

EXAMINING XENOPHOBIA IN SYRIAN REFUGEES CONTEXT: THE ROLES OF  
PERCEIVED THREATS AND SOCIAL CONTACT

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **EXAMINING XENOPHOBIA IN SYRIAN REFUGEES CONTEXT: THE ROLES OF PERCEIVED THREATS AND SOCIAL CONTACT**

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The aim of the current study was to understand direct and indirect relationships among perceived threats, contact quality and quantity, and xenophobia in the context of Syrian refugees. The sample of the current study consists of 604 of local people from Mardin, Batman, Malatya, Hatay, Gaziantep and Istanbul. The age of participants ranges from 16 to 85. As data collection tools, Revised Version of Threat Scale, Revised Version of Contact Scale, and Revised Version of Xenophobia Scale were utilized. For examining mean differences in terms of gender t-test, in terms of education level, perceived economic level, and age separate ANOVAs were run. Finally, for examining direct and indirect relationships among variables structural equation modeling (SEM) was utilized. According to the findings of the current study, men, older people, less educated people, and people with low economic level were found to show more xenophobic attitudes toward refugees than others. In addition, both cultural threat and general threat were found to be directly and positively related to the xenophobia. The findings also demonstrated that both general threat and cultural threat had an indirect effect on xenophobia through contact quality, and the indirect effect of cultural threat on

xenophobia also persisted through contact quantity. Findings were discussed in the light of the related literature.

**Keywords:** perceived threats, social contact, xenophobia, Syrian refugees

## ÖZ

### SURİYELİ MÜLTECİLER BAĞLAMINDA ZENOFOBİNİN İNCELENMESİ: ALGILANAN TEHDİTLER VE SOSYAL TEMASIN ROLÜ

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Bu çalışmanın amacı, Suriyeli mülteciler bağlamında algılanan tehditler, temas sıklığı ve temas niteliği ile zenofobi arasındaki doğrudan ve dolaylı ilişkileri incelemektir. Çalışmanın örneklemini Mardin, Batman, Malatya, Hatay, Gaziantep ve İstanbul’da yaşayan ve yaşları 16 ile 85 arasında değişen 604 kişi oluşturmaktadır. Çalışmanın verilerini toplamak amacıyla, Revize Edilmiş Tehdit Ölçeği, Revize Edilmiş Sosyal Temas Ölçeği ve Revize Edilmiş Zenofobi Ölçeği kullanılmıştır. Zenofobinin cinsiyete göre farklılaşıp farklılaşmadığını incelemek için t-testi, katılımcıların eğitim düzeylerine, ekonomik düzeylerine ve yaşlarına göre farklılaşıp farklılaşmadığını belirlemek için ise ANOVA analizi yapılmıştır. Son olarak, değişkenler arasındaki doğrudan ve dolaylı ilişkiler Yapısal Eşitlik Modeli kullanılarak incelenmiştir. Çalışmanın bulgularına göre erkeklerin, yaşlıların, daha az eğitilmiş ve düşük sosyo-ekonomik düzeye sahip bireylerin Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik daha fazla zenofobik tutumlar sergiledikleri belirlenmiştir. Bu çalışmada, hem kültürel tehdidin hem de genel tehdidin zenofobi ile doğrudan ve pozitif ilişkili olduğu belirlenmiştir. Çalışmanın bulguları, hem kültürel tehdidin hem de genel tehdidin temas niteliği aracılığıyla



zenofobi üzerinde dolaylı bir etkisinin olduğunu göstermiştir. Ayrıca kültürel tehdidin temas sıklığı aracılığıyla da zenofobi üzerinde dolaylı bir etkisinin olduğu belirlenmiştir. Bulgular ilgili literatür ışığında tartışılmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** algılanan tehditler, sosyal temas, zenofobi, Suriyeli mülteciler

“to all displaced and innocent children”

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM .....	iii
ABSTRACT .....	iv
ÖZ.....	vi
DEDICATION .....	viii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	x
LIST OF TABLES .....	xiii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xiv
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. Background of the Study .....	1
1.2. Purpose of the Study.....	7
1.3. Research Questions.....	8
1.4. Significance of the Study.....	10
1.5. Definition of Terms .....	12
2. LITERATURE REVIEW.....	13
2.1. Definitions of Xenophobia, Perceived Threats, and Social Contact, and Related Theories.....	14
2.2. Interrelationship among Perceived Threats, Social Contact, and Attitudes (Xenophobia) toward Outgroup.....	18
2.2.1. Relationship between Perceived Threats and Attitudes toward Outgroups.....	18
2.2.2. The Relationship between Contact and Attitudes toward Outgroups .....	24
2.2.3. Direct and Indirect Relationships among Perceived Threats, Contact, and Attitudes Toward Different Outgroups .....	27
2.3. Summary.....	31
3. METHOD .....	33
3.1. Overall Design of the Study .....	33
3.2. Sampling Procedure and Participants .....	34

3.3. Participants .....	34
3.4. Data Collection Instruments .....	37
3.4.1. The Xenophobia Scale .....	39
3.4.2. Confirmatory Factor Analysis of Xenophobia Scale .....	39
3.4.3. Validity and Reliability of the Xenophobia Scale .....	41
3.4.4. The Perceived Threat Scale .....	42
3.4.5. Confirmatory Factor Analysis of the Perceived Threat Scale .....	43
3.4.6. Validity and Reliability of the Perceived Threat Scale .....	44
3.4.7. The Social Contact Scale .....	45
3.4.8. Confirmatory Factor Analysis of the Social Contact Scale .....	46
3.4.9. Validity and Reliability of the Social Contact Scale .....	47
3.5. Data Collection Procedure .....	48
3.6. Description of the Variables .....	49
3.7. Data Analysis .....	49
3.8. Limitations of the Study .....	50
4. RESULTS .....	52
4.1. Preliminary Analyses .....	52
4.1.1. Missing Data .....	52
4.1.2. Sample Size Adequacy .....	53
4.1.3. Influential Outliers .....	53
4.1.4. Assumptions of the Structure Equation Model .....	53
4.1.4.1. Independent Observation .....	53
4.1.4.2. Normality .....	53
4.1.4.3. Linearity and Homoscedasticity .....	54
4.1.4.4. Multicollinearity .....	55
4.1.5. The Results of Xenophobia Scores of Participants in terms of Their Gender .....	55
4.1.6. The Results of Xenophobia Scores of the Participants in terms of Their Educational Background .....	55
4.1.7. The Results of Xenophobia Scores of the Participants in terms of Their Economic Level .....	57
4.1.8. The Results of Xenophobia Scores of the Participants in terms of Their Age .....	59

4.1.9. The Results of the Correlation Analyses.....	60
4.2. Model Testing.....	62
4.2.1. Measurement Models.....	62
4.2.1.1. Measurement Model for Cultural Threat.....	62
4.2.1.2. Measurement Model for General Threat.....	63
4.2.2. Structural Models.....	64
4.2.2.1. Structural Model for Cultural Threat.....	65
4.2.2.2. Structural Model for General Threat.....	68
4.3. Summary of the Results.....	70
5. DISCUSSION.....	73
5.1. Discussion of the Preliminary Findings.....	73
5.2. Discussion of the Main Findings.....	76
5.3. Implications of the Findings to Practice.....	81
5.4. Recommendations for Further Research.....	85
REFERENCES.....	87
APPENDICES	
A: APPROVAL LETTER FROM MIDDE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE.....	96
B: THE XENOPHOBIA SCALE.....	97
C: THE PERCEIVED THREAT SCALE.....	98
D: THE SOCIAL CONTACT SCALE.....	99
E: TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET.....	101
F: TEZ İZİN FORMU / THESIS PERMISSION FORM.....	121

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 Demographic Characteristics of Participants .....	36
Table 2 Goodness of Fit Indexes for Three Factor Model of the Xenophobia Scale .....	40
Table 3 AVE and Reliability Coefficient Values of the Subscales of Xenophobia Scale .....	41
Table 4 AVE and Correlation Coefficient Values between Factors .....	42
Table 5 Goodness of Fit Indexes for Two-Factor Model of Perceived Threat Scale .....	43
Table 6 AVE and Reliability Coefficient Values of the Subscales of Threat Scale .....	45
Table 7 AVE and Correlation Coefficient Values between Factors .....	45
Table 8 Goodness of Fit Indexes for Two-Factor Model of the Social Contact Scale .....	46
Table 9 AVE and Reliability Coefficient Values of the Subscales of Social Contact Scale.....	48
Table 10 AVE and Correlation Coefficient Values between Factors .....	48
Table 11 T-test Results of Xenophobia Scores of the Participants in terms of Their Gender .....	55
Table 12 One-Way Analysis of Variance Results of Xenophobia Scores of the Participants in terms of Their Educational Background .....	56
Table 13 One-Way Analysis of Variance Results of Xenophobia Scores of the Participants in terms of Their Economic Level .....	58
Table 14 One-Way Analysis of Variance Results of Xenophobia Scores of the Participants in terms of Age Group.....	60
Table 15 The Relationship between Xenophobia and other Variables .....	61
Table 16 Standardized Direct, Indirect, and Total Effects for Cultural Threat.....	67
Table 17 Standardized Direct, Indirect, and Total Effects for General Threat .....	70

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 Hypothesis of the Study .....	10
Figure 2 Three-Factor CFA Model of Xenophobia Scale with Standardized Estimates .....	40
Figure 3 Two-Factor CFA Model of Perceived Threat Scale with Standardized Estimates .....	44
Figure 4 Two-Factor CFA Model of Social Contact Scale with Standardized Estimates .....	47
Figure 5 The Scatterplot of Predicted Value and Residual of Homoscedasticity ....	54
Figure 6 The Relationships between Demographic Variables and Xenophobia.....	62
Figure 7 The Measurement Model for Cultural Threat.....	63
Figure 8 The Measurement Model for General Threat .....	64
Figure 9 The Proposed Model of Xenophobia .....	65
Figure 10 Structural Model for Cultural Threat .....	66
Figure 11 Structural Model for General Threat .....	68
Figure 12 The Relationships between All Variables and Xenophobia .....	72



## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1. Background of the Study**

For centuries, interaction between residents and immigrants has been an issue for many societies around the world, but today it is more pervasive and complex issue than ever (Stephan, 2012). This pervasiveness and complexity result from the tensions among countries, ethnic and religious conflicts, civil wars, poverty, globalization and other factors which play significant roles for people searching for new countries to live safety and in peace. People replacing their homeland for different reasons might trigger some uneasiness and anxiety in the people of the host country. As seen both in national and international contexts, everywhere in the world, mass migration disturbs the local people and it even leads to prejudice, negative attitudes and xenophobic reactions toward immigrants (Stephan, 2012; Yakushko, 2009). These reactions stem from concerns about losing one's job, increasing labor supply, and the beginning of a competition for scarce resources which are accompanied by a decrease in income (Erdoğan, 2014).

In addition to interaction problems between residents and refugees, and xenophobic reactions, refugees face many other difficulties, such as abandoning their home, facing conflict, war or various other types of crises (e.g. physical or sexual abuse), and difficulties related to leaving their social, cultural and economic conditions. Especially, leaving one's homeland may cause significant psychological damages by itself (Stephan, 2012; Stephan & Finlay, 1999). Moreover, not knowing the local language, losing their family and social networks or losing significant others in a conflict or war have serious effects on the refugees' well-being. Feeling insecure in the new country may also make refugees feel anxious. Adaptations to the new country linking with economic and socio-cultural problems are among the most common issues as well.

With the outbreak of Syrian civil war, in 2011, many Syrians escaped from their country to neighboring countries. This civil war has affected both Syrians and the host countries they arrived in. With more than 3,5 million registered Syrian refugees, Turkey is the top refugees-hosting country. “The Open Door Policy” of Turkey played a very important role in receiving a great number of refugees. This policy ensured that every single person who migrates to Turkey would be accepted and not be sent back to their country unless they wanted to.

With the arrival of the first Syrian refugees group in early 2011, Turkey established several camps to provide food, health care and education (Orhan & Gündoğar, 2015). At first, nearly all Syrian refugees lived at the camps, but after inflow increased and condition changed, the numbers of refugees outside of the camps has also increased. According to AFAD report (2018, October) ten camps located in different cities; 3.577.792 refugees live in Turkey. But, only 174.256 of them live in the camps. Obviously, an overwhelming majority of the refugees live outside of the camps.

The density of refugees in a host country as in Turkey may increase xenophobic attitudes within society. Based on density of refugees, Turkish citizens have been interacting with Syrians more than ever. One of possibilities that could arise from the density of refugees is xenophobic reaction from locals to refugees. When thought in this context, at first there was a positive picture on the level of social acceptance, but there have been some social events that may cause concern about the Syrians in the past years. For example, several news broadcasted in both printed and digital media about the attacks on refugees. This pattern could be observed in the international context, as well. Similar to Turkey, at the initial stage, refugees are welcomed, but as the inflow increases, refugees face a lot of hostilities (Lesetedi & Modie-Moroka, 2007). According to Erdoğan (2014), in Turkey the intolerance toward refugees already exists and is significantly increasing among people with different ethnic and religious backgrounds day by day.

In Turkey, especially, there are three concerns raised among local people related to Syrian refugees: rising rents, anxiety about losing one’s job, and difficulties in benefiting from some public services, health in particular (Orhan & Gündoğar, 2015).

There are also many common incidents of anti-refugees prejudice, but they are often not recognized as xenophobia, which could be described by an underlying set of attitudes based on fear, dislike, or hatred of others or foreigners (Hjerm, 2007).

Negative attitudes or xenophobia toward refugees are not encountered just in a few countries, but it is encountered in almost all contemporary societies. In addition, no matter what contexts or places xenophobia shows itself in, it is a damaging force (Hjerm & Nagayoshi, 2011) for both in-groups and outgroups, namely, residents and refugees.

According to Yakushko (2009), in order to understand tensions between different groups, xenophobia is a helpful concept. The question is “What factors constitute xenophobia and influence attitudes towards refugees?” The etymological meaning of xenophobia comes from the Greek words “xeno”, which means ‘stranger’, and “phobia”, which means ‘fear’. Thus, xenophobia refers to ‘the fear of strangers’ (van der Veer et al., 2013; Yakushko, 2009). Based on that fear, a contemporary understanding of xenophobia views it as an antipathy towards refugees or foreigners (Hjerm, 2007).

In a similar vein, according to Lesetedi and Modie-Moroka (2007), xenophobia is generally used to describe fear or dislike of foreigners or people who are not like one’s self. It also includes the intolerance of foreigners, that is, “the others.” This fear, dislike and intolerance may be the result of a competition for scarce resources, employment, housing, services, facilities and even physical space. These concerns could lead to xenophobic reactions from locals to refugees or foreigners, such as violence, resentment, hostility and abuse, both verbally and physically (Lesetedi & Modie-Moroka, 2007). All in all, xenophobia could be described as a form of implicit fear-based prejudice toward foreigners.

The fear-based prejudice comes from the perception of threat. Immigrants are perceived as a threat in four key areas: employment (losing one’s job), access to basic social rights, protection or preserving one’s culture, and crime rate (D’Ancona, 2015). In this context, the Integrated Threat Theory (ITT) describes four basic types of threats that can cause prejudice: realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotyping (Stephan, Diaz-Loving & Duran 2000; Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald & Tur

Kaspa 1998). Aggression, discrimination, economic loss, theft, destruction of personal property, or exposure to infectious diseases all constitute realistic threat. In the context of the xenophobia, local people usually tend to be intolerant of outsiders. They accuse refugees of contributing to the escalation of crime rate, spreading diseases, and taking the jobs of locals (Lesetedi & Modie-Moroka, 2007). As in the long-term, for local people, realistic threats include competition for jobs or job loss, worries about crime rate, the cost of health care and the provision of other services, possible tax increase, and even for some, the threat of spawning domestic terrorists (Stephan, Diaz-Loving & Duran 2000; Stephan, Ybarra & Morrison, 2009).

Concerns that arise due to group differences in culture, values, principles, beliefs and worldviews or life styles are considered to be symbolic threats (Stephan & Stephan, 2000; Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman, 1999). Local people may worry about that refugees would not assimilate into their societies. They may even think that refugees might destroy their cultural values or traditions. Thus, their attitudes toward refugees may be intensely negative and polarized (Stephan & Stephan, 2009). Because their effect on intercultural interactions is largely destructive, realistic and symbolic threats have primary importance (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). These threats also bring about powerful negative emotions such as anger, fear, outrage and hatred (Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman, 1999).

Intergroup anxiety refers to the idea that in-group members anticipate or worry about negative consequences during interaction with outgroup members, such as being taken advantage of or rejected, or facing overt hostility. This anticipation of negative outcomes of interaction with outgroup members is conceptually related to the cognitive appraisals that are thought to result in feeling of threat (Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman, 1999). In a similar manner, negative stereotypes could be related to prejudice or xenophobia toward refugees due to the expectations of negative consequences during social interaction. For example, if locals perceive refugees as aggressive, dishonest, ignorant, or undisciplined, it would be expected that interaction with them will be unwelcome, unpleasant or worse (Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman, 1999).

Integrated threat theory was renamed as intergroup threat theory and reduced to two

main types of threats (realistic and symbolic) (Stephan, Ybarra & Morrison, 2009). In intergroup threat theory, negative stereotyping is now assumed to be a cause of threat. Similarly, intergroup anxiety is also assumed to become a subtype of threat (Stephan, Ybarra & Morrison, 2009; Stephan, Ybarra & Rios, 2015).

A wide variety of negative attitudes and related cognitions (e.g. prejudice and other negative attitudes, cognitive, and perceptual biases) can also be activated by threats (Stephan, 2012; Stephan & Stephan, 2009). Thus, the theory holds that various types of threats could result in deterioration of intergroup relations (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). This assertion is supported by research which findings revealed that there was a significant positive relationship between intergroup threat (for the context of the current study, realistic threat and symbolic threat respectively) and negative attitudes toward the outgroup (Riek, Mania & Gaertner, 2006).

In reality, there are some differences between Syrian refugees and Turkish residents in terms of culture, traditions, values, worldviews and the way of life. All these differences could lead to different reactions from residents. Residents might worry that the refugees would negatively affect their lives in various domains. Alongside the characteristics of refugees, the characteristics of the host community and their attitudes towards refugees are also significant factors. Ideological approaches, cultural behaviors, economic expectations or interests, personal experiences, and above all, popular media coverage of the refugee problem have influence on citizens' opinions, beliefs and attitudes towards refugees. Besides the emphasized factors above, high unemployment rate or high competition on limited resources between residents and refugees may also lead to a perception of threat for residents.

All in all, the related feelings or perceptions of different types of threats might result in or trigger prejudice or other unwanted negative reactions (Stephan, Ybarra & Morrison, 2009) toward Syrian refugees among Turkish citizens. As a result, realistic and symbolic threats which have primary importance in shaping attitudes toward outgroups might have a similar role in shaping or triggering xenophobic attitudes toward refugees.

Related to intergroup relations, according to Contact Theory, there is a relationship

between the quantity and quality of contact and prejudicial (Allport, 1954) and xenophobic attitudes toward out-group members, that is, refugees. Contact Hypothesis (Allport, 1954) proposed that the contact between various racial and ethnic groups help to reduce intergroup prejudice and promote more favorable attitudes. According to this hypothesis, direct contact with other groups let in-group members acquire information about outgroup at firsthand which is probably accurate. This may increase tolerance toward outgroup members, and consequently, lead to reduction of the prejudice between groups. In addition, contact theory proposed that by increasing contact among members of different groups, mutual understanding, which has a potential to result in a parallel decrease in biases against different outgroups, can be increased. By doing so, the members of different groups can be more familiar to each other and form more satisfying relationships; thereby, counteract feeling of threats (Barlow et. al, 2012). As Voci and Hewstone (2003) point out, people who had higher contact with the members of outgroup are less predisposed to perceive them as threat than who had lower contact with them. In the context of the Syrian refugees, people who had less contact with refugees might have more negative attitudes towards the refugees. It is expected in this study that as the quality and quantity of the contact between Syrians and local people increase, their xenophobic attitudes decreases.

Group empathy theory also posits that the quantity and quality of contact with other groups boosts group empathy (Sirin, Valentino & Villalobos, 2017) and might lower prejudice and xenophobia toward outgroup members, as well. Although there is no clear, simple, and direct relationship between contact and prejudice reduction, under more favorable conditions, contact inclines to contribute to changes in the attitudes of the groups, while under unfavorable conditions, contact might increase prejudice and intergroup tension which already exists (Pettigrew, 1998).

In the related literature, the following were well-documented by separate studies: the role that perceived threats play in prejudicial attitudes toward immigrants (Makashvili, Vardanashvili & Javakhishvili, 2018; Stephen et. al., 1998; Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman, 1999; Stephan et. al, 2005; Stephen et. al., 1998), hostility against foreigners (Gondim et al., 2018), attitudes toward asylum seekers (Renner, Thomas, Mikulajová &

Newman, 2018), prejudice toward Syrian refugees (Scott & Safdar, 2017), and negative attitudes toward outgroups (Riek, Mania & Gaertner, 2006).

Similarly, in the related literature, the link between contact and intergroup relations and attitudes toward different outgroups are also well-documented (Allport, 1954; Binder et al., 2009; Ceballos & Yakushko, 2014; Curseu et al., 2007; Fleming, Esipova, Pugliese, Ray & Srinivasan, 2018; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Saab, Harb & Moughalian, 2017; Stephan, Diaz-Loving & Duran, 2000; Velasco González, Verkuyten, Weesie & Poppe, 2008; Wright, Mazziotta & Tropp, 2017). In addition, the relationship between contact and perceived threat (Stephan, Diaz-Loving & Duran, 2000) and between xenophobia and perceived threat (D'Ancona, 2015; D'Ancona, 2018; Zeisset, 2016), and between social contact and fear-related xenophobia toward immigrants (Ommundsen et. al., 2013) were determined in separate studies. However, these variables altogether should be able to explain the nature of the xenophobia. Therefore, this study aims to bring these variables together to examine their relative relationships (direct and indirect) to xenophobia by offering a model. Testing this model in the Turkey context should produce important insight into xenophobia because the density of Syrian refugees in Turkey has a high potential to result in a tension and xenophobic reactions from residents to refugees.

## **1.2. Purpose of the Study**

As emphasized in the background of the study, the current influx of Syrians refugees has a high potential to create a xenophobic cultural environment in Turkey. Therefore, it is imperative for researchers to understand the nature of xenophobia and develop well working interventions. Thus, the aim of the current study was to understand what constitutes xenophobia. In the previous research, several variables were suggested to have links to xenophobia by independent studies. Based on this existing literature, this study aimed to bring the variables which appear to be most promising to predict xenophobic attitudes of individuals against refugees. These variables are perceived threat (general threat and cultural threat), contact quantity, and contact quality.

The relationship between perceived threat and negative attitudes toward refugees has already been established by the previous studies. However, the nature of this relationship

is yet to be understood. Therefore, the main goal of the current study was to understand direct and indirect interactions among perceived threats, contact quality and quantity, and xenophobia. In the light of the existing literature, the hypotheses of this thesis were that a) there is a close relationship between perceived threat and xenophobia and b) quality and quantity of contact may play mediator roles in this relationship.

### **1.3. Research Questions**

In the light of the existing literature, this study seeks answer to the following research question; what are the direct and indirect relationships among perceived threat (general threat and cultural threat), contact quantity and quality, and xenophobia in the context of Syrian refugees?

As an auxiliary to the main research question, the study also explored the following sub-questions related to the demographic characteristics of the sample;

Is there significant gender, education background, perceived economical income level, and age differences in the level of xenophobic attitudes toward Syrians refugees?

Based on the research questions, the main hypothesis of the current was that the contact quantity and contact quality would be mediating the relationship between perceived cultural, general threat and xenophobia in the context of Syrian refugees. The hypothesis of the study was tested with the following main and sub-hypothesis.

Hypothesis A: It was hypothesized that demographic characteristics of participants would impact their xenophobic attitudes toward Syrian refugees.

Hypothesis A1: The gender of participants would impact their xenophobic attitudes toward Syrian refugees.

Hypothesis A2: The educational background of participants would impact their xenophobic attitudes toward Syrian refugees.

Hypothesis A3: The economic level of participants would impact their xenophobic attitudes toward Syrian refugees.

Hypothesis A4: The ages of participants would impact their xenophobic attitudes toward



Syrian refugees.

Hypothesis B: The main hypothesis of the study was that contact quantity and contact quality would be mediating the relationship between perceived cultural, general threat and xenophobia in the context of Syrian refugees. The sub-hypothesis were:

Hypothesis B1.1: There would be a relationship between perceived cultural threat and contact quantity.

Hypothesis B1.2: There would be a relationship between perceived cultural threat and contact quality.

Hypothesis B1.3: There would be a direct relationship between perceived cultural threat and xenophobia.

Hypothesis B1.4, B1.5: Perceived cultural threat would be related to xenophobia through contact quantity and contact quality.

Hypothesis B2.1: There would be a relationship between perceived general threat and contact quantity.

Hypothesis B2.2: There would be a relationship between perceived general threat and contact quality.

Hypothesis B2.3: There would be a direct relationship between perceived general threat and xenophobia.

Hypothesis B2.4, B2.5: Perceived general threat would be related to xenophobia through contact quantity and contact quality.

The all hypothesis of the current study visualized at the figure 1 below:

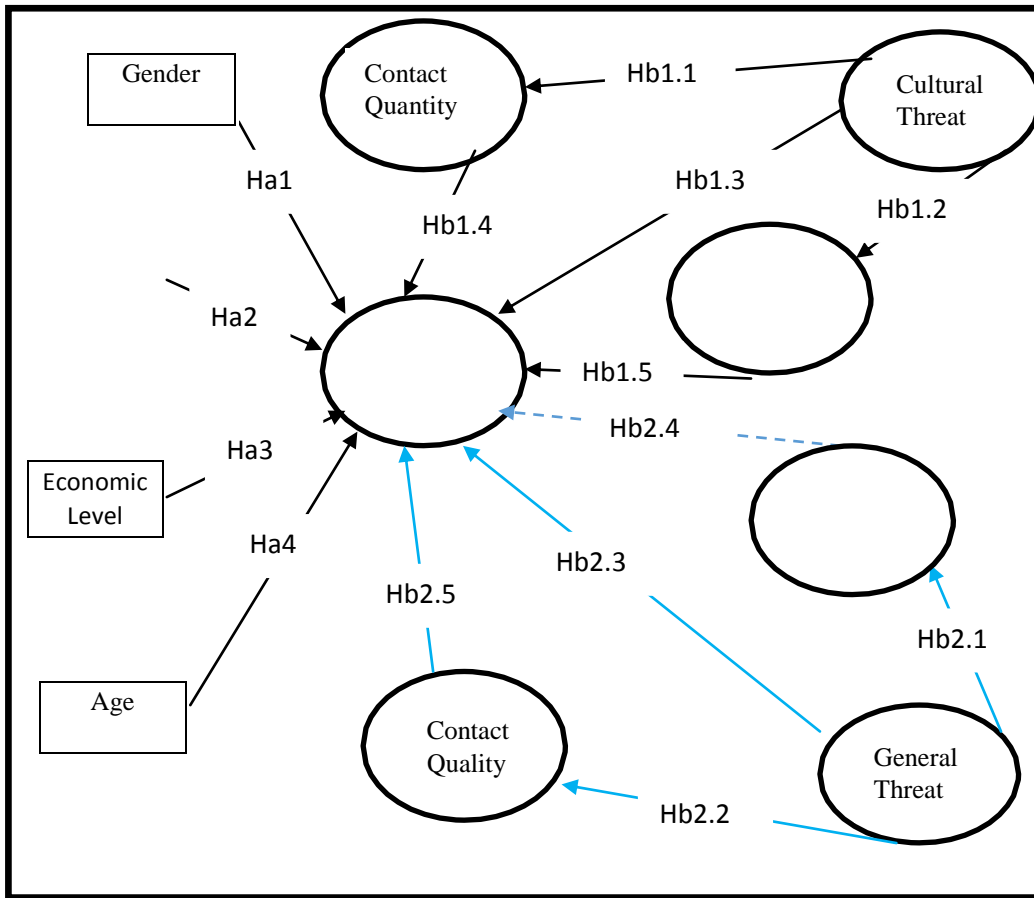


Figure 1 *Hypothesis of the Study*

#### 1.4. Significance of the Study

The topics of multiculturalism and diversity have been discussed inside and outside of the field of counseling psychology. In this context, Turkey has been a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic country since its foundation to today. There are 3.577.792 refugees living in Turkey (AFAD, October, 2018). However, only 174.256 of them live in the camps. Obviously, an overwhelming majority of the refugees live outside the camps. Based on these numbers, Turkish citizens have been interacting and encountering Syrians more than ever. Moreover, in the short-term for Syrian refugees, there are no signs of going back to their country because of the instability in their homeland. Based on this fact and Turkish open door policy, there should be some kind of an integration program for Syrians.

Now there are 3,5 million (with increasing numbers) refugees who have already arrived in Turkey, with numerous needs and issues. Such a big number of refugees are likely to be perceived as a threat by locals considering the limited resources of the country.

Considering the density of the refugees, among some groups in Turkish society, which has shown a considerably high social acceptance toward refugees to this day and have been supportive of the Syrians, we are likely to see the spread of xenophobia, generating of hate and attacks on refugees if the process is not managed well. In Erdoğan's study, when Syrian refugees were asked "What is the most disturbing thing that has ever happened to you in Turkey?", it is striking that their answer was "to be perceived as a guest" by residents. In the context of feeling disturbed by being perceived as guests, it is highly possible that they will be very reactive to any xenophobic signs. For this reason, there should be some studies in order to provide related data about how refugees have been perceived by residents and what kind of prevention and intervention programs should be developed.

