

PREJUDICE TOWARDS SYRIAN REFUGEES IN TURKEY
FROM A MULTILEVEL APPROACH:
THE EFFECTS OF EMPATHY AND THREAT IN PARTICULAR CONTEXTS
BY
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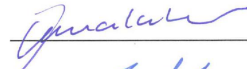

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ABSTRACT

To understand the current and future processes in the issue of Syrian refugees, scrutinizing the relations between refugees and the local community is a quite crucial subject. The present research provides two experimental analyses regarding the roles of empathy and perceived threat in the levels of prejudice toward Syrian refugees in Turkey. In this regard, the objective of the current study is twofold. First is to uncover whether the level of prejudice changes across different experimental conditions, in which empathy- or threat-evoking situations are presented. The second is to observe whether the influences of the empathy and perceived threat on levels of prejudice vary when Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) and Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) and the influences of contexts are also taken into account. The contexts were designated according to the proportion of refugees to the populations in different cities. By utilizing a multilevel approach as a framework, the individual, situational and contextual factors were combined and elaborated. The results revealed that while in the context of largest cities people were more vulnerable to being empathetic to Syrian refugees, the ones in the border district were affected by threat. The findings also yielded that when RWA and SDO were involved in the model, they did not appear as the significant predictors of prejudice in the context of border cities. However, both were observed as the substantial predictors along with empathy, in the largest cities. The research produced noteworthy implications, especially displaying the significance of the multilevel approach in such a multifaceted phenomenon.

Keywords: Empathy, Migration, Multilevel Approach, Right-Wing Authoritarianism, Social Dominance Orientation, Syrian refugees, Threat.

ÖZ

Suriyeli mülteci meselesindeki, güncel ve gelecekteki süreçleri anlamak adına, mülteciler ve yerel topluluklar arasındaki ilişkileri mercek altına almak oldukça önemli bir konu. Bu araştırma, Türkiye'deki Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik önyargı düzeylerinde, empati ve algılanan tehdidin rollerine ilişkin iki deneysel analiz sunmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, mevcut çalışmanın amacı iki yönlüdür. Birincisi, mültecilere karşı önyargı düzeyinin, empati ya da tehdit uyandıran durumların sunulduğu farklı deney koşullarında değişip değişmediğini ortaya çıkarmaktır. İkincisi, Sağ-Kanat Yetkecilik (SKY) ve Sosyal Baskınlık Yönelimi (SBY) ve farklı bağlamların etkileri de dikkate alındığında, empati ve tehdidin önyargı düzeylerindeki etkisinin farklılaşıp farklılaşmadığını gözlemlemektir. Söz konusu farklı bağlamlar, mültecilerin çeşitli illerdeki nüfus dağılımlarına göre belirlenmiştir. Çok-düzeyle bir yaklaşım (a multilevel approach) esas alınarak; bireysel, durumsal ve bağlamsal bileşenler bir araya getirilmiş ve incelenmiştir. Sonuçlar, büyükşehirler bağlamında insanların Suriyeli mültecilere karşı empatiye daha yatkın olduğunu açığa çıkarırken, sınır bölgesindekilerin tehditten etkilendiğini göstermiştir. Bulgular ayrıca, modele SKY ve SBY dahil olduğunda, bunların sınır şehirleri bağlamında önyargının önemli birer yordayıcıları olarak görünmediklerini ortaya çıkarmıştır. Ancak, her ikisi de büyük şehirlerde, empati ile birlikte, önemli belirleyiciler olarak gözlenmiştir. Araştırma, özellikle çok-düzeyle yaklaşımın, çok yönlü bir fenomen olan önyargıdaki önemini göstermek için dikkate değer sonuçlar ortaya çıkarmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Empati, Çok-düzeyle Yaklaşım, Göç, Sağ-Kanat Yetkecilik, Sosyal Baskınlık Yönelimi, Suriyeli mülteciler, Tehdit.



To all the riddles that contain hope...

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1. INTRODUCTION

The obscurity of intergroup prejudice has been scholarly investigated with various perspectives to understand the possible dynamics of the issue and diminish its destructive effects. Migration is one of the most probable occasions that might lead to intergroup prejudice in a social milieu, and the world has been beholding the momentous flow from Syria. According to the data from the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNCHR)¹, 5.6 million people in total escaped from the conflict to various countries due to the civil war started in 2011. Albeit a significant number of countries have been affected by the issue in one way or another, some of them are squarely appertaining to the situation. Mostly the neighbor countries, like Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, and Iraq, host the majority of the refugees with the numbers of 3.5 million, around 1 million, over 670 thousand, and 249 thousand, respectively (UNCHR, 2018).

The highest number of Syrian refugees reside in Turkey, leading the mass of Syrian refugees to appear as a substantial outgroup in the society. This particular circumstance might beget different forms of intergroup relations between the local people and the refugees. Consequently, the concern about how the local communities perceive the refugees has come to the fore. In this connection, it is crucial to examine and understand whether the society in Turkey has prejudiced attitudes towards Syrians, or not; and if so, to what extent these attitudes are resilient. Additionally, determining the relevant factors that are involved in this process is substantial to foresee one step further, and to regulate a healthier social integration.

In that lens, the present study pursues to scrutinize how and to what extent people are responsive to different situations, particularly empathetic versus threat-evoking stimuli, regarding Syrian refugees in various districts of Turkey. By utilizing

¹ See in <http://www.unhcr.org/syria-emergency.html> 2018

a multilevel approach, which enables to integrate multiple dimensions of the issue, it is suggested that contextual determinants (macro-level), situational factors (meso-level), and individual differences (micro-level) have crucial roles in the intergroup processes, in which prejudice is an essential subject in this domain. Most of the research tends to employ either individual-difference variables or socio-contextual and situational constituents to expound that the issues of intergroup relations; and thus, there is a kind of schism in the literature (see in Choma and Hodson, 2008; Hodson, 2009; Ekehammar, Akrami, & Yang-Wallentin, 2009). The particular focus in this study is understanding prejudice, which is one of the significant forms of intergroup relations, towards Syrian refugees in Turkey, and the primary intention is delving the matter along with its various dimensions that might substantially influence individuals' attitudes, opinions, perceptions, and so forth. Therefore, the multilevel approach, here, does not refer to different units of analysis but points out multivariate effects on the issue as a theoretical understanding.

There is a considerable number of examinations that reveal person-based variables; meaning, the individual-level determinants, like Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) and Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA), are able to explain prejudice (e.g., Duckitt, 1993; Heaven & Quintin, 2003; Ekehammar, Akrami, Gylje, & Zakrisson, 2004; Levin, Pratto, Matthews, Sidanius, & Kteily, 2013). Observing different attitudes and perceptions toward an outgroup in shared contexts or social structures accentuates the impact of person-based elements on intergroup relations. To put it differently, even supposing that some similar contexts with regards to economic circumstances, political atmosphere, partook conventions, and values envelop people, they become to differentiate slightly or saliently at some points. In this consideration, individual-difference variables appear as the essential ingredients in the varied opinions and attitudes towards an outgroup in the society.

On the other hand, solely person-based explanations are not able to predict or elucidate the broader proportion of the variance in prejudice. That is to say; the situation- and context-based determinants have essential roles in the prejudice research, as well. Besides, a social context, which is taken as a broader and relatively more stable and structural atmosphere, and a situation, as a narrower and immediate framework, might be impactful in shaping attitudes and may ignite sorts of emotional responses. The present study strives to reveal how a socio-contextual element (macro-level), particularly, the higher and lower probabilities of exposure to Syrian refugees, and situational determinants (meso-level), perceived threat and empathy towards the refugees, influence individuals' biases. Ekehammar, Akrami, and Yang-Wallentin (2009) uncover that the combined effects of person-based factors (e.g., RWA and SDO) and the approaches from social psychology literature (e.g., being a member of a social group and identifying oneself with a social group) are best to explain prejudice. Consequently, taking the multilevel approach, which corresponds to the theoretical framework of this present research in order to dig up the multidimensional structure of prejudice, into account seems to be auspicious.

In a sense, one particular objective of is here to uncover the existing prejudice toward Syrian refugees in Turkey along with the multifaceted features of the subject. First and foremost, the intention is here to understand how people's levels of prejudice distinguish to each other when they are exposed to different stimuli displaying two distinct immediate situations when different broader social contexts are taken into consideration after adjusting the impacts of person-based characteristics (RWA and SDO). The conceptual difference between context and situation can be identified explicitly: Here, situation indicates immediate representations of Syrian refugees in Turkey through different narratives; and the social context implies a kind of overarching climate, set of conditions; hence, like a more general situation. To be

more precise, while one of the situations depicts the refugees and their existence in Turkey as threatening, the other portrays a situation which reminds people to treat the refugees empathetically is a necessity. By doing so, the meso-level factors are analyzed in this study. Aside from the immediate situations, more general contexts might play elemental roles in prejudice, and in that sense, the social contexts are designated to the probability of higher or lower levels of interaction between the refugees and the local people. By exceeding the descriptive information, examining which conditions lead people to preserve, reduce, or enlarge their negative and biased attitudes against the refugees is imperative to be able to portray the current situation in Turkey. Although some comprehensive research is conducted to display how the host society perceives the refugees and what kind of manners, attitudes are prevalent in the society, the causal relations and the aforementioned combined effects on that matter are still obscure in Turkey. The deficiency in the literature would aggravate to develop favorable acculturation and integration processes and policies in the very near future. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze the issue by utilizing a multilevel approach.

