was conducted to test the hypothesis that national identification levels of the citizens in Turkey as the independent variable predicts the negative attitude of citizens towards Syrian refugees in Turkey as the dependent variable. When the national identification was regressed on negative attitude (*Adj. R*² = .36, *F*(1,550) = 311.18, *p* = .000), the result showed that national identification component significantly predicts the negative attitude ($\beta = .60$, *p* = .000). And the national identification explained 36% of the variance in negative attitude.

3.3.2. The Role of Contact in the Relationship between Identity and Attitude

3.3.2.1. General Contact

For the second hypothesis that the general contact with Syrian refugees moderates the relationship between negative attitudes toward refugees and national identification of the citizens, a hierarchical regression analysis was conducted with the aim of controlling if the general contact variable was suitable to apply moderation analysis. The national identification, the general contact, and the interaction between these two variables were regressed on negative attitude (*Adj. R*² = .56, *F*(3,548) = 227.96, *p* =

.000). However, the variance change that occurred with the addition of interaction between general contact and national identification was not significant. Thus, the general contact variable was considered to be unsuitable for moderation analysis.

3.3.2.2. Contact Quality

For the third hypothesis that the quality of the contact with Syrian refugees moderates the relationship between negative attitudes toward refugees and national identification of the citizens, a hierarchical regression analysis was conducted with the aim of controlling if the contact quality variable was suitable to apply moderation analysis. The national identification, the contact quality, and the interaction between these two variables were regressed on negative attitude ($Adj. R^2 = .60, F(3,548) = 277.80, p = .000$). However, the variance change that occurred with the addition of interaction between contact quality and national identification was not significant. Thus, the contact quality variable was considered to be unsuitable for moderation analysis.

3.3.2.3. Contact Quantity

For the fourth hypothesis that the quantity of the contact with Syrian refugees moderates the relationship between negative attitudes toward refugees and national identification of the citizens, a hierarchical regression analysis was conducted with the aim of controlling if the contact quantity variable was suitable to apply moderation analysis. The national identification, the contact quantity, and the interaction between these two variables were regressed on negative attitude ($Adj. R^2 = .40, F(3,548) = 118.64, p = .000$). However, the variance change that occurred with the addition of interaction between contact quantity and national identification was not significant. Thus, the contact quantity variable considered to be unsuitable for moderation analysis.

3.3.3. The Role of Locus of Control in the Relationship between Identity and Attitude

3.3.3.1. Individual Locus of Control

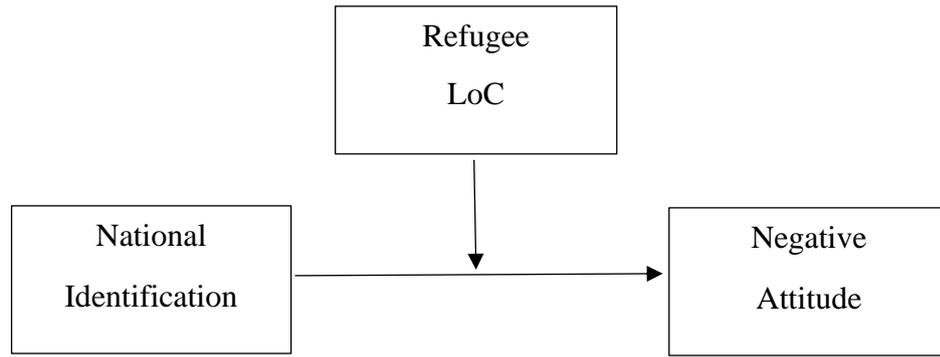
For the fifth hypothesis that the individual LoC moderates the relationship between negative attitudes toward refugees and national identification of the citizens, a

hierarchical regression analysis was conducted with the aim of controlling if the individual LoC variable was suitable to apply moderation analysis. The national identification, the individual LoC, and the interaction between these two variables were regressed on negative attitude ($Adj. R^2 = .37, F(3,548) = 103.36, p = .000$). However, the variance change that occurred with the addition of interaction between individual LoC and national identification was not significant. Thus, the individual LoC variable considered to be unsuitable for moderation analysis.

3.3.3.2. Refugee Locus of Control

For the sixth hypothesis that the refugee LoC moderates the relationship between negative attitudes toward refugees and national identification of the citizens, a hierarchical regression analysis was conducted with the aim of controlling if the refugee LoC variable was suitable to apply moderation analysis. The national identification, the refugee LoC, and the interaction between these two variables were regressed on negative attitude ($Adj. R^2 = .56, F(3,548) = 233.90, p = .000$). And, the variance change that occurred with the addition of interaction between refugee LoC and national identification was significant ($\Delta R^2 = .01, p < .01$). Thus, the refugee LoC variable considered to be suitable for moderation analysis.

The Sobel Test and Hayes' moderation macro for SPSS was used to test the significance of moderation with a 95% bootstrap confidence interval based on 5000 bootstrap samples. Accordingly, the refugee LoC variable had a significant moderating role in the relationship between national identification and negative attitude towards Syrian refugees ($b = -.067, t(548) = -3.62, p < .01$). Examination of the interaction plot showed that the higher levels of refugee LoC enhanced the relationship between national identification and negative attitude compared to the lower levels of refugee LoC. Such a result indicates that as people adopt higher levels of perception that the refugees are responsible about the conditions they experience increase, the relationship between people's national identification and negative attitude towards refugees becomes more powerful. However, the moderating effect is stronger for the individuals with low and moderate levels of national identification compared to the ones with high levels of national identification. The moderational model is presented in Figure 1.



3.1. Moderational Model predicting Negative Attitude

3.4. Supplementary Analyses

The main aim of the supplementary analyses was to reveal potential differences in the attitude towards Syrian refugees in Turkey due to the demographic characteristics of the citizens. Separately included demographic characteristics consisted of gender, age groups, place of residence, education level, income level, religiosity level, and political orientation. Independent t-test was used to compare attitude scores based on gender and political orientation. All the remaining analysis for further investigation was conducted with analyses of variance (ANOVA).

First of all, the results showed that there was a significant difference between the male and female participants in terms of negative attitude levels ($t = -7.61, p < .05$). Female participants possessed more negative attitude ($M = 3.48, SD = 0.88$) compared to the male ones ($M = 2.89, SD = 0.92$). And the analyses for age groups revealed that younger participants (aged between 16-25) had significantly ($F(2, 549) = 9, p < .05$) higher levels of negative attitude ($M = 3.45, SD = 0.79$) compared to the middle-aged (between 26-54) ($M = 3.13, SD = 0.99$) and older participants (aged between 55-70) ($M = 2.9, SD = 0.89$). However, the difference between middle aged participants and older ones was not significant. Results for the attitude differences based on education levels of participants ($F(4,547) = 10.83, p < .05$) revealed that participants with higher education graduation had significantly lower negative attitude scores ($M = 2.75, SD = 0.92$) compared to university ($M = 3.20, SD = 0.97$) and high school ($M = 3.45, SD = 0.83$) graduates along with the literate group. Besides, university graduates ($M = 3.20, SD = 0.97$) had significant lower negative attitude scores compared to the high school graduates ($M = 3.45, SD = 0.83$). Rest of the comparisons between the education level

groups were not significant. For the income level, only significant difference ($F(4,547) = 2.49, p < .05$) was the lower negative attitude scores belong to the low-income group ($M = 2.82, SD = 1.06$) compared to the participants from the middle ($M = 3.23, SD = 0.90$) and upper-middle income ($M = 3.33, SD = 0.89$) levels.

The results for the degrees of religious identification showed that participants who do not identify themselves with religious terms ($M = 2.61, SD = 0.94$) and who do on a low basis ($M = 2.78, SD = 0.81$) had significantly lower negative attitude scores compared to participants with average ($M = 3.59, SD = 0.79$), more-than average ($M = 3.62, SD = 0.82$), high ($M = 3.65, SD = 0.72$), and absolute ($M = 3.47, SD = 0.78$) levels of religiosity ($F(5, 546) = 31.94, p < .05$). And participants with low levels of religiosity ($M = 2.78, SD = 0.81$) had significantly higher negative attitude scores compared to the ones with no religious identity ($M = 2.61, SD = 0.94$). Analysis that was made to examine attitude difference based on the political orientation ($F(2,549) = 12.78, p < .05$) revealed that participants with left-wing orientation had significantly lower negative attitude scores ($M = 3.06, SD = 0.98$) compared to the ones with right-wing orientation ($M = 3.49, SD = 0.79$) and apolitical character ($M = 3.47, SD = 0.81$). However, the scores belonged to participants who defined themselves with right-wing orientation ($M = 3.49, SD = 0.79$) and with no political orientation ($M = 3.47, SD = 0.81$) possessed very similar attitude scores without a significant difference. Lastly, there was no significant difference between the negative attitude scores of participants who resided in refugee populated cities with low and high density.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

In the current study, the link between the national identification levels of citizens in Turkey and their attitude toward Syrian refugees who live in Turkey was examined. Respectively, the national identification was the main predictor while the attitude was the dependent variable. Additionally, the separate moderating effects of social contact and the concept of LoC was tested to measure their possible role on the stated relationship.