The current study contributes to extend what is limited knowledge on xenophobia in the context of Turkey. The results of the study should be inspiring for future studies as the model tested in this study should be considered as a base model for a culture and refugee-specific context. Then, all these efforts might help us to create a new model to help people, treat and prevent the negative effects of xenophobia and at least help people to understand that their perceptions or feeling of threat could occur without any real experiences as it does by bias-motivation or prejudice.

An important element of the present study is being based on Intergroup Threat Theory and Contact Hypothesis. Considering the roles of these theories in explaining the nature of xenophobia and attitudes toward refugees, it would be logical to utilize the principles of these theories. By making use of the principles of these theories, more effective prevention and/or intervention models can be developed to smooth out the adjustment process of refugee integration for both part, locals and Syrians.

Therefore, considering all the domestic and international immigrations in Turkey, professionals in counseling field will be dealing with more and more cases of victims of

xenophobia and/or clients with xenophobic attitudes. However, psychological counselors working in different settings (including educational settings) have minimum (if any) formal and informal training about how to work with discriminatory attitudes of the client and how to help clients who are victims of discrimination in the context of xenophobia. Moreover, the significance of the study also comes from the ethical responsibilities for the counselors. That is the advocate role of counselors for the less privileged groups. Thus, this study will provide important insight about the nature and extent of the xenophobic attitudes toward Syrians not only for psychological counselors but also for other mental health professionals.

### **1.5. Definition of Terms**

***Xenophobia:*** Refers to ‘the fear of strangers’ (van der Veer et al., 2013; Yakushko, 2009).

***Perceived Threat:*** Refers to general and cultural threats which are perceived by in-group members. When perceiving that the member of another group is in a position to harm one’s group, threat is experienced (Stephan, Ybarra, & Morrison, 2009).

***Social Contac:*** Refers to quantity and quality of contact between different groups.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

The main purpose of the current study was to examine direct and indirect relationships among general threat, cultural threat, contact quantity, contact quality and xenophobia in the context of Syrian refugees in Turkey. Although there are many factors which have an effect on xenophobic attitudes toward refugees, the roles of perceived threats and social contact were examined in the current study because of the current interactions between the residents of Turkey and Syrian refugees. In addition, whether perceiving Syrian refugees as threats affect residents' xenophobic attitudes toward them as explained in the introduction chapter.

In various previous studies, the role of perceived threats and social contact in the negative attitudes, prejudice or xenophobia toward immigrants, asylum seekers, refugees or national minority were examined. The conducted studies examine the roles of these factors in different contexts and toward different groups, and found significant associations among these factors. However, these studies did not examine the roles of perceived threats and social contact in explaining the xenophobic attitudes of local people toward a specific group, especially refugees. Besides, the conducted studies did not examine the roles of these variables together in a single study. Thus, there appears to be a need for examining direct and indirect relationships among these factors in the context of refugees in order to understand the whole picture. By discovering the roles of these variables in understanding the nature of xenophobia, more effective prevention and/or intervention models can be developed, or the existing models (based on the related theories) could be utilized to smooth out the adjustment process of refugee integration.

This chapter consists of two separate sections. In the first section, definitions of the variables studied in the current study (perceived threats, social contact, and xenophobia) were presented by explaining the theories behind them (Integrated Threat Theory, and Contact Theory). In the second section, the conducted studies were reviewed, and their results were presented. Finally, a summary of the literature review was presented.

## **2.1. Definitions of Xenophobia, Perceived Threats, and Social Contact, and Related Theories**

***Xenophobia:*** What factors constitute to xenophobia and influence attitudes towards refugees? The etymological meaning of xenophobia comes from the Greek words xeno, which means ‘stranger’, and phobia, which means ‘fear’. Thus, xenophobia refers to ‘the fear of strangers’ (van der Veer et al., 2013; Yakushko, 2009). Based on that fear of strangers, a contemporary understanding of xenophobia views it as an antipathy towards refugees or foreigners (Hjerm, 2007). Xenophobia also has been defined as a form of violence. According to this view, bias motivates the xenophobic violence, and xenophobia is a common form of bias motivation of which refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants become victims (Human Right First, 2011).

According to Lesetedi and Modie-Moroka (2007), xenophobia is generally used to describe fear or dislike of foreigners or people who are different from one’s self. In addition, xenophobia includes the intolerance of foreigners, i.e. “the others”. This fear, dislike or intolerance may result from competition for scarce resources, employment, housing, services, facilities and even for simple physical space. This fear, dislike and intolerance could lead to xenophobic reactions from locals to refugees or foreigners in the form of violence, resentment, hostility and abuse both verbally and physically (Lesetedi & Modie-Moroka, 2007).

Similar to Lesetedi and Modie-Moroka (2007), Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, and Armstrong (2001) pointed out that “xenophobia is defined as a negative attitude towards, or fear of individuals or groups of individuals in some sense different (real or imagined) from themselves or the group(s) they belong to”. They emphasized the attitudinal part of xenophobia, but it also includes an affective part: fear, which is essential to xenophobia. According to this definition, a situation in which individuals perceive that their own

position or their group's position is being threatened by others causes fear. Another important component of xenophobia is a feeling of discomfort because of the presence of strangers/foreigners (refugees) in a community and their impact on the cultural, economic, and social capital of the host community (Esses et al., 2001). Similarly, Yakushko (2009) also underlined the xenophobia's definition as a form of attitudinal, affective and behavioral prejudice toward immigrants and others perceived as "foreign". According to Yakushko, the term xenophobia may be most suitable for understanding prejudicial attitudes of Americans toward recent immigrants to the United States (Yakushko, 2009) and other countries which have received mass refugees' flows, such as Turkey.

All definitions, as van der Veer et al. (2013) stressed, seem to include fear-like emotions, implying a feeling of vulnerability – the feeling that foreigners can harm you and is not to be trusted. In the context of in-group and out-group interaction, for in-group members, out-group members could be perceived as unfriendly and able to harm in-group members, and this threat-based mindset may result in a feeling of insecurity, fear or suspicion among members of the in-group. The fear of "the other," which can cause personal and societal harm, is a single primary aspect of xenophobia (van der Veer et al., 2013).

***Perceived Threat:*** When perceiving that the member of another group is in a position to harm one's group, intergroup threat is experienced (Stephan, Ybarra & Morrison, 2009). In this context, Integrated Threat Theory (ITT), a social psychological theory focusing on perceptions of threats, describes four main types of threats that can cause prejudice: realistic threats, symbolic threats, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotyping (Stephan, Diaz-Loving & Duran 2000; Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald & Tur Kaspas 1998). According to the theory, physical/material harms, loss of basic resources, personal/societal security, health or general welfare-related concerns constitute a realistic threat, while distortion of cultures, values, beliefs, ethics, general way of living and worldviews-related concerns are regarded as symbolic threats (Rios, Sosa & Osborn, 2018; Stephan & Stephan, 2009; Stephan, Ybarra & Morrison, 2009). According to the theory, the elements of realistic threat refer to tangible harms whereas the elements of

symbolic threat refer to intangible harm (Stephan & Stephan, 2009).

In the integrated threat theory, intergroup anxiety refers to the anticipation of in-group members about negative outcomes during interaction with outgroup members (Stephan & Stephan, 2009), such as being taken advantage of or rejected, or facing overt hostility. This anticipation of negative consequences of interaction with others is conceptually associated with the cognitive appraisals that are thought to result in a feeling of threat (Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman, 1999). In a similar manner, negative stereotypes could be related to prejudice or xenophobia toward refugees due to expectations of negative consequences or negative impact on in-group members during social interaction (Stephan, Diaz-Loving & Duran 2000). For example, if the perception is related to refugees' being aggressive, dishonest, ignorant or undisciplined, it will presumably be expected that interaction with them will be unwelcome, unpleasant or worse (Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman, 1999).

In the development of intergroup threat theory, the theory was originally labeled as integrated threat theory (Stephen & Stephen, 2000) which include four types of threats (intergroup anxiety, negative stereotyping, realistic and symbolic threats), but it was renamed as intergroup threat theory after being reduced to two main types threats (realistic and symbolic) (Stephan, Ybarra & Morrison, 2009; Stephan, Ybarra & Rios, 2015). In intergroup threat theory, negative stereotyping is now assumed to be causing threat. Similarly, intergroup anxiety is also assumed to become a subtype of threat (Stephan, Ybarra & Morrison, 2009). In the intergroup threat theory, both realistic and symbolic threats have been divided into group-level and individual-level threats (Stephan, Ybarra & Rios, 2015). For example, perceiving another group as a threat to one's nation or country's economy (realistic group threat), fear of losing one's job (realistic individual threat), fear or perception of destruction in one's nation or country's values or worldview (symbolic group threat), and fear of losing one's sense that he or she is respected and valued (symbolic individual threat) (Rios, Sosa & Osborn, 2018).

In the context of Syrian refugees, refugees could be perceived as a source of both realistic threat (as can be seen in statements like e.g. "They have taken our job from our hands"), and symbolic threat (e.g. "They are increasing crime rate"). As a result of these



perceptions, local people may also feel that their interests are threatened; and by taking collective action, they engage in an open conflict with refugees group (Saab, Harb & Moughalian, 2017).

Residents often respond negatively to refugees or immigrants because they are changing or affecting the whole society. The changes unwanted by residents include seeing and interacting with people who are regarded as “different” and the negative effect of foreigners on the way members of in-group are used to leading their daily lives (Stephan, 2012). More specifically, local people worry about difficulties in benefiting from some public services, especially health services, increase in labor supply, increased competition for scarce resources, raised rents, changes in values, principles or worldview of the society, and so on. These are all unwanted changes perceived by locals.

In identifying triggers of factors which activate prejudice or negative attitudes toward outgroups, intergroup threat theory is one of the most effective frameworks (Makashvili, Vardanashvili & Javakhishvili, 2018). Feelings of threat result in prejudice and other negative attitudes toward outgroup (Stephan, Ybarra & Morrison, 2009); and the relationship between realistic and symbolic threats and prejudice and negative attitudes toward outgroups’ members have been well-documented (Rios, Sosa & Osborn, 2018). Thus, in the current study, the roles of cultural and general threats on xenophobia toward Syrian refugees have been examined.

***Social Contact:*** Refers to quantity and quality of contact between different groups. Allport’s interpersonal contact theory (1954) asserted that the direct contact between various racial and ethnic groups help to reduce intergroup prejudice and promote more favorable attitudes. According to this theory, the best way to reduce prejudice, stereotyping or intergroup conflict is direct interpersonal contact. Increased contact between members of different groups also improve mutual understanding and reduces biases or prejudices towards given outgroups (Barlow et. al., 2012).

According to contact hypothesis, direct contact with the members of other groups provide both parties with an opportunity of being familiar with each other and acquiring

information about the outgroup at firsthand. This firsthand information will probably be accurate and increase more tolerance toward outgroup members and lead to reduction of the prejudice between groups (Allport, 1954). Interaction or contact with and information about the members of other groups will help reduce prejudice and perceived threats (Curşeu, Stoop & Schalk, 2007).

Group empathy theory also posits that quantity and quality of contact with other groups boosts group empathy (Sirin, Valentino & Villalobos, 2017) and might lower prejudice and xenophobia toward outgroup members. Although there is no clear, simple, and direct relationship between contact and prejudice reduction, under more favorable conditions, contact is more likely to contribute to changes in the attitudes of the groups, while under unfavorable conditions, contact might increase prejudice and intergroup tension which already exist (Pettigrew, 1998).

All in all, there is a positive link between perceived threat and negative (prejudicial or xenophobic) attitudes toward other groups (refugees), and this link, under certain conditions, may also exist as negative between contact and attitudes toward outgroup. So far definitions of the variables studied in the current study and the theories behind them were explained. In the next section, the related literature has been reviewed and the findings of studies are presented.

## **2.2. Interrelationship among Perceived Threats, Social Contact, and Attitudes (Xenophobia) toward Outgroup**

### **2.2.1. Relationship between Perceived Threats and Attitudes toward Outgroups**

In the related literature, many studies have been conducted in order to examine the associations between perception of threats and negative attitudes toward outgroups and significant links were determined. For example, Stephan, Ybarra, and Bachman (1999) conducted a study in order to examine prejudicial attitudes of 332 participants, from three different universities (Florida, New Mexico and Hawaii), toward three different immigrant groups: Cubans, Mexicans and Asians. For attitudes toward Cuban immigrants, realistic threat and symbolic threat were found to be significant predictors of attitudes toward this group. For attitudes toward Mexican immigrants, realistic threat and symbolic threat were also significant predictors of attitudes toward this group, while

for attitudes toward Asian immigrants only realistic threat was found to be significant predictor. In this study, the authors also examined whether or not the ethnic background of the participants affected their attitudes toward immigrants; thus, they entered a new variable into regression equation consisting of a comparison between participants who were culturally similar to the immigrant groups (e.g. Asian American students' attitudes toward Asian immigrants) and students who were culturally different (e.g. Anglo and other non-Hispanic students' attitudes toward Mexican immigrants). In two of three samples, this new added ethnicity variable was not significant (New Mexico and Hawaiian). However, in the Florida sample, the ethnicity variable significantly affected the participants' attitudes. Specifically, it was determined that Hispanics in Florida showed more favorable attitudes toward Cuban immigrants than the members of other ethnic groups did. According to the authors of the study, the mixed pattern of results of ethnicity variable suggests that cultural similarity (or dissimilarity) of participants to immigrants' groups is not a consistent predictor of their attitudes. As a result, the findings of the study confirmed that realistic threat was a significant and consistent predictor of attitudes toward different immigrant groups, while symbolic threat was nearly consistent predictor variable and ethnicity of participants was not an impacting factor in attitudes toward immigrants.

Similar to the Stephan, Ybarra, and Bachman' (1999) study, another study was conducted in Israel and in Spain in order to examine the prejudicial attitudes of participants toward the Moroccans (N=97), Russians (N =121) and Ethiopians in these countries (N =114). The study found that in Israel sample symbolic threat was a significant predictor of prejudice toward the Ethiopians, but not of the Russians in Israel and the Moroccans in Spain. According to the authors, Moroccans are not permanent residents in Spain and the gulf between them is very wide. Thus, Spain may feel that a small number of Moroccans may not pose a symbolic threat and that they are not likely to bring unwanted cultural changes. Cultural differences between the Israelis and Ethiopians are more salient than the differences between the Israelis and Russians. This difference probably explains why symbolic threat is a significant predictor of prejudicial attitudes toward only the Ethiopians, not the Russians in Israel. Finding of this study also indicated that realistic threat was a significant predictor of prejudicial attitudes

toward the Moroccans in Spain sample not toward the Ethiopians and the Russians. Realistic threats did not predict prejudicial attitudes of the Israelis toward immigrant groups. According to the authors, this result comes from the idea that immigrants were expected to assimilate into the Israeli society and contribute to the welfare of it, and they were treated as resources for the future of the Israeli society (Stephen et. al., 1998). According to the findings of this study, the perceived size of the immigrants also could play a significant role in the perception of participants about immigrants posing a symbolic threat to them. In addition, the effect of realistic threat in negative attitudes toward immigrants might be lowered by the perception or the idea that immigrants would assimilate into the society and they would be valuable resources for the future of the society.

In another study, the predictive relationship between perceived threats and prejudice was examined by Makashvili, Vardanashvili, and Javakhishvili (2018) with 611 undergraduate students from Georgia. The findings of the study demonstrated that threat by itself has a potential to increase prejudice, and both realistic and symbolic threats significantly predict prejudice. In addition, males were found to be more prejudicial than females. In addition to confirming the role of threat in increasing prejudice, the findings of the study also revealed the significant role of gender in prejudice. Based on the findings of Makashvili, Vardanashvili, and Javakhishvili (2018), gender could be thought as a confounding variable in the relationship between perceived threats and negative attitudes toward outgroups. But, the findings of the study conducted by Ceballos and Yakushko (2014) support the idea that perceiving immigrants as a threat had strong and significant effects on unfavorable attitudes toward immigrants, even after controlling the effect of the demographic characteristics: gender, race and age.

Although there might be a significant links between perceived threats and attitudes toward outgroups, this link would be higher from one perceived threat to another. As the findings of Renner, Thomas, Mikulajová, and Newman' (2018) study showed that cultural threat was a major predictor of attitudes toward asylum seekers, while economic threat was not a significant predictor of the attitudes toward asylum seekers in German-speaking sample (N = 349) or in Slovak sample (N = 307). The findings of this study

revealed that cultural threat (symbolic) could be more effective in predicting attitudes toward outgroups than economic threat (realistic).

As confirmed in the study of Stephen et. al. (1998), contextual factors in different countries, which might play a significant role on the effect of symbolic threat in negative attitudes toward foreigners. Findings of the study conducted by Gondim et al. (2018) with 270 participants in Brazil ( $N = 89$ ), in Portugal ( $N = 87$ ), and in Spain ( $N = 94$ ) also confirmed the role of contextual factors. In their study it was found that symbolic threat was a significant predictor of hostility against foreigners only in the Brazilian sample, not in other samples. Thus, the role of perceived threats might vary from country to country based on other factors and not always predict attitudes toward different outgroups.

Economic recession is an important example of contextual factor as examined by D'Ancona (2015). The author conducted a study in order to explain the changing pattern of xenophobia in Spain. For this purpose, the author analyzed opinion polls from 1993 to 2012. The results of the study indicated that the image of immigration was activated by recession as an economic threat, which resulted in an increase in xenophobia. According to the findings of the study, a determining factor in xenophobia is perceived presence of immigrants, which also feeds the feeling of perceived cultural and economic threats.

Not just perceived threat increase prejudice toward different outgroups, but some demographic characteristics of people, like education level, also has a significant effect on the attitudes toward outgroups. For example, Velasco González, Verkuyten, Weesie, and Poppe (2008) conducted a study with 1187 Dutch adolescents in order to examine prejudice toward Muslims. Their results showed that participants perceive more symbolic threat than realistic threat, and there was a significant link between perceived symbolic threat and prejudice toward Muslims, while realistic threat was not significantly related prejudice toward Muslims. The religious background of the participants might play a significant role on these results. In addition, the findings of this study demonstrated that education had a significant negative effect on prejudice toward Muslims. More specifically, it was found that people with higher educational background were less prejudicial than people who had a lower education level.

The roles of perceived threats in negative attitudes toward different outgroups not confirmed only in correlational studies, but also confirmed by the findings of experimental studies. For example, in the study conducted by Stephan et. al (2005), the causal role that threats play in attitudes toward immigrants were examined with 88 introductory psychology students. In this study, the students were given information about an immigrant group: they were told that the immigrants were threats to the in-group (positing realistic threats, symbolic threats, both types of threat or no threats). The result of the study showed that the attitudes of the students were more negative when the immigrant group posed both realistic and symbolic threats, not only realistic, symbolic or no threats to the in-group. According to these findings, rather than separately, the combination of realistic and symbolic threats could play a significant role in attitudes toward immigrants.

Not only immigrants, asylum seekers, national or religious minorities perceived as threats by locals. Refugees are also a different outgroup which might pose threats to in-groups, and residents might show negative attitudes toward them based on threats they perceive from refugees. From this point of view and considering a possible relationship between threat perception and attitudes toward refugees, a survey experiment was conducted with 529 university students for examining prejudice and threat toward Syrian refugees in Canada. In this study, it was found that participants under threatening conditions demonstrated less positive evaluation of Syrians than participants in the non-threatening condition. More specifically, the evaluation of Syrian refugees was more positive according to the participants under no threat condition than the participants under the threatening condition. In addition, surprisingly it was found that males showed more positive attitudes and less in-group bias toward Syrian refugees than females (Scott & Safdar, 2017). Different than other studies, this study was conducted with an aim to determine the relationship between threat and negative attitudes toward Syrian refugees, and the findings of this study indicated a significant link between perceived threats and negative evaluation of Syrian refugees.

From the findings of separate studies, as stressed above, it can be concluded that perceived threats have powerful effect on attitudes toward different groups. In

accordance with this proposition Riek, Mania, and Gaertner (2006) conducted a meta-analytic review, involving 95 samples, in order to examine the association between intergroup threat and negative outgroup attitudes. Their results indicated that there was a significant positive relationship between intergroup threat (for the context of the current study, realistic threat and symbolic threat, respectively) and negative attitudes toward outgroup. More specifically, their findings revealed that as intergroup competition and value violations perception increase, negative attitudes toward outgroups also increase.

The role of perceived threats in negative attitudes toward different outgroups were not examined in a few countries, but their role examined in many contemporary societies too and significant links were determined. For example, Zeisset (2016) conducted a study in Nordic countries (Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland and Iceland). In this study, it was found that anti-immigrant xenophobia, particularly toward Muslims, was prevalent in these countries [Sweden (40.8%), Denmark (52.1%), Norway (59%), Finland (54.4%) and Iceland (52.4%)] known as open-minded, tolerant toward others and progressive. According to the findings of the study, age was positively related to intolerance toward immigrants, and people with higher education, females and younger generation were slightly more tolerant toward immigrants than others. In addition, both economic and cultural threats were found to be significant indicators of the intolerance toward immigrants. However, perceived cultural or lifestyle threat seemed to be the most significant indicator of the intolerance. This study confirmed that xenophobia is not seen in just a few counties or places. Instead it is a common phenomenon and is seen nearly all around the world. In addition, as in negative attitudes toward outgroups, education level, gender and age are impacting factors in xenophobic reactions toward immigrants. Moreover, in attitudes toward outgroups symbolic threat (cultural or lifestyle threat) could a more determinative factor than realistic (economic) threat as shown by the findings of the study.

In addition to cross-sectional, experimental, meta-analytic studies, another longitudinal study was found significant links between perceived threats and negative attitudes toward outgroups, xenophobia. This longitudinal study was conducted by D'Ancona (2018) in Spain, in order to determine the factors which effect xenophobia. What makes

this study special was its data collection procedure as emphasized. Its data collected from three time periods – 2008, 2010 and 2012- are not in a similar economic and migration context. The participants were selected randomly, and their ages were 18 years and above: in 2008 (2768), in 2010 (2800), and in 2012 (2464) participants participated in the study. In the study, xenophobia was measured via discrimination, desire to coexist, and rejection of immigrants. Contact was measured via three questions: having immigrant friends, having neighbors, and having co-workers or schoolmates in work places and schools. Desire for coexistence was measured by three items: willingness to marry an immigrant, having an immigrant boss, and living in the same building. According to the findings of the study, as perceived threats (economic and cultural) increased, the rejection of immigrants also increased. However, economic threat was stronger than cultural threat. In the year of economic recession (in 2012), economic threat affected discrimination toward immigrants more than in other time periods: 2008 and 2010, while cultural threat had a higher effect on discrimination in 2010 when controversies increased about banning the burqa. In the study, it was found that while economic threat was more related to supporting the discriminatory policies toward immigrants, cultural threat was more related to the desire for coexistence with immigrants. In the study, both economic and cultural threats were affected by the perceived numbers of immigrants. In addition, by the perceived larger size of immigrants, the feeling of threats also increased in people who were in favor of immigration, who had better qualifications, who felt less economic insecurity, who were less conservative, and who had personal contact with immigrants. By the findings of many separate studies, it is clear that there is a significant relationship between perceived threats and negative attitudes toward outgroups.

### **2.2.2. The Relationship between Contact and Attitudes toward Outgroups**

So far the findings of the studies which examined the roles of perceived threats in negative attitudes toward different groups have been examined in detail. In addition to perceived threat, intergroup contact also plays an important role in reducing intergroup conflict, prejudice or negative attitudes and xenophobia toward different outgroups. In the literature, the link between contact and intergroup relations and attitudes are well-documented (Allport, 1954; Binder et al., 2009; Curseu et al., 2007; Fleming, Esipova,



Pugliese, Ray & Srinivasan, 2018; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Saab, Harb & Moughalian, 2017; Wright, Mazziotta & Tropp, 2017).

As Allport (1954) proposed the intergroup contact has a potential to decrease the tensions, the perception of threats, and negative attitudes between different outgroups. The assertion of Allport was confirmed by the findings of many studies. For example, the findings of study conducted by Velasco González, Verkuyten, Weesie, and Poppe (2008) found that higher intergroup contact with Muslims was related with less negative stereotypes. Similarly, intergroup contact was found to have a direct relationship with prejudice towards Muslims. In addition, it was determined that both perceived symbolic and realistic threat were associated with quantity of contact.

In another study, Ceballos and Yakushko (2014) found that increased contact with immigrants or interacting or having close relationship with them was negatively associated with unfavorable attitudes toward immigrants. The people who interact or have close relationship with immigrants were less likely to perceive them as contributing to an increase in crime rate. Those who have a close relationship with immigrants were also less likely to believe that immigrants contributed to job losses. Men and older people were also more likely to believe that immigrants contributed to an increase in crime rate. In other words, the findings of Ceballos and Yakushko (2014) confirmed that social contact with immigrants, perceiving immigrants as threats, being older and being male had significant effects on attitudes of participants toward immigrants.

In addition to effecting attitudes toward outgroups, the intergroup contact might affect both violent and non-violent collective action toward different outgroups too as confirmed by the findings of Saab, Harb, and Moughalian' (2017) study. In the study, the authors examined the predictive relationship between intergroup contact and violent and non-violent collective actions among the Syrian refugees and the Lebanese nation. In their study, collective action referred to the undertaking of an action by an individual on behalf of a group in order to improve the status or the power of that group. In their study, nonviolent action includes demonstrations and sit-ins, while violent action includes riots, physical attacks and terrorist attacks. Violent action involves physically hurting another person, while non-violent action does not. Their results indicated that

there was a positive relationship between frequent positive intergroup contact and improved outgroup attitudes both in the Syrian refugees and the Lebanese nationals.

The role of contact play in attitudes toward different outgroups were also examined by some longitudinal, cross-national, and meta-analysis studies. For example, in a longitudinal study conducted with school students in Germany, Belgium, and England (1655 participants from 33 secondary schools) by Binder et, al. (2009), it was determined that contact between majority and minority groups reduced prejudice, and prejudice also reduced contact. In other words, the findings confirmed the interrelationships between contact and prejudice.

Similar to the findings of the study conducted by Binder et, al. (2009), the results of a meta-analysis study covering more than 500 studies also demonstrated that prejudice reduced by intergroup contact by enhancing knowledge of the outgroup, reduction of anxiety in intergroup contact, and increasing empathy and perspective taking (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). Moreover, in a cross-national context, Fleming, Esipova, Pugliese, Ray, and Srinivasan (2018) conducted a study in 140 countries in order to determine the relationship between interpersonal contact and attitudes toward immigrants. Their results also indicated that there is a strong association between interpersonal contact and attitudes toward migrants in 134 of the 140 countries.

As examined in the current study, the role of contact in xenophobic attitudes toward different outgroups also examined by researchers and significant links were determined. As in study conducted by Ommundsen et. al. (2013). The study conducted with 264 undergraduate students in social sciences in Norway. Their findings showed that informal social contact was a predictor of fear-related xenophobia toward immigrants, while assessing a recent encounter as negative was a strong predictor. According to the findings of their study, when compared to men, women have lower fear-related xenophobia, and age was negatively associated with fear-related xenophobia.

As in the study conducted by Velasco González, Verkuyten, Weesie, and Poppe (2008), in another study, it was determined that both threat perceptions and rejection of immigrants decreases by contact. The findings of this study also indicated that there was

a significant direct effect of contact both on economic threat and cultural threat, and a significant direct effect of economic and cultural threats on discrimination, and a significant direct effect of economic threat on desire for coexistence (D'Ancona, 2018). The findings of this study provided evidence for the relationships between contact and decreased level of xenophobia, between contact and perceived threats, and between economic and cultural threats and xenophobia. In addition, the study provided striking evidence for perceived size of immigrants. Even people who were in favor of immigration, qualified, less conservative, and who had contact with immigrants were affected by the perceived size of immigrants and their feeling of threats increased.

### **2.2.3. Direct and Indirect Relationships among Perceived Threats, Contact, and Attitudes Toward Different Outgroups**

In addition to studies examining the relationships between perceived threats and attitudes toward outgroups and between contact and attitudes toward outgroups, there are also some studies which examined the direct and indirect relationships among these variables simultaneously.

The study conducted by Stephan, Diaz-Loving, and Duran (2000) is an example of these studies. In this study the authors were examined intercultural attitudes between American (N= 126) and Mexican samples (N= 130), including contact quantity and quality as independent predictors, while realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotyping as mediator variables, and attitudes toward outgroup as a dependent variable. In the American sample, it was found that there was a marginally significant path between quality of contact and attitudes toward Mexicans ( $p < .07$ ), while there was no significant path between the amount of contact and attitudes toward Mexicans. According to the findings of the study, the amount of contact had a significant path to realistic threat and there was a marginally significant path between the amount of contact and symbolic threats ( $p < .09$ ). Realistic threats also had a significant path to attitudes toward Mexicans. In the Mexican sample, there was a significant direct path between the quality of contact and attitudes toward Americans. The amount of contact had significant paths to both symbolic threats and realistic threats. According to these results, the quality of contact was related to prejudice in both

samples. The quality of contact and the amount of contact had an indirect effect on prejudice through some of the perceived threat variables. The Americans who had more contact with Mexicans reported less feeling of threat. The amount of contact Mexicans had with Americans was found to be related to less level of both symbolic and realistic threats. The findings of the study provide multiple connections among realistic threat, symbolic threat, contact quality, contact frequency, and prejudice. The statistically significant links between contact and perceived threats, between contact and prejudice, between perceived threats and prejudice were supported by the findings of this study in one sample or the other sample.