In that lens, the present research will assess the distinct effects of empathy and perceived threat as the situation-based factors on prejudice towards the refugees by adjusting the influence of individual-difference variables (RWA and SDO). Moreover, how the question depends on social contexts will be tested by forming two different groups from the relevant districts of Turkey, according to the proportion of the refugees to the general population in the cities in order to point out the probability of exposure to Syrian refugees.

To these ends, first, Syrian refugees' current situation in Turkey will be depicted in the following section in this chapter. In the second chapter, how the prejudice phenomenon is conceptualized in the literature will be elaborated and

discussed along with situational factors, individual-based differences, and the socio-contextual features. Further up, in the third chapter, the theoretical framework of this research will be outlined, with regard to the theoretical insights, and the hypotheses of the first and second research will be expressed. Accordingly, the methodological considerations and the current findings of the first study will be detailed in the fourth and fifth chapters, respectively. After that, Chapter 6 will set out the methodology of the second research along with its details; and, Chapter 7 will display its results. Chapter 8 will focus on the outlining findings of both research, followed by a discussion regarding the outputs in the light of literature. Lastly, in Chapter 9, the concluding remarks, limitations, and implications will be indicated.

1.1. The Current Situation of Syrian Refugees in Turkey

When the relevant articles and reports are scrutinized to grasp the current situation, the research displays that on the one hand, there is a negativity towards Syrians in Turkey (e.g., IPSOS, 2016, International Crisis Group, 2018), but on the other, people attribute positive connotations to Syrians like guests, victims, people who fled from the war, and so forth (e.g., Erdoğan, 2014). Accordingly, an equivocal argument can be questioned by emphasizing that a kind of ambiguity stands in people's perception towards Syrian refugees. For instance, whereas the report of the German Marshall Fund of the United States in 2015 indicates that 84 percent of the participants are anxious because of Syrian refugees who have fled from Syria to Turkey, Erdoğan (2014) states that although a kind of negativity towards the refugees is prevalent in the society, the extent of general social acceptance is uncommonly high.

One can question whether the widespread perceptions and attitudes of the society in Turkey are stable or consistent towards Syrian refugees, either positively or negatively. If it is not so, and unusual social acceptance can be accompanied by

negativity on the refugees at the same time, then it would be possible to shift people's existing perceptions to a certain extent or at least influence them towards a more moderate aspect or a more controversial context. Thus, the contradiction postulated in the society might be expressed by the argument that a fragile or vague public perception towards the refugees can be recognized in Turkey. Meaning people in Turkey may be vulnerable to be manipulated by conflicting situations, which is one of the primary objectives of the present research.

Media is one of the primary sources that enables people to get information regarding the issue, and therefore, how media reflects the issue, in terms of which manners of discourse and themes it uses, is a significant concern to predict the possible influences of it on people. The previous studies yield that there is an apparent discrepancy in the dominant discourses and themes produced by the newspapers in Turkey (see in Göktuna-Yaylacı & Karakuş, 2015; Erdoğan, 2014). Erdoğan indicates the asymmetric aspects towards Syrian refugees in the newspapers as the following:

...refugees are depicted on the one hand as vulnerable, weak and poor people, and on the other hand as fugitives, criminals, thieves, murderers, rapists, susceptible to crime and a burden on the country, shaping the due public perception (2004, p. 41).

Doğanay and Çoban-Keneş (2016) reveal the unfavorable content of the information mediums with the sample of mainstream newspapers in Turkey, which consists of Posta, Hürriyet, and Zaman. Their results show that one of the main themes is related to addressing the refugees like the sources of threats. Furthermore, they point out the negative attributions to Syrian refugees cause an excess regarding their residence in Turkey. In a similar vein, Efe (2015) denotes that when the discourse is shaped with regards the quantitative features of the subject, it portrays refugees as masses, contributing to the threat and security concerns. As a result,

Syrian refugees are depicted, directly or indirectly, as the ones who trigger problems in the country.

As another illustration, Dimitrova, Ozdora-Aksak and Connolly-Ahern (2018) conduct a comparative analysis through the newspaper contents in Turkey and Bulgaria. In the sample of Turkey, they include Cumhuriyet and Hürriyet, which reflect center-left and liberal ideological stances, respectively. In Bulgarian sample Dneven Trud, center-right, and Standart, center-left, mainstream newspapers are involved. According to their findings, while Bulgarian newspapers focus on the administrative issues with 55.4 percent regarding Syrian refugees, the news in Cumhuriyet and Hürriyet mentions the same subject with only 13.8 percent. Instead, Turkish newspapers mostly put the issue around the themes of victimization and humanitarianism.

While most of the analyses express that there is a discrepancy in the mainstream journals' discourse about Syrian refugees, yet their results bring another contradiction in terms of whether the predominant themes are empathetic aspects, like victimization or humanitarianism, or threat-evoking security concerns. These conflictual contexts might lead society, yet again, to have unstable perceptions and attitudes towards Syrian refugees, which may shift from one context to another depending on what the narrative is. However, there seems to be no research in the literature which directly examine the relationship between the influence of such divergent discourses or contents on prejudice towards Syrian refugees in Turkey. In the present research both empathy- and threat-evoking conditions, which reflects different situations regarding the refugee issue, is employed to observe whether people's levels of prejudice preserve their stability, or not after they are exposed to these distinct narratives.

Before going through the details of the present design and hypotheses, outlining how the prejudice phenomenon is conceptualized and which factor and ingredients are suggested by scholars to seek out intergroup prejudice would be favorable. Therefore, the primary approaches to intergroup prejudice will be elucidated in the following chapter. In accordance with that, the possible functions of empathy and perceived threat in the prejudice phenomenon and the roles of Right-Wing Authoritarianism and Social Dominance Orientation will be delineated along with different theoretical angles.



2. THE OBSCURITY IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS: PREJUDICE

For many years, the complexity of intergroup relations has been endeavored to be figured out through several perspectives by utilizing different theoretical aspects. The prejudice phenomenon, which can be observed as an implicit or explicit process of expressing an attitude, a behavior, or an emotion, is one of the pioneer topics in the studies of intergroup relations (see in Allport, 1955). Processes between different groups, like prejudice, might be constituted as a result of various dynamics or influences. Namely, such relations are multifaceted subjects concerning their causes, ingredients or forms of expressions; that is why a wide range of theoretical explanations exists in the literature. Throughout this chapter, several perspectives will be reviewed and elaborated, in respect of the present research concerns, to set forth how the literature conceptualizes prejudice. Furthermore, by discussing the advantages and limitations of these theories, their contributions to this study will be articulated. After a general overview, the chapter is divided into two main sections. First, empathy and perceived threat, as the significant factors that can influence level of prejudice, will be illustrated. Second, the individual-difference variables, Right-Wing Authoritarianism, and Social Dominance Orientation will be laid out.

2.1. An Overview of Intergroup Prejudice and the Pendulum Framework

A major schism in the literature of intergroup prejudice can be observed regarding the conceptualization of the phenomenon with respect to its possible reasons. The split can be identified through the person- and situation-based approaches (see in Hodson, 2009). Before the clarification of the base theories that constitute the present study, suggesting a schema to situate different perspectives would be suitable.

In this regard, Choma and Hodson (2008) propose the Pendulum Framework to illustrate the multi-dimensional underpinnings of prejudice and to depict the fundamental theories, through the systematically constituted clusters, according to why and how intergroup prejudice arises. They utilize two separate dimensions for the formation of this framework: *Abnormal versus Normal* and *Person/Individual Differences versus Situation/Group*. The first dimension, Abnormal versus Normal, attributes the extent of causes of prejudice in terms of “pathological” or “normal” circumstances or processes. The second aspect, Person/Individual Differences versus Situation/Group, illustrates to which extent the theories lean on either person-based factors or situational, group contexts (Choma and Hodson, 2008, p. 4). By employing the Pendulum Framework through these dimensions, Choma and Hodson (2008) suggest four quadrants to categorize the key themes: (1) Maladjusted People, (2) Threat-Sensitive and Cognitively Rigid People, (3) Competitive Contexts and Status Quo Perpetuation, and (4) Aggravated Conflict and Mortality Contexts. While each of these particular perspectives has own characteristics to constitute the conceptualization of prejudice via different ingredients and causal relations, their stances on the intersecting dimensions (Abnormal versus Normal and Person/Individual Differences versus Situation/Group) can swing like a pendulum, but not necessarily in a linear fashion. By taking the Pendulum Framework into account, some of the essential perspectives can be categorized. In the present study, this framework would be feasible to point out the positions of the adopted theoretical approaches to the current research design; and therefore, it will be utilized as a theoretical map.