The descriptive statistics showed that the general attitude of the citizens towards Syrian refugees in Turkey is negative. Also, according to the results, citizens highly identify themselves with the Turkish nationality. On the other hand, the general contact that is made with the Syrian refugees, and the contact quantity along with its quantity appeared in low levels. Yet, the contact quality was slightly higher than the contact quantity, which means that citizens rarely interact with the Syrian refugees, however they do not perceive these instances as negative in excessive levels. Lastly, findings suggest that citizens in Turkey do not possess a sharp distinction in terms of the internality versus externality of individual control over the happenings in the environment. But, they perceive Syrian refugees as responsible for the disadvantaged conditions they experience due to the immigration.

Analyses that are made to test the correlations between the study variables indicated that the increased levels of national identification of citizens was highly correlated with increased levels of negative attitudes toward Syrian refugees. On the other hand, general contact between the citizens and refugees was correlated with the attitude in a negative manner. In other words, as the general contact levels increased, the negative attitudes of the individuals decreased, and vice versa. The correlations between the attitude and separately with the two domains of contact, which are quality and quantity, yielded a similar pattern with the general contact, however the relationship was stronger for the contact quality. Finally, only the refugee LoC was positively correlated

with attitude, which means that as the negative attitude increased, the perception that the refugees are responsible for their living conditions also increased, and vice versa. However, the correlational results do not indicate a causal relationship.

To test the main hypotheses, a simple linear regression and five groups of hierarchical regression analysis were conducted. Following the identification of the potentially significant moderator variables among general, qualitative, and quantitative contact; individual LoC; and refugee LoC through regression analysis, The Sobel Test and Hayes' moderation macro for SPSS was used to test the significance of moderation. According to the results, the national identification of the citizens significantly predicted the negative attitudes toward Syrian refugees. However, the moderational relationship was significant only for the refugee LoC. Accordingly, the higher levels of refugee LoC enhanced the relationship between national identification and negative attitude compared to the lower levels of refugee LoC. In other words, as people adopt higher levels of perception that the refugees are responsible for the living conditions that they experience, the relationship between people's national identification and negative attitude towards refugees becomes more powerful. However, the moderating effect is stronger for the individuals with low and moderate levels of national identification compared to the ones with high levels of national identification. The difference between the high, moderate, and low levels identifiers, in terms of the moderational effect, could be sourced by the already extreme levels of national identification of the high-group.

In the review of the previous literature regarding the relationship between national identification and attitudes toward refugees/immigrants that is made in the first chapter, it was emphasized that the predictions based on the national identification levels depend on the context and the nature of nation's historical value attribution to nationalistic properties. In this regard, latest reports reveal that the current content of nationalism in Turkey comprehends skeptical elements and partly centers around the feelings of distrust towards outsiders (Halpin et al., 2018). Such a content provides a logical ground for the found significant prediction of national identification by citizens in Turkey in terms of increased negative attitudes toward Syrian refugees. This is because, citizens in Turkey, already experience a general threat from the outsider

figures, such as other countries or the other populations who identify themselves with dissimilar social categories; and Syrian refugees who are socially classified as outsiders additionally are perceived as related to multiple societal problems that occur in Turkey. Thus, it is not surprising to observe that as people become more skeptical towards outgroup members, the intensity of the aversive attitudes they possess toward an outgroup, which was beforehand defined as unwanted due to societal problems, also shows an increase. The meaningful relationship between the national identity levels and negative attitude is also consistent with the findings of previous literature about the negative attitudes toward Syrian refugees in Turkey, which was previously summarized. Accordingly, the main concerns that citizens in Turkey share as a consequence of the immigration flow to the country basically consist of threats respectively to Turkish culture, to Turkish nationality and national security (Demir, 2015; Yitmen & Verkuyten, 2018). Besides that, the tendency to accuse Syrian refugees as war deserters while using this ascription as a justification of not being willing to accept the coexistence with Syrians, is based on a nationalistic discourse (Güney & Konak, 2016). Thus, the confirmation of the first hypothesis, which predicts the significant relationship between national identity of citizens and negative attitudes toward Syrian refugees in Turkey support the previous findings and reveals national identification as a powerful predictor factor for the related study topics.

The surprising finding in the current study, was the nonsignificant moderational role of social contact in the relationship between national identity and attitudes toward Syrian refugees. The result has not changed depending on the domains of contact, neither the quality or quantity of the contact found predicting the attitudes. Such a result constitutes a contradictory with the previous studies that are conducted in various contexts, which define the social contact as an attitude improving concept towards outgroup members (Tropp & Page-Gould, 2015; Ward & Masgoret, 2006; Savelkoul et al., 2011). The studies that are conducted in the context of Turkey, albeit in a small number, also suggested that social contact between Syrian refugees and citizens in Turkey make local people more tolerant and agreeable towards refugees (Kahya, 2019; Erişen, 2018). The finding in the current study could be sourced by the low levels of contact that are made with Syrian refugees. Since, local people do not experience encounters or social interactions with the refugees in high numbers, the

contact factor might be not functioning in a way to make people informed about the true characteristics of outgroup members. Additionally, even though the literature suggested that conditions such as equal status or cooperation are not essential for the positive effects of contact in intergroup relations (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), it might not be the case in the current context of Turkey. The current study conceptualized contact quality as perceived equality, volition, sincerity, pleasantness, and cooperation of the relationship between Syrian refugees and citizens. And, these qualifications coincide with the appropriate conditions that Allport (1954) defined for the actualized effect of social contact. Since the quality of the contact that is made with Syrian refugees was also low according to the analyses, insufficient contact quality might be responsible for the findings in the current study. Lastly, analyses showed that there was a significant correlation between the contact levels and attitude. The negative attitudes possessed by citizens decreased, as the contact levels increased, and vice versa. And the correlation was even more powerful for the quality of contact. Such a significant correlation might be indicating that testing the main predictor role of contact in attitude could be more meaningful. On the other hand, it also might be pointing out to the fact that there exist a third factor, which correlates both with social contact levels and attitudes in the same direction, which is not defined in the current study.

The nonsignificant result for the moderating role of individual LoC in the relationship between national identity and attitude was also surprising. Literature suggest that possessing a perceived internal control over the outcomes in life, make people more resilient towards perceived threats, thus also make them more tolerant towards outgroup members (Strickland, 1977). The current finding regarding the noncontributing role of individual LoC in the relationship might be sourced by a methodological problem. The general perception of individuals about their belief in the internal control of the happenings in the environment and in their life might be interpreted as unrelated to the specific instance of immigration outcomes. Thus, measuring the individual LoC tendency while creating the measurement content related to consequences of immigration could generate different results. For instance, assessing the agreement levels of individuals with the issues such as “citizens have an

influence on the process of migration flow to Turkey” could be more conceptually meaningful.

In the current study, supplementary analyses were also made to test the group differences in attitudes toward Syrian refugees related to demographic factors following the testing of main hypotheses. Separately included demographic characteristics consisted of gender, age groups, place of residence, education level, income level, religiosity level, and political orientation. Independent t-test was used to compare attitude scores based on gender and political orientation. All the remaining analysis for further investigation was conducted with analyses of variance (ANOVA). First of all, female citizens possess a more negative attitude compared to the male citizens. Such a result constitutes a contradictory finding with the previous studies that are conducted in Turkey, which along the same line found that women, in general, show relatively more positive attitudes toward Syrian refugees compared to men (Ankaralı et al., 2017; Aktaş et al., 2018; Keleş et al., 2016). The current result might depend on the accumulating effects of migration. As time progresses since the arrival of Syrian refugees in Turkey, complaints of citizens might be formed through differential gender-specific issues. For instance, the cultural dissimilarity between Syrians and local people in Turkey in terms of traditional gender roles and its appearances in the social contexts might be creating more apparent tension between the two groups. However, the finding requires further scientific inquiry to be able to interpret the change in gender related difference of the attitudes. The analyses for age groups revealed that younger people have significantly higher levels of negative attitude compared to the middle-aged and older ones. The more intense reactions belong to the young age group might be sourced by consecutive fears that this group share due to combined effects of economic hardship in the country and the societal results of migration flow. Considering that this age group is, in common, at the social phase of building their own living conditions as an individual, extreme uncertainties in the societal structures have the potential to create a general “futurelessness” anxiety that accelerate the aversive reactions toward outgroup members. But, similarly, this group difference also requires further investigation. Results for the attitude differences based on education levels revealed that people with higher education graduation have significantly lower negative attitude compared to the rest of the comparison groups.

For the income level, low-income was associated with lower negative attitude compared to the middle and upper-middle income levels. The factors of education and income levels intervene with a variety of sociological, psychological, and socio-psychological concepts. Thus, interpreting the results, solely, based on the current comparisons is difficult. The results for the degrees of religious identification showed that people who do not identify themselves with religious terms and who do on a low basis have significantly lower negative attitude compared to people with higher levels of religiosity. However, the literature about the attitudes toward Syrian refugees in Turkey suggests that the shared cultural values between local people and Syrians, such as religion, give rise to more positive attitudes toward the refugees (Topal et al., 2016). Thus, the current finding contradicts with the previous findings that are related to the topic. However, in the current study nonbelievers and individuals who identify with religiosity in low levels composes the majority of the participants and that creates a nonrepresentative sample for the population characteristics in Turkey. Therefore, one must be cautious before generalizing the results of the current study to the population in Turkey. Analysis that was made to examine attitude difference based on the political orientation revealed that people with left-wing orientation have significantly lower negative attitude scores compared to the ones with right-wing orientation, and with apolitical character. And, individuals with right-wing orientation possess very similar attitude scores with people, who possess no political orientation. Lastly, there was no significant difference between the negative attitude scores of people who resided in refugee populated cities with low and high density. The nonsignificant group difference in terms of the place of residence is surprising, thus it requires further investigation while controlling possibly intervening factors.