In relation to objective threat, such as a bombing attack, Abrams et. al. (2017) conducted a study in London. The data were collected from a national representative sample (from England, Scotland and Wales) one month before (N = 93) and one month after (N = 1100) the attacks in London that happened on 7th July 2005. The ages of the participants ranged from 16 to 98. The findings of the study showed that the attacks increased safety threat and symbolic threat, and prejudice toward Muslims, while it did not affect economic threat. In addition, the study revealed that there was a significant indirect effect of contact on prejudice. Contact predicted symbolic, safety, and economic threats, while symbolic, safety, and economic threats separately predicted prejudice. Perceived safety threat and symbolic threat mediated the relationship between the bombing attack and prejudice, whereas perceived economic threat did not. Lastly, it was found that all three types of threats mediated the relationship between contact and prejudice, and the positive effect of contact on prejudice still persisted through perceived threats. In summary, the findings of the study demonstrated that perceived threats had mediator roles in the relationship between contact and prejudice toward Muslims. These findings support the idea that perceived threats can play significant role at different stage of contact and prejudice relationship and contact can play significant roles at different stage of perceived threats and prejudice relationship (Abrams & Eller, 2017).

Aberson (2015) also conducted a study with 539 White undergraduates in order to examine direct and indirect relationships between negative intergroup contact, positive intergroup contact and cognitive and affective dimensions of prejudice toward Blacks.

The results of this study indicated that cognitive dimension of prejudice was predicted by negative contact and both positive and negative contact predicted affective dimensions of prejudice. However, negative contact predicted cognitive dimension of prejudice more accurately than positive contact. In addition, threats (realistic and symbolic) mediated the relationship between contact and prejudice. Different from other studies, the findings of this study provide evidence for roles of both perceived threats and contact in prejudice toward a different group, namely Blacks.

The findings of the studies summarized above demonstrated a direct link among perceived threats, contact, and attitudes toward outgroups. Besides, in the related literature, there are some studies (e.g. descriptive) examining attitudes toward outgroups in different context and with the aim of examining the effect of different factors and demographic characteristics of participants on their attitudes toward different outgroups. In this context, Yitmen and Verkuyten (2018) conducted a study with 605 Turkish Muslim participants in order to examine feelings toward both Syrian refugees and non-Muslim national minority groups (Greeks, Jews and Armenians) living in Turkey. The data were collected in 2015 and the participants' ages were reported as between 18 to 81 years old. In this study, it was found that feeling toward both refugees and minority groups were similarly negative. According to the findings of that study, national identification was found to be strongly related to negative feelings toward refugees, while religious group identification was found to be related to more negative feelings toward minority groups. For both refugees and minority groups, multiculturalism was found to be related to less negative feelings toward them, but only for low national identification participants. In addition to perceived threats and social contact, national identification, religious group identification and multiculturalism might have a potential to lead negative attitudes or feelings toward different outgroups separately as confirmed by Yitmen and Verkuyten's (2018) study.

Aktaş, Tepe, and Persson (2018) also conducted a correlational study with 457 university students in order to examine their negative attitudes towards refugees. Their results showed that men showed more negative attitudes than women and empathy was found to be a strong predictor of the attitudes towards refugees. According to the

findings of this study, both gender and empathy might play a significant role in negative attitudes toward outgroups.

Blom (2010) conducted a study for examining attitudes toward immigrants and immigration in Norway. The results of this study showed that 3 out of 10 participants believe that social welfare system is abused by immigrants and 1 out of 3 believes that source of insecurity is represented by immigrants. In addition, highly educated people who are below the age of 45 and have contact with immigrants showed more positive attitudes toward immigrants. These findings indicated that participants' perception toward immigrants and immigration is highly negative, and contact with immigrants, being highly educated and being young play a significant role in positive attitudes toward immigrants.

Anderson (2018) also conducted a study with community sample (N = 183) in Australia in order to examine implicit and explicit attitudes toward asylum seekers. The findings of this study showed that gender was a significant predictor of explicit attitudes, while both gender and religious affiliation were significant predictors of implicit attitudes. More specifically, male participants showed both more explicit and implicit attitudes toward asylum seekers than female participants, and religious affiliation had an effect on these attitudes.

In addition, a meta-analysis study involving 34 field studies with 5994 participants was conducted in Australia. It was found that males, people with a lower level of education, politically more conservative people, and people with higher national identification demonstrated more negative attitudes toward asylum seekers. However, age was found to be unrelated to negative attitudes (Anderson & Ferguson, 2018). Contrary to the findings of other studies, the results of this meta-analysis study did not reveal any significant link between age and negative attitudes toward outgroups. This finding also confirms that age is not a consistent predictor of the attitudes toward outgroups. In another study the role of education in xenophobia was examined with 781 participants. In this study, it was found that education moderates xenophobia. More specifically, people who had primary and secondary education were four and two times more likely to become xenophobic than those who had tertiary education (Campbell, Kandala &

Oucho, 2016).

Related to xenophobia, perceived threats and social contact between the locals and Syrian refugees, Erdoğan (2014) conducted a very detailed descriptive study to examine the attitudes of locals toward Syrian refugees in Turkey. In the study, with 144 participants from six different cities, in-depth interviews were conducted, and with 1501 participants from 18 different cities, public research was conducted. In addition, interviews were conducted with 38 different national and international NGOs; and media analysis was made based on shared news, comments and evaluations on the web from 21 general/national and 56 local media organizations. The findings of the study demonstrated that the negative perception of refugees by locals is quite high. According to findings of the study local people are complainant and feel uneasy about refugees' causing a crowd and filling the emergency services, which leads to problems in the given services, and people mostly associate refugees with theft, prostitution, extortion and damage to public properties.

The participants in Erdoğan' study reported that Syrian refugees disrupt social morality and peace by being involved in violence, theft, smuggling, and prostitution in the place they live. According to findings of the study participants perceived Syrians as "people who burden us" and "parasites-beggars". In addition, locals think that Turkish economy had suffered because of Syrian refugees, Syrians take their jobs from their hands and it will lead to major problems if Syrians stay in Turkey. Finally, the participants emphasized that they were worried about the fact that Syrians could harm them and their families. Thus, they do not want to be neighbors with Syrians. As a result, the local people perceive Syrian refugees as both cultural and general threats in too many aspects which have powerful potential to result in xenophobia.

### **2.3. Summary**

Xenophobia is rising around the world, and the evidence of this is everywhere, even in the Nordic countries which are known as open-minded and tolerant states as showed by the findings of Zeisset's (2016) study. According to the findings of this study, anti-immigrant xenophobia, particularly toward Muslims, was prevalent in Sweden (40.8%), Denmark (52.1%), Norway (59%), Finland (54.4%), and Iceland (52.4%), which are

known as open-minded, tolerant toward others and progressive countries. No matter what the correct explanation for this is, the problem is the same and prevalent around the world and affects even the open-minded and tolerant states (Zeisset, 2016). In the case of Syrian refugees in Turkey, there are already some concerns among locals about the refugees. In addition to higher negative perception of refugees, locals perceive refugees as a general and cultural threat to their society in many aspects (Erdoğan, 2014). Moreover, with the increasing number of refugees, locals have been interaction with them more than ever. The threat-related perceptions and encounters, interactions between refugees and locals have a potential to lead to xenophobic reactions from locals to refugees.

In the related literature, the links between negative attitudes toward different outgroups and perceived threats and social contact were well-documented. In other words, perceived threats and social contact were found to be related to negative attitudes toward different outgroups. However, the associations between these variables were examined separately, and among the existing studies none of them examined direct and indirect relationships among these variables simultaneously in the context of refugees. In the related literature, some demographic variables also appear to be related to xenophobia: mostly educational level, gender, and age.

Based on this existing literature, this study was aimed at bringing the variables which appear to be most promising to predict xenophobic attitudes of individuals against refugees. Therefore, the main goal of the current study was to understand direct and indirect relationships among perceived threats, contact quality and contact quantity, and xenophobia in the context of Syrian refugees. Shedding light on the locals' xenophobic reactions toward refugees would be helpful to develop more effective prevention and/or intervention models to smooth out the adjustment process of refugee integration.



## **CHAPTER 3**

### **METHOD**

The previous chapter presented a literature review of xenophobia, perceived threat, and contact hypothesis and presented the goal of the current study: understanding direct and indirect relationships among perceived threats (general threat and cultural threat), social contact (contact quality and contact quantity), and xenophobia. In order to attain the goal of the study, a model illuminating the direct and indirect relationships among the variables was proposed. The proposed model suggested that there was a direct relationship between perceived threats and social contact, between perceived threats and xenophobia, and between social contact and xenophobia. In addition, the model proposed that there is an indirect relationship between perceived threats and xenophobia through social contact.

In this chapter, the methodological procedures of the current study have been presented. Firstly, the design of present study was described briefly. Then, participant characteristics were introduced and sampling procedure was explained. Afterwards, information on data collection tools were provided in detail. Finally, data collection and data analysis procedures were presented, and limitations of the study were discussed.

#### **3.1. Overall Design of the Study**

This is a correlational study exploring the possible links among the variables: direct and indirect relationships among general threat, cultural threat, contact quantity, contact quality, and xenophobia in the context of Syrian refugees. Correlational research provides opportunity to identify the nature of the relationship between two or more variables and is useful to make predictions about an outcome variable (Fraenkel, Wallen, & Hyun, 2012).

### **3.2. Sampling Procedure and Participants**

Data were collected in the summer semester of the 2017-2018 academic year. Prior to the study, ethical approval from the Middle East Technical University Human Subjects Ethics Committee (Appendix A) was granted. The participants of the study were selected by using purposive sampling procedure. Because, in order to be able to participate in the study participants need to be in an interaction or have contact with refugees. Because of this conditional necessity, when participants were invited to participate in the study, they were asked whether they had any interaction with refugees and if they had, they were asked to participate in the study voluntarily. Thus, the sampling procedure of the current study was purposive sampling and different from convenience sampling. In purposive sampling, “researchers do not simply study whoever is available but rather use their judgment to select a sample that they believe, based on prior information, will provide the data they need” (Fraenkel, Wallen & Hyun, 2012), as done in the current study. In the first step, the places where refugees commonly live were determined based on AFAD’s (2018, June) report. Then, in order to collect data for the current study, four cities (Hatay, Mardin, Gaziantep and Malatya) were selected among ten cities where the refugees’ camps are located. Two other cities (İstanbul and Batman) were also selected based on expert feedbacks and advices. Although in these two cities there are no refugee camps, a great number of refugees live in these cities. After this, data collection started with the participants who volunteered to participate in the study.

### **3.3. Participants**

The data for current study were collected from six different cities where Syrians live intensely and interact with locals. Initially, 721 participants were reached, but only 604 of them were included in the study as 77 of them had no interaction with Syrians, and 40 of them had not responded to the dependent variable questions. The demographic characteristics of the participants are as follows: 174 (28.9%) of participants were from Mardin (city center, Kızıltepe district and Midyat district), 100 (16.6%) from Batman, 71 (11.8%) from Malatya, 72 (11.9%) from Hatay (city center and İskenderun district), 101 (16.7%) from Gaziantep, and 86 (14.2%) from İstanbul (Sultanbeyli district).

In the current study, 238 (39.4%) of the participants were women, 363 (60.1%) of them were men, while 3 (.5%) of them did not report their gender. In addition, the educational background of women and men was found to be similar to each other. The age of the remaining 593 participants (11 participants did not report their ages) ranged from 16 to 85 ( $M = 29.29$ ,  $SD = 11.68$ ). The majority of the participants reported that they were university students or university graduates ( $N = 281$ , 46.5%). While 181 (30%) of them reported to having graduated from high school, 62 (10.3%) of them graduated from primary school, 52 (8.6%) of them graduated from secondary school, 13 (1.2%) of them have completed a graduate school (doctoral or master's degree), 1 (.2%) of the participants reported to being literate, another 1 (.2%) was illiterate, and 13 (2.2%) of the participants reported their education level as "other", but did not specify it.

The majority of the participants reported their socio-economic status as middle 494 (81.8%), 79 (13.1%) of participants reported it as low while 31 (5.1%) of them reported it as high. The majority of the participants also reported their average monthly income as 1,500-3,000 (260, 43%) Turkish liras. Others reported their monthly income as follows: 0-1,500 (136, 22.5%) Turkish liras, 3,000-4,500 (135, 22.4%) Turkish liras, 5000 (67, 11.1%) Turkish liras and above, and 6 (1%) participants did not report their income.

The participants of the current study reported 82 different occupations. 156 (25.8%) of the participants were students, 71 (11.8%) of them were artisans, 68 (11.3%) of them were teachers, 43 (7.1%) of them were housewives, 38 (6.3%) of them were self-employed, 20 (3.3%) of them were public servants, 19 (3.1%) of them were workers, 12 (2%) of them were retirees, 9 (1.5%) of them were nurses, 8 (1.3%) of them were unemployed. Other occupations (their number ranges from 1 to 6) of the participants were doctor, farmer, private security guard, builder, haircutter, lawyer, police, and other occupations.

280 (46.4%) of the participants identified their ethnic identity as Kurds, 250 (41.4%) of them identified themselves as Turks, 41 (6.8%) of them identified themselves as Arabians, 5 (.8%) of them identified themselves as Armenians, 5 (.8%) of them identified themselves as Assyrians, 4 (.7%) of them identified themselves as Circassians, 1 (.2%) of them identified themselves as Lazes, 7 (1.2%) of them identified themselves

as Turks and Kurds, 3 (.5%) of them identified themselves as Turks and Arabians, 1(.2%) of them identified himself as Turk and Laz, and 6 (1%) participants did not respond to this question. Demographic characteristic of the participants are given in Table 1 below:

Table 1

<i>Demographic Characteristic of the Study Sample</i>					
Variables	Range	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>	%
Cities					
Mardin				174	28.9
Batman				100	16.6
Malatya				71	11.8
Hatay				72	11.9
Gaziantep				101	16.7
İstanbul				86	14.2
Age	16-85	29.29	11.68		
Gender					
Female				239	39.4
Male				363	60.1
Education Level					
Illiterate				1	.2
Literate				1	.2
Primary School				62	10.3
Secondary School				52	8.6
High School				181	30
University student or university graduate				281	46.5
Doctoral or Master Degree				13	2.2
Other				13	2.2

Table 1 continued

Variables	Range	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>	%
Ethnic identity					
Kurd				280	46.4
Turk				250	41.4
Arabian				41	6.8
Armenian				5	.8
Assyrian				5	.8
Circassian				4	.7
Laz				1	.2
Turk and Kurd				7	1.2
Turk and Arabian				3	.5
Turk and Laz				1	.2
Socio-Economic Status					
Low				79	13.1
Middle				494	81.8
High				31	5.1
Average Monthly Income					
0-1,500 TL				136	22.5
1,500-3,000 TL				260	43
3,000-4,500 TL				135	22.4
5,000 +				67	11.1

### 3.4. Data Collection Instruments

In order to collect data, three questionnaires (Revised Version of Threat Scale, Revised Version of Contact Scale, and Revised Version of Xenophobia Scale) were utilized in addition to a demographic information form. Prior to the main analysis, validity and reliability characteristics of the questionnaires were tested for the current sample via factor analysis. Prior to conducting Confirmative Factor Analysis, the related assumptions were checked to determine whether the data are appropriate to run an analysis or not.

The data were screened and missing value analysis were done. In the current study, the rate of missing value was lower than 5% for all questionnaires. As the researchers

suggested, if missing data were lower than 5% in any technique, similar results would be obtained (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013).

In the second step, there are several proposed criteria for the sample size in order to conduct CFA. As a rule of thumb, 200 participants were proposed for conducting CFA (Kline, 2011). In the current study, there are 604 participants, which is a large sample and exceed the proposed criteria to conduct CFA.

Afterwards, in order to check the normal distribution of the data, skewness and kurtosis values were examined. According to the results, only the fifth item of the contact quantity subscale had 3.09 kurtosis values, while other skewness and kurtosis values of all other items of all scales ranged from +3 to -3. According to Kline (2011), the values above +3 and lower than -3 shows a non-normal distribution. According to this criterion, it could be said that the data of the current study were normally distributed except for the fifth item of the contact quantity subscale.

Further, in order to examine whether there were any outlier scores deviating from the normal distribution, standardized Z scores were checked. In all questionnaires, the Z scores of all the cases were between -3.29 and +3.29, which were not outliers (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). In addition, Mahalanobis distances were examined for detecting multivariate outliers (Kline, 2011; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). According to Chi-square values, there were only a few cases that could be labelled as outliers. Due to this result, the analysis was run twice, with and without outliers, and the results did not differ significantly. Based on the obtained results, and in order not to lose variation in the sample, outliers were kept in the data set.

Finally, residual plots and scatterplots were checked for linearity assumption. The created visual inspection of the plots showed that the assumption of linearity was not violated. Lastly, by examining bivariate correlation coefficients, VIF and tolerance values multicollinearity assumption was checked. Correlations coefficients should be below .90 (Field, 2009, Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013), VIF should be less than 4 (Pan & Jackson, 2008), and tolerance values should be higher than .20, as suggested by Menard (1995). In the current study, all of VIF and tolerance values met the proposed criteria,

thus there were no problematic items for multicollinearity assumption. After the examination of all assumptions, by using Lisrel 8.7 software, Confirmatory Factor Analysis was run in order to test construct validity of each scale separately. In order to examine the internal consistency of the scales, Cronbach alpha and composite reliability coefficients were calculated by using SPSS 23 package program. Further, in order to examine the validity of the scales, convergent and divergent validity coefficients were calculated.

The fit of the model was evaluated by using multiple criteria for the scale: Chi Square ( $\chi^2$ )/df ratio, Comparative Fit Index (CFI), Normed Fit Index (NFI), Non-Normed Fit Index (NNFI), Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR), and the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA).

#### **3.4.1. The Xenophobia Scale**

The Xenophobia Scale (Appendix B) was developed by Bozdağ and Kocatürk (2017) in order to measure local people's xenophobic attitudes toward immigrants. The scale consists of three subdimensions (fear, hate, and humiliation) and includes 18 items. The scale includes questions such as "Immigrants are a potential risk factor for society" and "I hate the immigrants" "I am of the opinion that immigrants are uneducated people" for all three subscales respectively. In accordance with the purpose of the current study, the Xenophobia Scale was modified by replacing the term immigrants with the term Syrian refugees. The items rated on a 5 Point-Likert scale ranging from 1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree. The first and second factors consist of seven items, and the third factor consists of four items. The internal consistency of the scale, based on the collected data from two different samples, was reported .87 in the first sample and .86 for the second sample.

#### **3.4.2. Confirmatory Factor Analysis of Xenophobia Scale**

Three-factor solution of the Xenophobia Scale was tested through CFA. The results indicated a poor fit of three-factor model of the data (Table 2). Therefore, modification indices were checked and high error covariance pairs were determined, X6\_1- X6\_12 and X6\_13- X6\_15. Because of measuring the same construct and they belong to same

factor, connections were made between items in order to form pairs. Then, the analysis was run again. Based on these modifications, the model improved and SRMR value of .049 decreased to .044 and RMSEA value decreased to .075 and these values indicated a good fit (MacCallum et al., 1996). In addition, NFI (.98), NNFI (.98), and CFI (.98) value supported the good fit model. The final CFA model with standardized estimates ranged from .43 to .88 is given in Table 2 and Figure 2 below:

Table 2

<i>Goodness of Fit Indexes for Three Factor Model of the Xenophobia Scale</i>						
Model	$\chi^2/df$	RMSEA	SRMR	NFI	NNFI	CFI
Model1	5.56	.087	.049	.97	.97	.98
Model2	4.42	.075	.044	.98	.98	.98

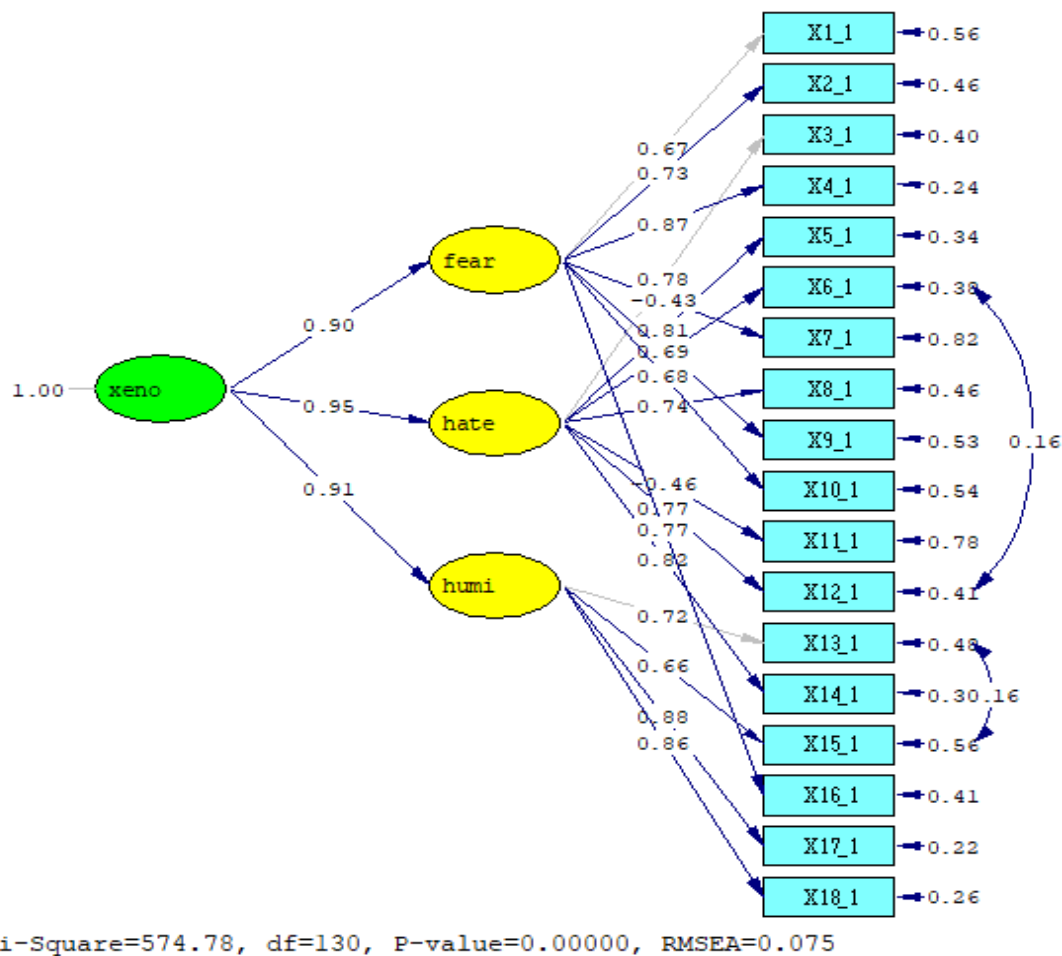


Figure 2 Three Factor CFA Model of Xenophobia Scale with Standardized Estimates



### 3.4.3. Validity and Reliability of the Xenophobia Scale

In the current study, for proving the construct validity of the data collection tools, convergent and divergent validity analyses were also applied. For this purpose, average variance extracted (AVE) was tested. Fornell and Larcker (1981) proposed that AVE value should be larger than 0.5 for convergent validity of the scale and the AVE values should be lower than internal consistency coefficient (Composite reliability or Omega). AVE and reliability coefficient values of xenophobia and its subscales are presented in Table 3 below:

Table 3

*AVE and Reliability Coefficient Values of the Subscales of Xenophobia Scale*

Dimension	AVE	Composite Reliability ( $\omega$ )	Cronbach ( $\alpha$ )
Fear	.52	.88	.87
Hate	.54	.89	.90
Humiliation	.55	.83	.87
The whole scale	.54	.95	.91

When Table 3 is examined, it can be observed that all Composite Reliability coefficients (ranged from .83 to .95) were bigger than AVE values (ranged from .52 to .55) and AVE values were larger than 0.5, which provided evidence for the convergent validity of the scale. Nunnally (1978) set the criteria .70 as an acceptable value for Cronbach Alpha reliability coefficient. As shown in the table, both composite reliability and Cronbach alpha reliability coefficients exceed the proposed criteria.

According to Fornell and Larcker (1981), rather than shared variance estimations, larger AVE values prove evidence for divergent validity of the scale. In other words, square roots of AVEs should be larger than the correlation coefficients among latent variables. AVE and correlation coefficient values between factors are given in Table 4 below:

Table 4

*AVE and Correlation Coefficient Values between Factors*

Dimension	Fear	Hate	Humiliation
Fear	<b>.72*</b>		
Hate	-.62	<b>.74*</b>	
Humiliation	-.58	.67	<b>.74*</b>

\*Diagonal elements of matrix are square roots of AVE values.

When Table 4 is examined, it can be seen that the square root of AVE values (.72, .74, and .74) were not larger than the correlation coefficients (.73, .68, and .74) among factors of the scale. However, these differences were very small. In this case, Farrell (2010) suggested that because of cross-loads, conducting Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) could be more beneficial. Based on this suggestion, EFA was conducted and the results showed that the correlation coefficients among factors were .62, .58 and .67. These results indicated that the square root of AVE values were larger than correlation coefficients among factors. These findings also showed that the divergent validity of the Xenophobia Scale was ensured.

#### **3.4.4. The Perceived Threat Scale**

Perceived threat (Appendix C) was measured by using a modified version of the Integrated Threat Theory scales consisting of realistic threat and symbolic threat scales. The original Realistic Threat Scale consisted of 12 items, including such threats as crime, drugs, disease, job loss and economic costs for health, education and welfare. The scale was formed based on a 10-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 10 (strongly agree). The Symbolic Threats Scale consisted of 12 items related to perceived differences in values and beliefs between the participants and the refugees. The items were rated on a 10-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 10 (strongly agree).

The scales were translated into the Turkish context by Balaban (2013) in order to measure perceived threat from Kurds by Turks. In her study, ten items were used for each aspect and the items were rated on a scale from 1 (completely disagree) to 5

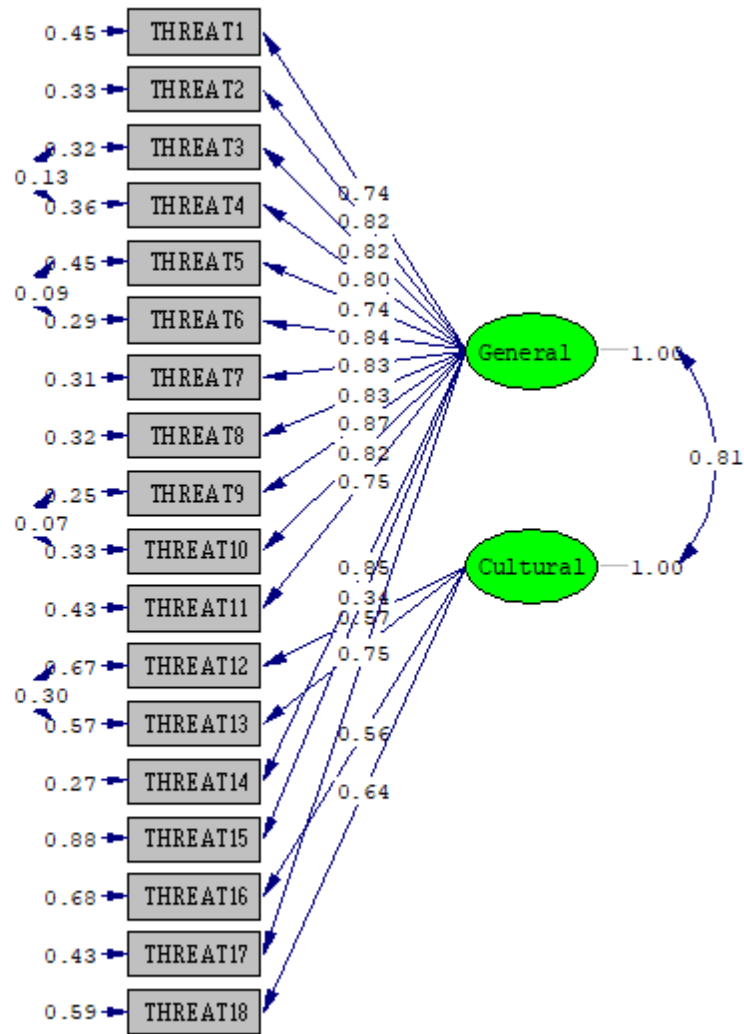
(completely agree). In accordance with the aim of the current study, an example for realistic threat was “Syrians refugees are decreasing the social welfare in Turkey,” and an example for symbolic threat was “Syrians refugees are not like the citizens of Turkey regarding their life styles.” In Balaban’s study, the scale yielded two factors with 16 symbolic and realistic threat items together in one factor, and she named that factor as “general threat” with .97 internal consistency coefficient; and a second factor with only 4 items, named as “cultural difference threat” with .83 internal consistency coefficient. For the purpose of the current study, the scale was revised and in order to measure the perceived threat felt by locals regarding Syrians refugees, some modifications were made in the original scale and the adopted version of Balaban’s work (2013).