In the prejudice literature, Allport is an outstanding scholar that most of the researchers point out his foundational study, *The Nature of Prejudice*, in which he defines prejudice as: “an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization.

It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group” (Allport, 1955, p. 9). Allport (1955) emphasizes the cognitive processes and touches on the *overcategorization* feature of the human mind as a pivotal ingredient of prejudice. He indicates that people have a limited capacity to process information and tend to generalize various inputs through their cognitive function of overcategorization. As a result of this mechanism, people can have erroneous beliefs, prejudgments; and if an emotional resistance accompanies to keep them without any attempt of rectifying, these beliefs conduce to emerge prejudice (see in Allport, 1955; Katz, 1991). He underlines that beliefs or attitudinal factors can express prejudice. Thus, the other indispensable constituent of prejudice, according to Allport, is “an *attitude* of favor or disfavor” associated with an overcategorized belief, hence an erroneous one (Allport, 1955, p. 13). According to the Pendulum Framework, Allport’s approach positions in the second scope, Threat-Sensitive and Cognitively Rigid People, which ascertains the causes of prejudice emphasizing person-based differences in the domain of normal human functioning (Choma & Hodson, 2008, pp. 6-7). The inclination to categorize any information or experience from the outside world contributes to the emergence of prejudice, and Allport (1955) expresses this relationship as the following:

...man has a propensity to prejudice. This propensity lies in his normal and natural tendency to form generalizations, concepts, categories, whose content represents an oversimplification of his world experience. His rational categories keep close to first-hand experience, but he is able to form irrational categories just as readily. In these even a kernel of truth may be lacking, for they can be composed wholly of hearsay evidence, emotional projections, and fantasy (p. 27).

By preserving the conceptualization of prejudice in a natural process of everyday life, some scholars emphasize that intergroup bias is a result of social and group-based circumstances. In the Pendulum Framework, such perspectives fall within the third quadrant, Competitive Contexts and Status Quo Perpetuation, in which intergroup prejudice is characterized by stressing social influences, meaning situation- or group-based factors (Choma and Hodson, 2008). Thus, while the dimension is shifting from individual difference variables to social contexts, the stress of intergroup prejudice normality is still conserved. Some notable theories (e.g., Social Identity Theory, Realistic Group Conflict Theory, Self-Categorization Theory, and The Integrated Threat Theory of Prejudice) clarify intergroup prejudice with regard to different themes concerning competition on resources and power-sharing, threat perception caused by the competition, or based on social identities, group membership, and so on (see in Choma and Hodson, 2008; Blumer, 1958, Quillian, 1995). Whilst there are several explanations and approaches in this quadrant, concerning the context of this research, only the Integrated Threat Theory developed by Stephan and Stephan (1996) will be elaborated in the sense of threat perception which is mostly embedded into the prejudice studies. In addition to that, Right-Wing Authoritarianism and Social Dominance Orientation will be accordingly discussed as the theories which articulate the individual-difference side of the topic.

Before going into the details of the theoretical ingredients of the phenomenon, it would be favorable to explain how prejudice is conceptualized in this study. First of all, it should be noted that rather than an abnormal or pathological approach, prejudice will refer to a normal human functioning throughout the theoretical frame of this research. Relatively more recent studies indicate that prejudice has different forms, including both subtle and blatant forms and appearances, whereas the perspective developed by Allport focused on the more blatant prejudice (Pettigrew & Meertens,

1995; Pettigrew & Meertens, 2001). In a similar consideration, Brown (2010) underlines the traditional, negatively orientated explanations should be amended to capture more indirect expressions of prejudice as well as the apparent negative attitudes, affective processes, or behaviors between different groups. He sets out prejudice "... any attitude, emotion or behaviour towards members of a group, which directly or indirectly implies some negativity or antipathy towards that group" (Brown, 2010, p. 7). Brown's definition of prejudice is favorable to include in this study in order to be able to constitute more indirect and implicit reflections of prejudice towards Syrian refugees in Turkey. That is because, although the new group in Turkey cause several economic or social concerns in people's minds, there are some grounds shared between the two community in terms of religion, geographical proximity, historical background and so forth.

Nevertheless, research shows that there is a relationship between perceiving an outgroup as threatening and having or justifying prejudice towards them (Stephan & Stephan, 1996; Duckitt, 2006; Bahn, 2017). It can be expected that separate parts of the society in Turkey might distinctly react over these similarities and differences between the two groups; and therefore, evoking a threat perception regarding the case of Syrian refugees might lead people to soar their prejudice to a considerable extent. In the following part, the Integrated Threat Theory and the threat-prejudice association will be scrutinized to explain how the threat-evoking situation would be a significant component in the current research. Accordingly, the other situational condition, empathy, and how it relates to prejudice will be elucidated. Further sections will explain the theories regarding the individual-level determinants of prejudice.

2.2. Situational Factors: Threat and Empathy in Prejudice Studies

Situational influences might influence levels of prejudice in comparison to the stable relationship between individual-differences and prejudice (Akrami, Ekehammar, Bergh, Dahlstrand, & Malmsten, 2009). There might be several situational explanations of prejudice even though the particular interest of this research is to elucidate the effects of empathy and perceived threat.

In this research, the refugees are depicted in two different situations, and that is why empathy and perceived threat are taken as situational factors. Empathy as a situation reminds people to consider the past circumstances that have triggered the refugee influx and current conditions that the refugees have in Turkey by utilizing an empathetic content and discourse. The aim is here to lead people to put themselves in the refugees' shoes and to decrease their prejudice levels. On the other hand, the perceived threat is indicated as a triggering concept; and when the refugees are illustrated as threatening ones, individuals' levels of prejudice presumably will increase. The theoretical approaches regarding empathy and threat concepts, which suggest the mentioned expectations and associations with prejudice, will be elaborated below.

2.2.1. Threat in the Prejudice Studies

Stephan and Stephan (1996) suggest that threat perceptions triggered by an outgroup lead local people to have a prejudice towards the other, and in this context, they developed the Integrated Threat Theory (ITT) to explain causes of intergroup prejudice. More specifically, the components of the ITT are conceptualized under the terms as realistic threats, symbolic threats, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotyping (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). However, Stephan and Renfro (2002) revised the theory and reduced it to two components, realistic and symbolic threats.

In the original version of the theory (see in Stephan & Stephan, 1996, Stephan Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999) the concept of the realistic threats refers to any menace against the sources of power (political or economic), the material existence or physical well-being, and any resources existing in the in-group or its members. In other words, these threats are not perceived according to their reality; instead, the emphasized point is the perceptions. The symbolic threats represent the ingroup's concerns about their worldview. That is to say; the primary issue is the differences between the groups in the sense of conventions, norms, beliefs, moral values, and so forth. Intergroup anxiety is regarded as a feeling threatened because of the intergroup contact and its possible adverse outcomes. Lastly, negative stereotypes are included in the original version because of their significant roles in the formation of people's expectations from intergroup interactions (Stephan & Stephan, 1996). However, the research conducted by Stephan et al. (2002) reveals that negative stereotypes are significant predictors of the symbolic and realistic threats. Consequently, in the revised version it is neither evaluated as a separate concept nor an individual predictor of prejudice. In a similar vein, Stephan, Ybarra, and Morrison (2009) indicate that intergroup anxiety is not an independent threat to be able to lay out prejudice. Rather, they articulate that this is apprehension about interacting with outgroup members.

One of the critical points in the ITT regarding the conceptualization and assessment of prejudice is that the studies which employ the ITT gauge prejudice through 12 different personal evaluations and emotions regarding the subject group (hostility, admiration, dislike, acceptance, superiority, affection, disdain, approval, hatred, sympathy, rejection, and warmth) (see in Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999; Stephan & Stephan, 2000; Stephan et al., 2002). Even though they refer to the scale as *attitudes toward outgroups*, they prefer to combine several evaluations and emotional reactions through a self-report measurement. They describe the concept by attributing

to Allport's aspect: "prejudice reflects negative affect associated with out-groups" (Stephan, Ybarra, & Bachman, 1999, p. 2225). However, this approach might be problematic because of the ambiguous or even unexplained cause-effect relationship between emotions and prejudice. In addition to that, the explanatory variable in that theory (symbolic and realistic threats) might be beyond the scope to be predictors of prejudice, so that in some of the similar research such elements are put in the measurement of prejudiced attitudes (see in Pettigrew, 1995).