4.1. Contributions and Implication

The basic contribution of the study is its attempts to explain the moderating role of LoC in the relationship between national identity and attitudes toward refugees, for the first time in the context of Turkey. Besides, the stated relationship between LoC, national identification and the attitude is not a studied research topic around the world expect the Harell et al.'s (2016) examination. The current findings revealed that when the control perception of citizens regarding the difficulties in Syrian refugees' lives is

attributed to the internal characteristics of refugees, such as their laziness, the significant relationship between the increased levels of national identification belong to citizens and negative attitudes toward refugees in greater extents even become more powerful. Discovering the rarely studied concepts' contribution to the well-known relationships in the scientific literature is important for two reasons.

The first importance of the meaningful emphasis on the LoC concept is originates from the possibility that further studies could focus on socio-psychological concepts, which were previously not considered as important for the stated relationship, but are somehow related to the factor that is showed to be a significant contributor. For instance, certain psychological factors that determine the individual differences in terms of perceived control could be ascertained and their potential relationship with the attitudes toward Syrian refugees or toward refugees in general could be investigated. In other words, approaching the issue with a rarely studied concept, open a new scientific door for the strivings to find major patterns in the topics that attracts researchers' attention. The second importance is caused by the possible effects of the discovered concept while considering the research findings' implications in societal life. For instance, the social campaigns that target the social integration between local people and Syrian refugees in Turkey could keep in mind that when local people think that refugees are responsible for the disadvantages they face, they become nonsensitive to the hardships that refugees experience, and they possess a tendency to evaluate refugees as an outgroup with aversive qualifications. Thus, social campaigns might be designed in a way to impress on the factors that caused migration and its consequences that are beyond the control of refugees.

Implications of the study include the political and social tactics while trying to raise public awareness regarding the refugee crisis as it stated above. However, it further contains elements that are based on social acceptance rather than change in societal apprehensions. For instance, even though the relationship between national identification and attitudes toward outgroup members is a widely studied topic, it still carries an importance because it is a powerful relationship, which appeals to almost each and every individual on the world. This is because, in the modern world, national ideology is a basic ideology that all the populations in various countries own (Kelman,

1997), even though the degrees or contents of it changes from one population to another. However, since it is a phenomenon, which individuals internalize its aspects to their self-concepts to be able to define their identity in a more satisfactory manner (Kelman, 1997), it is not very meaningful to create social policies that target the changes in identification levels of citizens. Instead, governmental and nongovernmental implementations that aim the peaceful cohesion in society must pay regard to the role of national identity in aversive social interactions and try to increase awareness for its existence. In that way, it becomes possible to create a public sphere, which individuals are aware of the reasons and consequences of their behavioral inclinations.

4.2. Limitations and Future Directions

The first limitation of the current study is the nonrepresentative elements in the sample that is used for all the analyses. First of all, the number of the participants who did not identify themselves with religion at all was the highest (25.9%) in the sample and who identified themselves with absolute religiosity were only the 17% of the total sample. As opposed to the statistic in the current study, only 1.2% of the population in Turkey do not define themselves in religious terms (Pew-Templeton Global Religious Futures Project, 2010). Besides that, majority of the participants defined themselves with a left-wing political orientation (65.04%). However, the majority of people who are the citizens of Turkish Republic (83.1%) define themselves with right-wing political orientation (Toprak et al., 2009). The distribution of these two factors, thus, generates a generalizability problem. For this reason, the tested relationships between the defined concepts in this study must be replicated with a sample that is more representative.

Secondly, the Cronbach alpha value of the Refugee LoC subscale was only .61, which means low reliability for the scale. And, subtracting any items did not improve the reliability score. Thus, the problem most probably caused by the item construction of the scale. This means that the items that are used in the current study to measure the refugee LoC must be reconsidered and reconstructed in a way to assess directly the internality versus externality of the control that is believed to owned by refugees.

For the future studies, it could be logical to evaluate the attitudinal changes over time. Because, even though detecting the current situation of attitude towards refugees and its relation to certain factors carry a dramatic importance; acquiring the knowledge of changes in the attitudes inform researchers about the effectiveness of social policies and campaigns that are implemented in the process about the issue. And according to the improvements versus deteriorations in the attitudes, social interventions could respectively proceed or be revised.

Future studies must also consider to use qualitative measurement tools to assess the public attitude toward Syrian refugees. Such an approach possesses advantages in terms of acquiring deeper understanding of the attributions people make for outgroup members and its reasons. Also, a more detailed information about the feelings and thought processes of individuals become available through qualitative measures. Similarly, instead of using online channels to distribute a survey package, face to face interviews with a focused group could maximize the trust between researchers and participants, and provide a context to attain unique and reliable information about the topic.

The current thesis examined the local people's attitudes toward Syrian refugees in Turkey and found the significant contribution of national identity along with refugee LoC. The social cohesion between the two groups must be organized by the official authorities while considering the stated scientific facts. The attitude of the public seems negative for now. However, the ways to transform the negativity between Syrian refugees and citizens into more peaceful interactions carry a dramatic importance because the aversive attitudes always carry the potential to turn into destructive actions.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL

UYELI AMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER



ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
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19 ARALIK 2018

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (IAEK)

İlgili: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Prof. Dr. Türker ÖZKAN

Danışmanlığınızı yaptığımız Deniz ANTMEN'in "Türkiye bağlamında Ulusal Kimlik Özdeşimi ve Suriyeli Göçmenlere Karşı Tutum arasındaki İlişki: Sosyal Temas ve Kontrol Odağı Faktörlerinin Rolü" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay 2018-SOS-228 protokol numarası ile araştırma yapması onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımla bilgilerinize sunarım.

Prof. Dr. Tülin GENÇÖZ

Başkan

Prof. Dr. Ayhan SÖL

Üye

Prof. Dr. Ayhan Gürbüz DEMİR (Y.)

Üye

Prof. Dr. Mustafa BONDARCI

Üye

Doç. Dr. Emre SELÇUK

Üye

Doç. Dr. Pınar KAYGAN

Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Ali Emre TURGUT

Üye

**OSMANİYE KORKUT ATA ÜNİVERSİTESİ
BİLİMSEL ARAŞTIRMA VE YAYIN ETİĞİ KURULU
TOPLANTI KARARI**

Karar Tarihi	Toplantı Sayısı	Karar Sayısı
26.04.2019	6	2019/6/1

Saat: 14.00

Toplantı Yeri: Mühendislik Fakültesi Toplantı Salonu

Osmaniye Korkut Ata Üniversitesi Bilimsel Araştırma ve Yayın Etiği Kurulu 26.04.2019 tarihinde toplandı ve aşağıdaki kararı aldı:

Karar 1. Üniversitemiz Psikoloji Bölümünde görev yapan Araştırma Görevlisi Deniz ANTMEN' in 12.04.2019 tarihli ve 2550 kayıt sayılı başvurusunda belirtilen, "Türkiye Bağlamında Ulusal Kimlik Özdeşimi ve Suriyeli Göçmenlere Karşı Tutum Arasındaki İlişki: Sosyal Temas ve Kontrol Odağı Faktörlerinin Rolü" başlıklı araştırması hakkında görüşüldü.

Sonuç olarak; Deniz ANTMEN' in 12.04.2019 tarihli ve 2550 kayıt sayılı başvurusunda belirtilen, "Türkiye Bağlamında Ulusal Kimlik Özdeşimi ve Suriyeli Göçmenlere Karşı Tutum Arasındaki İlişki: Sosyal Temas ve Kontrol Odağı Faktörlerinin Rolü" başlıklı araştırmasını yapabilmemesinin Osmaniye Korkut Ata Üniversitesi Bilimsel Araştırma ve Yayın Etiği Yönergesi hükümlerine uygun olduğu kanaatine varılarak araştırma için bu belgenin "**Etik Kurul Onay Belgesi**" olarak verilmesine toplantıya katılan üyelerimizin oy birliği ile karar verilmiştir.

e-İmzalıdır

Prof. Dr. Mehmet Emin ÖCAL
Başkan

e-İmzalıdır

Prof. Dr. Selim COŞKUN
Başkan Yardımcısı

e-İmzalıdır

Prof. Dr. Hasan KAYIKLIK
Üye

e-İmzalıdır

Prof. Dr. Zeynep ULUKANLI
Üye

e-İmzalıdır

Prof. Dr. Eyyup TEL
Üye

e-İmzalıdır

Prof. Dr. Bülent ÖZ
Üye

e-İmzalıdır

Prof. Dr. Hüsniye SAĞLIKER
Üye

APPENDIX B: DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

1. Yaşınız: _____
2. Cinsiyetiniz: _____
3. İkamet ettiğiniz Şehir: _____
4. Eğitim Düzeyiniz:

Okur-Yazar İlkokul Mezunu
Ortaokul Mezunu Lise Mezunu
Üniversite Mezunu Yüksek Lisans/Doktora