#### **3.4.5. Confirmatory Factor Analysis of the Perceived Threat Scale**

Two-factor solution of the perceived threat scale was tested through CFA. The results indicated a poor fit of two-factor model of the data (Table 5). Therefore, modification indices were checked, and high error covariance’s pairs were determined: THREAT4-THREAT3, THREAT6-THREAT5, THREAT10-THREAT9, and THREAT12-THREAT13. Because they measure the same construct and they belong to same factor, connections were made between items in order to form pairs. Then, the analysis was run again. Based on these modifications, the model improved and SRMR value of .064 decreased to .040 and RMSEA value decreased from .097 to .079. These values indicated a good fit (MacCallum et al., 1996). In addition, NFI (.98), NNFI (.98), and CFI (.98) value supported the good fit model. The final CFA model with standardized estimates ranged from .34 to .87 is given in Table 5 and Figure 3 below:

Table 5

<i>Goodness of Fit Indexes for Two-Factor Model of Perceived Threat Scale</i>						
Model	$\chi^2/df$	RMSEA	SRMR	NFI	NNFI	CFI
Model1	6.66	.097	.064	.97	.97	.98
Model2	4.77	.079	.040	.98	.98	.98



Chi-Square=620.67, df=130, P-value=0.00000, RMSEA=0.079

Figure 3 *Two-factor CFA Model of the Perceived Threat Scale with Standardized Estimates*

### 3.4.6. Validity and Reliability of the Perceived Threat Scale

In order to provide the construct validity of the Threat Scale, convergent and divergent validity were also examined. For this purpose, average variance extracted (AVE) was tested. AVE and reliability coefficient values of threat scale were presented in Table 6 below:

Table 6

*AVE and Reliability Coefficient Values of the Subscales of Threat Scale*

Dimension	AVE	Composite Reliability ( $\omega$ )	Cronbach ( $\alpha$ )
General Threat	.61	.95	.95
Cultural Threat	.54	.81	.83

When Table 6 is examined, it is observed that all Composite Reliability coefficients (.95 and .81) were bigger than AVE values (.61 and .54) and AVE values were larger than 0.5, which provides evidence for the convergent validity of the threat scale. Nunnally (1978) set the criteria .70 as an acceptable value for Cronbach Alpha reliability coefficient. As shown in the table, both composite reliability and Cronbach alpha reliability coefficients exceed the proposed criteria. In order to examine the divergent validity of the scale, square roots of AVEs and correlations between the latent variables were examined, and the obtained findings were given in Table 7 below:

Table 7

*AVE and Correlation Coefficient Values between Factors*

Dimension	General Threat	Cultural Threat
General Threat	<b>.69*</b>	
Cultural Threat	.33	<b>.81*</b>

\*Diagonal elements of matrix are square roots of AVE values.

The results in Table 7 indicated that the square root of AVE values (.69 and .81) is larger than correlation coefficient (.33) between factors. These findings showed that the divergent validity of the social contact scale was ensured.

**3.4.7. The Social Contact Scale**

Social contact between the residents of Turkey and Syrian refugees was measured by using the Social Contact scale developed by Islam and Hewstone (1993) and translated into the Turkish context by Akbaş (2010). The scale has two domains (quantitative and quality) with 10 items. Each domain is measured with five items. Quantitative aspects of the contact scale measure the frequency of contact with the out-group in a number of

formal and informal situations (An example of item for informal situations is “How often do you have contact with Syrians as a neighbor?” and an example of item for formal situations is “How often do you have contact with Syrians in formal places like school and work place?”). The items are rated on a 7-Point-Likert-format scale from 1 (Never) to 5 (Always). Higher scores show more frequent contact with the members of the out-group.

Qualitative aspects of contact measures equality, volition, sincerity, pleasantness and cooperation with five items on a 7-Point-Likert scale (e.g. “Do you perceive contact with Syrians as pleasant?”, “Do you feel the two sides are equal in your contact with the Syrians?”) The higher scores show qualitatively better contact. The internal consistency for the quantitative aspects of the social contact scale was reported as .83, and for qualitative aspects of the scale it was reported as .83 by Akbaş (2010).

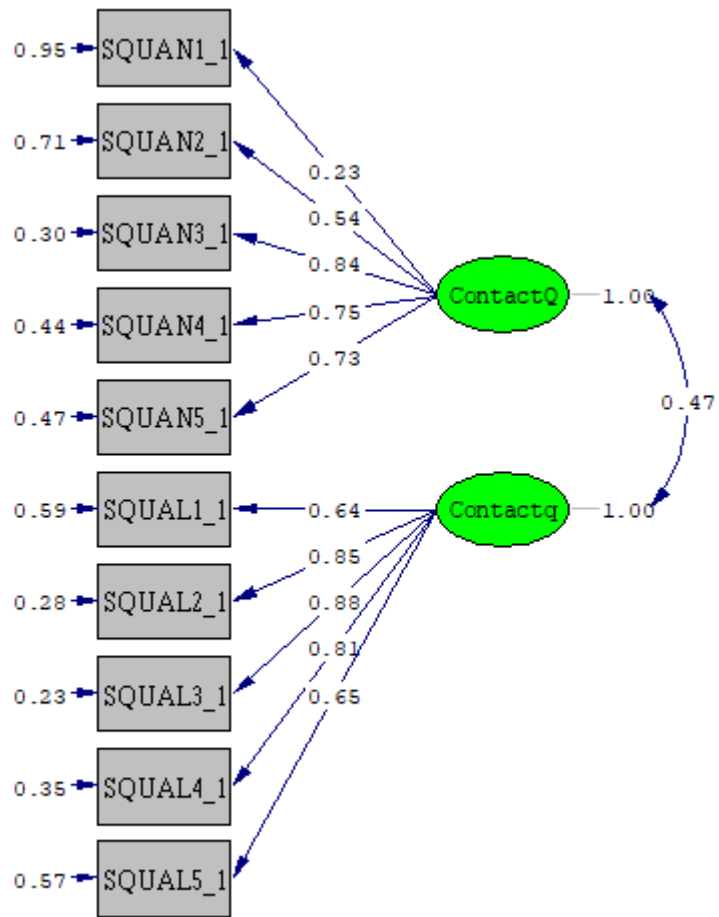
### 3.4.8. Confirmatory Factor Analysis of the Social Contact Scale

Two-factor solution of the Social Contact Scale was tested through CFA. According to the CFA results, the two-factor model indicated a good fit model to data of the present study. CFA model with standardized estimates ranged from .23 to .88, and it is given in Table 8 and Figure 4 below:

Table 8

#### *Goodness of Fit Indexes for Two-Factor Model of the Social Contact Scale*

Model	$\chi^2/df$	RMSEA	SRMR	NFI	NNFI	CFI
Model2	2.53	.056	.047	.97	.98	.98



Chi-Square=105.13, df=34, P-value=0.00000, RMSEA=0.059

Figure 4 Two-factor CFA Model of the Social Contact Scale with Standardized Estimates

### 3.4.9. Validity and Reliability of the Social Contact Scale

In order to provide the construct validity of the Social Contact Scale, convergent and divergent validity were examined. For this purpose, average variance extracted (AVE) was tested. AVE and reliability coefficient values of Social Contact Scale are presented in Table 9 below:

Table 9

*AVE and Reliability Coefficient Values of the Subscales of Social Contact Scale*

Dimension	AVE	Composite ( $\omega$ )	Reliability	Cronbach ( $\alpha$ )
Contact Quantity	.52		.82	.74
Contact Quality	.66		.91	.88

When Table 9 is examined, it can be seen that all Composite Reliability coefficients (.82 and .91) were bigger than AVE values (.52 and .66) and AVE values were larger than 0.5, which provides evidence for the convergent validity of the social contact scale. Nunnally (1978) set the criteria .70 as an acceptable value for Cronbach Alpha reliability coefficients exceed the proposed criteria. In order to examine the divergent validity of the scale, square roots of AVEs and correlations between latent variables were examined, and the obtained findings are given in Table 10 below:

Table 10

*AVE and Correlation Coefficient Values between Factors*

Dimension	Contact Quantity	Contact Quality
Contact Quantity	<b>.78*</b>	
Contact Quality	.65	<b>.73*</b>

\*Diagonal elements of matrix are square roots of AVE values.

The results in Table 10 indicate that the square root of AVE values (.78 and .73) were larger than correlation coefficient (.65) between factors. These findings also showed that the divergent validity of the social contact scale was ensured.

### 3.5. Data Collection Procedure

Data were collected in the summer semester of the 2017-2018 academic year. First of all, approval from the Middle East Technical University Human Subjects Ethics Committee (Appendix A) was granted. Then, in order to collect data for the current study, four cities (Hatay, Mardin, Gaziantep and Malatya) were selected among ten cities where the refugees' camps are located. Two other cities (İstanbul and Batman) were also selected based on expert feedback and advice. Although in these two cities there are no refugee camps, a lot of refugees live in these cities. After the determination



of these six cities, data collection procedure was initiated by the researcher himself. In the data collection process, the researcher visited all these cities. The data were collected from volunteering participants in the streets, parks, cafés, coffee houses, hospital gardens, workplaces, and other places by the researcher. During the data collection, firstly, information about the study was given to all the participants. Then, all the individuals were asked whether they had had any interaction or contact with Syrian refugees, and then if they had contact with them, they were invited to participate in the study

### **3.6. Description of the Variables**

*Xenophobia:* The total scores of the three subscales (fear, hate, and humiliation) of the modified version of the xenophobia scale.

*General Threat:* The total scores of the 16 items from the modified version of the symbolic threat and the realistic threat scales.

*Cultural Threat:* The total scores of the 4 items from the modified version of the symbolic threat scale.

*Contact Quantity:* The total scores of the contact quantity items from the modified version of the social contact scale.

*Contact Quality:* The total scores of the contact quality items from the modified version of the social contact scale.

### **3.7. Data Analysis**

For analyzing the obtained data, several steps were followed. Firstly, the data were screened, and missing values were checked and filled with mean scores (for CFA and SEM). Secondly, descriptive statistics were used in order to describe the characteristics of the participants. Thirdly, for examining mean differences in terms of gender t-test, education level, income level, and age separate ANOVAs were run. Fourthly, for examining the relationships among variables, Pearson product-moment correlations were conducted. Fifthly, in order to examine the construct validity of each scale, three separate Confirmatory Factor Analysis were run. Before running the factor analysis,

influential observations and all other assumptions were checked (e.g. independent observation, normality, linearity and so on). Finally, for examining direct and indirect relationships among variables, the structural equation modeling (SEM) was run. All these analyses were conducted by using SPSS 23 version, and the structural equation model was tested through Lisrel 8.7.

### **3.8. Limitations of the Study**

The current study has some limitations related to its design, sample, data collection tools and data analyzing method as well as its strengths. Generalizability of the study is the most important limitation of the study. In the current study, purposeful sampling was utilized and the data were collected from six cities. The number of the participants from different ethnic and religious groups was not equal to each other. Thus, the generalizability of the results is limited to individuals living in these cities and cannot represent the whole society and all different ethnic and religious groups.

Another limitation of the study is related to the answers of the participants. It is expected that the participants responded to all the items in the scales honestly due to their voluntary participation in the study. Still, people may not give correct answers to questions in the survey, especially when the searched topic is sensitive, as in the case of this study. Thus, the participants of the current study may not have given correct answers to some questions. That is subject characteristics threat to internal validity. In addition, in the current study majority of participants were university students/graduates or had a high school degree. These group may not totally represent the characteristics of local people living in data collected cities. This is another limitation of the study.

This study is also a correlational research study, and it does not provide an opportunity for causal-effect relationship between variables and deep understanding of the phenomena of interest. Although, structural equation modeling allows making predictions among different variables to some extent, only studies conducted based on longitudinal and experimental designs pave the way for causal-effect relationship.

The findings of the study are also limited to the utilized questionnaires for data collecting: realistic threats scale, symbolic threats scale, xenophobia scale, and contact

scale. Finally, in terms of xenophobia, there might be some other factors impacting Turkish residents, such as individual, familial, environmental conditions and so on. Thus, future research should examine the other factor in order to understand the whole picture of xenophobia. On the other hand, the current study has its strengths in contributing to the related literature by collecting its data from different cities and collecting data from participants who have had interaction with refugees in the same place. Another strength of the current study is bringing related variables together to understand the nature of xenophobia in Turkey, a top refugee hosting country.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **RESULTS**

In this chapter, the results of both preliminary and the main analyses were presented. In the preliminary analyses of the results, at first information about data screening, sample size adequacy, influential outliers, and assumptions about structural equation modeling (independent observation, linearity, homoscedasticity, normality and multicollinearity) were provided. Second, the conducted t-test and ANOVAs results were reported. Third, the results of the two measurement models, tested in order to provide evidence for data collection tools were reported. Finally, the findings of the two tested structural equation models (for cultural threat and general threat separately) were explained.

#### **4.1. Preliminary Analyses**

Before running main analyses (Structural Equation Model), via screening the data set, the appropriateness of the data were examined by using SPSS 23 version. Each item were examined carefully and compared with the hardcopy of the related questionnaires. Then, inconsistent items were corrected and recode of reverse items were done. Detailed information about other data screening and related assumptions is provided below.

##### **4.1.1. Missing Data**

The data were screened and missing value analysis was done. In the current study, the rate of missing value was lower than 5% for all the questionnaires. If missing data is lower than 5% in any technique, similar results can be obtained (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). Based on this suggestion, data were analyzed with missing data and without it, and similar results were obtained in terms of the dependent variable, xenophobia. After that, as researchers suggested, there are two remedies for dealing with missing data, namely listwise deletion and imputing missing data (Kline, 2011; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). In

the present study, imputing missing data procedure was applied in order not to lose variance in the data set.

#### **4.1.2. Sample Size Adequacy**

There are several proposed criteria for sample size in order to conduct SEM. As a rule of thumb, 200 participants were proposed for conducting SEM (Kline, 2011). In the current study, there are 604 participants, which is a large sample and exceed the proposed criteria.

#### **4.1.3. Influential Outliers**

In order to examine whether there were any univariate outlier scores deviating from normal distribution, standardized Z scores were checked. In all the questionnaires, the Z scores of all the cases were between -3.29 and +3.29, which were not outliers (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). In addition, Mahalanobis distances were used to determine multivariate outliers (Kline, 2011; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). According to Chi-square values, there were only a few cases that would be labelled as outliers. Due to this result, the analysis was run twice, with and without outliers, and the results did not differ significantly. Based on the obtained results and in order not to lose variation in the sample, the outliers were retained in the data set.

#### **4.1.4. Assumptions of the Structure Equation Model**

##### **4.1.4.1. Independent Observation**

In the current study, data were collected from different places, as explained in the Method section, by the researcher himself. All data were collected one-to-one and independently for each participant. Thus, the collected data from each participant were totally independent from other respondents.

##### **4.1.4.2. Normality**

Univariate normality was checked by examining skewness and kurtosis values. According to the results, only the fifth-item of the contact quantity subscale had 3.09 kurtosis values, while other skewness and kurtosis values all other items of all scales ranged from +3 to -3. According to Kline (2011), the values above +3 and lower than -3

shows a non-normal distribution. According to this criterion, it could be said that the data of the current study were almost normally distributed, except for the fifth-item of the contact quantity subscale. Besides, histograms and Q-Q plots were also examined, and the results showed that the data set of the current study was not perfectly normal. However, that was only one item which had 3.09 kurtosis values, thus it was decided to accept the data set as normal albeit not perfectly normal and continue with it.

#### 4.1.4.3. Linearity and Homoscedasticity

Linearity was checked by examining residual plots and scatterplots. The visual inspection of the plots showed that the linearity assumption was not violated. The assumption of homoscedasticity was checked by using scatter plot of standardized predicted value and residual of regression. As seen in Figure 5, the absence of an apparent pattern in the scatterplot of predicted value and residual showed that assumption of homoscedasticity was not violated.

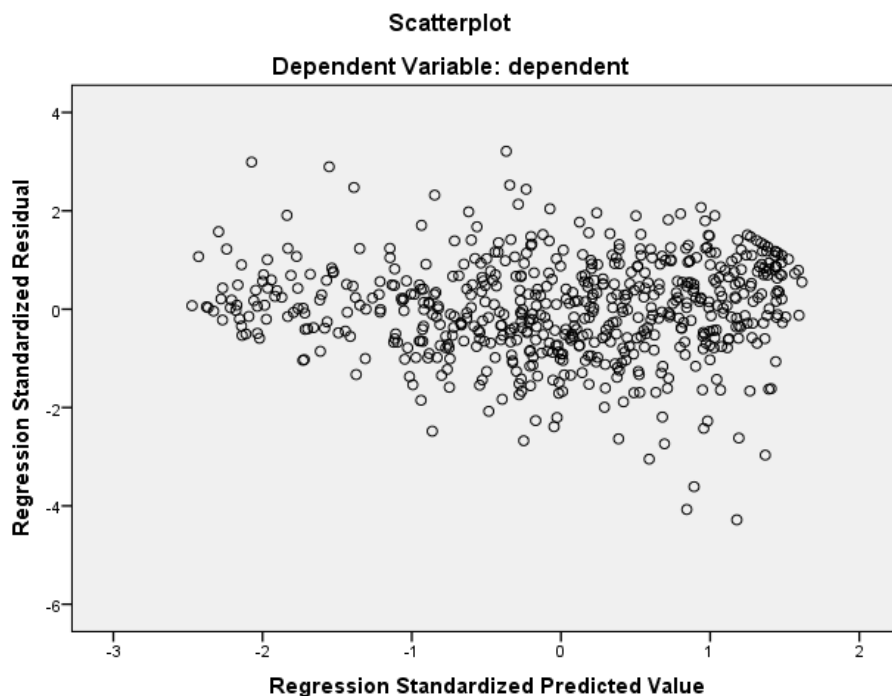


Figure 5 *The Scatterplot of Predicted Value and Residual of Homoscedasticity*

#### 4.1.4.4. Multicollinearity

Multicollinearity was checked by examining bivariate correlation coefficients, VIF (variance inflation factor) and tolerance values. Correlations coefficients should be below .90 (Field, 2009, Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013), VIF should be less than 4 (Pan & Jackson, 2008), and tolerance values should be higher than .20 as suggested by Menard (1995). In the current study, all of the VIF and tolerance values met the proposed criteria, thus there were no problematic items for multicollinearity assumption.

#### 4.1.5. The Results of Xenophobia Scores of Participants in terms of Their Gender

In order to examine gender differences in attitudes toward Syrians refugees, an independent t-test was run. The results are shown in Table 11 below:

Table 11

*T-test Results of Xenophobia Scores of the Participants in terms of Their Gender*

	Gender	<i>N</i>	$\bar{X}$	<i>SD</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Xenophobia	Female	238	51.82	16.59	599	-5.82	.00
	Male	363	60.30	18.03			

The results indicated that there was a statistically significant gender difference in the xenophobia score [female ( $M = 51.82$ ,  $SD = 16.59$ ) and male ( $M = 60.30$ ,  $SD = 18.03$ );  $t(599) = -5.82$ ,  $p = .00$ ]. According to these results, male participants tend to report more xenophobic attitudes than female participants.

#### 4.1.6. The Results of Xenophobia Scores of the Participants in terms of Their Educational Background

One-way analysis of variance was conducted to examine the mean difference in the xenophobia score of the participants in terms of their education background. Before conducting ANOVA, normality and homogeneity of variance assumptions were checked. For four groups of independent variable, skewness and kurtosis values were between  $-.87$  and  $+.05$ , indicating that normality assumption was not violated and each level of independent variable is normally distributed (Field, 2013). Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests of

normality showed that normality assumption was satisfied for primary school ( $p = .20$ ), secondary school ( $p = .20$ ), and university student/graduates and people with a master or Ph.D. degree group ( $p = .047$ ), whereas it was violated for high school group ( $p = .00$ ). Similarly, Shapiro-Wilk tests of normality showed that normality assumption was satisfied for primary school ( $p = .12$ ), secondary school ( $p = .16$ ), whereas it was violated for high school group ( $p = .00$ ) and university student/graduates and people with a master or Ph.D. degree group ( $p = .00$ ). When Q-Q plots and histograms were examined, it was concluded that the data was normally distributed across four groups. Taken together, normality assumption tests point out nearly the same results. In addition, since F-test is robust to violation of normality, it was decided to continue our analysis (Field, 2013).

Levene's test of equality of variance also indicated that homogeneity of variance assumption of ANOVA was not violated ( $F(3,585) = 1.58$ ,  $p = .19$ ), which means that the populations from which the samples are selected have equal variances. Descriptive statistics determined that participants with primary school level of education ( $M = 65.74$ ,  $SD = 15.12$ ) showed more xenophobic attitudes toward Syrians refugees than secondary school group ( $M = 59.85$ ,  $SD = 18.89$ ), high school group ( $M = 59.23$ ,  $SD = 17.84$ ) and university student/graduates and people with a master or Ph.D. degree ( $M = 52.76$ ,  $SD = 17.98$ ).

The obtained results of one-way ANOVA are given in Table 12 below:

Table 12

*One-Way Analysis of Variance Results of Participants Xenophobic Attitudes in terms of Their Educational Background*

Source	<i>Df</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$
Between-group	3	11297.57	3765.86	12.33	.00*	.06
Within-group	585	178701.69	305.47			
Total	588	189999.26				

\* $p < .05$



As can be seen in Table 12, the results showed that there was a significant difference among four groups in terms of their xenophobia scores ( $F(3,585) = 12.33, p = .00$ ). The strength of relationship between educational background of the participants and their xenophobic attitudes, as assessed by  $\eta^2$ , was moderate, with the educational background of the participants accounting for 6% of the variance of xenophobia.

In order to determine this difference, Scheffe test was used for making pairwise comparison between groups and to evaluate which mean differences are significant or not. Post-hoc comparisons results using the Scheffe test indicated that the mean scores of university student/graduates or the participants with a master or Ph.D. degree significantly different from primary school group ( $Md = -12.98, SD = 2.44$ ) and high school group ( $Md = -6.46, SD = 1.65$ ). There weren't any other significant differences among other groups. According to these results, university graduates and the participants who have a master or PhD degree have less xenophobic attitudes than both primary school and high school groups. It was surprising that although the secondary school group had slightly higher mean scores than the high school group, there was a significant difference between the "university graduate or above" group and the high school group. This result could be due to the conservative nature of the Scheffe test.

#### **4.1.7. The Results of Xenophobia Scores of the Participants in terms of Their Economic Level**

One-way analysis of variance was conducted to examine the mean difference in the xenophobia score of the participants in terms of their economic level. Before conducting ANOVA, normality and homogeneity of variance assumptions were checked. For three groups of independent variable, skewness and kurtosis values were between -.05 and -1.24, indicating that normality assumption was not violated and each level of independent variable is normally distributed (Field, 2013). Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests of normality showed that normality assumption was satisfied for both low economic group ( $p = .06$ ) and for high economic group ( $p = .14$ ), whereas it was violated for middle economic group ( $p = .01$ ). On the other hand, Shapiro-Wilk tests of normality showed that normality assumption was satisfied only for high economic group ( $p = .06$ ), while it was violated for low economic group ( $p = .00$ ) and middle economic group ( $p = .00$ ).

When Q-Q plots and histograms were examined, it was concluded that the data was normally distributed across three groups. Taken together, normality assumption tests indicated nearly the same results. In addition, since F-test is robust to violation of normality, it was decided to continue the analysis (Field, 2013).

Levene's test of equality of variance indicated that homogeneity of variance assumption of ANOVA was violated ( $F(2,601) = 3.30, p = .04$ ). However, the ANOVA is robust for this assumption. Thus, the test was performed. Descriptive statistics results indicated that participants with low economic level ( $M = 63.40, SD = 19.25$ ) showed more xenophobic attitudes toward Syrians refugees than both middle economic group ( $M = 55.87, SD = 17.31$ ) and high economic group ( $M = 56.55, SD = 20.98$ ).

The obtained results of one-way ANOVA are given in Table 13 below:

Table 13

*One-Way Analysis of Variance Results of Participants Xenophobic Attitudes in terms of Their Economic Level*

Source	<i>df</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$
Between-group	2	3866.29	1933.14	6.12	.00*	.02
Within-group	601	189788.93	315.79			
Total	603	193655.22				

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\* $p < .05$

As can be seen in Table 13, the results showed that there was a significant difference among three groups in terms of their xenophobia scores ( $F(2,601) = 6.12, p = .00$ ). The strength of relationship between economic level of the participants and their xenophobic attitudes, as assessed by  $\eta^2$ , was small, with the economic level of the participants accounting for only 2% of the variance of xenophobia.

In order to determine this difference, Scheffe test was used for making pairwise comparison between groups and to evaluate which mean differences are significant or

not. Post-hoc comparisons results using the Scheffe test indicated that the mean scores of low economic group was significantly different from middle economic group ( $Md = 7.53$ ,  $SD = 2.15$ ). There weren't any other significant differences among other groups. According to these results, low economic group have higher xenophobic attitudes toward Syrians refugees than middle economic group.

#### **4.1.8. The Results of Xenophobia Scores of the Participants in terms of Their Age**

One-way analysis of variance was conducted to examine the mean difference in the xenophobia score of the participants in terms of their age. Before conducting ANOVA, normality and homogeneity of variance assumptions were checked. For three groups of independent variable, skewness and kurtosis values were between .04 and -1.07, indicating that normality assumption was not violated and each level of independent variable is normally distributed. Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests of normality showed that normality assumption was satisfied for both 31-45 age group ( $p = .20$ ) and for 46 and above age group ( $p = .20$ ), whereas it was violated 16-30 age group ( $p = .01$ ). On the other hand, Shapiro-Wilk tests of normality showed that normality assumption was satisfied only for 31-45 age group ( $p = .10$ ), while it was violated for 16-30 age group ( $p = .00$ ) and for 46 and above age group ( $p = .02$ ). When Q-Q plots and histograms were examined, it was concluded that the data was normally distributed across three groups. Taken together, normality assumption tests indicated nearly the same results. In addition, since F-test is robust to violation of normality, thus, it was decided to continue the analysis (Field, 2013). Levene's test of equality of variance indicated that homogeneity of variance assumption of ANOVA was satisfied ( $F(2,590) = 1.95$ ,  $p = .14$ ).

Descriptive statistics determined that participants with 46 and above ages ( $M = 65.18$ ,  $SD = 15.82$ ) showed more xenophobic attitudes toward Syrians refugees than both 31-45 age group ( $M = 60.87$ ,  $SD = 16.60$ ) and 16-30 age group ( $M = 54.35$ ,  $SD = 18.04$ ). In addition, 31-45 age group showed more xenophobic attitudes toward Syrians refugees than 16-30 age group. According to these results, when the ages of participants increase, the possibility of showing more xenophobic attitudes also increase.

The obtained results of one-way ANOVA are given in Table 14 below:

Table 14

*One-Way Analysis of Variance Results of Participants Xenophobic Attitudes in terms of Their Age*

Source	<i>df</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	$\eta^2$
Between-group	2	9215.62	4607.81	15.04	.00*	.05
Within-group	590	180759.24	306.37			
Total	592	189974.86				

---

\* $p < .05$

As can be seen in Table 14, the results showed that there was a significant difference among three groups in terms of their xenophobia scores ( $F(2,590) = 15.04, p = .00$ ). The strength of relationship between the ages of the participants and their xenophobic attitudes, as assessed by  $\eta^2$ , was small, with the ages of the participants accounting for only 5% of the variance of xenophobia.

In order to determine this difference, Scheffe test was used for making pairwise comparison between groups and to evaluate which mean differences were significant or not. Post-hoc comparisons results using the Scheffe test indicated that mean scores of 46 and above age group significantly higher from 16-30 age group ( $Md = 10.82, SD = 2.30$ ). Similarly, mean scores of 31-45 age group significantly higher from 16-30 age group ( $Md = 6.52, SD = 1.80$ ). There was not a significant difference between 31-45 age group and 46 and above age group. According to these results, when the ages of participants increase their xenophobic attitudes also increase.

#### **4.1.9. The Results of the Correlation Analyses**

In order to examine the relationship between xenophobic attitudes of the residents of Turkey toward Syrians and contact quantity, contact quality, general threat, cultural threat and the age of the participants, Pearson Correlation analysis was run. The obtained results are given in Table 15 below:

Table 15

*The Relationship between Xenophobia and Other Variables*

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Xenophobia	1					
2. Contact quantity	-.18**	1				
3. Contact quality	-.75**	.33**	1			
4. General Threat	.84**	-.14**	-.66**	1		
5. Cultural Threat	.57**	-.09*	-.43**	.65**	1	
6. Age	.23**	.06	-.15**	.19**	.17**	1

Note. \*\*  $p < .01$  (two tailed) \*  $p < .05$

When Table 15 is examined, it can be seen that all variables significantly correlated to xenophobia and correlation coefficient values among xenophobia and related variables range from  $-.18$  to  $.84$ . The highest significant positive correlation was between xenophobia and general threat ( $r = .84$ ), whereas the lowest significant negative correlation was between xenophobia and contact quantity among residents and Syrians ( $r = -.18$ ) and positive correlation with the participants' ages ( $r = .23$ ). As the results showed, contact quality was negatively correlated with xenophobia ( $r = -.75$ ), while cultural threat ( $r = .57$ ) was positively correlated with xenophobia. As a result, the findings showed that when contact quantity and contact quality between residents and Syrians decrease and when residents' general threat and cultural threat perceptions of Syrians increase, their xenophobic attitudes also significantly increase. The results also showed that as the age of the participants increase, their xenophobic attitudes toward Syrians also increase.