Even though ITT suggests the perspective that threat causes prejudice (Stephan & Stephan, 2000), most of the findings of empirical studies that employed the theory relies on the correlational evidence (Bahns, 2017). Furthermore, the theorists are aware of the possibility of the reverse version of the propounded causal relationship, which is prejudice causes threat perceptions (Stephan & Renfro, 2002). In that regard, Bahns (2017) conducted experimental research by utilizing the assumption that prejudice leads to the threat perception, asserting both directions in the relationship between prejudice and threat are possible. Therefore, the obscurity in the hypotheses of causality, in terms of which one leads to the other, might end up being bi-directional or circular. As opposed to ITT, the threat perception, both symbolic and realistic forms, towards Syrian refugees in Turkey are utilized as a situational factor with respect to the current concerns in the society. More specifically, the threat-evoking stimulus in this study is designed according to the widespread economic, social, and cultural apprehensions which are uncovered by the previous studies (e.g., Erdoğan, 2014). In addition to that, in contrast to the assessment of the ITT, prejudice is gauged by the possible attitudes and opinions towards Syrian refugees by referring to the blatant and subtle forms of the phenomenon (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995).

2.2.2 Empathy in the Prejudice Studies

Empathy is a relatively complicated phenomenon to identify, and therefore, various conceptualizations and assessments from different perspectives can be found in the literature. To be more precise, research displays that there are eight distinct themes in which empathy is elaborated, and 43 different explanations in the literature (Cuff, Brown, Taylor, & Howat, 2014). For instance, some of the scholars explained empathy within the concept of affection that is reflected as a response, state, or experience (e.g., Hoffman, 2000; Eisenberg, Fabes, & Spinrad, 2006; Hein & Singer 2008; Pavey, Greitemeyer, & Sparks, 2012), and some others claim that it is the ability or the capacity to apprehend the others' conditions or emotional states (e.g., Johnson, Cheek, & Smither, 1983; Colman, 2009; Decety & Michalska, 2010). By analyzing such research, an apparent dichotomy in the delineation of empathy appears as either an affective or cognitive phenomenon. That is not the only division, however. Pagotto suggests three bivariate dimensions to aggregate the present explanations of empathy: "cognitive-affective, process-outcome, dispositional-situational" (2010, p. 4).

In parallel with the intention of this particular research, empathy is utilized in the design as a situational experimental condition. While some of the scholars believe that empathy is a trait which is a relatively stable disposition (e.g., Davis, 1983; Eisenberg, 1991, Eisenberg et al., 1991), others emphasize the situation-dependency feature of empathy (see in Batson, 1991; Staats, Long, Manulik, & Kelley, 2006). As a consequence of research evidence from these two theoretical stances, Cuff et al. (2014) propose that there is an interaction between the influences of disposition and situation. The dispositional empathy refers to a stable characteristic that an individual has, which does not easily shift from one level to the other according to cases whereas situational empathy can change across different conditions. Although people's

empathy traits might differentiate to each other, it can be assumed that the possible dispositional effects on prejudice towards Syrian refugees will be balanced across the experimental conditions by using random assignment in the data collection process of this research. Besides, by doing so, the situational influence of empathy on the particular case of prejudice toward Syrian refugees can be scrutinized.

To that end, an empathy-evoked stimulus is formed to depict the refugees' positions in Turkey through a positive perspective and to reflect their plights caused by the conflict in Syria and troublesome experiences in Turkey, and thus, the expected outcome is to lead the respondents to take the refugees perspectives (perspective-taking). Research shows that empathy is a feasible variable to prompt people to have higher level of empathetic concern (as an affective component) or perspective-taking (as a cognitive component) which might yield both affective and cognitive outcomes over 'self and other' overlap (see in Batson, Chang, Orr, & Rowland, 2002; Esses & Dovidio, 2002; Dovidio et al., 2004; Miklikowska, 2017).

Miklikowska conducts a seminal study which examines the within-person association between perspective-taking, immigrant prejudice, and empathetic concern. The findings reveal the "simultaneous effects of empathic concern and perspective taking on within-person changes in anti-immigrant attitudes" in adolescents' prejudice (2017, p. 11). More specifically, Miklikowska (2017) uncovers that both perspective-taking and empathetic concern show changes in anti-immigrant attitudes in the sample. Even though empathetic concern and perspective-taking might display differential influences on prejudice, in the present research, both orientations are involved in the stimulus.

In addition to the situational explanations of prejudice, as the threat- and empathy-evoking conditions, RWA and SDO are emphasized to explain the phenomenon in the literature. Therefore, it is crucial to control the effects of these

individual-difference variables on the issue. In the following section, both theories and current discussion regarding the them will be illustrated.

2.3. Individual-Difference Variables: Authoritarianism and Social Dominance Orientation

2.3.1. Authoritarianism Phenomenon

The notion called authoritarianism has turned into even more crucial concern after the rise of Nazism. Various scholars with different approaches have investigated the concept for a long time, and the pioneer study in the area was conducted by Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson, and Sanford who sought an elucidation why some people are prejudiced and bigoted towards outgroups whereas the others are not. Their comprehensive clarification is embodied in the notion of authoritarian personality, leaning on the psychoanalytic approach. To put it clearly, Adorno et al. believe that punitive parental attitudes towards children lead them to repress their anger in the early childhood period and then they reflect the repressed anger to minorities or unconventional groups (1950). That is to say, prejudice, according to Adorno et al., is a replaced anger from individuals' childhood experiences to their later lives. In this context, these scholars explain authoritarianism as an ingrained personality syndrome incorporating antipathy, hostility, or aggression towards minorities or outgroups (see in Adorno et al., 1950; Bobo, 1990). At this point, their approach is differentiated from the perspectives that emphasize prejudice as the normal processing in human mind like suggested by Allport (1955); and therefore, Adorno et al.'s perspective falls into the first quadrant, Maladjusted People, in the Pendulum Framework. More specifically, the first theme assembles the theories which constitute prejudice as a result of person-based factors by falling into the range of abnormality depicted as a dysfunctional personality or psychology (Choma & Hodson, 2008).

Adorno et al. operationalized fascistic (authoritarian) personality through nine variables (conventionalism, authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, anti-intraception, superstition and stereotype, power and "toughness", destructiveness and cynicism, projectivity and sex) which combine and form the "structure in the person that renders him receptive to antidemocratic propaganda" (Adorno et al., 1950, p. 228). They constructed the Fascism Scale (F-Scale) to gauge and predict authoritarian personality, through these nine elements.

Even though Adorno et al. generated a notable study regarding prejudice and authoritarianism phenomena, their psychoanalytic theoretical foundation and some psychometric deficiencies in the F-scale have been criticized by the subsequent scholars (see in Altemeyer, 1981; Duckitt & Sibley, 2009; Etchezahar & Brussino, 2013). One of the most influential perspectives, which intends to rectify the imperfections of Adorno et al.'s study and suggests a well-developed alternative theory, has been put forth by Altemeyer (1981; 1996; 2006) with his pivotal conceptualization: Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA).

As opposed to Adorno et al., Altemeyer considers that only three orientations are associated to authoritarian personality rather than the suggested nine variables, meaning, he defines RWA as "the covariation of three attitudinal clusters in a person" which are *authoritarian submission*, *authoritarian aggression*, and *conventionalism* (Altemeyer, 1996, p. 6). He describes authoritarian submission as an individual's higher submission to the authorities which are accepted as established and legitimate by the society. Authoritarian aggression portrays a kind of aggression towards 'unconventional people' (according to one's perception they are the 'social deviants'), minority groups, and to those who are sanctioned by the authorities in the society. By conventionalism, Altemeyer means that a higher degree of adherence, "a strong acceptance of and commitment to the traditional social norms in one's society" (1996,

p. 11). By doing so, he suggests a new conceptualization regarding the relatively old phenomenon, authoritarianism, concerning its ingredients, theoretical basis, and measurement.

Concerning theoretical foundation, Altemeyer (1996) grounds RWA on the social learning theory, by highlighting the significance of social contexts and interactions, which have started to be experienced in very early ages of human life. Individuals face reinforcements and punishments coming from their parents and others, mainly while they are growing up, which in turn shape individuals' attitudes. Observation processes have crucial parts in learning processes, as well as people's own experiences. Altemeyer puts his point more specifically by emphasizing the concepts of *direct teaching* and *imitation* (see in Altemeyer, 1996, p. 78-79). By direct teaching, children, at their very young age, first start to learn obedience in the family structure as well as be aware of the threats coming from the 'dangerous outside world'. Imitation is another integral part of this process in which children imitate the influential figures in their lives as models to them. It is a significant channel to communicate and acquire some stereotypes from people, such as their teachers, grandparents or older siblings.