5. Gelir Düzeyi:

Alt Alt-Orta Orta Üst-Orta Üst

6. Medeni Durum:

Bekar Evli Dul

7. Ailedeki Çocuk Sayısı: _____

8. Hanedeki Birey Sayısı: _____

9. Kendinizi ne ölçüde inançlı olarak tanımlarsınız?

Hiç Biraz Orta Biraz Çok Çok

Tamamen

10. Lütfen politik olarak yakın durduğunuz yeri aşağıda belirtilen aralıkta bir sayıyı işaretleyerek belirtiniz.

SOL SAĞ Apolitik

APPENDIX C: ATTITUDES TOWARDS SYRIAN REFUGEES SCALE

(Sunata et al., 2016)

Suriyeli Mültecilere karşı Tutum Ölçeği

	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Biraz Katılmıyorum	Kararsızım	Biraz Katılıyorum	Tamamen Katılıyorum
1.Şehir merkezinde Suriyeli mülteci görmek beni rahatsız eder.	1	2	3	4	5
2.Suriyeli mülteciler Türk kültürüne uyum sağlamalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5
3.Suriyeli mültecilerle komşu olmaktan rahatsızlık duymam.	1	2	3	4	5
4.Suriyeli mültecilere önümüzdeki seçimlerde oy hakkı verilmesini desteklerim.	1	2	3	4	5
5.Suriyeli mültecilerin bulaşıcı hastalık taşıma olasılığı beni tedirgin eder.	1	2	3	4	5
6.Suriyeli bir mülteci ile arkadaş olmaktan kaçınırım.	1	2	3	4	5
7.Suriyeli mültecilerin Türkiye'deki çalışanların iş olanaklarını kısıtladıklarını düşünüyorum.	1	2	3	4	5
8.Suriyeli mültecilerin Türkçe öğrenmeleri gerektiğini düşünüyorum.	1	2	3	4	5
9.Suriyeli mültecilerin suç oranını arttırdıklarını düşünüyorum.	1	2	3	4	5
10.Suriyeli mültecilere vatandaşlık hakkı tanınması beni rahatsız eder.	1	2	3	4	5
11.Suriyeli mültecilerin yararına düzenlenen sosyal sorumluluk projelerine gönüllü olmak isterim.	1	2	3	4	5
12.Suriyeli mültecilerin vergi vermemelerini yanlış buluyorum.	1	2	3	4	5
13.Oturduğum mahallede veya yakın çevresinde Suriyeli mültecilerin ikamet etmesini istemem.	1	2	3	4	5
14.Suriyeli mülteciler sınır dışı edilmelidir.	1	2	3	4	5
15.Suriyeli mültecilerin, belli bir süre için, toplu taşıma araçlarından ücretsiz yararlanmalarında bir sakınca görmüyorum.	1	2	3	4	5
16.Suriyeli mültecilerin kullandığı tuvaleti kullanmaktan rahatsızlık duyarım.	1	2	3	4	5

	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Biraz Katılmıyorum	Kararsızım	Biraz Katılıyorum	Tamamen Katılıyorum
17.Suriyeli mültecilerin Türkiye sınırlarında doğan çocuklarının Türk vatandaşı olmaları gerektiğini düşünüyorum.	1	2	3	4	5
18.Otobüste Suriyeli mülteci gördüğüm zaman yanına oturmayı tercih etmem.	1	2	3	4	5
19.Çocuğumu her zaman götürdüğüm parkta Suriyeli mültecilerin bulunması beni tedirgin eder.	1	2	3	4	5
20.Suriyeli mülteciler bir suça karıştıklarında Türkiye vatandaşlarından daha fazla ceza almalıdırlar.	1	2	3	4	5
21.Suriyeli mülteciler Türkiye vatandaşlarıyla aynı sağlık hizmetlerinden faydalanmalıdırlar.	1	2	3	4	5
22.Suriyeli mültecilerin ülkeme sığınması beni rahatsız etmez.	1	2	3	4	5
23.Suriyeli mültecilerin sokaklarda dilenmeleri vatandaşların iyi duygularını suiistimal etmektedir.	1	2	3	4	5
24.Suriyeli mültecilerin Türkiye'ye girişlerinin zorlaştırılması gerektiğini düşünüyorum.	1	2	3	4	5
25.Çocuğumun Suriyeli mülteci çocuklarla arkadaş olmasından rahatsız olmam.	1	2	3	4	5
26.Suriyeli mülteciler ile Türkiye'deki çoğunluğun inandığı dinin aynı olması bir güven ortamı oluşturur.					

**APPENDIX D: MULTI-COMPONENT IN-GROUP IDENTIFICATION
SCALE (Leach et al., 2008)**

Türklükle Özdeşim Ölçeği (Balaban, 2013)

	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum			Kararsızım	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum		
1. Türklerle aramda bir bağ olduğunu hissediyorum.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Kendimi Türklerle dayanışma içinde hissediyorum.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Kendimi Türklere bağlı hissediyorum.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Türk olmaktan memnunum.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Türklerin gurur duyacak çok şeyi olduğunu düşünüyorum.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Türk olmak güzel bir şey.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Türk olmak bana iyi bir his veriyor.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Türk olduğum gerçeği hakkında sık sık düşünürüm	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Türk olduğum gerçeği kimliğimin önemli bir parçasıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. Türk olmam, kendimi nasıl gördüğümün önemli bir parçasıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. Benim ortalama bir Türk'le birçok ortak noktam vardır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. Ben ortalama bir Türk'e benzerim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13. Türkler birbirleriyle ortak birçok özelliğe sahiptir	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14. Türkler birbirlerine oldukça benzerler.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

APPENDIX E: SOCIAL CONTACT SCALE (Islam & Hewstone, 1993)

Sosyal Temas Ölçeği (Akbaş, 2010)

Contact Quantity

	Hiç	Nadiren	Aras ıra	Sık sık	Her zaman
1. Ne sıklıkta Suriyeli Mülteciler ile okul/iş gibi resmi yerlerde iletişim halindesiniz?	1	2	3	4	5
2. Ne sıklıkta Suriyeli Mülteciler ile komşu olarak iletişim halindesiniz?	1	2	3	4	5
3. Ne sıklıkta Suriyeli Mülteciler ile yakın arkadaş-dost olarak iletişim halindesiniz?	1	2	3	4	5
4. Ne sıklıkta Suriyeli Mülteciler ile resmi olmayan/özel konuşmalar yapmaktasınız?	1	2	3	4	5
5. Ne sıklıkta Suriyeli Mülteci tanıdıklarınıza ev ziyaretine gitmektedirsiniz?	1	2	3	4	5

Contact Quality

1. Suriyeli Mülteciler ile olan ilişkilerinizde iki tarafın da eşit olduğunu hisseder misiniz?

1.....2.....3.....4.....5

Kesinlikle Eşit Değil

Kesinlikle Eşit

2. Suriyeli Mülteciler ile ilişkilerinizi gönüllü olarak mı yoksa istemeden/mecburi olarak mı sürdürüyorsunuz?

1.....2.....3.....4.....5

Tamamıyla İstemeden

Tamamıyla İsteyerek

3. Suriyeli Mülteciler ile olan ilişkiniz yüzeysel mi yoksa tamamen içten midir?

1.....2.....3.....4.....5

Tamamıyla Yüzeysel

Tamamıyla İçten

4. Suriyeli Mülteciler ile olan ilişkinizden keyif/memnuniyet duyar mısınız?

1.....2.....3.....4.....5

Kesinlikle Memnun Değilim

Kesinlikle Memnunum

5. Suriyeli Mülteciler ile olan ilişkiniz rekabete mi yoksa işbirliğine mi dayanır?

1.....2.....3.....4.....5

Rekabete Dayanır

İşbirliğine Dayanır

**APPENDIX F: LOCUS OF CONTROL AND ANTI-IMMIGRANT
SENTIMENT SCALE (Harell et al., 2016)**

Kontrol Odağı ve Mülteci Karşıtlığı Ölçeği (Antmen, 2019)

Individual Locus of Control

	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Biraz Katılmıyorum	Kararsızım	Biraz Katılıyorum	Tamamen Katılıyorum
1.Çoğu zaman, başıma gelen şeyler üzerinde çok az etkim olduğunu hissederim.	1	2	3	4	5
2.Plan yaparken, planlarımın işe yarayacağına neredeyse emin olurum.	1	2	3	4	5

Refugee Locus of Control

	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Biraz Katılmıyorum	Kararsızım	Biraz Katılıyorum	Tamamen Katılıyorum
1.Türkiye'ye gelen mülteciler üzerinde Türkiye'nin kontrolü vardır.	1	2	3	4	5
2.Mülteciler şanssız oldukları için ekonomik zorluklar yaşıyorlar.	1	2	3	4	5
3.Mülteciler tembel oldukları için ekonomik zorluklar yaşıyorlar.	1	2	3	4	5
4.Mülteciler iradesiz oldukları için ekonomik zorluklar yaşıyorlar.	1	2	3	4	5
5.Mülteciler, Türkiye'deki adaletsiz koşullardan dolayı ekonomik zorluklar yaşıyorlar.	1	2	3	4	5
6.Mülteciler, modern gelişmenin kaçınılmaz bir parçası olduğu için ekonomik zorluklar yaşıyorlar.	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX G: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Gönüllü Katılım Formu

Bu araştırma, ODTÜ Psikoloji Bölümü Yüksek Lisans öğrencisi Deniz Antmen tarafından Prof. Dr. Türker Özkan danışmanlığındaki yüksek lisans tezi kapsamında yürütülmektedir. Bu form sizi araştırma koşulları hakkında bilgilendirmek için hazırlanmıştır.