The affect of all demographic variables on the xenophobia was visualized at figure 6 below:

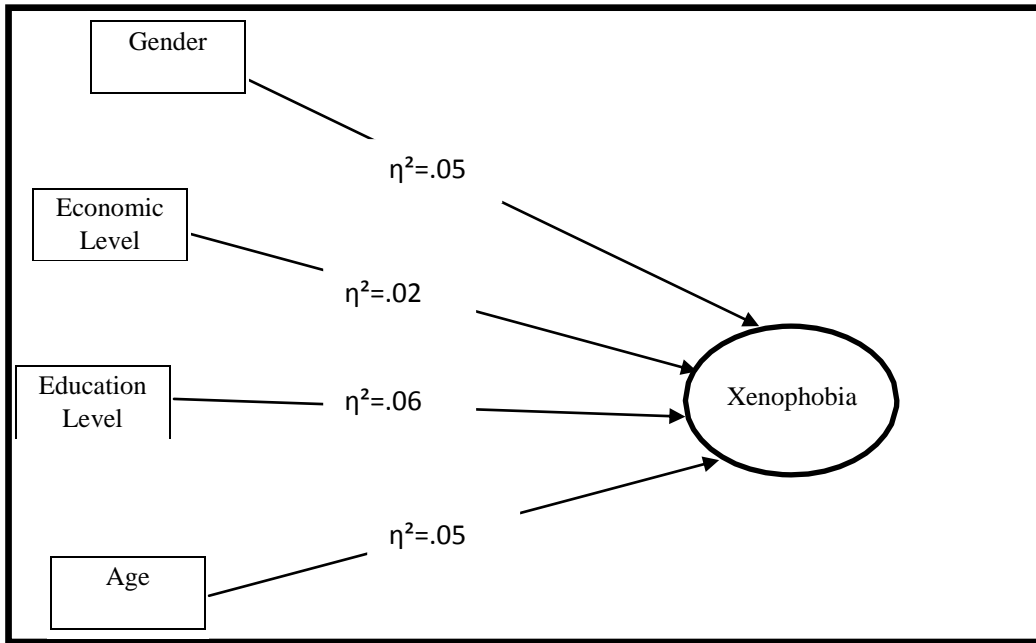


Figure 6 *The Relationships between Demographic Variables and Xenophobia*

## 4.2. Model Testing

### 4.2.1. Measurement Models

Measurement model for cultural threat shows the associations among latent variables (cultural threat, contact quantity, contact quality, and xenophobia) and their indicators (Figure 7). A four-factor model was tested through CFA. The same model was tested by replacing cultural threat with general threat (Figure 8).

#### 4.2.1.1. Measurement Model for Cultural Threat

The results of CFA testing measurement model for cultural threat showed that Chi-square value was significant ( $\chi^2 (113) = 439.64, p < .001$ ) and  $\chi^2/df$  value was 3.89. SRMR value was .067 and RMSEA value was .069, and these values indicated a good fit model (Hu & Bentler, 1999; MacCallum et al., 1996). In addition, NFI (.96), NNFI (.97), and CFI (.97) value supported a good fit model. The final CFA model with standardized estimates ranged from .23 to .90, and all the standardized factor loadings were significant as given in Figure 7 below:

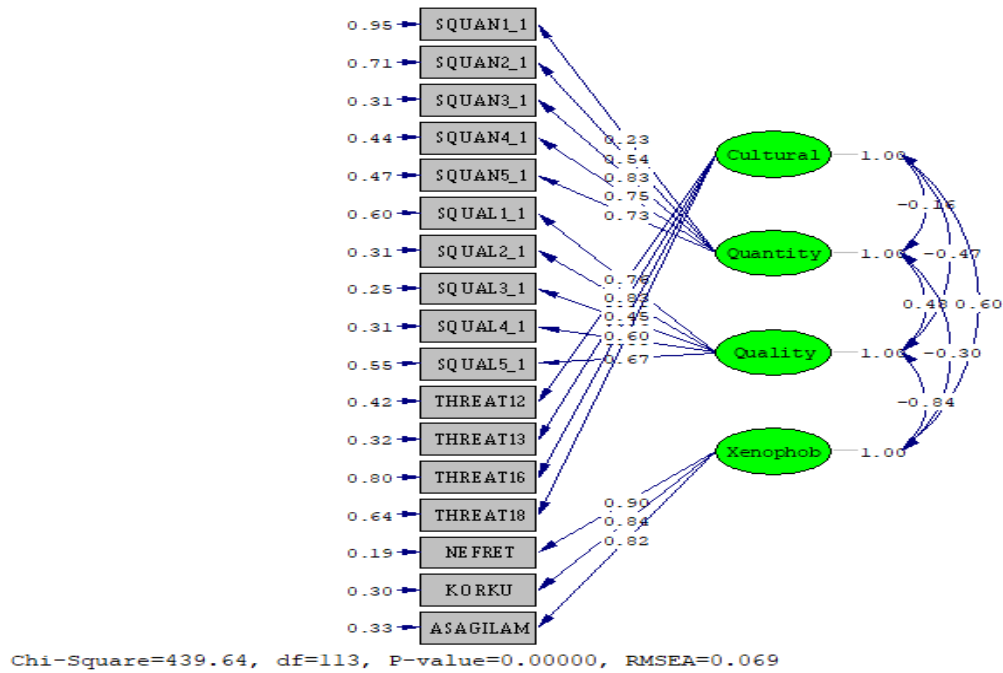


Figure 7 The Measurement Model for Cultural Threat

#### 4.2.1.2. Measurement Model for General Threat

The results of CFA testing measurement model for general threat showed that Chi-square value was significant ( $\chi^2(318) = 1314.09$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and  $\chi^2/df$  value was 4.13, SRMR value was .051 and RMSEA value was .072, and these values indicated a good fit (Hu & Bentler, 1999; MacCallum et al., 1996). In addition, NFI (.98), NNFI (.98), and CFI (.98) value supported a good fit model model. The final CFA model with standardized estimates ranged from .23 to .89, and all the standardized factor loadings were significant as given in Figure 8 below:

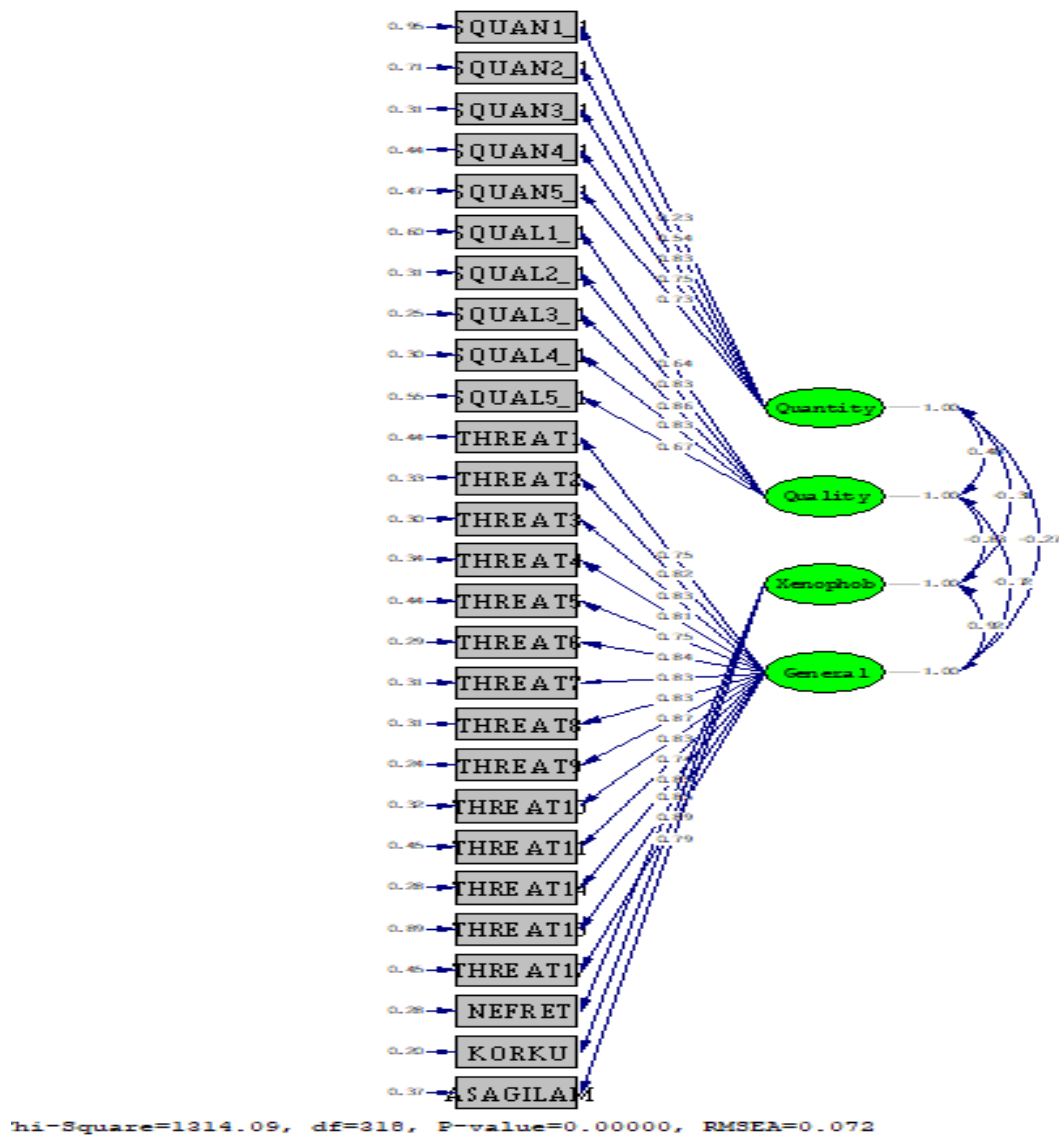


Figure 8 *The Measurement Model for General Threat*

#### 4.2.2. Structural Models

Existing literature reports that fear and the feeling of different types of threats play an crucial role in prejudicial or in other negative attitudes toward outgroups in general and refugees in particular (Stephan, Renfro, Esses, Stephan, & Martin, 2005). In addition, according to Contact Hypothesis, there is also a relationship between quantity and quality of contact and prejudicial attitudes toward out-group members. Therefore, the main goal of the current study was to understand direct and indirect relationships among perceived threat, contact quality, contact quantity, and xenophobia. For this aim, two



models were tested. The first one was for cultural threat as an exogenous variable, and the second one was for general threat as another exogenous variable. In the proposed model, these two models were combined (as shown in Figure 9), but .65 of the correlation between cultural and general threat was confounding for the model. For this reason, the two models were tested separately.

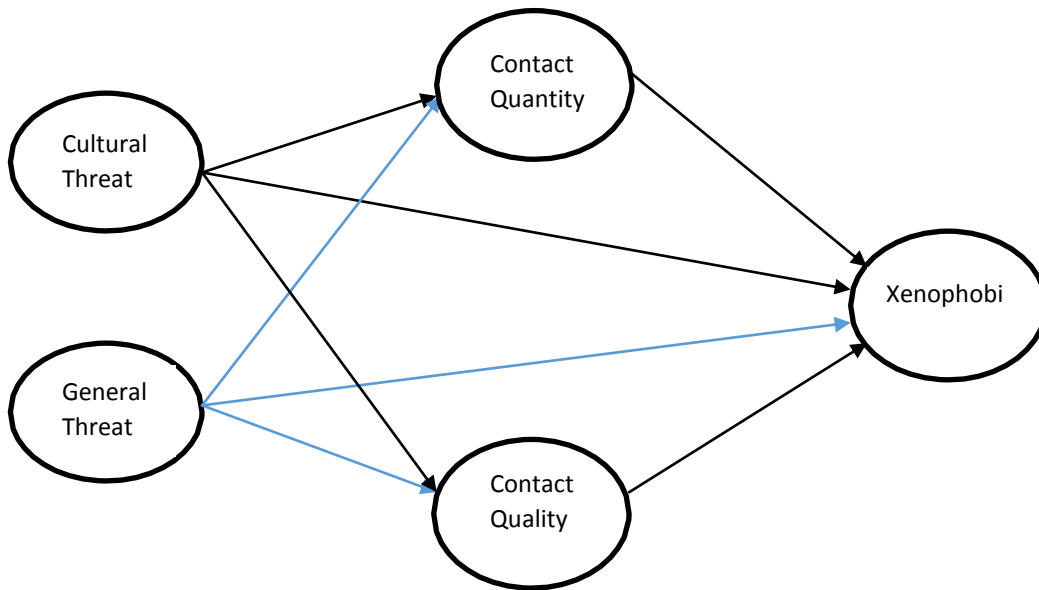


Figure 9 *The Proposed Model of Xenophobia*

#### 4.2.2.1. Structural Model for Cultural Threat

The proposed model was tested via Sobel Test in order to examine indirect effects of the mediating relationships for cultural threat. The results showed a good fit of the model to the data. When goodness of fit indexes are examined, it can be seen that all values were acceptable. According to the findings, Chi-square value was significant ( $\chi^2 (114) = 535.41, p < .001$ ) and  $\chi^2/df$  value was 4.70, SRMR value was .075 and RMSEA value was .078, and these values indicated a good fit model (Hu & Bentler, 1999; MacCallum et al., 1996). In addition, NFI (.95), NNFI (.96), and CFI (.96) value supported a good fit-model. These result showed that the structural model fitted the data. The model is showing in Figure 10, and only the latent variables were included in the figure for ease of reading.

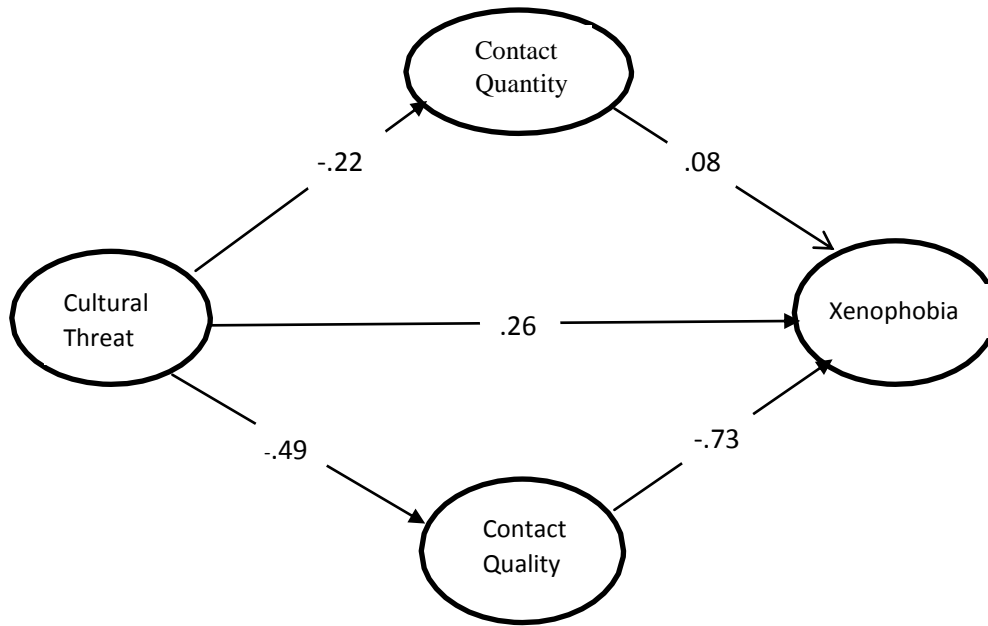


Figure 10 *Structural Model for Cultural Threat*

#### *Direct Effects of Cultural Threat on Other Variables*

Estimated direct effects of cultural threat on contact quantity, contact quality, and xenophobia were given in figure 10. According to the results, contact quantity ( $\lambda = -.22$ ,  $p < .01$ ) and contact quality ( $\lambda = -.49$ ,  $p < .01$ ) were negatively predicted by cultural threat, while xenophobia ( $\lambda = .26$ ,  $p < .01$ ) was positively predicted by cultural threat. More specifically, as perceived cultural threat increases, both contact quantity and quality with Syrian refugees decrease, while xenophobia increases. In addition, xenophobia was negatively predicted by contact quality ( $\beta = -.73$ ,  $p < .01$ ), while it is positively predicted by contact quantity ( $\beta = .08$ ,  $p < .05$ ). That is, as contact quality increases and contact quantity decreases, xenophobia also decreases.

#### *Indirect Effects*

In addition to direct effects, indirect effects were also examined with Sobel Test (Kenny et. al, 1998). According to Sobel Test results, there was a positive significant indirect effect of cultural threat on xenophobia through contact quantity (Sobel test=-2.16,  $p < .05$ ) and contact quality (Sobel test=8.14,  $p < .01$ ) ( $\beta = .34$ ,  $p < .01$ ). According to Cohen's (1992),  $\beta = .34$  indicated a moderate effect.

### *Total Effect*

The total effect of one variable on another variable is calculated through summing of all the direct and indirect effects. When the total effects are examined, it can be seen that cultural threat had a large positive effect on xenophobia ( $\beta = .61$ ,  $p < .01$ ). All standardized direct, indirect, and total effects for cultural threat were presented in Table 16 below:

Table 16

### *Standardized Direct, Indirect, and Total Effects for Cultural Threat*

<b>Paths</b>	<b>Standardized Estimates (<math>\beta</math>)</b>
<b>Direct Effects</b>	
Contact Quantity $\leftarrow$ Cultural Threat	-.22*
Contact Quality $\leftarrow$ Cultural Threat	-.49*
Xenophobia $\leftarrow$ Cultural Threat	.26*
Xenophobia $\leftarrow$ Contact Quantity	.08*
Xenophobia $\leftarrow$ Contact Quality	-.73*
<b>Indirect Effects</b>	
Xenophobia $\leftarrow$ Cultural Threat	.34*
<b>Total Effects</b>	
Xenophobia $\leftarrow$ Cultural Threat	.61*

\* $p < .01$

When regression equations were examined, the results showed that contact quantity was predicted by cultural threat and cultural threat explained 5% of variance in the contact quantity. Contact quality also predicted by cultural threat and cultural threat explained 24% of the variance in the contact quality. In addition, xenophobia was predicted by cultural, contact quality, and by contact quantity and cultural threat, contact quality, and contact quantity explained 78% of the variance in the xenophobia.

#### 4.2.2.2. Structural Model for General Threat

The proposed model was tested again via Sobel Test in order to examine the indirect effects of the mediating relationships for general threat. The results showed a good fit of the model to the data. When the goodness of fit indexes examined, it was seen that all the values were acceptable. According to the findings, Chi-square value was significant ( $\chi^2(319) = 1377.17, p < .001$ ) and  $\chi^2/df$  value was 4.32, SRMR value was .061 and RMSEA value was .074, and these values indicated a good fitted model (Hu & Bentler, 1999; MacCallum et al., 1996). In addition, NFI (.97), NNFI (.98), and CFI (.98) value supported a good fit-model. These results showed that the structural model fitted the data. The model is shown in Figure 11, and only the latent variables were included in the figure for ease of reading. In addition, the dashed line from contact quantity to xenophobia shows a non-significant path.

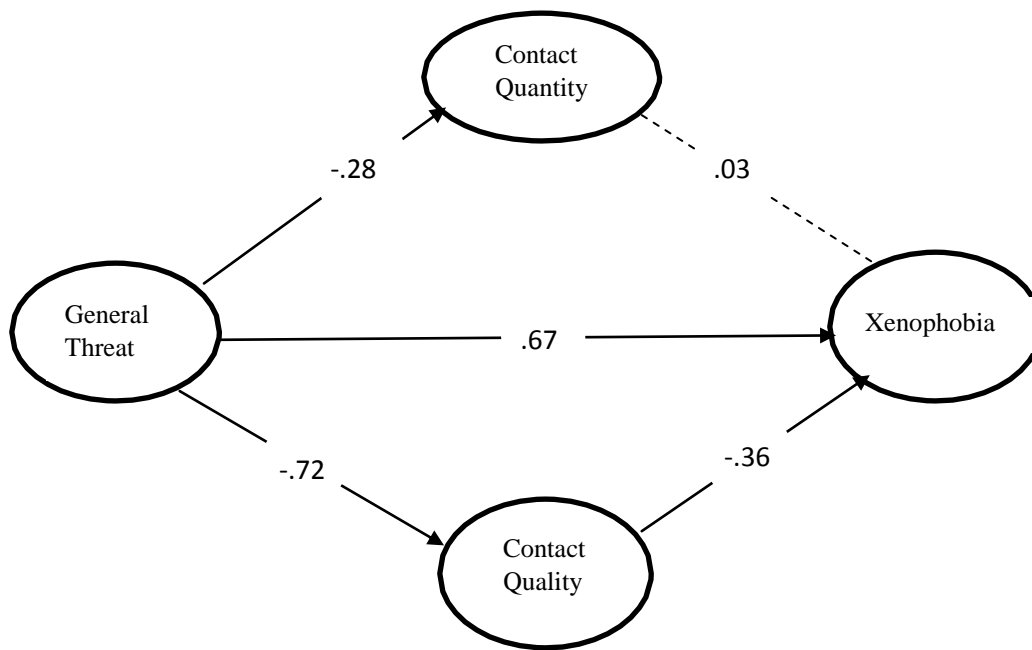


Figure 11 *Structural Model for General Threat*

##### *Direct Effects of General Threat on Other Variables*

Estimated direct effects of general threat on contact quantity, contact quality, and xenophobia were given in Figure 11; dashed lines in the model showed the non-significant paths. According to the results, contact quantity ( $\lambda = -.28, p < .01$ ) and

contact quality ( $\lambda = -.72$ ,  $p < .01$ ) were negatively predicted by general threat, while xenophobia ( $\lambda = .67$ ,  $p < .01$ ) was positively predicted by general threat. More specifically, as perceived general threat increases, both contact quantity and quality with Syrian refugees decrease, while xenophobia increases. In addition, xenophobia was negatively predicted by contact quality ( $\beta = -.36$ ,  $p < .01$ ), while it was not significantly predicted by contact quantity ( $\beta = .02$ ,  $p > .05$ ). That is, as contact quality increases, xenophobia decreases.

#### *Indirect Effects*

In addition to direct effects, indirect effects were also examined with Sobel Test (Kenny et. al, 1998). According to Sobel Test results, there was a positive significant indirect effect of general threat on xenophobia through contact quality ( $\beta = .25$ ,  $p < .01$ ; Sobel test= 7.63,  $p < .01$ ). According to Cohen's (1992),  $\beta = .25$  indicated a moderate effect. However, there was not any significant indirect effect of general threat on xenophobia through contact quantity (Sobel test= -1.40,  $p > .05$ ).

#### *Total Effect*

The total effect of one variable on another variable is calculated through summing of all the direct and indirect effects. When total effects were examined, it was seen that general threat had a large positive effect on xenophobia ( $\beta = .92$ ,  $p < .01$ ). All standardized direct, indirect, and total effects for general threat are presented in Table 17 below:

Table 17

*Standardized Direct, Indirect, and Total Effects for General Threat*

Paths	Standardized Estimates ( $\beta$ )
<b>Direct Effects</b>	
Contact Quantity $\leftarrow$ General Threat	-.28*
Contact Quality $\leftarrow$ General Threat	-.72*
Xenophobia $\leftarrow$ General Threat	.67*
Xenophobia $\leftarrow$ Contact Quantity	.03
Xenophobia $\leftarrow$ Contact Quality	-.36*
<b>Indirect Effects</b>	
Xenophobia $\leftarrow$ General Threat	.25*
<b>Total Effects</b>	
Xenophobia $\leftarrow$ General Threat	.92*

\*P&lt;.01

When regression equations were examined, the results showed that contact quantity was predicted by general threat and general threat explained 8% of variance in the contact quantity. Contact quality was also predicted by general threat, and general threat explained 52% of the variance in the contact quality. In addition, xenophobia was predicted by general threat and contact quality but not by contact quantity and general threat, and contact quality explained 91% of the variance in xenophobia.

### 4.3. Summary of the Results

The current study was aimed at uncovering the direct and indirect relationships among perceived threats, social contact, and xenophobia in the context of Syrian refugees. In addition, it aimed to examine the roles of gender, age, and education in xenophobic reactions toward refugees. The roles of these demographic variables were examined by preliminary analyses. However, main analyses were conducted via structural equation

modeling.

Preliminary results indicated that gender, age, socio-economic level and education were found to be related factors in xenophobic reactions. In other words, men, older people, people with low socio-economic level, and less educated people were found to show more xenophobic attitudes toward refugees than others.

In the current study, both cultural threat and general threat were found to be both directly and indirectly and positively related to xenophobia. The findings demonstrated that both general threat and cultural threat had an indirect effect on xenophobia through contact quality, and the indirect effect of cultural threat on xenophobia also persisted through contact quantity.

More specifically, according to the findings of the current study, cultural threat had an indirect effect on xenophobic attitudes toward refugees through both contact quantity and contact quality. In other words, the results of cultural threat model indicated that as perceived cultural threats increase, contact quantity decrease, and when contact quantity decreases, xenophobia also decreases. In addition, as perceived cultural threats increase, contact quality decreases, and when contact quality decreases, xenophobia increases. Similar to the cultural model, the findings of the current study revealed that general threat had an indirect effect on xenophobic attitudes toward refugees through contact quality. In other words, the results of general threat model indicated that as perceived general threat increases, contact quality decreases, and when contact quality decreases, xenophobia increases. Based on obtained preliminary and main findings, all the factors impacting the xenophobia was visualized at figure 12 below:

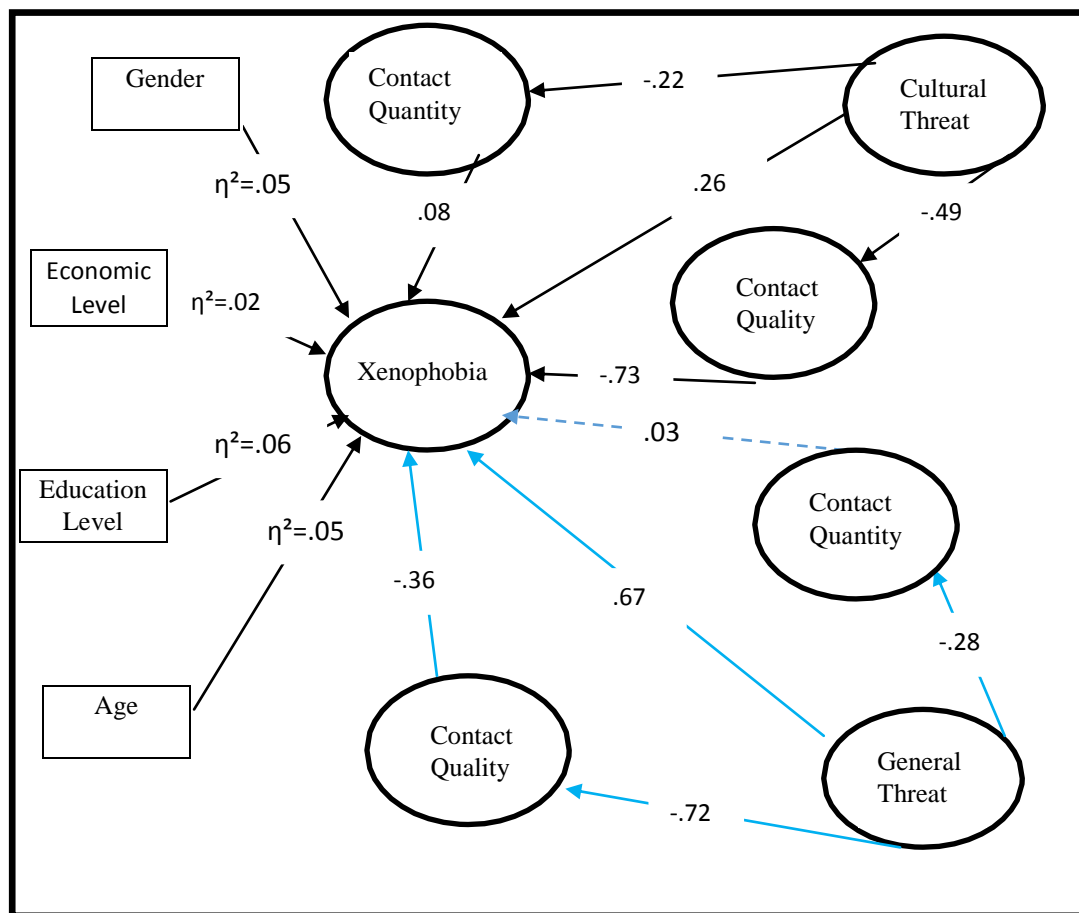


Figure 12 *The Relationships between All Variables and Xenophobia*



## **CHAPTER 5**

### **DISCUSSION**

This chapter presents the discussions of the findings of the current study. First, a discussion of the preliminary findings of the study that examined xenophobia in terms of gender, age and education, and perceived economic level are presented. Then, the main findings related to mediators' roles of contact quantity and contact quality in the relationship between general threat, cultural threat, and xenophobia are discussed, and lastly, implications and recommendations are presented.

#### **5.1. Discussion of the Preliminary Findings**

Before discussion of the main findings of the current study, findings of the preliminary analyses are discussed. In the present study, preliminary analyses were conducted in order to examine whether gender, education background, perceived economical level, and age of participants have a significant role in their xenophobic attitudes toward Syrians refugees or not.

When gender differences in attitudes toward Syrians refugees were examined it was found that male participants tend to report more xenophobic attitudes than female participants. A similar pattern was found in the study conducted by Ceballos and Yakushko (2014), which indicated that men are more likely to perceive immigrants as contributing to crime rate than females. Similar to the findings of the current study, in other separate studies, men were found to be more prejudicial than women (Makashvili, Vardanashvili & Javakhishvili, 2018), men show more negative attitudes toward outgroups than women (Aktaş, Tepe & Persson, 2018), men show both more explicit and implicit negative attitudes toward asylum seekers than women (Anderson, 2018), men have higher fear-related xenophobia than women (Ommundsen et. al., 2013), and

men are more intolerant toward immigrants than women (Zeisset, 2016). Contrary to the findings of the present study and other studies, Scott and Safdar (2017) found that men showed more positive attitudes and less in-group bias toward Syrian refugees than women. As the findings of the current study and an overwhelming majority of other studies indicated, men show more negative attitudes toward different groups than women. This might come from the gender differences in empathy as it is suggested that there is a greater disposition in women to imagine or put themselves in other people's shoes (Hoffman, 1977; Toussaint & Webb, 2005). By doing this, women could take the perspective of Syrian refugees and become less xenophobic than men. The nurturance role women assume might be another factor that affect their attitudes toward refugees.