Thus, Altemeyer underlines that families, peers, and social institutions play critical roles in the development of authoritarian personality. He states that more submissive individuals have high scores on the Dangerous World scale because they are more afraid than most individuals are (Altemeyer, 2006). The formation of fear towards the outside world is mostly related to parental attitudes; for instance, some of the parents excessively warn their children than the most about the all the threats they perceive against their children like kidnappers, drunks, bullies, wicked guys, and so on (Altemeyer, 2006). As a result, the early life socialization processes highlighting danger and menace lead people to be more authoritarian followers who

perceive the world as a dangerous place. Consequently, when people who are high on RWA scale see or feel about a situation as a menace, they tend to defend themselves with fighting. That is why a kind of aggression can be observed in a context that people believe it is a threatening one. All of these learning processes in which individuals acquire to obey, have anger, and keeping their belongings to the conventional norms and roots produce prejudice towards the 'others'. Concerning the Pendulum Framework, RWA is an individual difference variable which explains prejudice through the range of normal human functioning; so, the theory is into the second quadrant, Threat-Sensitive and Cognitively Rigid People.

2.3.2. Social Dominance Orientation

RWA is not the only theory which pursues to elucidate prejudice as a result of person-based factors in the extent of normal human functioning. *Social dominance theory* (STD) is another prominent and well-developed explanation in the literature (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). The underlying observation contributed to the development of this approach is asserted by Sidanius and Pratto as "all human societies tend to be structured as systems of *group-based social hierarchies*" (1999, p.31). In this account, hegemonic and dominant groups at the top and subordinate groups at the bottom constitute the hierarchical structure in a society. These two kinds of clusters unequally and differently possess the social values in terms of social statutes, political power, occupations, and reachability of wealth, splendid homes, good food, or better health care. Accordingly, Sidanius and Pratto pointed out "while dominant groups possess a disproportionately large share of positive social value, subordinate groups possess a disproportionately large share of *negative social value*" (1999, p. 32).

Furthermore, they stratified the group-based social hierarchy with three systems: an *age system*, a *gender system*, and an *arbitrary-set* system (Sidanius and

Pratto, 1999). To put it more specifically, in terms of age system, Sidanius and Pratto (1999) refer that adults possess a disproportionate social power over the younger ones and children. The gender system is characterized by the unproportionate power that males have in society over females, hence patriarchy. The last part of this stratification structure, the arbitrary-set system, consists of several groups which are constructed by humans as far as their minds are capable of. In other words, people can produce numerous groups and social constructions according to race, nation, ethnicity, social class, religious, and so on; and therefore, the arbitrary-set system is more arbitrary, flexible, and sensitive because of bound contexts or situations compared to the other two systems (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999, p. 33). The arbitrary-set system is more likely to be correlated with aggression, oppression, or violent attitudes than the age and gender systems, concerning not only their scopes but also their intensity. In these systems, one group possesses political or material power over the others; and thus, it can be able to dominate them. At this point, the main concern in the intergroup relations comes to the fore: “understanding the nature and dynamics of group-based social inequality requires that we understand the psychology of group dominance” (Sidanius and Pratto, 1999, p. 61).

Social dominance orientation (SDO) is suggested as a form in which the psychology of group dominance can express itself (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). According to Pratto et al., SDO is “a general attitudinal orientation toward intergroup relations, reflecting whether one generally prefers such relations to be equal, versus hierarchical” (1994, p. 742). Thus, SDO is a central individual-based variable which can predict individuals’ stances on the values of “nonegalitarian and hierarchically structured relationships among social groups” (Sidanius and Pratto, 1999, p. 61).

Both RWA and SDO situate as the representative approaches in the quadrant of Threat-Sensitive and Cognitively Rigid People of the Pendulum Framework. That is to say; these theories emphasize individual differences in the usual extent of human functioning (Choma and Hodson, 2008). However, on the other hand, they are conceptually distinct from each other. Sidanius & Pratto underline that conceptually, authoritarianism regards submission to an established authority of an in-group, whereas Social Dominance Orientation pertains to attitudes between groups touching hierarchical relationships (1999, p. 74). Furthermore, Altemeyer (2004) states that the RWA scale is constructed to capture the psychology of submissive groups, rather than being a good measure of authoritarian dominance phenomenon. Therefore, these approaches can cover different parts of authoritarianism phenomenon. While RWA focuses on one's submissiveness or dominance, SDO addresses one's inclination towards categorization of groups in the society as hierarchical versus egalitarian. Besides, he asserts that having high scores on both of these scales is a rare situation because the correlation between SDO and RWA scales is around .20 (2004, p.138).

In the literature, there is an alternative approach regarding the conceptualization and meaning of RWA and SDO. The shared point of these theories is that they are proposed as personality traits, referring to stable and core characteristics of a human. However, Duckitt (2001) suggests that instead of stable personality traits, both RWA and SDO touch on a person's socio-political attitudes. In that respect, Duckitt's model will be explained in the next section.

2.3.3. Dual Process Model of Ideology and Prejudice

A significant, and critical, suggestion regarding the conceptualizations of SDO and RWA has been put forth by Duckitt (2001) who developed the dual process model of ideology and prejudice (DPM) which combine RWA and SDO, shifting them from personality dimensions to relatively stable socio-political attitudes. Different research

findings are exemplified and utilized by Duckitt and Sibley (2010) to explain why these theories are not the dimensions of personality. They note that while most of the personality inventories consist of items which describe behavioral reactions, RWA and SDO solely involve statements concerning social belief and attitude. Further, they propose that SDO and RWA are vulnerable to change by manipulation, priming, sociopolitical context, or people's group positions as opposed to be stable over times and situations. Duckitt and Sibley (2010) also indicate that personal experiences are influential on people's levels of authoritarianism, as it is stated by Altemeyer (1996), too. Last but not the least, regarding the association of RWA and SDO with Big Five personality traits, one significant feature is that the correlation is noted at weak to moderate levels (see in Sibley & Duckitt, 2008). As a result, Duckitt and Sibley underline that RWA and SDO are not personality traits; although they might be affected by personality, it is better to conceptualize them as "dimensions of sociopolitical or ideological attitudes" (Duckitt & Sibley, 2010, p. 1866).

According to the dual process model, while the worldview behind the RWA is the social world is dangerous and threatening, SDO stems from a different worldview belief that the world is a competitive jungle. Therefore, the underlying social worldview of high RWA makes the value or motivational goals that concern to establish and maintain social or collective order, security, and stability. However, the motivational goal or value of the high SDO is regarding dominance, superiority, and power over 'others' (Duckitt, 2001; Duckitt & Sibley, 2010).

Concerning the fair criticisms about the previous approaches, it seems that borrowing the perspective of DPM as a theoretical model to utilize the individual level constituents in the current research would be auspicious to increase the accuracy of the present formulation. However, above and beyond the individual differences and effects of the situation, context is another pivotal integrant in the studies of intergroup

relations. On that account, how the issue depends on the context and its role in this research will be illuminated in the subsequent chapter. That is, the following part will articulate the theoretical framework which is a multilevel approach that combines different levels of analysis. In that sense, the previous sections will be connected to the following one.

2.4. Social Contexts in Turkey

Social context is a quite significant determinant in the examination of the intergroup prejudice. In parallel with the particular question and objective of the current research, whether contexts influence the prejudice phenomenon or not is a quite important matter that should be illuminated.

One of the leading fields which deal with the prejudice phenomenon is Social Psychology, and as it is stated by Pettigrew (2018), the issue of context-dependency in that area of research is an indispensable and critical characteristic. Likewise, Christ, Asbrock, Dhont, Pettigrew, and Wagner (2013) highlight the significance of social context in the examination of the influence of the intergroup climate on acculturation preferences of immigrants in a given social context by focusing on “the desire for cultural maintenance and maintenance of intergroup relations of immigrants” (p. 5). They report that analyzing social context is essential in the acculturation processes.

In that lens, the current research undertakes to uncover the within-country variances which reflect the significance of contexts for the prejudice toward Syrian refugees in Turkey. More specifically, even though Turkey can be identified through some socio-economic, political and cultural features by comparing to the other countries, it is likely that different districts will distinguish from each other within Turkey.

For the interest of this paper, the context is determined through the probability of experiencing more direct contact with the refugees versus the possibility of more indirect means of getting information, but not having a hands-on experience, regarding the issue. In other words, it is supposed that while people live in the cities which have temporary accommodation camps and located alongside the border across Syria and Turkey are more likely to have first-hand experiences and personal interactions in different contexts with the refugees, people live in the largest cities which have much more population and complexity in compared to the others would likely to be more distant to interact with the refugees directly. That is because, in the border cities the general population is lower, and the distribution of Syrian refugees over the general population is higher; as a result of that the refugees might be more able to involve the daily life, workplaces, central locations, or downtowns than the largest cities. It is not only regarding the probability to access but also the nature of work, transportation, central locations, housing, and so on are much more complicated in the largest cities. It can be observed that quantitatively, immigrants mostly locate in specific regions which are relatively isolated and have lower socio-economic statuses in the larger cities due to having less chance to be involved with the prosperous places directly.