Çalışmanın Amacı Nedir?

Araştırmanın amacı, Türkiye’de yaşayan Suriyeli göçmenlere karşı sergilenen tutumları yordamaktır.

Bize Nasıl Yardımcı Olmanızı İsteyeceğiz?

Araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ederseniz, sizden tamamlaması yaklaşık 10 dakika süren bir anket paketini, çevrimiçi ortamda, tamamlamanız beklenmektedir. Bu ölçek paketinde, sizden belirli ifadelerle ne ölçüde katılıp katılmadığınızı değerlendirmeniz istenecektir. Pakette yer alan her bir ifadeyi dikkatlice okuyarak dürüst bir şekilde yanıtlamanız 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 yayımlarda 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 anket paketini yarıda bırakıp çalışmadan çıkmakta serbestsiniz.

Arařtırmayla ilgili daha fazla bilgi almak isterseniz:

Çalıřma sonunda, bu çalıřmayla ilgili sorularınız cevaplanacaktır. Bu çalıřmaya katıldığımız için řimdiden teřekkür ederiz. Çalıřma hakkında daha fazla bilgi almak için Psikoloji Bölümü öğretim üyelerinden Prof. Dr. Türker Özkan (E-posta: ozturker@metu.edu.tr) ya da yüksek lisans öğrencisi Deniz Antmen (E-posta: antmendeniz@gmail.com) ile iletişim kurabilirsiniz.

Yukarıdaki bilgileri okudum ve bu çalıřmaya tamamen gönüllü olarak katılıyorum.

İsim Soyad

Tarih

İmza

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APPENDIX H: DEBRIEFING FORM

Katılım Sonrası Bilgi Formu

Bu araştırma, daha önce de belirtildiği gibi, ODTÜ Psikoloji Bölümü Yüksek Lisans öğrencisi Deniz Antmen tarafından Prof. Dr. Türker Özkan danışmanlığındaki yüksek lisans tezi kapsamında yürütülmektedir. Araştırmanın amacı, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti vatandaşlarının Türkiye’de yaşayan Suriyeli mültecilere karşı sergilediği tutumları yordamaktır.

Belirtilen tutumlara dair veri toplamak için uygulanan ölçek paketi, belli değerlerle yanıtlanması beklenen ifadelerden oluşmaktadır. Paket, bünyesinde; demografik bilgiler, tutum, ulusal kimlik özdeşimi, sosyal temas ve kontrol odağı başlıklı olmak üzere beş farklı ölçeği barındırır. Mültecilere karşı tutum ile ilgili literatür, negatif tutumların, artan ulusal özdeşim değerleriyle birlikte arttığını belirtir. Mevcut araştırma da ulusal kimlik özdeşimi ve negatif tutum arasında pozitif bir ilişki beklemektedir. Bunun yanında, mültecilerle olan sosyal temasın ve tutumları sergileyen bireylerin kontrol odağı algısının bu ilişkiyi nasıl etkileyeceği incelenmektedir. Katılımcıların ifadelerine dikkatlice verdikleri dürüst yanıtlar, mevcut, Türkiye’de mültecilere karşı tutum konulu psikoloji çalışmasına katkıda bulunmaktadır.

Bu çalışmadan alınacak ilk verilerin Mayıs 2019 sonunda elde edilmesi amaçlanmaktadır. Elde edilen bilgiler sadece bilimsel araştırma ve yazılarda kullanılacaktır. Çalışmanın sağlıklı ilerleyebilmesi ve bulguların güvenilir olması için anket paketini tamamlayacağını bildiğiniz diğer kişilerle çalışma ile ilgili detaylı bilgi paylaşımında bulunmamanızı dileriz. Bu araştırmaya katıldığınız için tekrar çok teşekkür ederiz.

Arařtırmanın sonuçlarını öğrenmek ya da daha fazla bilgi almak için ařağıdaki isimlere bařvurabilirsiniz.

Prof. Dr. Türker Özman (ozturker@metu.edu.tr)

Deniz Antmen (antmendeniz@gmail.com)

Çalıřmaya katkıda bulunan bir gönüllü olarak katılımcı haklarınızla ilgili veya etik ilkelerle ilgi soru veya görüşlerinizi ODTÜ Uygulamalı Etik Arařtırma Merkezi'ne iletebilirsiniz.

e-posta: ueam@metu.edu.tr

APPENDIX I: TURKISH SUMMARY/ TÜRKÇE ÖZET

1. GİRİŞ

1.1. Genel Giriş

2010 yılında, Orta Doğu'da, bazı sosyal bilim uzmanları tarafından, dekolonizasyon hareketlerinin ardından, belirtilen coğrafyada nihai bir dönüşümün nedeni olarak tanımlanan toplumsal bir ayaklanma başladı (Ağdemir, 2016). Olaylar zinciri “Arap Baharı” (Merriam-Webster’in üniversite sözlüğü, ikinci) olarak tanımlanırken, yaygın isyanın başlıca nedenleri devam eden insan hakları ihlalleri (Cockburn, 2011), işsizlik ve istikrarsızlaştırılmış ekonomik durum ve genel olarak Arap ülkelerini kapsayan aşırı nüfus artışı olarak tanımlandı (Manfreda, 2019). 2011'de, genel sosyal ve politik usulsüzlük, Suriye'de çeşitli iç ve dış güçleri içeren çok taraflı bir iç savaşa dönüştü (“Suriye İç Savaşı”, 2018). Sonuç olarak, beş buçuk milyondan fazla Suriyeli insan, özellikle Lübnan, Ürdün, Irak, Mısır ve Türkiye gibi çevre bölgelerdeki ülkelere göç etti. Sonunda Türkiye, güncellenmiş tam sayısı ile 3.614.108 kayıtlı Suriyeli mülteci ile mülteci barındıran bir numaralı ülke oldu (BMMYK, 2019). Ve şu anda mültecilerin % 96'sı mülteci kamplarının dışında yaşamaktadır (T. Göç İdaresi Bakanlığı, 2019). Suriyeli mültecilerin Türkiye'ye gelişi ve kalıcı niteliği ekonomik, politik ve sosyal yapılar da çeşitli değişikliklere neden olmuştur.

Yukarıda özetlenen olaylar zinciri ve makro düzeydeki sonuçlar hem Suriyeli sığınmacılar hem de ülke vatandaşları dahil olmak üzere, Türkiye'de yaşamakta olan neredeyse her bireyi etkilemektedir. Tecrübe edilen süreç, medeniyetin tarihsel zaman çizelgesinde nispeten yeni olsa da çeşitli disiplinlerden gelen sosyal bilimler araştırmacıları, milyonlarca insanın geleceğini tahmin edebilmek için ilgili kavramları açıklamayı hedeflemektedir. Araştırmacıların dikkatini çeken konular arasında ev sahibi ülkelerdeki vatandaşların mültecilere karşı tutumu yer almaktadır. Bunun nedeni, literatürün bir kavram olarak tutumun, ayrımcılık, uyum ve çatışma çözme gibi gruplar arasındaki sosyal etkileşimlerde yer alan eylemler açısından güçlü bir yordama gücüne sahip olduğunu öne sürmesidir (Ajzen ve Fishbein, 2005). Ayrıca, vatandaşların mültecilere yönelik olumsuz tutumları aşırı hale geldiğinde, mültecilere

karşı yabancı düşmanlığına ve mültecilere yönelik nefret suçlarına dönülme potansiyeli taşımaktadır (Ünal, 2014). Bu nedenle, bu çalışmada, vatandaşların Türkiye'deki Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik tutumları, Bütünleşik Tehdit Teorisi (BTT) ve Sosyal Kimlik Teorisi (SKT) kullanılarak ve sosyal temas ve kontrol odağı kavramlarının rolü incelenerek, araştırılacaktır.

1.2. Geçmiş Literatürde Türkiye'deki Suriyeli Mültecilere karşı Tutum

Vatandaşın mültecilere yönelik tutum oluşumunda rol oynayan temel psikolojik faktörler vardır. Başlangıçta, vatandaşlar arasında, din gibi, paylaşılan kültürel değerler algısı, daha olumlu tutum eğilimine yol açtı (Topal et al., 2016). Ayrıca, ulusal kimlik, insanların tutumlarındaki rolünü açıklamak için ölçülen, çok çalışılmış bir kavramdır. Artan ulusal kimliğin açıkladığı olumsuz tutumların Suriyeli mültecilere karşı olumsuz davranışsal niyeti teşvik ettiği öne sürülmüştür (Yitmen ve Verkuyten, 2018). Nitel bir araştırmada, vatandaşların olumsuz tutumlarını milliyetçi bir yaklaşıma dayanan bir söylemle açıkladıkları görülmüştür. Ayrıca, vatandaşlık hakkının Suriyelilere kazandırılmasının kabul edilmemesi, vatandaşların kültürel ve ulusal değerlere yönelik algıladıkları tehditlerden kaynaklanmaktadır (Gülyaşar, 2017).