Related to the effect of education on xenophobia, it was determined that the participants who were university graduates or had a master or PhD degree show less xenophobic attitudes than those who had primary school and high school degree. These findings were supported by the findings of other studies which found that people with higher educational background were less prejudicial than people who had a lower education level (Velasco González, Verkuyten, Weesie & Poppe, 2008), people with less education demonstrated more negative attitudes toward asylum seekers than others (Anderson & Ferguson, 2018), people with higher education were slightly more tolerant toward immigrants than others (Zeisset, 2016), and people who had primary and secondary education were four and two times more likely to become xenophobic than those who had tertiary education (Campbell, Kandala & Oucho, 2016). The education level has a significant role in changing or shaping the attitudes of people. People with higher education might empathize with refugees more easily than people with less education. Moreover, people with higher education would be more open-minded toward different ethnic and cultural outgroups. In addition, people with a bachelor degree and master or PhD. degree might perceive less threat from refugees. This could be partly because of that most of these people may have a job and they don't have too many economic concerns. On the other hand, people living in these cities and having primary and secondary education mostly have no permanent jobs. This might increase their perception of threats and subsequently make them more xenophobic, given the positive relationship between perceived threats and xenophobia.

According to findings of current study people with low economic level showed more xenophobic attitudes toward Syrian refugees than both middle and high economic group. But, only the differences, between low economic group and middle economic group was significant. Similar to the findings of the current study, in other separate studies, economic threat was found to be significant indicators of the intolerance toward immigrants (Zeisset, 2016) and predicted prejudice (Abrams et. al., 2017). In addition, the findings of another study indicated that as perceived economic threat increased, the rejection of immigrants also increased (D'Ancona, 2018). Based on findings of current study and other studies, it can be concluded that the more people perceive their economic condition negative the more they show negative attitudes toward outgroups.

In the current study, age was found to be positively related to xenophobia. Similar findings were found in some other studies. For example, Ceballos and Yakushko (2014) found that older people believe that immigrants contribute to an increase in the crime rate, and people below the age of 45 were found to have more positive attitudes toward immigrants (Blom, 2010). Similarly, age was found to be positively related to intolerance toward immigrants (Zeisset, 2016). Contrary to these findings, a study found no relationship between age and negative attitudes (Anderson & Ferguson, 2018), and another study found a negative correlation between age and fear-related xenophobia (Ommundsen et. al., 2013). This mixed pattern of results demonstrated that age is not a consistent predictor of attitudes toward outgroups. Still, age is an impacting factor in shaping attitudes toward outgroups. In the light of the findings of the current study, younger people might be more educated and open-minded than older people. This difference between younger and older people might make the young less xenophobic. Similarly, most young people receive their education in different cities, and they do not live in these cities for years / for their whole life. In addition, most young people have no responsibility about their family needs, especially economic needs. Thus, the threats perception of younger people might be lower than older people, which affects their attitudes toward Syrian refugees. On the other hand, older people might face more problems and might have more economic and other concerns, which has a potential to affect their attitudes.

## **5.2. Discussion of the Main Findings**

In the current study, it was hypothesized that a) there is a close relationship between perceived threats and xenophobia, and b) quality and quantity of contact play mediator roles in this relationships both in cultural threat model and general threat model. As hypothesized for both models, the perception of threats were found to be highly and directly related to xenophobia. For cultural threat model, as hypothesized, both quality and quantity of contact mediate the relationship between perceived cultural threat and xenophobia while in the general threat model only the quality of contact mediated the relationship between perceived general threat and xenophobia. Contrary to the hypothesis of the current study, quantity of contact did not mediate the relationship between perceived general threat and xenophobia. Below, details of the main findings and their discussions are presented:

For cultural threat model:

In the present study, contact quantity and contact quality were negatively predicted by cultural threat, while xenophobic attitudes toward Syrian refugees were directly and positively predicted by cultural threat. In addition, xenophobia was negatively predicted by contact quality while it was positively predicted by contact quantity. According to the findings of the current study, cultural threat had an indirect effect on xenophobic attitudes toward refugees through both contact quantity and contact quality. In other words, the results of cultural threat model indicated that as perceived cultural threats increase, contact quantity decreases, and when contact quantity decreases, xenophobia also decreases. In addition, as perceived cultural threats increase, contact quality decreases, and when contact quality decreases, xenophobia increases.

The role of cultural threats in negative attitudes toward different outgroups were examined by other separate studies, and similar findings were obtained. For instance, cultural (symbolic) threat was found to be a consistent predictor of prejudicial attitudes and intolerance toward different immigrant and refugee groups (Aberson, 2015; Abrams et. al., 2017; Ceballos & Yakushko, 2014; Erdoğan, 2014; Makashvili, Vardanashvili & Javakhishvili, 2018; Riek, Mania & Gaertner, 2006; Scott & Safdar, 2017; Stephan, Diaz-Loving & Duran, 2000; Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman, 1999; Stephen et. al., 1998;

Stephan et. al, 2005; Zeisset, 2016), hostility against foreigners (Gondim et al., 2018), negative attitudes toward asylum seekers (Renner, Thomas, Mikulajová & Newman, 2018), prejudice toward Muslims (Velasco et al, 2008) and xenophobia (D'Ancona, 2018). In the light of these findings, it can be said that when people perceive refugees as threats to their cultures, values, beliefs, ethics, general way of living, and worldviews, their attitudes toward refugees could be more negative. They might also think that refugees negatively affect our way of living. In addition, value differences between locals and refugees and perceived numbers of refugees in the cities where participants live might make locals think that refugees would change their lifestyle, traditions, principles and so on. Therefore, these perceptions might influence locals' attitudes toward refugees.

Similar to the role that cultural threat plays in attitudes toward different outgroups, the role that contact quantity plays on attitudes toward different outgroups was also examined by separate studies, and surprisingly their findings contrast with the findings of the current study. For example, higher intergroup contact with Muslims was related with less negative stereotypes and a direct relationship was found between intergroup contact and prejudice (Abrams et. al., 2017; Stephan, Diaz-Loving & Duran, 2000; Fleming et, al, 2018; Velasco González et. al, 2008), between increased contact with immigrants, interacting or having close relationship with them, and unfavorable attitudes (Ceballos & Yakushko, 2014), between frequent intergroup contact and improved outgroup attitudes (Saab, Harb & Moughalian, 2017), between contact between majority and minority groups and reduced prejudice (Binder et, al., 2009), between contact and positive attitudes toward immigrants (Blom, 2010), and between social contact and fear-related xenophobia toward immigrants (Ommundsen et. al., 2013). Contrary to findings of other studies, according to the findings of the current study, frequent contact with Syrian refugees increases xenophobia. This finding is consistent with Pettigrew', (1998) proposition, who said although there is no clear, simple and direct relationship between contact and prejudice reduction, under more favorable conditions contact inclines to contribute to changes in the attitudes of the groups, while under unfavorable conditions contact might increase prejudice and intergroup tension which already exists, as in the current study. In Turkey, there is already an inner conflict between Kurds and Turks. In

addition, Turkey is not an economically advanced country, and high unemployment rate or high competition on limited resources between residents and refugees may also lead to a perception of threat for residents. Based on these factors, the conditions in Turkey could be thought as unfavorable. Thus, frequent contact with refugees could make locals more xenophobic. Besides, seeing refugees in streets, parks, bus stations, hospitals, schools or other areas could remind locals and keep them aware of the cultural differences they have with refugees and thus negatively affect their attitudes toward refugees.

As examined in the current study, the role of contact quality in attitudes toward outgroups were also examined by researchers, and their findings are parallel to the findings of the current study. In line with the findings of the current study, Aberson (2015) found that both cognitive and affective dimensions of prejudice were predicted by positive contact, which is a sign of contact quality. Similarly, Stephan, Diaz-Loving, and Duran (2000) determined that quality of contact significantly predicted attitudes of American and Mexicans toward each other. Similar pieces of evidence were provided by other researches (e.g. Binder et. al., 2009; Blom, 2010; D'Ancona, 2018; Ceballos & Yakushko, 2014; Fleming et. al., 2018). These findings were consistent with the idea that contact between members of different groups improves mutual understanding and reduces biases or prejudices towards given outgroups (Barlow et. al., 2012), and quality of contact with other groups boosts group empathy (Sirin, Valentino & Villalobos, 2017). Thus, it can be concluded that quality of contact by enhancing knowledge of the outgroup (Binder et. al., 2009) might lower negative attitudes in a group.

Finally, in the current study, it was determined that cultural threat had an indirect effect on xenophobia through both contact quantity and contact quality. In the related literature, there is little research that has examined the interrelationships or roles of perceived cultural threat, contact quantity, contact quality and negative attitudes toward outgroups. In line with the findings of the current study, Abrams and Eller (2017) proposed that in the relationships between contact and negative attitudes toward different outgroups, perceived threats could play different roles at different stages of this relationship. In a similar vein, these authors also proposed that in the relationship

between perceived threats and negative attitudes toward outgroups, contact could play different roles at different stages of this relationship. In a study conducted by Abrams et. al. (2017), it was found that cultural threat mediated the relationship between contact and prejudice and the positive effect of contact on prejudice persisted through perceived cultural threat. Stephan, Diaz-Loving, and Duran (2000) also found that quality of contact and amount of contact had an indirect effect on prejudice through perceived cultural threat. These findings indicated that although perceived cultural threat had a direct effect on xenophobia, both contact quantity and quality play a significant role in this relationship. More specifically, when existing perceived threat interact with contact quantity, it feeds xenophobic attitudes. For example, when people have cultural threat perception and see or interact with refugees, they might become more xenophobic. Density of refugees also might play a significant role in the relationship. In addition, although perceived cultural threat directly affects xenophobia, the quality of contact with refugees might lower this effect by improving mutual understanding (Barlow et. al., 2012), boosting group empathy (Sirin, Valentino & Villalobos, 2017), and enhancing knowledge of the outgroup (Binder et, al., 2009).

For general threat model:

In the present study, contact quantity and contact quality were negatively predicted by general threat, while xenophobic attitudes toward Syrian refugees were directly and positively predicted by general threat. In addition, xenophobia was negatively predicted by contact quality while it was not predicted by contact quantity. According to the findings of the current study, general threat had an indirect effect on xenophobic attitudes toward refugees through contact quality. In other words, the results of general threat model indicated that as perceived general threat increases, contact quality decreases, and when contact quality decreases, xenophobia increases.

General threat, similar to cultural threat, was found to be a consistent predictor of prejudicial attitudes and intolerance toward different immigrant and refugee groups (Abrams et. al., 2017; Ceballos & Yakushko, 2014; D'Ancona, 2018; Makashvili, Vardanashvili & Javakhishvili 2018; Riek, Mania & Gaertner, 2006; Stephan, Diaz-Loving & Duran, 2000; Stephen et. al., 1998; Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman, 1999;

Stephan et. al, 2005; and Zeisset, 2016). Contrary to this result, in some studies, general threat did not predict attitudes toward other groups. For instance, in Renner et. al. (2018), it was found that economic threat, as a part of general threat, was not a consistent predictor of attitudes toward asylum seekers. Velasco González et. al. (2008) also found that general threat was not a significant predictor of prejudicial attitudes toward Muslims. Still, these results indicated that general threat was almost a consistent predictor of attitudes toward outgroups. When taking into account the arrival of nearly 3,5 million refugees to Turkey with numerous needs and issues (and the number is increasing). Such a big number of refugees are likely to be perceived as a threat by locals considering the limited resources of the country and existing ethnic issues of its own. By density of refugees, limited sources of the country, and its ethnic issues, locals are highly likely to perceive refugees as threats to their basic resources, personal/societal security, health or general welfare. All these perceptions subsequently might influence locals' attitudes toward refugees and make them more xenophobic.

In the general threat model, contrary to the findings of the related literature and the findings of cultural threat model, contact quantity did not predict xenophobia. As presented in the cultural threat model section, in many studies, frequent contact was found to be negatively related to negative attitudes toward different outgroups (e.g. Abrams et. al., 2017; Velasco González, et. al, 2008). In the general threat context, locals may already have some thoughts about the way refugees affect their lives. For example, they might already be aware of the economic conditions of the country and limited resources of it. Thus, having a frequent contact with immigrants may not lower or increase or provoke negative attitudes toward refugees because of general threats they already have.

Similar to cultural threat model, in general threat model, contact quality plays a significant role in xenophobic attitudes toward refugees. This finding was confirmed by findings of other studies (Aberson, 2015; Binder et, al., 2009; Blom, 2010; Ceballos & Yakushko, 2014; D'Ancona, 2018; Fleming et. al., 2018; Stephan, Diaz-Loving & Duran, 2000). These consistent results make clear the role contact quality plays in negative attitudes toward different outgroups. The result revealed that rather than contact



quantity, it is quality of contact that determines whether contact positively affects attitudes between groups, as emphasized by Hewstone (2015). In addition, by providing knowledge and accurate assessment of outgroups, contact quality might dispel perceived threats and become a more determinative factor in predicting attitudes toward different outgroups than contact quantity (Stephan, Diaz-Loving & Duran, 2000).

Finally, in the current study, it was determined that general threat had an indirect effect on xenophobia through contact quality. As in cultural context, there is little research that has examined the interrelationships or roles of perceived threat, general threat, contact quality and negative attitudes toward outgroups. Yet, there are two studies which found similar results. For example, a study conducted by Abrams et. al. (2017) found that safety and economic threats mediated the relationship between contact and prejudice. In addition, Stephan, Diaz-Loving, and Duran (2000) found that quality of contact had an indirect effect on prejudice through perceived cultural threat. The findings of the current study and related studies indicated that at different stages, perceived threats and contact have an influence on each other, which consequently affects attitudes toward different groups. In other words, a higher contact quality may enhance knowledge of the outgroup and increase empathy and perspective taking (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008), which dispels the effect of perceived general threat and results in a significant decrease in xenophobic attitudes toward refugees.

### **5.3. Implications of the Findings to Practice**

Xenophobic reactions from locals to outgroup members are rising around the world. No matter what the correct explanation for this is, the problem is the same and prevalent around the world and affects even the open-minded and tolerant states (Zeisset, 2016). In the context of Syrian refugees, there is no any signs for Syrians to returning their home. Apparently, the xenophobia brings negative consequences for the well-being of refugees and the future of host country as emphasized by Yakushko (2009). Thus, if the xenophobic reactions toward Syrians increase, it would make integration process more difficult to be successful and the costs would be detrimental.

One explanation for xenophobic reactions is perceived threats. As findings of the current study indicated, perceived threats and xenophobia are closely intertwined. In other

words, both perceived cultural threat and general threat directly affect xenophobic reactions. In the context of perceived cultural threats, dissimilarities between refugees and locals is an important problem. Because dissimilarities often exaggerated. The exaggeration of dissimilarities could be modified, at least lowered, by teaching in group members more accurate information about outgroups and by revealing similarities in beliefs and values of two groups (Stephan, 2012). Thus, given accurate information about outgroups may reduce the effect of both cultural and general threats and result in a parallel decrease in xenophobia.

As aforementioned, for cultural threats stressing value similarities between locals and Syrian refugees might relieve the fears of Turkish citizens (Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman, 1999) whose more xenophobic. In similar vein, making locals aware or letting them understand that some of their perceived threats are unrealistic would be helpful for reducing general threat. In addition, although not examined in the current study, in Getmansky, Sınmazdemir and Zeitzoff' (2018) study it was found that perceiving Syrian refugees as having weapons and having ties with militant groups has significant effect on the perception of general threat and negative attitudes toward refugees. Thus, reassuring the locals by addressing their concerns and convincing them about that refugees are not such a big threat, would be helpful for reducing both perceived general threat and xenophobia. However, the xenophobia is not a simple problem. Thus, in prevention and intervention process all stakeholders should include, otherwise it would be very difficult or impossible to handle the problem.

In the psychological counseling, for people who are working with refugees in host countries, examining and understanding the attitudes of local people toward refugees is becoming an important task (Dempster & Hargrave, 2017). In addition, in working with refugees, lack of knowledge and awareness might bring negative consequences. For this reason, the xenophobia attitudes toward Syrian refugees should be clearly addressed by counselors. In order to working with Syrian refugees, counselors should give special attention to the xenophobic attitudes toward this group held by locals. Understanding the xenophobia help counselors to recognize harmful effect of sociopolitical factors on adjustment and well-being of the refugees (Yakushko, 2009). Because, understanding

the nature of the xenophobia is a crucial step in reducing and eliminating the xenophobia.

In order to reduce or eliminate the xenophobia counselors, based on their client advocacy role, can give public seminars by underlining the harmful and undesirable effects of xenophobia on refugees' wellbeing and on the negative consequences on the part of society. Counselors can also give seminars to the parents in school. In addition, parents could be thought how be a role model for their children. Besides children should be taught by their parents, teachers and school counselors about respecting individual differences. In addition, in Turkey there are several school, where Syrian children are attended, meet and interact with locals' children. In these schools, administrators, teachers, and school counselors could play significant role in being role models for the students.

For counselors and other mental health professionals, based on the density of refugees in Turkey, the possibility of dealing with more and more cases of the victims of xenophobia and/or clients with xenophobic attitudes is quite high. Thus, the counselors should be well equipped to work with this population. However, psychological counselors working in different settings have minimum (if any) formal and informal training about how to work with negative attitudes of the client toward another groups and how to help clients who are victims of discrimination in the context of xenophobia. For this reason, by Ministry of National Education, academicians, and other stakeholders some training program should be developed to teach counselor and other mental health professionals about how to work with this population.

Pertaining to cultural threat and general threat the leaders of the host community, as of Turkey, should shedding light on vagueness and denounce any prejudicial and xenophobic attitudes against Syrian refugees. Although the effect of empathy on xenophobia was not investigated in the current thesis, in schools some prevention and intervention programs should be developed in order to increase mutual understanding and empathy. By increasing knowledge of outgroup and emphasizing with, both perceived threats and xenophobia could be decreased. Because the empathy widely used as method to increase mutual understanding and improve intergroup relations (Stephan

& Finlay, 1999). In the context of counseling, the school counselor who works in these schools can increase the empathy level of students toward each other by using role-playing exercises in which students play the role of other students and take the perspective of them. In addition, by reading texts related to the experiences of the refugees would be helpful. In these exercises the students could be asked “How did you feel when you play the role of a Syrian? By asking this kind of questions the emotional empathy would be increased (Stephan & Finlay, 1999).

Ministry of National Education also should be involved in prevention and intervention the xenophobia by planning nationwide programs and applying them to students, teachers, and parents. Through these programs the awareness of students, teachers, and parents could be increased. Designing the media campaigns to prove positive information about the generosity and hospitality toward Syrians those in need, would be helpful to reduce xenophobia. In addition, presenting the stories of refugees to humanize them would also be helpful (Stephan, 2012). By keeping public informed and providing positive information or the similarities and addressing the public concerns would be an effective strategy to counteract the both cultural and general threats. In addition, broadcasting knowledge on Syrian issue and discussing the concerns of locals in TV and radio channels or in other social platforms may reduce the xenophobia by decreasing the perceived threats.

Finally, the findings of current study indicated that it is not the amount of contact, it is the quality of contact between locals and Syrians refugees decrease the xenophobia by lowering the effect of perceived cultural threat and general threat. The contact with quality may pay the way for mutual understanding and reduce biases and xenophobic reactions towards given outgroups, refugees. The quality of contact could be increased by providing opportunities to create a positive, equal, voluntary and cooperative interaction between locals and refugees. In addition, contact quality let people to disclosure themselves, enhance knowledge of the outgroup, boosts group empathy toward them (Sirin, Valentino & Villalobos, 2017) and through this people can recognize similarities between themselves. Thus, when prevention and intervention programs developed or applied, the role of a qualified contact should be taking into

accounts.

#### **5.4. Recommendations for Further Research**

The present study indicated that both perceived cultural and general threat have direct effect on xenophobia. In addition, contact quantity was positively mediate the relationship between perceived cultural threat and xenophobia. On the other hand, the quality of contact was negatively mediate the relationship between perceived cultural threat and xenophobia and between perceived general threat and xenophobia. However, in the current study a cross-sectional design employed. Thus, the current study is not able to support these relationships over time. Thus, the findings of this study should be verified through longitudinal and experimental studies. If the findings of the current study will be verified by longitudinal and experimental studies, one can be sure about that both perceived cultural threat and general threat are cause to xenophobia and the quality and quantity of contact mediate this relationship.

In the current study, direct and indirect relationship among perceived threats, social contact and xenophobia were examined. There might be other factors that linked with xenophobia. For instance, personality, both individual and group empathy, perceived discriminations, right-wing authoritarianism, and so on. In order to understand the xenophobia broadly, the roles of these factors also should be examined in future studies.

The current study did not examine the real life experiences of the participants from their individual, socio-cultural, and relational contexts by conducting qualitative methodology. Thus, the future studies could be conducted based on qualitative methodology and bring insight into phenomena of interest for deep understanding.

By using qualitative methodologies, the real life experiences of Syrians could also be investigated from their point of view. Thus, future studies should examine the role of xenophobia on the well-being of Syrian refugees by investigating refugees' perceptions of xenophobia on their lives. In reverse, future studies could also examine the xenophobic reaction from Syrian refugees to locals.

Another recommendation for future studies is replication of the study in a more representative sample, by using random sampling for selecting participants from

different cities to make true generalization.

Finally, some programs should be developed to smooth out the adjustment process of refugee integration. By making use of findings of current study and future studies, a new model can be developed to help people, treat and prevent the negative effects of xenophobia and at least help people to understand that their perceptions or feeling of threat could occur without any real experiences as it does by bias-motivation or prejudice.

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## APPENDICES

### A: APPROVAL LETTER FROM MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ  
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08 AĞUSTOS 2018

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (IAEK)

İlgili: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Prof. Dr. Özgür ERDUR BAKER

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız doktora öğrencisi Mehmet Ali PADIR'ın "Suriyeli Mülteciler Bağlamında Zenofobinin İncelenmesi; Algılanan Tehdit, Grup Empati, Sosyal Temas ve Zenofobi Arasındaki Karşılıklı İlişki" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay 2018-EGT-123 protokol numarası ile 08.08.2018 - 30.12.2018 tarihleri arasında geçerli olmak üzere verilmiştir.

Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.

  
Prof. Dr. Ş. Halil TURAN  
Başkan V

  
Prof. Dr. Ayhan SOL  
Üye

  
Prof. Dr. Ayhan Gürbüz DEMİR  
Üye

  
Doç. Dr. Yaşar KONDAKCI  
Üye

  
Doç. Dr. Zana ÇITAK  
Üye

  
Doç. Dr. Emre SELÇUK  
Üye

  
Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Pınar KAYGAN  
Üye



## B: THE XENOPHOBIA SCALE

	Suriyelilere yönelik tutumları ölçmek amacıyla geliştirilen bu ölçekte 18 madde bulunmaktadır. Ölçekteki her madde için <b>“Hiç Katılmıyorum”, “Katılmıyorum”, “Kısmen Katılıyorum”, “Katılıyorum” ve “Tamamen Katılıyorum”</b> şeklinde beş seçenek bulunmaktadır. Lütfen ölçekte yer alan her maddeyi dikkatli bir şekilde okuyunuz. İlgili maddenin karşısındaki seçeneklerden size uygun gelen numarayı işaretleyiniz	Hiç Katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Kısmen Katılıyorum	Katılıyorum	Tamamen Katılıyorum
1	Suriyeliler, ülke ekonomisi için bir yüküdür	1	2	3	4	5
2	Suriyeliler, toplumda kültürel karmaşaya neden olur	1	2	3	4	5
3	Suriyelilere karşı tahammül sınıırım çok düşüktür	1	2	3	4	5
4	Suriyeliler, toplum için potansiyel risk faktörüdür	1	2	3	4	5
5	Suriyelilerle yakın iletişim kurmaktan kaçınırım	1	2	3	4	5
6	Ne zaman bir Suriyeli görsem çileden çıkarım	1	2	3	4	5
7	Suriyelilerin kriz zamanlarında ülkemizi destekleyeceklerine <u>güvenirim</u>	1	2	3	4	5
8	Suriyelilerle aynı apartmanda/sokakta oturmak istemem	1	2	3	4	5
9	Suriyeliler yüzünden iş bulma olanaklarının azaldığını düşünürüm	1	2	3	4	5
10	Suriyelilerin artmasından dolayı ileride azınlık durumuna düşmekten	1	2	3	4	5
11	Suriyelilere yardım ederim	1	2	3	4	5
12	Suriyelilerden nefret ederim	1	2	3	4	5
13	Suriyelilerin cahil olduğu görüşündeyim	1	2	3	4	5
14	Suriyeliler, genellikle bana itici gelir	1	2	3	4	5
15	Suriyeliler, genellikle eğitim düzeyi düşük bireylerdir	1	2	3	4	5
16	Suriyelilerin ilk fırsatta ülkemize ihanet edeceklerini düşünürüm	1	2	3	4	5
17	Suriyeliler, genellikle kaba ve anlayışsız olur	1	2	3	4	5
18	Suriyelilerin, ahlaki olmayan davranışlara sahip olduğunu düşünürüm	1	2	3	4	5

## C: THE PERCEIVED THREAT SCALE

Aşağıdaki her madde için “Hiç Katılmıyorum”, “Katılmıyorum”, “Kısmen Katılıyorum”, “Katılıyorum” ve “Tamamen Katılıyorum” şeklinde beş seçenek bulunmaktadır. Lütfen ölçekte yer alan her maddeyi dikkatli bir şekilde okuyunuz. İlgili maddenin karşısındaki seçeneklerden size uygun gelen numarayı işaretleyiniz	<b>Hiç Katılmıyorum</b>	<b>Katılmıyorum</b>	<b>Pek Katılmıyorum</b>	<b>Katılıyorum</b>	<b>Tamamen Katılıyorum</b>
1.Suriyeliler, iş olanaklarını Türkiyelilerin elinden alıyorlar.	1	2	3	4	5
2.Suriyelilerin bulunduğu ortamlarda suç oranları artar.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Suriyeliler, Türkiye’nin sosyal refah seviyesinin azalmasına neden oluyorlar.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Suriyeliler, Türkiye’nin daha da güçlenmesini engellemektedir.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Suriyelilere birçok hak sağlanması, diğer grupların da (Afganlar, Iraklılar, Somalililer gibi) bu hakları talep etmesine ve dolayısıyla ülkede bölünmelere yol açabilir.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Suriyelilerin ülkemizdeki sayılarının hızla artması Türkiye’nin düzenini tehdit etmektedir.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Suriyeliler ekonomik olarak Türkiye’ye yarar sağlamaktan çok zarar veriyorlar.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Suriyeliler ülke bütünlüğüne zarar vermeye çalışmaktadırlar.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Suriyeliler, Türkiye’nin kurulu düzenini tehdit etmektedirler.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Suriyelilerin kimliklerine sahip çıkmaları, Türkiye’nin birlik ve beraberliğini tehdit etmektedir.	1	2	3	4	5
11. Suriyeliler iş yapıları açısından Türkiyeliler kadar ahlaklı değildir.	1	2	3	4	5
12. Suriyelilerin örf ve adetleri Türkiyelilerden farklıdır.	1	2	3	4	5
13. Suriyeliler, yaşam tarzı açısından Türkiyelilere benzemezler.	1	2	3	4	5
14. Suriyeliler. Türkiyelilerin yoğun olduğu bölgelere göç ettiklerinde o bölgeyi kötü etkilemektedirler.	1	2	3	4	5
15. Suriyeliler kültürlerine ve dillerine gereğinden fazla sahip çıkıyorlar.	1	2	3	4	5
16. Dini inanışları açısından Suriyeliler ve Türkiyeliler birbirlerine benzemezler.	1	2	3	4	5
17. Suriyelilerin kendi kültürlerini yaşatmaya çalışması Türkiye’yi olumsuz etkiler.	1	2	3	4	5
18. Aile ilişkileri ve çocuk yetiştirme tarzları açısından Suriyeliler Türkiyelilerden farklıdır.	1	2	3	4	5

## D: THE SOCIAL CONTACT SCALE

Sayın Katılımcı,

Aşağıdaki ölçekte sizin Suriyelilerle olan iletişiminizle ilgili sorular sorulmuştur. Soruların doğru veya yanlış cevabı yoktur. Sizin görüş ve düşüncenize karşılık gelen seçeneği (rakamı) “Hiçbir zaman”dan “Oldukça Sık”a giden 1 ile 7 arasındaki uygun gördüğünüz rakamı daire içine alarak belirtiniz.

İlişki Sıklığı 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6.....7

Hiçbir zaman

Orta Düzeyde

Oldukça Sık

1. Ne sıklıkta Suriyelilerle okul/iş gibi resmi yerlerde iletişim halindesiniz?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Ne sıklıkta Suriyelilerle komşu olarak iletişim halindesiniz?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Ne sıklıkta Suriyelilerle yakın arkadaş-dost olarak iletişim halindesiniz?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Ne sıklıkta Suriyelilerle resmi olmayan/özel konuşmalar yapmaktasınız?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Ne sıklıkta Suriyeli tanıdıklarınıza ev ziyaretine gitmektesiniz?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Aşağıdaki ölçekte sizin Suriyelilerle olan iletişiminizle ilgili sorular sorulmuştur. Soruların doğru veya yanlış cevabı yoktur. Sizin görüş ve düşüncenize karşılık gelen seçeneği (rakamı) 1 ile 7 arasındaki uygun gördüğünüz rakamı daire içine alarak belirtiniz.

Suriyelilerle olan ilişkilerinizde iki tarafın da eşit olduğunu hisseder misiniz?

1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6.....7

Kesinlikle Eşit Değil

Kesinlikle Eşit

Suriyelilerle ilişkilerinizi gönüllü olarak mı yoksa istemeden/mecburi olarak mı sürdürüyorsunuz?

1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6.....7

Tamamıyla

Tamamıyla

İstemeden

İsteyerek

Suriyelilerle olan ilişkiniz yüzeysel mi yoksa tamamen içten midir?