Moreover, the conducted comprehensive assessment by the association of Support to Life (2016), regarding the vulnerability of Syrian refugees in Istanbul, can be utilized to portray the difference between two types of cities concerning the rates of refugees' accessibility to the channels of work and housing on an average level. More clearly, the data was collected from the districts in which people have relatively low socio-economic statuses (Sultanbeyli, Ümraniye, Fatih, Başakşehir, Bağcılar, and Küçükçekmece). In the report, it is underlined that “[t]hese districts have a large percentage of Syrian refugees that are underserved, often marginalized” (Kaya &

Kıraç, 2016, p. 11). They also state that most of the respondents are only able to rent a flat from either a basement or a ground floor because of the expensive rents. As it is indicated in the same report, in terms of the sources of the refugees' incomes, about 64 % of them have regularly paid from the sectors of textile, service, and construction. They also reported that 23 % of the participants earn daily wages, and only a small percentage could establish their own business in the city, which are either formal or informal.

Given the regard of differences in social contexts, it can be expected that people, who have direct contact with the refugees and first-hand experiences with them, like in the border district, might be more likely to have more stable attitudes towards Syrian refugees; as a consequence, they would not be influenced by the situation in which empathy-evoking concerns are reminded. However, the actual economic competitions, a shared daily life, and more clear differences in the social and cultural practices and norms in the border region would make people more sensitive in order to be influenced by threat-related apprehensions; and correspondingly, people in the border cities would be more influenced by the threat-evoking conditions. On the contrary, the expectation for the largest cities is that since individuals do not have direct interaction with the refugee group, they might have nonrigid attitudes towards the refugees and might be more responsive to the empathy-evoking condition. Besides, in the largest cities, the economic concerns or differences in the cultural norms and practices do not base on hands-on experiences but probably stem from perceptions even if there are such considerations. Likewise, youngsters in large cities, for instance, who are in the private university students, might not have such real economic burdens or concerns regarding the 'aberrations' from the cultural and social rules. In turn, their attitudes towards Syrian refugees emanate from

perceptions, and they would be responsive to the situational conditions, mainly, the empathy-evoking condition might be even more effective on them.

In accordance with the theoretical explanations, discussions, and previous findings addressed throughout the previous chapters, the following part will articulate the theoretical framework of the current research. Further, the hypotheses will be expressed at the end of the following section.



3. ANALYZING PREJUDICE THROUGH A MULTILEVEL APPROACH

This chapter will portray the theoretical framework of the present research, a multilevel approach, by focusing on the pivotal roles of social context and situational factors in the examination of prejudice. The broader and structural layer, context, can be connected with the instant situations, and thus, their impacts on people's biased attitudes and approaches can diverse from each other according to different social contexts. Employing a multilevel approach facilitates the research in order to not only delve the prejudice toward Syrian refugees in the account of person-based explanations but also investigate the effects of situational and socio-contextual circumstances on individuals, which might shape and alter attitudes.

In this respect, Pettigrew (2018) emphasizes that it is possible to focus on different levels, micro (individual), meso (situational), and macro (culture/social structure), while conducting a study. Involving possible related elements from these levels into research would strengthen the inquiry concerning both to constitute a well-grounded methodological design and to reach more informative results, which might be able to touch on several ingredients of a puzzle.

The current research is designed according to different dimensions of the matter and to be able to touch on the distinct impacts of them, the micro, meso, and macro variables are utilized as a theoretical approach. The expectation is to observe how these factors appear as significant determinants of the prejudice towards Syrian refugees in Turkey. To put it more in more details, RWA and SDO were employed to observe the roles of individual-difference variables in prejudice. In addition to them, different situations, in which the threat- and empathy-evoking conditions were displayed as a portray of instant states that the refugees in Turkey have and the possible results of their existence, were employed to uncover whether people resist

conserving their current perceptions and attitudes towards Syrian refugees when they are exposed to the different stimulus regarding the refugees in Turkey. Lastly, concerning the macro-level variables, two additional groups, border, and largest cities, were created in terms of the distinct social and economic structures. By utilizing a multilevel approach, the multifaceted subject, prejudice against the refugees, might be clarified through several ingredients.

To these ends, the current study composes of two different analyses from two separate samples. The first one can be accepted as preliminary research to display the influence the experimental conditions, on individuals' prejudice levels. Mainly, the threat- and empathy-evoking conditions were designed to observe whether these situational factors make any difference in the levels of prejudice in a sample that consists of university students. The group of university students has particular concerns in terms of having limited economic and cultural interests in comparison to the extent that adults hold, and therefore they display a unique context of prejudice.

Although in the first examination included university students, the individual-difference variables and different contexts were not incorporated in the first design, the second research can be suggested as a comprehensive inquiry which consists of all of the mentioned factors appear as different dimensions. More specifically, not only the situational determinants but also the individual and contextual explanations were involved in the formulation of the second research in which the sample consisted of adults from different districts of Turkey. Before going beyond the methodological explanations in detail, it would be favorable to set out the hypotheses of these studies succinctly. In the further sections, the methodologies and results will be reported.

The hypotheses of the first study are proposed as the following:

HYPOTHESIS 1: When individuals are exposed to the threat- and empathy-evoking experimental conditions, the prejudice levels will differentiate.

HYPOTHESIS 2: While individuals who read the threat-evoking text will show higher levels of prejudice than the people who are in neutral condition, individuals who read the empathetic text will display a lower level of prejudice compared to the ones who are in neutral condition.

HYPOTHESIS 3: When individuals are exposed to the threat- and empathy-evoking experimental conditions, the ones who are in the threat-evoking condition will have a higher level of prejudice towards Syrian refugees compared to the respondents who are in the empathetic condition.

These expectations are related to the discussion about empathy and perceived threat and their effects on prejudice. Empathy leads people to consider themselves in the others' positions by contemplating the conditions and circumstances that an outgroup has. When a situation stimulates individuals in an empathetic sense towards the refugees, they will be more likely to increase their current biased attitudes. On the contrary, the literature suggests that there is a positive correlation between perceived threat and prejudice. If the refugees are portrayed as the menacing ones against the economic or cultural domains in the country, people will tend to increase their levels of prejudice. All these assumptions are considered in the context of a university student group. Because their attitudes probably stem from merely their perceptions without hands-on experience with the refugees.

The hypotheses of the second study are proposed as the following:

HYPOTHESIS 1: The experimental conditions, threat- and empathy-evoking, will produce substantial effects on the level of prejudice in the contexts of both largest and border cities.

HYPOTHESIS 2: In the group of largest cities (İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir), individuals who are exposed to the empathetic text will have a lower level of prejudice while the others who are exposed to the threat-evoking text will not

differentiate from the neutral condition in terms of prejudice level. Since the assumption is that people who live in the largest cities do not have a high probability of direct interaction with the refugees, and their chance to be familiar to the refugees is on a lower degree, their attitudes presumably do not emanate from experience, but only from a perception level. As a result of that, they will be more open to being affected by the empathy-evoking stimulus. However, due to the previous reports, which are presented above sections, display that the general approach in the society is quite negative against the refugees the threat-evoking condition might not be as influential as; hence a probable ceiling effect.

HYPOTHESIS 3: In the context of border cities (Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Hatay), respondents' levels of prejudice against Syrian refugees will be higher than the others, who are in the neutral condition, whereas the participants' prejudice levels in the empathetic and neutral conditions will not vary from each other. The reason is related to the social context of border cities where the probability of contacting with the refugees through more direct means is on a high level. As a result of that, the economic and cultural concerns are probably based on actual experiences and people might tend to have more inflexible attitudes. On the other hand, these experiences might make people quite familiar to the refugees and the circumstances that they under live in Turkey. Thus, the empathy-evoking condition will not as effective as on the prejudice scores compared to the perceived threat situation, since people in the district are already accustomed to the issue.

HYPOTHESIS 4: The second and third hypotheses will hold, after adjusting the influence of the individual-difference variables, namely, RWA and SDO. The literature, which scrutinizes the effects of individual differences on prejudice, acknowledges us regarding the positive correlations of RWA and SDO with levels of prejudice, as it was elaborated in the previous sections. These variables are

conceptualized as relatively more stable socio-ideological attitudes that people have; and therefore, these individual-based factors are not so vulnerable to change across different contexts and situations. That is why it is expected that while both RWA and SDO will be able to predict higher levels of prejudice successfully, their influence will not differentiate across the social contexts. Concordantly, after controlling the effects of RWA and SDO on prejudice, the reached findings regarding the influence of empathy- and threat- evoking conditions on prejudice in both social contexts will be preserved. The subsequent chapters will illustrate the methodological details of the studies along with the obtained findings of each of them in accordance with the indicated hypotheses.

4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY OF STUDY I

In this chapter, the methodology of the first research will be elaborated by displaying the features of the participants, the details of the scales and questionnaires that was used, procedure of the experiment, and which statistical tests were employed.