Türkiye'nin bir ülke olarak karşılaştığı genel durum, halk için bazı tutum oluşumu ve sürdürme biçimlerini belirlemiştir. Makro düzeydeki ana faktör, birçok kişinin yaşadığı ekonomik zorluklardır. Bu durumun yanı sıra, insanlar, Suriyeli mültecilerin varlığını hoş görmeye meyilli olsalar bile, ülkenin zaten var olan ekonomik zorluğundan dolayı Suriyelilerin Türkiye'de istenmeyen bir durum olduğunu yansıtıyorlardı (Ankaralı ve diğerleri, 2017). Benzer şekilde, belirli sayıda insan Suriyeli mültecilere karşı özellikle olumsuz bir tutum benimsemediklerini, ancak aynı zamanda mültecilerin Türkiye'de kalmasını istemediklerini belirtmiştir. Bu anlamda Yıldız ve Uzgören (2016), vatandaşların Suriyelilerin savaş durumundan mustarip olduklarını ve sivil haklar temelinde korunmaya ihtiyaç duyduklarını takdir ettiğini ortaya koydu. Ancak, Suriyelilerin Türkiye'deki ekonomi ve güvenlik üzerindeki olası olumsuz etkileri konusunda son derece endişelidiler. Benzer şekilde, üniversitelerde öğrenciler Suriyelilerle birlikte derslere katılmak istiyorlardı ancak üniversitelere girme haklarından şikâyet ettiler (Ergin, 2016). Türkiye'de halihazırda var olan sosyal

çatışma, insanların mültecilerle birlikte yaşamayı reddetmesinin bir başka sebebiydi çünkü daha fazla anlaşmazlığın yaşanabileceğinden endişeleniyorlardı (Ankaralı ve diğerleri, 2017). Aksine, Getmansky ve ark. (2018), 2016'daki darbe girişiminin ardından Türkiye'de yaşanan siyasi şiddetin, ülkelerindeki savaş durumunu takiben göç eden Suriyelilerle empati kurmasına neden olduğunu ve insanları Suriyeli mültecilere karşı daha olumlu bir tutum kazanmaya zorladığını belirtmiştir.

1.3. Bütünleşik Tehdit Teorisi

Bütünleşik Tehdit Teorisi (BTT), olumsuz etki olarak tanımlanan önyargıyı (Stephan ve Stephan, 1993), gerçekçi tehdit, sembolik tehdit, gruplar arası kaygı ve negatif kalıpyargılar (Stephan ve Stephan, 2000) ile açıklamaktadır. Literatürde önyargı kavramı, grup üyelerinin grup dışı grup üyelerine yönelik uyguladığı olumsuz tutum olarak tanımlanmaktadır (Allport, 1954). Gerçekçi tehditler, dışgrup üyelerinin varlığı, iç grubun ekonomik ve politik gücü ve iç grubun genel iyiliği için bir tehdit oluşturduğunda algılanır. Öte yandan, iç grup kendi dünya görüşlerinin ve dünya anlayışının dış grubunkinden daha üstün olduğunu kabul ettiği zaman sembolik tehdit algılanmakta ve iki grubun ahlaki değerleri, sosyal normları, inançları ve tutumları arasındaki fark bir tehdit oluşturur. Son olarak, grup içi kaygı, grup içi üyeler grup dışı üyelerle etkileşimlerinin negatif olacağını algılayıp rahatsızlık duydukları zaman ortaya çıkar (Stephan ve Stephan, 1985). Negatif kalıpyargılar dış gruba ait rahatsız edici genel özelliklerin beklentisi ile ilişkilidir dış gruba aittir (Stephan ve Stephan, 2000). Teorinin güncellenmiş versiyonunda, negatif kalıpyargılar ve grup içi kaygı, sembolik ve gerçekçi tehditlerin alt kategorileri olarak tanımlanırken, son iki bileşen başlıca tehdit türlerini oluşturmuştur (Stephan ve ark., 2009).

Sembolik ve gerçekçi tehditlerin, vatandaşların mültecilerle ilgili olumsuz görüşlerini açıklayan veya öngören önemli değişkenler olduğu bulunmuştur. Avustralya'da yapılan bir çalışmada, genel halkın, mültecileri ekonomik güçlülere ve yerel halkın kültürel dünya görüşüne karşı tehdit oluşturduğunu algıladığı gösterilmiştir (Schweitzer ve ark. 2005). Mültecilerin varlığının Avustralya'daki toplumun değer sistemine ve toplumun kaynaklarına tehlike arz ettiğini belirten bireyler, daha az miktarda tehdit içeren veya tehdit algısı olmayanlara göre daha olumsuz bir tutum sergilediklerini belirtmiştir. Buna göre, Avustralya'daki vatandaşlar mültecileri hem

gerçekçi hem de sembolik tehdit olarak algılamakta ve bu algı temelinde dışgrup üyelerine karşı besledikleri önyargıyı haklı çıkartmaktadırlar (Schweitzer ve ark. 2005). Avrupa ve Macar bağlamında yapılan bir başka çalışma, yerel halkın yaklaşık % 60'ının, sembolik ve gerçekçi tehditler dolayısıyla, dünyadaki mevcut kitlesel göçle ilgili endişe ve korku duyduğunu göstermiştir (Simonovits, 2016). İki tehdit türü arasındaki güçlü korelasyon, sembolik ve gerçekçi kategorilerin ayrılmaz doğası olarak yorumlanırken, mültecilere yönelik tutumları da yordamıştır.

1.4. Sosyal Kimlik Teorisi ve Ulusal Özdeşim Kavramı

Sosyal Kimlik Teorisi (SKT) grup üyeliğinin sosyal yaşamdaki rolünü ve bu süreçte grup kimliğinin oluşumunu ve sürdürülmesini açıklamaktadır (Tajfel ve Turner, 1979). Teori, kişilerarası ve gruplar arası davranışlar olmak üzere iki ayrı sosyal davranış kategorisinin ortaya çıktığını göstermektedir. Buna göre, kişilerarası davranışlar, bireylerin kendi özelliklerine göre birbirleriyle etkileşime girdikleri zaman gözlenmektedir. Öte yandan, bireyler arasındaki etkileşim, bireyin grup üyelikleri ve niteliklerinden etkilendiğinde, bu davranışlar gruplar arası olarak adlandırılır. Eşler arasındaki günlük bir konuşma kişilerarası davranışlara örnek olurken, müzakere etmeye çalışan iki farklı partinin delegeleri arasındaki etkileşimler gruplar arası davranışlara örnek teşkil etmektedir (Tajfel ve Turner, 1979).

Çeşitli sosyal kategoriler arasında, küresel olarak geçerli olan ulus devletler modeli, insanlara, kendilerini tanımlamak için bir temel olarak ulus kategorisini yaygın ve güçlü bir şekilde sağlamaktadır. Kelman (1997), ulusal kimlik oluşumunun temelinde onurlu hissetme ihtiyacının yanı sıra evrensel olarak var olan çıkarlar ve haklar açısından korunma ihtiyacının bulunduğunu öne sürmektedir. Ve insanlar milletlerine bağlı olduklarında, aynı milletteki diğer insanlara karşı da bağlılık hissetmektedirler. Bu sayede bireyler, rasgele bir topluluk olmaktan ziyade, kendilerini, ülkelerinin bağımsız varlığını ve bütünlüğünü sağlayan belli bir nüfus olarak tanımlama fırsatı bulmaktadırlar (Kelman, 1997). Toplumlar ve devletler arasındaki bu ilişki, insanların kendilerine saygı duymalarını ve yaşamları üzerinde kontrolleri olduğu hissini kazanmalarını sağlar. Bu süreçte bireyler, kendilik kavramlarını kısmen, ulusun üyelerine rahat bir iletişim için zemin hazırlayan dil, din, paylaşılan anılar, tarih, gelenekler ve toplumsal değerler gibi ortak unsurlara dayanarak tanımlarlar (Kelman,

1997). Grup tarafından paylaşılan ortak kültürel ve maddi unsurlar, grup üyeleri arasındaki özel bağ ve bir grup olarak hissetmenin nihai sonucu olarak, içgrup üyeleri dışgrup üyelerinden ayrılır (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000). Ve bir grup insanın, ulusal açıdan, kendilerini diğer insanlardan ayırması durumunda, ulusun kazanımları ve kayıpları, insanların dünya görüşlerini inşa ederken, bireylerin benlik kavramını belirleyen önemli deneyimlere dönüşür (Kelman, 1997).

Ulusla özdeşleşim, kasıtlı bir eylemle oluşturularak toplumda tanımlanmış rollerin ve toplumun konumu üzerinde psikolojik bir kontrol yaratır (Brubaker ve Cooper, 2000). Bireyin rasyonel tercihine vurgu yapılırken, toplumda zaten var olan kategoriler gibi dış etkenlerin dayattığı şekilde algılanan sosyal kimliklere bir alternatif yaratma fırsatı doğurmaktadır. Bununla birlikte, bazı araştırmacılar, toplumdaki sosyal kategorilerin toplumları daha kontrollü bir şekilde yönetmek için devletler tarafından formüle edildiğini ve devlet gücünün kimlik belirleme sürecindeki etkisinin kaçınılmaz olduğunu öne sürmektedirler (Kertzer ve Ariel, 2002). Benzer şekilde, Grotenhuis (2016), ulusal kimlik kavramının özünde, baskın bir kimlik oluşturmak adına toplumlar içindeki homojenliği destekleyen devlet politikalarının yer aldığını ileri sürmektedir. Araştırmacı, toplumlarda güvenlik ve tutarlılığı sağlamak için aynı uluslara mensup olan üyeler arasında hedeflenen iş birliği yoluyla bu politikaların mantığını açıklar. Ve mülteciler gibi azınlık gruplarının toplumdaki asimilasyonu veya entegrasyonu böyle bir modelde haklı bir süreç haline gelebilmektedir (Grotenhuis, 2016). Sonuç olarak, sosyal bilimlerde ulus sosyal olarak kurulmuş bir fenomen olarak ele alınsa da, bireylerin günlük yaşamda maruz kaldıkları politik söylemler, insanları, ulusal kimliğin grup üyeleri tarafından savunulması gereken temel bir nitelik olduğuna inandırmaktadır (Grotenhuis, 2016).