1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6.....7

Tamamıyla

Tamamıyla

Yüzeysel

İçten

Suriyelilerle olan ilişkiniz den keyif/memnuniyet duyar mısınız?

1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6.....7

Kesinlikle

Kesinlikle

Memnun Değilim

Memnunum

Suriyelilerle olan ilişkiniz rekabete mi yoksa işbirliğine mi dayanır?

1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....6.....7

Rekabete

İşbirliğine

Dayanır

Dayanır

## **E: TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET**

### **1.GİRİŞ**

Yüzyıllar boyunca, göçmenler ile yerel halk arasındaki etkileşim, dünyadaki birçok toplum için bir sorun olagelmıştır. Fakat günümüzde bu sorun her zamankinden daha yaygın ve karmaşık bir hal almıştır (Stephan, 2012). Bu problemin bu kadar yaygın ve karmaşık bir hal alması da; ülkeler arasındaki gerginliklerden, etnik ve dini çatışmalardan, iç savaştan, yoksulluktan, küreselleşmeden ve insanların kendi topraklarını bırakıp huzurlu ve güvenli bir hayat yaşamak için yeni yerlere, yeni ülkelere göç etmelerinde önemli rol oynayan diğer faktörlerden kaynaklanmaktadır. İnsanlar farklı nedenlerle evlerini terk ederek göç ettiklerinde, göç ettikleri ülkede yaşayan insanlar açısından huzursuzluk ve kaygıya neden olabilirler. Bu durum hem ulusal hem de uluslararası bağlamda değerlendirildiğinde, dünyanın her yerinde, kitlesel göçler yerel halkı rahatsız edip, göçmenlere yönelik önyargıya, olumsuz tutumlara ve zenofobik tepkilerine yol açabiliyor. Bu tepkiler, bireylerin işlerini kaybetmekten korkması, işgücü arzının artması, sınırlı kaynaklar üzerine rekabetin artması ve tüm bunlara gelinde kayda değer bir düşüşün eşlik etmesi gibi nedenler kaynaklık edebilmektedir (Erdoğan, 2014).

2011 yılında Suriye’de iç savaşın patlak vermesiyle birlikte birçok Suriyeli ülkesinden komşu ülkelere göç etmek zorunda kaldı. Bu iç savaşın hem Suriyelileri hem de göç etmek durumunda kaldıkları ülkeleri birçok yönden etkilediğini söylemek mümkündür (Orhan & Gündoğar, 2015). Resmi kayıtlara göre 3,5 milyondan fazla Suriyeli mülteciyi bünyesinde barındırarak, mültecilere ev sahipliği yapan ülkeler arasında Türkiye’nin ilk sırada olduğu görülmektedir. Bu kadar çok mülteciye ev sahipliği yaparak onları kabul etmesinde Türkiye’nin “Açık Kapı Politikası” çok önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Çünkü bu politika, Türkiye’ye göç eden her bir bireyin kabul edilmesini ve istemedikleri sürece ülkelerine geri gönderilmemesinin garantisini vermektedir.

Türkiye'nin açık kapı politikasının vermiş olduğu güvence ve sınır olarak Suriye'ye komşu olmasının etkisi ile de bu kadar göç almaya başladığı söylenebilir. Bu bağlamda Suriyeli ilk mülteci grubu 2011'in başlarında gelmeye başlamış ve Türkiye gelen mültecilerin gıda, sağlık ve eğitim ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak için çeşitli kamplar kurmuştur (Orhan & Gündoğar, 2015). İlk başlarda Suriyeli mültecilerin neredeyse tamamı kamplarda yaşamlarını idame ettirseler de zamanla kamplarda kalan mülteci sayısının artması ve kamp koşullarının değişmesinin etkisiyle de mültecilerin kamp dışında yaşamlarını sürdürme girişiminde bulundukları ve kamp dışındaki mültecilerin sayısının da giderek arttığı gözlemlenmektedir. AFAD raporuna göre (2018, Aralık) Türkiye'nin on farklı ilinde toplam 3.577.792 mülteci bulunduğu ve bunların sadece 174.256'sının kamplarda yaşadığı, geriye kalan mültecilerin büyük bir çoğunluğunun kampların dışında yaşadıkları görülmektedir. Bu mülteci yoğunluğunun toplum içerisinde farklı tutumlara sebep olduğu da gözlemlenmektedir.

Mültecilerin yoğunluğuna bağlı olarak, Türk vatandaşları Suriyeliler ile her zamankinden daha fazla etkileşimde bulunmak durumunda kaldılar. Mültecilerin bu yoğunluğundan kaynaklanabilecek durumlardan biri, yerli halktan mültecilere yönelik zenofobidir. Bu bağlamda düşünüldüğünde ilk başta, Türkiye'de mültecilere karşı toplumsal kabul düzeyine yönelik olumlu bir tablo vardı. Fakat zamanla Suriyelilerle ilgili kaygı yaratacak bazı sosyal olayların vukuu bulduğu ve bunların hem yazılı hem de dijital medyaya yansıdığı görülmektedir. Benzer bir örüntünün uluslararası bağlamda da gözlemlendiği söylenebilir (Lesetedi & Modie-Moroka, 2007).

Türkiye'de mülteci yoğunluğunun artması ile birlikte, Orhan ve Gündoğar'a (2015) göre yerel insanlarda ortaya çıkan ve giderek artan: kiraların artması, işini kaybetme kaygısı ve başta sağlık olmak üzere bazı kamu hizmetlerinden yararlanmada güçlük yaşamak gibi endişelerin oluştuğu gözlemlenmektedir. Baş gösteren bu temel endişenin haricinde ayrıca mülteci karşıtı ön yargıya örnek teşkil edebilecek birçok olayın da yaşandığı görülmektedir. Fakat bu mülteci karşıtı ön yargılar çoğu kez yabancılardan korkma, hoşlanmama ya da nefret etmeye dayanan zenofobi olarak görülmemektedir ya da fark edilmemektedir (Hjerm, 2007).

Zenofobinin etimolojik anlamı, “yabancı” anlamına gelen xeno ve “korku” anlamına

gelen fobi kelimelerinden gelmektedir. Dolayısıyla zenofobi, “yabancı korkusu” anlamına gelir (van der Veer ve diğerleri, 2013; Yakushko, 2009). Bu korkuya dayalı olarak çağdaş bir anlayış zenofobiye mülteci ve yabancılara karşı bir antipati olarak görmektedir (Hjerm, 2007). Benzer şekilde, Lesetedi ve Modie-Moroka'ya (2007) göre zenofobi genellikle yabancılardan veya bireyin kendisine benzemeyen, kendisinden farklı olarak gördüğü diğer insanlardan korkma veya onları sevmeme şeklinde tanımlanmaktadır. Zenofobi, ayrıca yabancılara karşı hoşgörüsüzlüğü de içeren, yabancı düşmanlığı olarak da tanımlanabilir. Bu korku, hoşnut olmama ya da toleranssızlık, sınırlı kaynaklar, istihdam, konut, hizmetler ve hatta basit bir fiziksel alan için rekabetin veya kaygının bir sonucu olabilir. Bu rekabet ve kaygılar yerli halktan mülteci veya yabancılara karşı şiddet, kızgınlık, düşmanlık veya sözlü ve fiziksel olarak istismar etme gibi şekillerle zenofobiye yol açabilir (Lesetedi & Modie-Moroka, 2007). Sonuç olarak zenofobi, yabancılara karşı hissedilen korku temelli örtük bir önyargı biçimi olarak tanımlanabilir.

Zenofobinin dünya çapında artmakta olduğunu ve zenofobiye dair izlerin açık fikirli, ileri görüşlü ve hoşgörülü devletler olarak bilinen İskandinav ülkelerinde dahi görüldüğü gözlemlenmektedir (Zeisset, 2016). Zeisset'e göre zenofobinin açıklaması ne olursa olsun bunun dünyanın her yerinde görüldüğü ve bu tutumun açık fikirli ve hoşgörülü devletleri bile etkilediği görülmektedir. Bunun yanı sıra zenofobi nerede ve ne şekilde görülürse görülsün hem iç grup hem de dış grup için zarar verici bir güç olduğu aşikârdır (Hjerm & Nagayoshi, 2011).

Farklı gruplar arasında zaman zaman değişik nedenlerden dolayı bazı gerilimlerin yaşanması kaçınılmazdır. Gruplar arasında yaşanan bu gerilimleri anlamak için zenofobinin yararlı bir kavram olduğu ifade edilmektedir (Yakushko, 2009) ve burada sorulması gereken asıl soru ise “zenofobiye ve mültecilere yönelik tutumları hangi faktörler oluşturur?” Sorusudur. Örneğin; korku temelli önyargı olan zenofobi, tehdit algısından kaynaklanabilir. Tehdit algısı değerlendirildiğinde, mültecilerin genel olarak dört temel alanda tehdit olarak algılandıkları görülmektedir. Bunlar; istihdam (kişinin işini kaybetmesi), temel sosyal haklara erişimde zorluk, kültürün korunması ve artan suç oranıdır (D'Ancona, 2015). Bu bağlamda, Birleşik Tehdit Teorisi (BTT) ön yargıya

neden olabilecek dört temel tehdit türünü tanımlamaktadır. Bu tehdit unsurları kızgınlık, korku, öfke ve nefret gibi güçlü olumsuz duyguları da beraberinde getirmektedir (Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman, 1999). Bunlar; gerçekçi tehdit, sembolik tehdit, gruplar arası kaygı ve olumsuz yargı şeklinde açıklanmaktadır. (Stephan, Diaz-Loving & Duran 2000; Stephan ve ark., 1998). Bu dört temel tehdit türünü tanımlayacak olursak; saldırganlık, ayrımcılık, ekonomik kayıp, hırsızlık, kişisel mülkiyete zarar verilmesi ya da bulaşıcı hastalıklara maruz kalma gibi kaygıların hepsi gerçekçi tehdidi oluşturmaktadır. Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik zenofobik tutumlar açısından değerlendirildiğinde, yerel halk mültecileri artan suç oranına veya hastalıkların yayılmasına katkıda bulunmak ve yerli halkın işlerini ellerinden almakla suçlayabilmektedirler (Lesetedi & Modie-Moroka, 2007). Kültür, değerler, normlar, ilkeler, inançlar ve dünya görüşlerinde ya da yaşam biçimindeki grup farklılıklarından kaynaklanan kaygılar ise sembolik tehdidi oluşturmaktadır (Stephan & Stephan, 2000: Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman, 1999). Kültürlerarası etkileşimler üzerindeki etkileri büyük oranda yıkıcı olmasından dolayı gerçekçi ve sembolik tehditler birincil öneme sahiptir (Stephan & Stephan, 2000).

Birleşik tehdit teorisi ön yargıya ve diğer olumsuz tutumlara neden olabilecek dört tehdit türünü iki tehdit türüne indirgeyerek (gerçekçi ve sembolik) gruplar arası tehdit teorisi olarak yeniden isimlendirilmiştir (Stephan, Ybarra & Morrison, 2009). Gruplar arası tehdit teorisinde kalıplaşmış olumsuz yargılar tehdide neden olan bir unsur olarak kabul edilirken, gruplar arası kaygı da alt bir tehdit türü olarak kabul edilmektedir (Stephan, Ybarra & Morrison, 2009; Stephan, Ybarra & Rios, 2015) ve gruplar arası kaygı, iç grup üyelerinin dış grup üyeleriyle etkileşimin olumsuz sonuçlara yol açacağı öngörüsünden hareketle duyulan endişe olarak tanımlanmıştır (Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman, 1999). Benzer şekilde olumsuz yargılar da dış grup üyeleriyle kurulan sosyal temasın olumsuz sonuçlar doğuracağına ilişkin beklentileri içermektedir.

Türkiye vatandaşları ile Suriyeli mülteciler karşılıklı olarak değerlendirildiği zaman kültür, gelenek, değer, yaşam biçimi ve dünya görüşü gibi alanlarda her iki grubun bir birbirinden farklılaştığı görülmektedir. Farklı yapıya ve değerlere sahip bu insanların, yani bu iki grubun kamu hizmetlerini (sağlık, eğitim gibi) ortak paylaşımı veya iş



imkânlarından faydalanmak bakımından bazı sorunlar yaşamaları kaçınılmaz olarak görülmektedir. Bundan dolayı, Suriyeli mülteciler bağlamında da, algılanan gerçekçi ve sembolik tehditlerin dış gruba yönelik tutumları şekillendirmede ve zenofobik tepkileri tetiklemekte temel bir öneme sahip olduğu söylenebilir (Stephan, Ybarra & Morrison, 2009).

Algılanan tehditler ayrıca, gruplar arasındaki ilişkilere zarar verip ilişkileri zedeleyebilmektedir. Bu bağlamda, gruplar arası temas teorisine göre gruplar arası temas miktarı ve niteliği ile önyargı arasında anlamlı bir ilişki vardır (Allport, 1954). Bu temas hipotezine göre farklı gruplar arasındaki temas, ön yargının ve diğer negatif tutumların azalması ve daha olumlu tutumların gelişmesine aracılık eder (Allport, 1954). Çünkü gruplar arasında kurulan temas bireyin dış grup hakkında ilk elden bilgi edinmesini, karşılıklı anlayışın gelişmesini ve böylece önyargının azalmasını sağlayarak algılanan tehdidin de azalmasına aracılık etmektedir (Barlow ve diğerleri, 2012).

İlgili literatür incelendiği zaman; algılanan tehdit ile göçmenlere yönelik önyargı, yabancılara yönelik düşmanca tutumlar, sığınmacılara yönelik negatif tutumlar ve Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik önyargılı tutumlar arasındaki ilişkinin farklı araştırmalarca belirlendiği görülmektedir. Benzer şekilde temas ile gruplararası ilişkiler arasındaki bağlantıların da iyice rapor edildiği görülmektedir. Ayrıca algılanan tehditler ile temas ve zenofobi arasındaki ve temas ile korku temelli zenofobi arasındaki ilişkileri belirlemeye yönelik farklı çalışmaların da olduğu belirlenmiştir. Fakat zenofobinin doğasının anlaşılması ve açıklanması için bu değişkenlerin hepsinin bir arada çalışılması gerektiği düşünülmektedir. Tüm bu literatürel bilgiler dikkate alınarak bu çalışmada; bu değişkenlerin bir araya getirildiği ve zenofobi ile aralarındaki göreceli ilişkileri (dolaylı ve doğrudan) incelemeyi amaçlayan bir model önerilmiştir.

### **1.1.Çalışmanın Amacı**

Bu çalışmanın temel amacı, algılanan tehditler, temas miktarı ve niteliği ile zenofobi arasındaki doğrudan ve dolaylı ilişkileri Türkiye’de yaşayan Suriyeli mülteciler bağlamında incelemektir.

## 1.2.Çalışmanın Önemi

Çok kültürlülük ve çeşitlilik psikolojik danışma ve rehberlik alanının içinde ve dışında çokça tartışılmıştır. Bu bağlamda Türkiye, kuruluşundan günümüze kadar çok kültürlü ve çok etnikli bir ülke olagelmıştır. Günümüzde ise Suriye'den Türkiye'ye gelen ve sayıları her geçen gün artmakta olan toplam 3.577.792 Suriyeli mülteci Türkiye'de yaşamaktadır. Fakat bunların sadece 174.256'sı kamplarda yaşamaktadır. Bu sayılar göz önünde bulundurulduğunda mültecilerin büyük bir çoğunluğunun kampların dışında yaşadıkları ve yerel halkın mültecilerle daha önceden olduğundan daha çok karşılaştıkları ve etkileşimde bulundukları görülmektedir. Ayrıca şu an için Suriyelilerin ülkelerine dönmelerine dönük bir işaret de bulunmaktadır. Bu yüzden Suriyeli mültecilerin adaptasyon ve entegrasyonuna dönük bazı programların geliştirilmesi gerekmektedir.

Suriyeli mültecilerin sayılarının bu kadar çok olması ve ülkenin kaynaklarının sınırlı olmasından dolayı mültecilerin yerel halk tarafından tehdit olarak algılanması kuvvetle muhtemeldir. Ayrıca, mültecilerin yoğunluğunu göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, bu güne kadar mültecilere karşı oldukça yüksek bir sosyal kabul gösteren ve Suriyelilere destek veren Türkiye toplumunda, sürecin iyi yönetilmemesi durumunda bazı gruplar arasında zenofobinin yayılmasının, mültecilere yönelik nefret ve saldırılara dönüşme ihtimalinin yüksek olduğu söylenebilir. Bu yüzden değişik önleme ve müdahale programlarının geliştirebilmesi için Suriyelilerin yerel halk tarafından nasıl algılandığına dair bazı verilerin elde edilmesi gerekmektedir.

Yukarıda bahsedilen nedenlerden dolayı bu çalışmanın Türkiye bağlamında zenofobi ile ilgili sınırlı olan bilginin arttırılmasına katkı sağlayacağı düşünülmektedir. Bu çalışmanın sonuçları gelecekteki çalışmalar için ilham verici olmalı ve bu çalışmada test edilen model, kültür ve mülteciye özgü bir bağlamda ele alındığı için temel bir model olarak düşünülmelidir. Bu çalışmanın bulguları ve gelecekte yapılacak olan çalışmaların bulguları zenofobinin olumsuz etkilerini azaltmaya ve önlemeye yardımcı olacak bir modelin oluşturulmasına ve en azından insanların mültecilere yönelik algılarının herhangi bir deneyim veya yaşantı olmaksızın önyargıdan kaynaklı olabileceğini anlamalarına olanak sağlayabilir.

Bu çalışmanın bir diğer önemli bir özelliği ise gruplararası tehdit teorisi ve temas hipotezine dayalı yürütülmesidir. Bu teorilerin, zenofobinin doğasını ve mültecilere yönelik tutumları açıklamadaki rolleri göz önüne alındığında, bu teorilerin ilkelerini kullanmak yerinde olacaktır. Bu teorilerin ilkelerini kullanarak, mülteci entegrasyonunun ve uyum sürecini yumuşatmak için daha etkili önleme ve müdahale modelleri geliştirilebilir. Bu nedenle, bu çalışma Suriyelilere yönelik yabancı korkusunun/düşmanlığının yalnızca psikolojik danışmanlar için değil aynı zamanda diğer ruh sağlığı çalışanları için de, bu zenofobik tutumlarının niteliği ve kapsamı hakkında önemli bilgiler sağlayacaktır.

## **2. YÖNTEM**

### **2.1.Örneklem**

Bu çalışmanın örneklemini Mardin, Batman, Malatya, Hatay, Gaziantep ve İstanbul'da yaşayan ve yaşları 16 ile 85 ( $M = 29.29$ ,  $SD = 11.68$ ) arasında değişen 604 kişi oluşturmaktadır. Bu çalışmada katılımcılarının 238'i (% 39,4) kadın, 363'ü (% 60,1) erkek, 3'ü (%.5) ise cinsiyetini belirmemiştir. Ayrıca kadınlar ile erkeklerin eğitim düzeylerinin birbirlerine benzer olduğu belirlenmiştir. Katılımcıların çoğunluğu üniversite öğrencileri veya üniversite mezunları olduklarını bildirmişlerdir ( $N = 281$ , %46,5). Katılımcıların 181'i (%30) lise mezunu olduğunu bildirirken, 62'si (%10,3) ilkokuldan, 52'si (%8,6) ortaokuldan mezun olduğunu, 13'ü (% 1,2) lisansüstü eğitime sahip olduğunu (doktora veya yüksek lisans derecesi), 1'i (% 0,2) okuryazar olduğunu, 1'i (% 0,2) okuma yazma bilmediğini ve katılımcıların 13'ünün (% 2,2) eğitim seviyelerini “diğer” olarak rapor ettikleri belirlenmiştir.

Katılımcıların 494'ü (%81,8) ekonomik durumlarını orta, 79'u (%13,1) düşük olarak bildirirken, 31'i (%5,1) yüksek olduğunu bildirmiştir. Katılımcıların çoğunluğu aylık ortalama gelirlerini 1.500-3.000 (260, %43) Türk Lirası olarak bildirmiştir. Diğerleri aylık gelirlerini şöyle bildirmişlerdir: 0-1.500 (136, %22.5) Türk Lirası, 3.000-4.500 (135, %22.4) Türk Lirası, 5000 (67,%11.1) Türk Lirası ve üstü, 6 (%1) katılımcı aylık gelirlerini bildirmediikleri belirlenmiştir.

Bu çalışmanın katılımcılarının 82 farklı meslek grubuna sahip oldukları belirlenmiştir. Katılımcıların 156'sı (%25,8) öğrenci, 71'i (%11,8) esnaf, 68'i (% 11,3) öğretmen, 43'ü

(%7,1) ev hanımı, 38'i (%6,3) serbest meslek, 20'si (%3,3) memur, 19'u (%3,1) işçi, 12'si (%2) emekli, 9'u (%1,5) hemşire, 8'i (%1,3) işsiz olduklarını rapor etmişlerdir. Geriye kalan katılımcıları doktor, çiftçi, özel güvenlik görevlisi, inşaatçı, kuaför, avukat, polis vb. mesleklerden geldikleri belirlenmiştir.

Katılımcıların 280'i (%46,4) etnik kimliklerini Kürt, 250'si (%41,4) Türk, 41'i (% 6,8) Arap, % 5'i (%.8) Ermeni olarak tanımlamıştır. Katılımcıların 5'i (%.8) etnik kimliğini Süryani, 4'ü (%.7) Çerkes, 1'i (%.2) Laz, 7'si (%1.2) Türk ve Kürt, 3'ü (%.5) Türk ve Arap olarak tanımlarken, 1'i (%.2) kendisini Türk ve Laz olarak tanımlamış ve 6'sı (%1) bu soruya cevap vermemiştir.

## **2.2. Veri Toplama Araçları**

Bu çalışmada veri toplama araçları olarak Revize Edilmiş Zenofobi Ölçeği, Revize Edilmiş Algılanan Tehdit Ölçeği ve Revize Edilmiş Sosyal Temas Ölçeği kullanılmıştır.

*Zenofobi Ölçeği*, yerel halkın göçmenlere yönelik zenofobik tutumlarını ölçmek amacıyla Bozdağ ve Kocatürk (2017) tarafından geliştirilmiştir. Ölçek toplam 18 madde ve üç alt boyuttan (korku, nefret ve aşağılama) oluşmaktadır. Ölçek her üç alt boyut için şu tarz soruları içermektedir: “Göçmenler toplum için potansiyel risk faktörüdür”, “Göçmenlerden nefret ederim” ve “Göçmenler eğitim düzeyi düşük bireylerdir”. Bu çalışmanın amacıyla uyumlu olarak Zenofobi Ölçeğindeki göçmenler kelimesi Suriyeli mülteciler olarak değiştirilerek revize edilmiştir. Ölçek 5'li likert olup, maddeleri 1 (Hiç katılmıyorum) ile 5 (Tamamen katılıyorum) arasında puanlanmaktadır. Ölçeğin ilk iki boyutu 7 şer maddeden oluşurken üçüncü boyutu 4 maddeden oluşmaktadır. Ölçeğin iç tutarlılık katsayısı iki farklı örneklemden veri toplanarak hesaplanmış olup, ilk örneklem için .87 ve ikinci örneklem için .86 olarak raporlanmıştır (Bozdağ & Kocatürk, 2017). Bu çalışmada ölçeğin üç faktörlü bir yapıya sahip olduğunu doğrulamak için doğrulayıcı faktör analizi yapılmıştır. Analiz sonuçları  $\chi^2/df$  (4.42), CFI (.98), NFI (.98), NNFI (.98), SRMR (.04) ve RMSEA (.075) üç faktörlü yapının doğrulandığını göstermiştir. Bu çalışmada cronbach alfa ve kompozite iç tutarlılık katsayılarının yanı sıra ölçeğin yakınsama ve ıraksama geçerlilikleri de hesaplanmıştır. Zenofobi ölçeği için cronbach alfa değeri .91, kompozite güvenirlik değeri .95 olarak hesaplanmıştır. Yakınsama geçerliliği için hesaplanan AVE değeri .54 olarak hesaplanmış olup ölçeğin toplam puanı

ve alt boyutları için hesaplanan cronbach alfa ve kompozite güvenirlik değerlerinden küçük olduğu belirlenmiştir. Ölçek için hesaplanan .54 AVE değerinin .50'den büyük olması cronbach alfa ve kompozite güvenirlik değerlerinden küçük olması ölçeğin yakınsama geçerliliğinin olduğunu göstermiştir (Fornell & Larcker, 1981). Ölçeğin iraksama geçerliliği için de AVE değerinin karekökünün ölçeğin alt boyutları arasındaki ilişkiden büyük olması gerektiği önerilmiştir (Fornell & Larcker, 1981). Hesaplanan sonuçlara göre her bir alt boyut için karekökleri alınan AVE değerlerinin ölçeğin alt boyutları arasındaki ilişkiden büyük oldukları belirlenmiştir. Bu bulgu da ölçeğin iraksama geçerliliğinin olduğunu göstermiştir.

*Algılanan Tehdit Ölçeği*, Stephan, Ybarra ve Bachman (1999) tarafından dış gruba yönelik algılanan gerçekçi ve sembolik tehditleri ölçmek için geliştirilmiştir. Orijinal ölçekte gerçekçi tehditleri ölçmek için 12 madde bulunmaktadır. Ölçeğin maddeleri 10-Likert tipinden olup 1 (Hiç Katılmıyorum) ile 10 (Tamamen Katılıyorum) arasında puanlanmaktadır. Gerçekçi tehditleri ölçmeye yönelik maddeler suç oranları, hastalık, iş kaybı, kamu hizmetlerinden yararlanmada yaşanan sorunlar gibi tehditleri içerir. Sembolik tehdit ölçeği de 12 maddeden oluşmaktadır. Ölçeğin maddeleri 10-Likert tipinden olup 1 (Hiç Katılmıyorum) ile 10 (Tamamen Katılıyorum) arasında puanlanmaktadır. Sembolik tehditleri ölçmeye yönelik maddeler de dış grup ile katılımcılar arasındaki kültürel, inançsal ve değerlerdeki farklılıkları içerir.

Ölçek Balaban'ın (2013) Kürtler ve Türkler üzerine yürüttüğü çalışmasında dış gruba yönelik algılanan tehditleri ölçmek amacıyla Türkçeye uyarlanmıştır. Balaban'ın çalışmasında her iki tehdit türünü ölçmek için 10'ar madde kullanılmıştır. Maddeler 1 (Hiç Katılmıyorum) ile 5 (Tamamen Katılıyorum) arasında puanlanmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın amacıyla uyumlu olarak gerçekçi tehdidi ölçmeye yönelik madde örneği şöyledir: “Suriyeliler, Türkiye'nin sosyal refah seviyesinin azalmasına neden oluyorlar. Sembolik tehdidi ölçmeye yönelik madde örneği ise şöyledir: “Suriyeliler, yaşam tarzı açısından Türkiyelilere benzemezler”. Balaban'nın (2013) çalışmasından ölçeğin birinci faktör 16 gerçekçi ve sembolik tehdit maddelerinde oluşmuş ve Balaban bu boyutu “genel tehdit” olarak yeniden adlandırmıştır. İkinci faktör ise 4 sembolik tehdit maddesinden oluşmuş ve “kültürel tehdit” olarak adlandırılmıştır. Balaban'ın

çalışmasında genel tehdit boyutunun iç tutarlılık katsayısı .97 ve kültürel tehdit boyutu için .83 olarak rapor edilmiştir.

Bu çalışmada ölçeğin iki faktörlü bir yapıya sahip olduğunu doğrulamak için doğrulayıcı faktör analizi yapılmıştır. Analiz sonuçları  $\chi^2/df$  (4.77), CFI (.98), NFI (.98), NNFI (.98), SRMR (.04) ve RMSEA (.079), iki faktörlü yapının doğrulandığını göstermiştir. Bu çalışmada cronbach alfa ve kompozite iç tutarlılık katsayılarının yanı sıra ölçeğin yakınsama ve ıraksama geçerlilikleri de hesaplanmıştır. Algılanan genel tehdit boyutu için cronbach alfa değeri .95, kompozite güvenirlik değeri .95 olarak hesaplanmıştır. Algılanan kültürel tehdit boyutu için ise cronbach alfa değeri .83, kompozite güvenirlik değeri .81 olarak hesaplanmıştır.

Genel tehdit boyutunun yakınsama geçerliliği için AVE değeri .61 ve kültürel tehdit boyutunun yakınsama geçerliliği için ise AVE değeri .54 olarak hesaplanmış olup ölçeğin alt boyutları için hesaplanan cronbach alfa ve kompozite güvenirlik değerlerinden küçük olduğu belirlenmiştir. Her iki ölçek için hesaplanan .61 ve .54 AVE değerlerinin .50'den büyük olması cronbach alfa ve kompozite güvenirlik değerlerinden küçük olması ölçeğin yakınsama geçerliliğinin olduğunu göstermiştir. Ölçeğin ıraksama geçerliliği için de AVE değerinin karekökünün ölçeğin alt boyutları arasındaki ilişkiden büyük olması gerektiği önerilmiştir (Fornell & Larcker, 1981). Hesaplama sonuçlarına göre her bir alt boyut için karekökleri alınan AVE değerlerinin ölçeğin alt boyutları arasındaki ilişkiden büyük oldukları belirlenmiştir. Bu bulgu da ölçeğin ıraksama geçerliliğinin olduğunu göstermiştir.