1.5. Sosyal Temas Kavramı

Gruplararası Temas Kuramı (Allport, 1954), bir toplumdaki çoğunluk ve azınlık grupları arasındaki olumsuz etkileşimin, gruplar arası anlayışın artması yoluyla iki grup arasındaki sosyal temas aracılığı ile gelişebileceğini öne sürmektedir. Teoriye göre, daha az kalıpyargı ve ayrımcılık eğilimi ile birlikte azalan önyargı seviyeleri, gruplar arası temasın olası sonuçları arasındadır. Dış grup üyeleri hakkında, temastan

dolayı edinilen bilgiler, grup ilişkilerindeki gelişmenin temel nedeni olarak kabul edilir (Allport, 1954). Dışgrup hakkında öğrenilen gerçekler sayesinde, dışgrup üyeleri hakkındaki yanlış bilgiyi yeniden kavramlaştırmak mümkün hale gelmektedir (Allport, 1954).

Allport (1954), toplumda önyargılı tutumların üstesinden gelinebilmesi için çoğunluk ve azınlık gruplar birbirleriyle etkileşime girdiğinde, bu grupların eşit statüde olmalarının önemli olduğunu belirtmektedir. Böylece, benzer sosyo-ekonomik geçmiş ve kişisel özellikler gibi paylaşılan özellikler, rakip grupların olumlu bir şekilde etkileşimde bulunmaları için bir ortam sağlamaktadır. Ayrıca, her bir grubun bir sorunu çözmek amacıyla kaynaklarını ve girişimlerini birleştirilmesi, her iki taraf için ortak bir hedef teşkil eder ve barışçıl sosyal etkileşimlerin olasılığını kolaylaştırır. Bununla birlikte, ortak hedefe ulaşmak için çaba gösterme sürecinde, farklı gruplara mensup bireyler arasında işbirliği yapan bir ortam bulunmalıdır. Son olarak, dışgrup ve içgrup üyeleri birbirlerine karşı olumlu tutumlar geliştirmeye başladığında, iyileştirmeler lehine tanınmış bir otoritenin desteği çok önemlidir (Allport, 1954). Her ne kadar eşit statü, ortak amaç, işbirliği ve otoriteden destek faktörleri, teoride muhalif gruplar arasında önyargısız görüşlerin geliştirilmesinde optimal koşullar olarak tanımlansa da, mevcut literatür zorunlu olmadıklarını öne sürmektedir (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Daha sonra yapılan araştırmalar da, olumsuz tutumların pozitif olanlara dönüşümünü yordarken sosyal temas niteliğinin grupdışı ve grup içi üyeler arasındaki potansiyel temastaki belirgin önemini vurgulamıştır (Tropp ve Page-Gould, 2015).

Grupdışı üyelere yönelik olumsuz tutumun azalması ile grupiçi ve grupdışı üyeler arasında artan sosyal temas arasındaki ilişkiye yönelik ampirik destek dünyadaki birçok araştırmacı tarafından sağlanmıştır. Örneğin, Yeni Zelanda'da, göçmenlere yönelik olumsuz tutumlar, göçmenlerle deneyimlenen sosyal temasın bir sonucu olarak düşen kaygı seviyeleri dolayısıyla azalmıştır (Ward ve Masgoret, 2006). Ayrıca, göçmenlerle iletişim kuran bireyler, çalışma ortamında göçmenlerin hakları lehine, artan düzeyde olumlu tutum sergilemiştir (Voci ve Hewstone, 2003; Savelkoul ve diğ., 2011). Benzer şekilde, Fransa, İngiltere, Hollanda ve Batı Almanya'yı kapsayan geniş çaplı bir çalışmada, bölge halkı ile göçmenler arasındaki sosyal temasın, grupdışı üyelere yönelik empati artırma yoluyla göçmenlere karşı daha düşük önyargı düzeyleri

ile ilişkili olduğu bulunmuştur. Temasın önyargıyı azaltma etkisi, dış grup üyeleriyle yakın ilişkiler geliştiren kişiler için daha güçlüdür (Pettigrew, 1997). Batı Avrupa bağlamında, göçmenlerle kurulan yakın ilişkilerin, yerel halkın ayrımcı tavrını azaltması anlamında etkisi gözlemlenmiştir (McLaren, 2003).

1.2. Kontrol Odağı Kavramı

Kontrol odağı, 1954'te Rotter tarafından geliştirilen Sosyal Öğrenme Teorisinden (SÖT) elde edilen bir kavramdır. SÖT, yaşamdaki deneyimler ve bireylerin sahip oldukları öğrenme süreçlerinin tarihçesinin etkileşimlerini ele almaktadır (Rotter, 1954). Böyle bir yaklaşım, o zamana kadar geçerli olan ve davranışı bireyin pasif olarak etrafındaki sosyal ve fiziksel uyarıcılara verdiği tepki olarak açıklayan davranış anlayışına karşı bir argüman yaratmıştır. Rotter, bu doğrultuda, insanların eylemlerinin nedenlerini anlamak için çabalarken, belirli eylemlerle ilgili daha önce edinilmiş deneyimlerden kaynaklanan inançlara güvendiklerini ileri sürmektedir. Öğrenme sürecinin bir ürünü olarak kabul edilen inançlar, bireyler için yeni tutum ve davranışların ortaya çıkmasına neden olmaktadır (Rotter, 1966). Kontrol odağı, belirtilen yeni davranış anlayışına göre kavramsallaştırılan bir olgu olarak, bireyler için, yaşanan deneyimlerin algısal kaynağını belirlemektedir (Rotter, 1966).

Birey, bir insanın hayatında meydana gelen olayların tesadüf veya kader gibi dış etkenlerle açıklanabileceğini ve bireyin kendisi tarafından kontrol edilemeyeceğini algılamaya meyilli olduğunda, bu, bireyin dışsal bir odağa sahip olduğu anlamına gelmektedir (Rotter, 1966). Dışsal kontrol odağına sahip bireyler, yaşamdaki mevcut durumları değiştirmenin kendi yetenek ve becerilerine dayanan bir durum olmadığını düşünmektedir (Carlson ve ark. 2007). Öte yandan, bir birey içsel bir odağa sahip olduğunda, yaşamdaki sonuçların asli sorumluluğunun kendisine ait olduğuna ve yaşamdaki olayların bireysel başarısızlıklar veya yetenekler gibi iç faktörler tarafından kontrol edilebileceğine inanmaktadır (Rotter, 1966). Bu durumda, içsel kontrol odağına sahip bireyler başarılı olduklarında kendi kişisel özelliklerini övmeye meyilli olurlar ve kişisel başarısızlıklar durumunda kendilerini suçlama eğiliminde olurlar (Carlson ve diğerleri, 2007).

Harell ve diğ. (2016), kontrol odağının göçmenlere yönelik tutum araştırmalarında güçlü bir yordayıcı olduğunu ileri sürmüştür. Bununla birlikte, ilgili literatür yeterli sayıda bilimsel sonuç içermemektedir. Bu nedenle, kontrol odağı faktörünün, mültecilere yönelik tutumlar ile ilişkisinin incelenmesi önemlidir.

1.7. Araştırma Değişkenleri ve Hipotezleri

Bu çalışmada, vatandaşların Türkiye'deki Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik tutumu, sosyal temas ve kontrol odağı kavramlarının katkılarıyla birlikte, BTT ve SKT tarafından sunulan teorik çerçeveler aracılığıyla incelenecektir. İlk olarak, bağımlı değişkeni temsil eden bireylerin tutumları, sembolik ve gerçekçi tehdit algılarına dayanarak oluşturulan tutum ölçeği ile ölçülecektir. İkinci olarak, bağımsız değişkeni temsil eden bireylerin Türk uyruğuyla özdeşleşme derecesi ile Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik olumsuz tutumları arasında anlamlı bir ilişki olup olmadığını araştırılacaktır. Buna ek olarak, vatandaşların Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik tutumları açısından, sosyal temasın rolü incelenecektir. Son olarak, vatandaşların ulusal kimlik özdeşimi ve Türkiye'deki Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik tutumları arasındaki ilişkide kontrol odağı kavramının rolü olup olmadığı analiz edilecektir.

Hipotez 1: Türkiye'deki vatandaşların ulusal kimlik seviyelerinin artması, Türkiye'deki Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik olumsuz tutum seviyelerinin artmasıyla ilişkilidir.

Hipotez 2: Suriyeli mülteciler ve Türkiye'deki vatandaşlar arasındaki genel sosyal temas, ulusal kimlik ile Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik tutum arasındaki ilişkiyi düzenlemektedir. Vatandaşlarla Suriyeli mülteciler arasındaki genel temas seviyesi arttıkça, ulusal kimlik ile mültecilere yönelik tutum arasındaki ilişki zayıflayacaktır.

Hipotez 3: Suriyeli mülteciler ve Türkiye'deki vatandaşlar arasındaki sosyal temasın niteliği, ulusal kimlik ile Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik tutum arasındaki ilişkiyi düzenlemektedir. Vatandaşlarla Suriyeli mülteciler arasındaki temas niteliği arttıkça, ulusal kimlik ile mültecilere yönelik tutum arasındaki ilişki zayıflayacaktır.

Hipotez 4: Türkiye'deki Suriyeli mülteciler ve vatandaşlar arasındaki sosyal temasın niceliği, ulusal kimlik ile Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik tutum arasındaki ilişkiyi

düzenlemektedir. Vatandaşlarla Suriyeli mülteciler arasındaki temas miktarı arttıkça, ulusal kimlik ile mültecilere yönelik tutum arasındaki ilişki zayıflayacaktır.

Hipotez 5: Bireysel kontrol odağı, Türkiye'deki ulusal kimlik ile Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik tutum arasındaki ilişkiyi düzenlemektedir. İçsel bireysel kontrol odağı ilişkiyi zayıflatırken, dışsal bireysel kontrol odağı ilişkiyi güçlendirir.

Hipotez 6: Mülteci kontrol odağı, Türkiye'deki ulusal kimlik ile Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik tutum arasındaki ilişkiyi düzenlemektedir. İçsel mülteci kontrol odağı ilişkiyi güçlendirirken, dışsal mülteci kontrol odağı ilişkiyi zayıflatır.

2. YÖNTEM

2.1. Katılımcılar

Analiz için verileri kullanılan 552 katılımcı vardır. Katılımcıların 294'ü kadın (% 53,3) ve 258'i erkektir (% 46,7). Yaş aralığı 16 ile 70 yaş arasındadır. Katılımcıların ikamet ettiği 46 farklı şehir vardır, ancak çoğunluğu İstanbul (% 16,3), Ankara (% 15,6), İzmir (% 7,8), Adana (% 13) ve Mersin (% 8,9) gibi büyük şehirlerde ikamet etmektedir. İkamet yeri, Suriyeli mülteci nüfusu yüksek olan ve nispeten daha az olan şehirler olarak iki gruba ayrılmıştır.

2.2. Ölçüm Araçları

2.2.1. Demografik Bilgiler

Katılımcılara cinsiyet, yaş, ikamet yeri, eğitim düzeyi, gelir düzeyi, medeni hal, evdeki çocuk sayısı, evdeki birey sayısı, dindarlık ve politik yönelim unsurlarını içeren demografik bir anket sunulmuştur.

2.2.2. Suriyeli Mültecilere karşı Negatif Tutum

Sunata ve arkadaşları tarafından geliştirilen Suriyeli Mültecilere Yönelik Tutum Ölçeği (2016), Türkiye'deki Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik tutumları ölçmek için kullanılmıştır. Ölçek 26 maddeden oluşmaktadır. Ölçeğin iç güvenilirliği yeterlidir ($\alpha = .94$, $n = 552$).

2.2.3. Ulusal Kimlik Özdeşimi

Balaban (2013) tarafından çevrilen Çok Bileşenli Grup İçi Kimlik Ölçeği'nin (Leach ve diğerleri, 2008), Türkçe versiyonu, Türkiye'de ulusal özdeşleşim derecesini ölçmek için kullanılmıştır. Ölçeğin iç güvenilirliği yeterlidir ($\alpha = .96$, $n = 552$).

2.2.4. Suriyeli Mülteciler ile Sosyal Temas

Türkiye vatandaşlarının Suriyeli mültecilerle kurduğu teması ölçmek için, Sosyal Temas Ölçeği'nin (İslam ve Hewstone, 1993) Türkçe versiyonu (Akbaş, 2010) kullanılmıştır. Ölçeğin toplam iç güvenilirliği yeterlidir ($\alpha = .79$, $N = 552$).

2.2.5 Suriyeli Mülteciler Örneğinde Türkiye Vatandaşlarının Kontrol Odağı

Bu çalışma için, Kontrol Odağı ve Mülteci Karşıtlığı Ölçeği (Harell vd., 2016) ilk önce beşli likert ölçeğine dönüştürülmüş ve daha sonra Türkçeye uyarlanmıştır. Mülteci kontrol odağı alt ölçeği düşük iç güvenilirlik göstermiştir ($\alpha = .61$, $n = 552$).

2.3. İşlem

Veri toplamadan önce Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi ve Osmaniye Korkut Ata Üniversitesi Etik Kurulu'ndan onay alınmıştır. Anket çevrimiçi ve çevrimdışı ortamda dağıtılmıştır. Anket paketinin ilk bölümünde katılımcıların etik haklarını, çalışmanın amacını ve araştırmacı ile iletişim bilgilerini kısaca açıklayan bilgilendirilmiş onam formu sunulmuştur. Son bölümde, çalışma hedefini daha detaylı açıklayan ve bilimsel katkıları için katılımcılara teşekkür eden bir bilgilendirme yapılmıştır. Çevrimiçi anketin tamamlanması yaklaşık 10 dakika sürerken kağıt-kalem yönteminin tamamlanması genel olarak 20 dakika sürmüştür.

3. BULGULAR

Sonuç, ulusal kimlik özdeşiminin olumsuz tutumu önemli ölçüde yordadığını gösterdi. Genel temas, temas niteliği, temas niceliği ve bireysel kontrol odağı değişkenleri moderasyon analizi için uygun görülmedi.

Mülteci kontrol odağı değişkeninin moderasyon analizi için uygun olduğu saptandı. Etkileşim grafiğinin incelenmesi, daha yüksek mülteci kontrol odağı seviyelerinin, ulusal kimlik özdeşimi ile olumsuz tutum arasındaki ilişkiyi, daha düşük mülteci kontrol odağı düzeyleriyle karşılaştırıldığında, arttırdığını göstermiştir.

4. TARTIŞMA

Sonuçlar, vatandaşların Türkiye'deki Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik genel tutumlarının olumsuz olduğunu göstermiştir. Ayrıca, sonuçlara göre, vatandaşlar kendilerini Türk uyruğu ile yüksek oranda özdeşleştirmektedir. Öte yandan, Suriyeli mültecilerle yapılan genel temas, temasın niceliği ve temasın niteliği düşük seviyelerdedir.

Elde edilen sonuçlara göre, vatandaşların ulusal kimlik özdeşimi Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik olumsuz tutumları önemli ölçüde yordamaktadır. Bununla birlikte, moderasyon rolü için sadece mülteci kontrol odağı faktörünün önemli olduğu tespit edilmiştir. Buna göre, yüksek mülteci kontrol odağı seviyeleri, düşük seviyedeki mülteci kontrol odağı düzeyleriyle karşılaştırıldığında, ulusal kimlik özdeşimi ve olumsuz tutum arasındaki ilişkiyi arttırmıştır.

4.1. Araştırmanın Katkıları ve Çıkarımları

Çalışmanın temel katkısı, ulusal kimlik özdeşimi ile mültecilere yönelik tutumlar arasındaki ilişkide kontrol odağı faktörünün rolünün, Türkiye bağlamında ilk kez incelenmesidir. Ayrıca, dünya genelinde de belirtilen ilişki, Harell ve arkadaşlarının (2016) çalışması dışında incelenmemiştir.

4.2. Çalışmanın Sınırlılıkları ve Gelecek Çalışmalar için Öneriler

Mevcut çalışmanın ilk kısıtlılığı, tüm analizlerde kullanılan örneklemin temsili olmayan unsurlarıdır. Bu nedenle, bu çalışmada tanımlanan kavramlar arasındaki ilişkiler daha temsili bir örneklem ile yeniden incelenmelidir. İkincisi, Mülteci kontrol odağı alt ölçeğinin Cronbach alfa değeri yalnızca .61'dir, ve bu da ölçek için düşük iç güvenilirlik anlamına gelmektedir. Dolayısıyla, mevcut araştırmada mülteci kontrol odağını ölçmek için kullanılan maddelerin, yeniden düşünülmesi ve yapılandırılması gerekmektedir. Gelecekteki çalışmalar için, zaman içindeki tutum değişikliklerini

değerlendirmek mantıklı olacaktır. Son olarak, gelecekteki çalışmalar, Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik halkın tutumunu değerlendirmek için nitel ölçüm araçlarını da kullanmayı düşünmelidir.

Mevcut tez, yerel halkın Türkiye'deki Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik tutumlarını incelemiş ve ulusal kimlik özdeşimi ile mülteci kontrol odağı faktörlerinin tutum açısından önemli katkılarını bulmuştur. İki grup arasındaki sosyal uyum, belirtilen bilimsel gerçekleri göz önüne alarak, resmi makamlarca düzenlenmelidir. Halkın tutumu şimdilik olumsuz görünmektedir. Bununla birlikte, Suriyeli mülteciler ve vatandaşlar arasındaki olumsuzluğu daha barışçıl etkileşimlere dönüştürmenin güvenilir yollarını aramak, olumsuz tutumların yıkıcı eylemlere dönüşme potansiyeli düşünüldüğü zaman büyük önem taşımaktadır.

APPENDIX J: THESIS PERMISSION FORM/ TEZ İZİN FORMU

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Bölümü / Department : PSİKOLOJİ

TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (İngilizce / English) : The Relationship between the National Identification and Attitude towards Syrian Refugees in the Context of Turkey: The Role of Social Contact and Locus of Control Factors

TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE: Yüksek Lisans / Master Doktora / PhD

1. Tezin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılacaktır. / Release the work immediately for access worldwide.
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