*Sosyal Temas Ölçeği*, Islam ve Hewstone (1993) tarafından farklı gruplar arasındaki iletişim sıklığını ve iletişim niteliğini ölçmek amacıyla geliştirilmiştir. Ölçek Türkçeye Akbaş (2010) tarafından uyarlanmıştır. Ölçek iki alt boyut (iletişim sıklığı ve iletişim niteliği) ve 10 maddeden oluşmaktadır. Her boyut 5 madde ile ölçülmektedir. Ölçeğin iletişim sıklığı boyutunun madde örneği: “Ne sıklıkla Suriyelilerle okul/iş gibi resmi yerlerde iletişim halindesiniz?” iletişim niteliği boyutu için ise Suriyelilerle olan ilişkinizi gönüllü olarak mı yoksa istemeden/mecburi olarak mı sürdürüyorsunuz?” şeklindedir. Ölçeğin her iki boyutu için hesaplanan iç tutarlılık katsayısı .83 olarak rapor edilmiştir (Akbaş, 2010).

Bu çalışmada ölçeğin iki faktörlü bir yapıya sahip olduğunu doğrulamak için doğrulayıcı faktör analizi yapılmıştır. Analiz sonuçları  $\chi^2/df$  (2.53), CFI (.98), NFI (.97), NNFI (.98), SRMR (.047) ve RMSEA (.056) iki faktörlü yapının doğrulandığını göstermiştir. Bu çalışmada cronbach alfa ve kompozite iç tutarlılık katsayılarının yanı sıra ölçeğin yakınsama ve ıraksama geçerlilikleri de hesaplanmıştır. İletişim sıklığı boyutu için cronbach alfa değeri .74, kompozite güvenirlik değeri .82 olarak hesaplanmıştır. İletişim niteliği boyutu için ise cronbach alfa değeri .88, kompozite güvenirlik değeri .91 olarak hesaplanmıştır.

İletişim sıklığı boyutunun yakınsama geçerliliği için AVE değeri .52 ve iletişim niteliği boyutunun yakınsama geçerliliği için ise AVE değeri .66 olarak hesaplanmış olup ölçeğin alt boyutları için hesaplanan cronbach alfa ve kompozite güvenirlik değerlerinden küçük olduğu belirlenmiştir. Her iki ölçek için hesaplanan .52 ve .66 AVE değerlerinin .50'den büyük olması cronbach alfa ve kompozite güvenirlik değerlerinden küçük olması ölçeğin yakınsama geçerliliğinin olduğunu göstermiştir. Ölçeğin ıraksama geçerliliği için de AVE değerinin karekökünün ölçeğin alt boyutları arasındaki ilişkiden büyük olması gerektiği önerilmiştir. Hesaplama sonuçlarına göre her bir alt boyut için karekökleri alınan AVE değerlerinin ölçeğin alt boyutları arasındaki ilişkiden büyük oldukları belirlenmiştir. Bu bulgu da ölçeğin ıraksama geçerliliğinin olduğunu göstermiştir.

### **2.3.İşlem**

Çalışmanın verilerini toplamak için öncelikle Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Etik Kurul'undan veri toplama izni alınmıştır. Daha sonra veriler araştırmacı tarafından yerel halkın yaşadığı illere gidilerek bire bir toplanmıştır. Katılımcılara çalışmaya katılmadan önce Suriyelilerle etkileşimlerinin olup olmadığı sorulmuş, etkileşimleri olanlar çalışmaya gönüllü olarak katılmıştır. Bu yüzden çalışmanın örnekleme amaçlı örnekleme örnektir.

### **2.4.Verilerin Analizi**

Veriler analiz edilmeden önce kayıp veri analizi yapılmıştır. Katılımcıların demografik özelliklerini betimlemek için öncelikle betimsel analizler yapılmıştır. Katılımcıların zenofobi puanlarının cinsiyete göre farklılaşıp farklılaşmadığını belirlemek için t-testi,

eğitim düzeyine ve ekonomik düzeylerine göre farklılaşıp farklılaşmadığını belirlemek için ANOVA yapılmıştır. Değişkenler arası ilişkileri ve katılımcıların yaşları ile zenofobik tutumları arasındaki ilişkileri incelemek için ise Pearson Korelasyon analizi yapılmıştır. Son olarak kültürel tehdit, gerçekçi tehdit, iletişim sıklığı, iletişim niteliği ve zenofobi arasındaki dolaylı ve doğrudan ilişkiler Yapısal Eşitlik Modeli (YEM) ile incelenmiştir. Tüm analizler SPSS 23 ve Lisrel 8.7 kullanılarak yapılmıştır.

### 3. BULGULAR

Araştırmada ilk olarak cinsiyete göre katılımcıların zenofobi puanlarının farklılaşıp farklılaşmadığını belirlemek için bağımsız örneklem için t-testi yapılmıştır. Analiz sonuçlarına göre kadınlar ve erkeklerin zenofobi puanlarının anlamlı düzeyde farklılaştığı belirlenmiştir [kadın ( $M = 51.82$ ,  $SD = 16.59$ ) and erkek ( $M = 60.30$ ,  $SD = 18.03$ );  $t(599) = -5.82$ ,  $p = .00$ ]. Bu sonuçlara göre erkeklerin kadınlardan daha fazla zenofobik tutumlar sergiledikleri belirlenmiştir.

Katılımcıların eğitim düzeylerine göre (ilkokul, ortaokul, lise ve üniversite okuyan/mezun ya da yüksek lisans doktora derecesine sahip) zenofobik tutumların farklılaşıp farklılaşmadığını belirlenmek için ANOVA analizi yapılmıştır. Analiz sonuçlarına göre katılımcıların zenofobi puanlarının eğitim düzeylerine göre anlamlı bir farklılık gösterdiği belirlenmiştir ( $F(3,585) = 12.33$ ,  $p = .00$ ). Bulunan bu anlamlı farklılığın hangi gruplar arasında olduğunu saptamak amacıyla Scheffe testi kullanılarak Post-hoc analizi yapılmıştır. Analiz sonuçlarına göre üniversite okuyan/mezun ya da yüksek lisans doktora derecesine sahip olan katılımcıların zenofobi puanlarının ilkokul ( $Md = -12.98$ ,  $SD = 2.44$ ) ve lise mezunu ( $Md = -6.46$ ,  $SD = 1.65$ ) olan gruptan anlamlı düzeyde daha düşük olduğu belirlenmiştir.

Katılımcıların ekonomik düzeylerine (düşük, orta ve yüksek) göre zenofobik tutumların farklılaşıp farklılaşmadığını belirlenmek için ANOVA analizi yapılmıştır. Analiz sonuçlarına göre katılımcıların zenofobi puanlarının ekonomik düzeylerine göre anlamlı bir farklılık gösterdiği belirlenmiştir ( $F(2,601) = 6.12$ ,  $p = .00$ ). Bulunan bu anlamlı farklılığın hangi gruplar arasında olduğunu saptamak amacıyla Scheffe testi kullanılarak Post-hoc analizi yapılmıştır. Analiz sonuçlarına göre ekonomik durumu düşük olan katılımcıların zenofobi tutumlarının ekonomik durumu orta olan katılımcılardan anlamlı



düzeyde daha yüksek olduğu ( $Md = 7.53$ ,  $SD = 2.15$ ) belirlenmiştir. Diğer gruplar arasında ise anlamlı bir fark bulunamamıştır.

Yapılan korelasyon analizi sonuçlarına göre de, hem iletişim sıklığı hem de iletişim niteliğinin zenofobi ile negatif ilişkili olduğu belirlenirken, algılanan kültürel tehdit, algılanan genel tehdit ve yaşın zenofobi ile pozitif ilişkili olduğu belirlenmiştir. Bu bulgulara göre algılanan tehditler ve bireylerin yaşları arttıkça, iletişim sıklık ve niteliği de azaldıkça zenofobi artmaktadır.

Bu çalışmanın amacı algılanan kültürel ve genel tehdit ile zenofobi arasında ilişkide iletişim sıklığı ve iletişim niteliğinin aracı rolünü incelemek üzere bir model önermektir. Bu modelde, algılanan kültürel ve genel tehdit arasındaki ilişkinin yüksek olmasından dolayı, model kültürel tehdit için ayrı, genel tehdit için ise ayrı test edilmiştir. Önerilen modelde hem iletişim sıklığı hem de iletişim niteliğinin bu ilişkiye aracılık edeceği varsayılmıştır.

Yapılan yapısal eşitlik modeli analizi sonuçlarına göre her iki modelin uyum iyiliği indeks değerlerinin iyi olduğu belirlenmiştir. Kültürel tehdit için elde edilen uyum iyiliği indeksleri değerleri şöyledir: ( $\chi^2(114) = 535.41$ ,  $p < .001$ ),  $\chi^2/df = 4.70$ ,  $SRMR = .075$ ,  $RMSEA = .078$ ,  $NFI = .95$ ,  $NNFI = .96$  ve  $CFI = .96$ . Bu modelin sonuçlarına göre kültürel tehdidin zenofobi üzerinde hem doğrudan hem de dolaylı bir etkiye sahip olduğu belirlenmiştir. Diğer bir deyişle algılanan kültürel tehdit zenofobiye doğrudan etkilerken, bu ilişkiye hem iletişim sıklığı (Sobel test = -2.16,  $p < .05$ ) hem de iletişim niteliği (Sobel test = 8.14,  $p < .01$ ) aracılık etmektedir. Bu bulgu yorumlandığında algılanan kültürel tehdit arttıkça, hem iletişim sıklığı hem de iletişim niteliği azalmaktadır ve iletişim sıklığı arttıkça, iletişim niteliği de azaldıkça zenofobi artmaktadır.

Genel tehdit modeli için elde edilen uyum iyiliği indeksleri değerleri ise şöyledir: ( $\chi^2(319) = 1377.17$ ,  $p < .001$ ),  $\chi^2/df = 4.32$ ,  $SRMR = .061$ ,  $RMSEA = .074$ ,  $NFI = .97$ ,  $NNFI = .98$  ve  $CFI = .98$ . Bu modelin sonuçlarına göre ise genel tehdidin zenofobi üzerinden hem doğrudan hem de dolaylı bir etkisinin olduğu saptanmıştır. Diğer bir ifadeyle algılanan genel tehdit zenofobiye doğrudan etkilerken bu ilişkiye sadece iletişim niteliği (Sobel test = 7.63,  $p < .01$ ) aracılık etmektedir. Bu modelde iletişim sıklığının,

algılanan genel tehdit ile zenofobi arasındaki ilişkiye aracılık etmediği belirlenmiştir. Bu modelin bulguları yorumlandığında algılanan genel tehdit arttıkça ve iletişim niteliği de azaldıkça zenofobi artmaktadır.

#### **4. TARTIŞMA**

Bu çalışmada yapılan ön analiz sonuçlarına göre, yerel halkın Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik zenofobik tutumlarının cinsiyete, eğitim düzeyine, ekonomik durumuna ve yaşa göre anlamlı bir farklılık gösterdiği belirlenmiştir. Cinsiyet değişkeni incelendiğinde, erkeklerin kadınlardan daha fazla zenofobik tutumlar sergiledikleri belirlenmiştir. Bu bulgu ile tutarlı olarak Ceballos ve Yakushko (2014) de erkeklerin, göçmenlerin suç oranlarını artırdığını düşünmeye kadınlara oranla daha eğilimli olduklarını tespit etmişlerdir. Bu çalışmanın bulgularına benzer, diğer birçok çalışmada erkeklerin kadınlara oranla daha önyargılı oldukları (Makashvili, Vardanashvili & Javakhishvili, 2018), dış gruba karşı daha fazla negatif tutumlar sergiledikleri (Aktaş, Tepe & Persson, 2018), daha fazla korku-temelli zenofobik oldukları (Ommundsen ve diğerleri, 2013) ve mültecilere karşı daha az toleranslı oldukları belirlenmiştir (Zeisset, 2016). Bu çalışmanın ve diğer çalışmaların bulgularının tersine Scott ve Safdar (2017) erkeklerin kadınlara oranla Suriyeli mültecilere karşı daha fazla olumlu tutum sergilediklerini tespit etmişlerdir.

Bu çalışmanın ve diğer çalışmalarının ezici bir çoğunluğunun bulgularının gösterdiği gibi erkekler kadınlara oranla dış gruba karşı daha fazla negatif tutumlar sergilemektedir. Bu farklılık, kadınların başkalarıyla daha kolay empati kurabilme ve kendilerini diğerlerinin yerine koyup hayal etmeye daha eğilimli olmalarından kaynaklanmış olabilir (Hoffman, 1977; Toussaint & Webb, 2005). Böyle yaparak kadınlar, olayları Suriyeli mültecilerin bakış açılarından daha kolay görebilir ve onlara karşı daha az zenofobik olabilir. Kadınların daha anaç olmaları da bu farklılığı açıklayabilir.

Bu çalışmanın bulgularına göre üniversite okuyan/mezun ya da yüksek lisans doktora derecesine sahip olan katılımcıların zenofobi puanlarının ilkökul ve lise mezunu olan gruptan anlamlı düzeyde daha düşük olduğu belirlenmiştir. Bu bulgu eğitim düzeyi daha yüksek olan bireylerin eğitim düzeyi daha düşük olarak bireylere oranla daha az önyargılı

olduklarını belirleyen Velasco González, Verkuyten, Weesie ve Poppe'nin (2008), sığınmacılara karşı daha az negatif tutumları sergilediklerini belirleyen Anderson ve Ferguson'un (2018), mültecilere karşı daha fazla toleranslı olduklarını belirleyen Zeisset'in (2016) ve ilkokul ya da ortaokul mezunu olan bireylerin yüksek öğrenime sahip olan bireylere oranla zenofobik olmaya dört kat daha fazla eğilimli olduklarını belirleyen Campbell, Kandala ve Oucho'nun (2016) bulgularıyla tutarlılık göstermektedir. Bu sonuçlardan hareketle eğitimin dış gruba yönelik tutumlar üzerinde önemli bir etkisinin olduğunu söylemek mümkündür. Eğitim düzeyi yüksek olan bireyler farklı etnik ve kültürel gruplara karşı daha açık fikirli olabilirler. Aldıkları eğitim onların mültecilerle daha kolay empati kurmalarını sağlamış olabilir. Ayrıca bu bireyler Suriyeli mültecilerden daha az tehdit algılayabilirler. Çünkü bu bireylerin diğer bireylerle kıyaslandıklarında kalıcı birer meslek sahibi olma ihtimallerinin daha yüksek olduğu ve ekonomik kaygılarının daha az olduğu söylenebilir. Algılanan tehditlerle zenofobi arasındaki yüksek ilişki dikkate alındığında, ekonomik kaygı yaşama ihtimalleri daha yüksek olan ortaokul ve lise mezunu olan bireylerin zenofobik olma ihtimallerinin daha yüksek olabileceği söylenebilir.

Bu çalışmanın bir diğer bulgusuna göre, ekonomik düzeyleri düşük olan katılımcıların zenofobi puanlarının, ekonomik düzeyleri orta ve yüksek olan katılımcılara oranla daha yüksek olduğu belirlenmiştir. Fakat sadece ekonomik durumu düşük ve orta olan katılımcılar arasında anlamlı bir fark saptanmıştır. Bu çalışmanın bulgularıyla tutarlı olarak, ekonomik tehdidin mültecilere karşı toleranssızlığın göstergesi olduğu (Zeisset, 2016) ve önyargıyı yordadığı (Abrams ve diğerleri, 2017) belirlenmiştir. Bir diğer çalışmanın bulgusuna göre ise, algılanan ekonomik tehdit arttıkça göçmenlere yönelik ret de artmaktadır (D'Ancona, 2018). Bu çalışmanın ve diğer çalışmanın bulguları temel alınarak, insanlar ekonomik durumlarını negatif ya da düşük algıladıkça dış gruba karşı daha olumsuz tutumlar sergiledikleri sonucuna varılabilir.

Bu çalışmada katılımcılarının yaşları arttıkça zenofobik tutumlarının da arttığı belirlenmiştir. Bu bulgu diğer çalışmaların bulgularıyla da desteklenmiştir. Örneğin; Ceballos ve Yakushko (2014) yaptıkları çalışmada yaşlı bireylerin göçmenlerin suç oranlarında artışa neden olduklarına daha çok inandıkları belirlenmiştir. Yaşları 45'ten

küçük olan katılımcıların göçmenlere karşı daha pozitif tutumlar sergiledikleri bir diğer çalışmada saptanmıştır (Blom, 2010). Zeisset’de (2016) yaptığı çalışmada yaşları küçük olan katılımcıların göçmenlere karşı daha toleranslı olduklarını belirlemiştir. Bu çalışmanın bulgularının tersine yaş ile negatif tutumlar arasında anlamlı bir ilişkinin olmadığını (Anderson & Ferguson, 2018) ve yaşın korku temelli zenofobi ile negatif ilişkili olduğunu (Ommundsen ve diğerleri, 2013) belirleyen çalışmaların da olduğu görülmektedir. Bu tutarsız sonuçlar yaşın dış gruba yönelik tutumların tutarlı bir yordayıcısı olmadığını göstermektedir. Yine de yaşın dış grup üyelerine yönelik tutumlar üzerinde etkili bir faktör olduğu söylenebilir. Mevcut çalışmanın bulguları ışığında gençlerin yaşlılara oranlara daha eğitilmiş ve açık fikirli olabilecekleri ve Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik daha az zenofobik tutumlar sergileyebilecekleri söylenebilir. Bunun yanı sıra gençlerin çoğu eğitimlerini farklı şehirlerde alabilmekte ve ailelerinin geçimlerinin sağlama gibi bir sorumluluklarının olmadığı söylenebilir. Bu yüzden gençlerin tehdit algıları daha düşük olabilir. Bu da onların daha az zenofobik olmalarına neden olmuş olabilir.

Test edilen kültürel tehdit modelinin sonuçlarına göre kültürel tehdidin zenofobi üzerinde hem doğrudan bir etkisinin olduğu hem de iletişim sıklığı ve niteliği aracılığıyla dolaylı bir etkisinin olduğu belirlenmiştir. Model sonuçlarına göre algılanan kültürel tehdit arttıkça, hem iletişim sıklığı hem de iletişim niteliği azalmaktadır ve iletişim sıklığı arttıkça, iletişim niteliği de azaldıkça zenofobi artmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın bulgularıyla tutarlı olarak, kültürel tehdidin göçmen ve mülteci gibi farklı gruplara yönelik olumsuz tutumların (Aberson, 2015; Abrams ve diğerleri, 2017; Ceballos & Yakushko, 2014; D’Ancona, 2018; Erdoğan, 2014; Gondim ve diğerleri, 2018; Makashvili, Vardanashvili & Javakhishvili, 2018; Renner, Thomas, Mikulajová & Newman, 2018; Riek, Mania & Gaertner, 2006; Scott & Safdar, 2017; Stephan, Diaz-Loving & Duran, 2000; Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman, 1999; Stephen ve diğerleri, 1998; Stephan ve diğerleri, 2005; Velasco ve diğerleri, 2008; Zeisset, 2016) tutarlı bir yordayıcısı olduğu belirlenmiştir. Bu tutarlı bulgu örüntüsünden hareketle yerel halkın Suriyeli mültecileri kültürel tehdit olarak algılamalarının onları zenofobik tutumlar sergilemeye daha eğilimli kıldığı söylenebilir.

Mevcut çalışmada kültürel tehdit ile zenofobi arasındaki ilişkiye iletişim sıklığı ve niteliğinin aracılık ettiği belirlenmiştir. Literatürde algılanan kültürel tehdit, iletişim sıklık ve niteliği ile dış gruba yönelik olumsuz tutumlar arasındaki ilişkileri inceleyen çalışmaların sınırlı olduğu belirlenmiştir. Abrams ve Eller (2017), farklı dış gruplara yönelik temas ve olumsuz tutumlar arasındaki ilişkilerde, algılanan tehditlerin bu ilişkinin farklı aşamalarında farklı roller oynayabileceğini öne sürmüştür. Benzer şekilde bu araştırmacılar, algılanan tehditler ile dış gruplara yönelik olumsuz tutumlar arasındaki ilişkide, temasın bu ilişkinin farklı aşamalarında farklı roller oynayabileceğini öne sürmüşlerdir. Bu görüşle tutarlı olarak, Abrams ve diğerleri (2017) tarafından yapılan bir çalışmada, kültürel tehdidin temas ve önyargı arasındaki ilişkiye aracılık ettiği ve temasın önyargı üzerindeki olumlu etkisinin algılanan kültürel tehdit aracılığıyla devam ettiği tespit edilmiştir.

Stephan, Diaz-Loving ve Duran (2000) da iletişim niteliği ve iletişim miktarının algılanan kültürel tehdit yoluyla önyargı üzerinde dolaylı bir etkiye sahip olduğunu belirlemişlerdir. Mevcut çalışmanın bulgularına göre algılanan kültürel tehdit iletişim miktarıyla etkileşime girdiğinde zenofobiyi besler, yani artırır. Örneğin; insanlar Suriyeleri mültecilere yönelik kültürel tehdit algılarına sahip olduklarında ve onlarla caddelerde, parklarda ve diğer alanlarda sık karşılaştıklarında daha zenofobik olabilirler. Bu bulgu literatürdeki çoğu çalışmanın bulgusuna ters düşmektedir. Çünkü literatürde yapılan çalışmaların çoğu iletişim sıklığının dış gruba yönelik negatif tutumları azalttığını belirlemiştir. Suriyeli mültecilerin yoğunluğu da bu ilişkide anlamlı bir rol oynamış olabilir. İletişim niteliğinin rolü incelendiğinde, Suriyelilerle kurulan iletişim nitelikli olduğunda karşılıklı anlayışı ve birbirini anlamayı geliştirerek (Barlow ve diğerleri, 2012), grup empatiyi (Sirin, Valentino & Villalobos, 2017), ve dış gruba yönelik bilgiyi (Binder ve diğerleri, 2009) arttırarak insanların daha az zenofobik olmalarını sağlayabilir.

Test edilen genel tehdit modelinin sonuçlarına göre ise genel tehdidin zenofobi üzerinde hem doğrudan bir etkisinin olduğu hem de iletişim niteliği aracılığıyla dolaylı bir etkisinin olduğu belirlenmiştir. Model sonuçlarına göre algılanan genel tehdit arttıkça iletişim niteliği azalmakta ve iletişim niteliği de azaldıkça zenofobi artmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın bulgularıyla tutarlı olarak, bir çok çalışma algılanan genel tehdidin göçmen,

mülteci ve diğer guruplara yönelik negatif tutumların tutarlı bir yordayıcısı olduğunu belirlemiştir (Abrams ve diğerleri, 2017; Ceballos & Yakushko, 2014; D'Ancona, 2018; Makashvili, Vardanashvili & Javakhishvili 2018; Riek, Mania & Gaertner, 2006; Stephan, Diaz-Loving & Duran, 2000; Stephen ve diğerleri, 1998; Stephan, Ybarra & Bachman, 1999; Stephan ve diğerleri, 2005 ve Zeisset, 2016). Bu çalışmanın bulgularının tersine bazı çalışmalar da algılanan genel tehdidin dış guruplara yönelik olumsuz tutumların anlamlı bir yordayıcısı olmadığını rapor etmişlerdir (Renner ve diğerleri, 2018; Velasco González ve diğerleri, 2008). Türkiye'ye gelen yaklaşık 3.5 milyon Suriyeli mültecinin çok sayıda ihtiyaç ile gelmesi, ülkenin kaynaklarının sınırlı olması ve ülkenin kendi içinde bir etnik çatışmanın olması dolayısıyla mültecilerin yerel halk tarafından tehdit olarak algılanmaları kuvvetle muhtemeldir. Tüm bunlar, yerel halkın mültecilere yönelik tutumlarını etkileyebilir ve halkı daha zenofobik hale getirebileceği söylenebilir.

Mevcut çalışmada genel tehdit ile zenofobi arasındaki ilişkiye iletişim niteliğinin aracılık ettiği belirlenmiştir. Kültürel tehdit modelinde olduğu gibi, literatürde algılanan genel tehdit, iletişim sıklık ve niteliği ile dış gruba yönelik olumsuz tutumlar arasındaki ilişkileri inceleyen çalışmaların sınırlı olduğu belirlenmiştir. Fakat var olan iki çalışmanın benzer sonuçlar bulduğu belirlenmiştir. Abrams ve diğerleri'nin (2017) çalışmalarında gruplar arası temas ile önyargı arasındaki ilişkiye algılanan güvenlik ve ekonomik tehdidin aracılık ettiği belirlenmiştir. Stephan, Diaz-Loving ve Duran (2000) da iletişim niteliğinin algılanan genel tehdit aracılığıyla önyargı üzerinde dolaylı bir etkisinin olduğunu belirlemiştir. Mevcut çalışmanın ve ilgili araştırmaların bulguları, farklı aşamalarda, algılanan tehditlerin ve temasın birbirlerini etkilediğini ve dolayısıyla farklı guruplara yönelik tutumları etkilediğini göstermiştir. Bir diğer ifadeyle, nitelikli bir iletişim, dış gruba yönelik bilgiyi artırabilir ve algılanan genel tehdidin etkisini ortadan kaldıran ve mültecilere yönelik zenofobik tutumlarda önemli bir düşüşe yol açan empati ve perspektif alımını arttırabileceği söylenebilir (Pettigrew ve Tropp, 2008).

Mevcut çalışmanın bulgularının da gösterdiği gibi, dış gruba yönelik algılanan tehditler ile zenofobi arasında yüksek bir ilişki bulunmaktadır. Bu bağlamda dış gruba yönelik algılanan tehdit algılarının azaltılmasına yönelik çalışmalarının yapılması gerekmektedir. Bu bakımdan iç grup (yerel halk) üyelerine, dış gruba yönelik doğru bilgiler verilerek, her

iki grup arasındaki inanç ve değerlerdeki benzerlikler vurgulanarak mültecilere yönelik tutumlar değiştirilebilir/azaltılabilir. Bunun yanı sıra insanlara algıladıkları tehditlerin bazılarının doğru olmadığı söylenerek zenofobik tutumları azaltılabilir. Fakat zenofobi basit bir problem değildir. Bu yüzden önleme ve müdahale çalışmalarında tüm paydaşların işe koşulması gerekmektedir.

Psikolojik danışmanlar danışan savunuculuğu rolleri gereği, mültecilere yönelik zenofobik tutumların hem mültecilerin iyi oluşlarına hem de toplumun geleceği açısından nasıl doğurgularının olacağı noktasında halka seminerler verebilirler. Okullarda velilere seminerler verilerek çocuklarına nasıl rol model olmaları gerektiği vurgulanmalıdır. Öğrencilere de okul psikolojik danışmanı, diğer öğretmenler ve velilerce bireysel farklılıklara saygı duymaları gerektiği öğretilmelidir. Ayrıca Suriyeli çocukların devam ettikleri okullarda tüm paydaşlar mültecilere yönelik tutumları ile öğrencilere rol model olmalıdırlar.

Türkiye'deki Suriyeli mülteci yoğunluğu göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, Psikolojik danışmanların ve diğer ruh sağlığı çalışanlarının, zenofobi mağduru veya zenofobik tutumlara sahip danışanlarla çalışma olasılıklarının yüksek olduğu söylenebilir. Bu nedenle, danışmanlar, bu nüfusla çalışmak için iyi donanımlı olmalıdır. Bununla birlikte, farklı ortamlarda çalışan psikolojik danışmanların, danışanların başka gruplara yönelik olumsuz tutumlarıyla nasıl çalışılacağı ve zenofobi bağlamında ayrımcılık mağduru olan danışanlara nasıl yardım edileceği konusunda formal ve formal olmayan eğitimlerinin minimum düzeyde ya da hiç olmadığı söylenebilir. Bu nedenle, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, akademisyenler ve diğer paydaşlar tarafından danışmanlara ve diğer ruh sağlığı uzmanlarına bu nüfusla nasıl çalışacaklarını öğretmek için değişik eğitim programları geliştirilmelidir.

Toplum liderleri de, mülteciler konusundaki belirsizliklere ışık tutarak, onlara karşı her türlü olumsuz ya da zenofobik tutumlara karşı olduklarını, bunu kınadıklarını ifade etmelidirler. Okullarda ise zenofobiyi önlemek için öğrencilerde karşılıklı anlamayı ve empatiyi geliştirmek için bazı önleme ve müdahale programlarının geliştirilmesi gerekir. Çünkü empati gruplararası ilişkileri iyileştirmek için sıklıkla kullanılan bir metottur (Stephan & Finlay, 1999).

Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı da ülke çapında programlar planlayarak ve bunları öğrencilere, öğretmenlere ve velilere uygulayarak zenofobinin önlenmesine ve müdahalesine katılmalıdır. Bu programlar sayesinde öğrencilerin, öğretmenlerin ve ebeveynlerin farkındalığı arttırılabilir. Benzer şekilde, Suriye sorunuyla ilgili bilgi vermek/yayınlamak ve yerel halkın endişelerini TV ve radyo kanallarında veya diğer sosyal platformlarda tartışmak, bunlara ışık tutmak, algılanan tehditleri azaltarak zenofobiyi azaltabilir.

Bu çalışmanın bulgularının değişik örneklemelerle desteklenmesi için, farklı boylamsal ve deneysel çalışmalar yürütülebilir. Bu çalışmada zenofobiyi etkileyebilecek sınırlı sayıda değişkenin rolü incelenmiştir. Bu yüzden gelecekte yürütülecek çalışmalarda, bireysel ve grup empati, algılanan ayrımcılık ve kişilik gibi diğer değişkenlerin rolleri incelenebilir. Bu çalışmada ilişkisel yöntem kullanılmıştır. Gelecekteki çalışmalar nitel yöntem kullanarak zenofobinin bir bütün olarak anlaşılmasına katkı sağlayabilirler. Son olarak bu çalışmada test edilen model, rastgele örnekleme yöntemleri kullanılarak, farklı illerden farklı katılımcılarla tekrar test edilmelidir.



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