4.1. Participants

The preliminary study consisted of 120 university students (75 females, 45 males) who involved in the research voluntarily. The age range in the sample was from 18 to 26 ($M = 21, 72$; $SD = 1, 62$). They were all undergraduate students from different private universities (e.g., Yeditepe University, Koç University) in Istanbul. The students were from several departments such as law, engineering, medicine, psychology, pharmacy, and so on. The participants involved in the study by convenient sampling, and they were randomly assigned to the experimental conditions.

4.2. Materials and questionnaires

4.2.1. Demographic form. This was a brief form to report the respondents' personal information about their age, gender and their major (see Appendix A).

4.2.2. Manipulation texts. Two different texts were designed to evoke empathy towards the refugees and threat caused by them. In the empathetic one, the objective was to expose the participants to the positive information about Syrians. By doing so, the respondents led to take the refugees perspective and have empathy concern. On the other hand, the threat-evoked text displayed the problematic atmosphere due to the refugees in Turkey with respect to both symbolic and realistic concerns which were prevalent in the society. In each text, one specific quotation was employed to make the texts more reliable by presenting evidence. Lastly, the number of words in each text were fixed to 226 words (see Appendices B and C).

4.2.3. The questionnaire of prejudice towards Syrian refugees. The questionnaire is developed with regard to the common concerns and biased attitudes in the society of Turkey, which was displayed by the research named as ‘Syrians in Turkey: Social Acceptance and Integration’ conducted by the Hacettepe University Migration and Politics Research Center (HUGO) (Erdoğan, 2014). In addition to that, although it was not a direct adaptation of a previous scale which assessed prejudice towards an outgroup, Pettigrew and Meertens’ (1995) conceptualization of blatant and subtle prejudice was taken into consideration during the formation of the questionnaire. Therefore, prejudice was gauged by the prevalent biased attitudes and perceptions in the host society through the blatant and subtle aspects of the term (see Appendix D). The intention of this composition was to touch on the characteristics of the issue in Turkey-specific context. In the assessment, there were 28 items in which half of them was the reverse ones. The responses were reported on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Accordingly, the possible lowest score was 28 and the highest one was 140. Higher scores reflected higher level of prejudice against Syrians in Turkey. The internal consistency of the questionnaire was found as $\alpha = .94$, $n = 113$.

4.3. Design

A posttest-only experimental design was employed in the present research. All participants were randomly assigned to the experimental conditions. In the first condition, the participants were exposed to the emphatic text, in the second one they were induced by the threat-evoking condition. The last condition was the neutral in which the respondents did not get any extra information or text.

4.4. Procedure

First of all, the consent form was given to the participants, and then they were asked to fill out the demographic questionnaire. Accordingly, the participants read the manipulation texts according to their assigned conditions unless they were in the neutral one. When the participants completed reading the text, the prejudice questionnaire, which was about Syrian refugees, was given them to answer. However, if they were in the neutral condition in which no text was presented to them, they directly shifted to the last questionnaire regarding prejudice. After the completion of the survey, they got a debrief including the different experimental conditions and the objective of the research.

4.5. Statistical Analysis

All statistical analyses were run in the IBM SPSS version 25. The main examination was conducted through the test of Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) to uncover whether there is a statistically significant differentiation among the experimental conditions regarding the level of prejudice. As a further analysis, Dunnett's test was run to examine whether the experimental conditions, empathetic and threat, were differentiated from the neutral condition with opposite directions. Accordingly, to Hoschberg's GT2 was performed as a post-hoc test to detect whether there was a difference in each possible pair of experimental condition. The reason of running the Hoschberg's GT2 test was related to the unequal number of respondents in the experimental conditions while the homogeneity of variance assumption was confirmed (see in Field, 2009). In the subsequent chapter, the findings will be reported.

5. RESULTS OF STUDY I

The results of the first research will be reported in this section. First, the results of descriptive analysis will be presented. Further, the outputs of the group comparison tests will be shown.

5.1. Descriptive Statistic

In each experimental condition, there were 40 respondents. The age, gender, and in which year the participants at the university were illustrated in Table 5.1 across the experimental conditions.

Table 5.1

Descriptive Statistics of Demographic Variables of Study I

Variables	Empathetic				Threat				Neutral			
	N	%	M	SD	N	%	M	SD	N	%	M	SD
Year at the University*			2.75	1.14			2.75	1.27			2.43	1.31
First Year	6	15			6	15			11	27.5		
Second Year	7	17.5			10	25			4	10		
Third Year	8	20			4	10			7	17.5		
Fourth Year	11	27.5			12	30			8	20		
Missing	8	20			8	20			10	25		
Gender												
Female	23	57.5			29	72.5			23	57.5		
Male	17	42.5			11	27.5			17	42.5		
Age			22.43	1.58			21.60	1.63			21.15	1.42

*1 = First Year, 2 = Second Year, 3 = Third Year, 4 = Fourth Year.

As it can be seen in Table 5.1, the participants' year in the university, gender frequencies and means of age in the experimental conditions were found similar to each other.

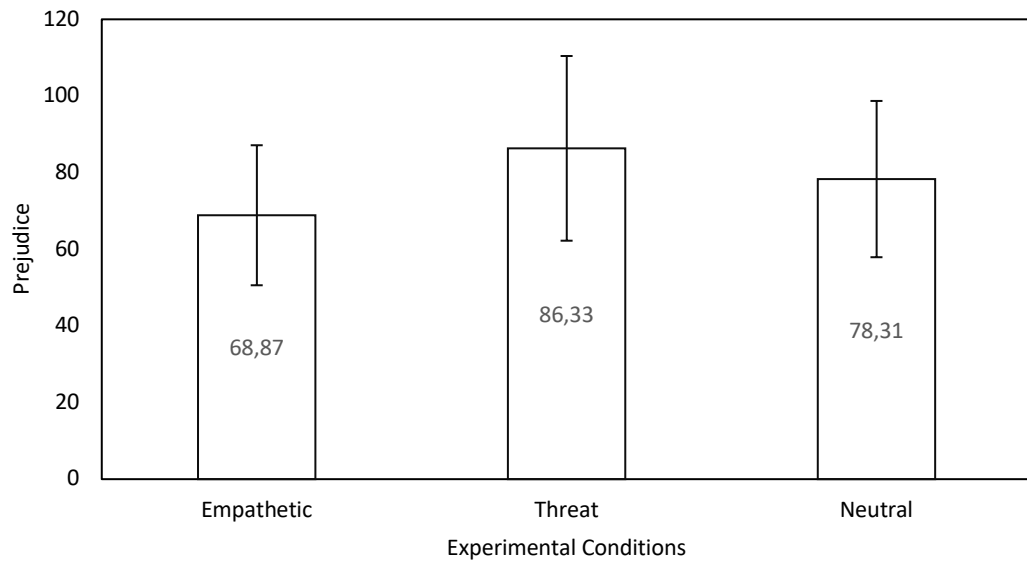


Figure 1. The means and standard deviations of prejudice scores in the experimental conditions.

The means and standard deviations of prejudice scores in the empathetic, threat-evoking and neutral conditions, which were depicted in Figure 1, were as the following: $M = 68.87$, $SD = 18.27$, $n = 38$; $M = 86.33$, $SD = 24.10$, $n = 40$; $M = 78.31$, $SD = 20.39$, $n = 35$, respectively.

5.2. Comparison of Prejudice Levels across the Experimental Conditions

The analysis of variance test was run to observe whether there was a significant differentiation among the conditions. The findings revealed that there was a statistically significant differentiation of the prejudice levels among the experimental conditions, $F(2, 110) = 6.651$, $p = .002$, $\eta^2 = .11$.

To test the means of the empathy- and threat-evoking conditions against the neutral condition, Dunnett's test was conducted as a post hoc analysis. After the confidence interval was designated as 90 %, the comparison test yielded that the mean score of prejudice for the empathetic condition was significantly different than the

neutral condition with a mean difference as 9.45, $p = .053$ (one-tailed). When analysis was conducted to assess the hypothesis that individuals in threat-evoking condition had greater prejudice than the neutral condition, the findings was found in parallel with the assumption with a mean difference as 8.01, $p = .09$ (one-tailed).

Further, the multiple comparisons for each pair of conditions was run with a second post hoc procedure, Hoshberg's GT2 test. The mean differences, standard errors and p-values were portrayed below in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2.

The Comparisons of the Manipulation Effects on the Level of Prejudice

Conditions (I)	Conditions (J)	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	p
Empathetic	Threat	-17.457*	4.789	.001
	Neutral	-9.446	4.952	.166
Threat	Empathetic	17.457*	4.789	.001
	Neutral	8.011	4.893	.280
Neutral	Empathetic	9.446	4.952	.166
	Threat	-8.011	4.893	.280

The results yielded that there was a statistically significant differentiation on the prejudice scores between the empathetic and threat-evoking conditions ($p = .001$). In the other comparisons between each pair of experimental conditions, a significant difference of prejudice levels could not be found. Before elaborating these outputs, the research methodology of the second study will be detailed in the following chapter.

6. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY OF STUDY II

This section will focus on the details of the design and methodology of the second research. To this end, first, the characteristics of the respondents will be illustrated, and then, the materials, questionnaire, and scales that were utilized in the study will be explained. Further, the procedure of the data collection, and lastly, the details of the statistical analyses will be elaborated.

6.1. Participants

The study was consisting of 186 individuals (103 male, 83 female) from six cities with regard to existence or nonexistence of temporary accommodation camps (Hatay, Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa contain temporary accommodation camps; Istanbul, Izmir, Ankara do not have temporary accommodation camps). There were 30 respondents from Hatay, 32 from Gaziantep, 28 from Şanlıurfa, 32 from Istanbul, 31 from Izmir, and 33 from Ankara.

The respondents' age ranged from 18 to 78 ($M = 35.9$; $SD = 12.72$). They were asked to indicate their education level, and almost all of the respondents in the sample took some level of education except 2. More specifically, 25 individuals completed a graduate school, 76 of the respondents graduated from university, 46 people had high school education, 19 of them graduated from secondary school, and 16 of them specified that they got the primary school education. Two individuals did not indicate their education levels.

Regarding monthly income, four individuals did not answer this question; and 18 of them stated that their monthly incomes were lower than 500 Turkish Liras (TL). Between the range of 500-1000 TL, there were 22 participants. The majority of the sample reported their income in a month in the field of 1001-3000 TL (56 of them were in between 1001-2000 TL; 41 individuals were in between 2001-3000 TL).

Thirty-one of them stated that their monthly incomes were in between 3001-5000 TL, and 14 individuals received more than 5000 TL.

Another question that was asked the respondents was related to the frequency of seeing Syrian refugees in their surroundings. According to their indications, 62 of them saw the refugees all the time, 81 individuals frequently saw, 25 of the sample sometimes saw, 15 participants rarely saw, and only 1 of them has never seen the refugees in his/her surrounding. Two people did not answer this question.

6.2. Materials and questionnaires

6.2.1. Demographic form. There were several questions regarding the participant's age, gender, education level, occupation, monthly income, and the current place s/he lives in (see Appendix E).

6.2.2. Right-Wing Authoritarian Personality scale (RWA). The scale consisted of 22 items in which the items 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13 15, 18, 20, and 21 were the reverse ones (see Appendix F). The response system was based on a 9-point Likert scale from -4 (very strongly disagree) to +4 (very strongly agree), and the first two statements were not included in the calculation because these items served as a way to get experience on -4 and +4 response system. Therefore, the lowest possible total score was 20, and the highest one was 180. The higher scores on the scale represented more authoritarianism than the lower RWA scores. In the current study, the internal reliability was found satisfactory enough ($\alpha = .87$, $n = 173$). RWA scale translated from English to Turkish and checked by Assist. Prof. Dr. Sevda Numanbayraktaroğlu, who studies in the area of cultural psychology. Several preliminary studies were conducted to assess the internal reliability of the Turkish version of the RWA scale. The first one was conducted with 40 participants after all regulations were completed, and Cronbach's α was found .87. The second preliminary data was collected 206 students from several universities in Istanbul (e.g., Marmara University, Istanbul

Technical University, Yeditepe University) and the internal consistency of the RWA scale was $\alpha = 0.89$. Altemeyer (2006) indicated that Cronbach's α of the scale was 0.90. Thus, the reached internal reliabilities of different samples reflected a consistency.

6.2.3. Social Dominance Orientation scale (SDO). The scale, which was developed by Pratto et al. (1994), had 16 items and half of them were reversed ones (see Appendix G). Akbas (2010, unpublished master thesis) adopted the scale into Turkish; and in the current research, this version was applied. The response system was a 7-point Likert scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). The possible highest score was 112, and the possible lowest was 16. The higher scores depicted more social dominance orientation. The internal reliability of the scale was on a satisfactory level ($\alpha = .85, n = 157$).

6.2.4. Manipulation texts. Two different texts were utilized to manipulate participants' perceptions towards Syrian refugees in Turkey. One of them illustrated some positive opinions, attitudes, and information regarding the refugees that might lead respondents to have empathetic concern and take their perspectives to observe whether their level of prejudice will reduce, or not. The other text reflected some of the public concerns and negative perspectives regarding economic issues, cultural differences, social relations, and so forth to influence respondents' perceptions and increase their prejudice. Both texts had fixed number of words as 341 including the titles (see Appendices H and I).

6.2.5. The questionnaire of prejudice towards Syrian refugees. The questionnaire was designed in similar with the preliminary study I, by borrowing the perspective of prejudice including subtle and blatant components, which is suggested by Pettigrew and Meertens' (1995). In addition, the results and questions from 'Syrians in Turkey: Social Acceptance and Integration' report written by Erdoğan

(2014) was one of the primary sources for the development of the assessment (see Appendix J). The questionnaire had 22 items in which 9 of them were the reverse ones. The responses were marked on a 7-point Likert scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Thus, the possible highest score was 154, and the lowest one was 22. The higher scores represented higher levels of prejudice towards Syrian refugees in Turkey. The internal consistency of the questionnaire was found on a satisfactory level, $\alpha = .93$, $n = 173$.

6.3. Design

The study was constructed as a posttest-only experimental design, in a similar way to the Study I. All participants were randomly assigned to three experimental conditions. The first condition was the empathetic one in which the respondents received the text that was designed to contribute to have empathetic concern through the refugees' affective state to and take their perspective caused by their plight. The second one provoked threat perception in which the respondents read the text that constituted significant economic, welfare (realistic) and socio-cultural threat (symbolic) concerns regarding the issue. By doing so, the respondents aimed to be triggered in terms of having threat perception towards the refugees. In the last condition, which was the neutral one, participants did not receive any text.

Moreover, the collected data was divided into two parts according to the different proportions of the refugees to the general population in cities and features of the large cities and border district. Thus, the first group included the border cities (Hatay, Şanlıurfa, Gaziantep), and the second one contained the largest cities (Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir). That is because it was more likely to have firsthand experiences regarding refugees in the border cities compared to the others. It should be reported that the data of the present research was gathered in 2016. Expressing the distributions Syrian population by the concerned cities in that year will be suitable in

order to display the quantitative difference between the largest (Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir) and border cities (Gaziantep, Hatay, Şanlıurfa) in Turkey. In that sense, Turkish Migration Report (2016) published by Ministry of Interior Directorate General of Migration Management presented that Istanbul was the most populous one with the number of 438.861 which was equal to 2,96 percent of the population in Istanbul. Similarly, the percentages were lower in Ankara with 67.141 refugees (1,26 % of the population) and in Izmir 99.701 (2,36 % of the population). The proportions of Syrian refugees to the general populations in the largest cities, which was included in this study, were relatively small compared to the population distribution in the border cities. Namely, there were 318.078 Syrian refugees in Gaziantep (16,11% of the population), 405.511 in Şanlıurfa (20,90 % of the population) and 379.141 in Hatay (24,38 % of the population). When the distribution of Syrian refugee population by cities was taken into the formulation, it can be suggested the assumption mentioned above regarding the probability of direct contact between local people and the refugees holds.

In addition to the comparison of prejudice among experimental conditions according to the contextual differences, the respondents' stances on the RWA and SDO scales were adjusted to assess whether these variables had any influences on prejudice by taking manipulation into the account.

6.4. Procedure

The materials and scales were applied as a face-to-face survey in quiet places. Any distraction from outside was inhibited during the process. First, the respondents received the consent form and informed about the research. The information about the experimental groups or availability of different texts was not shared with the respondents until the end of questionnaires. After the consent form, they were requested to fill out the demography questions, the SDO scale, and RWA scale, in this

order. Then, the participants were asked to read the relevant manipulation texts unless they were in the neutral condition. As the last task, all participants were requested to fill out the questionnaire of prejudice towards Syrian refugees. When the respondents completed all the steps, they got debrief about the entire procedure including experimental conditions.

6.5. Statistical Analyses

All statistical analyses were performed in the IBM SPSS version 25. First, Pearson's correlation was applied to reveal possible associations between RWA, SDO, and prejudice in the neutral condition. Then, the data was split into two groups as the *border cities* (Hatay, Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa) and the *largest cities* (Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir). In each group, the conditions were compared to each other through the test of Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) to examine the influence of experimental manipulations. To examine whether the assumed differences for the probability of contacting with Syrian refugees between two groups of cities exist, or not, an independent samples t-test was run.

Moreover, the hypotheses, which indicated while people in the threat-evoking perception had greater level of prejudice, individuals in the empathetic condition had lower level of prejudice than the neutral condition, was tested with the Dunnett's test. By doing so, the means of prejudice level in the experimental conditions was tested against the neutral condition.

After that, the contrast tests were performed for the both groups of cities to examine the influence of the threat perception provoking text on the level of prejudice comparing to the impact of empathetical one (see in Field, 2009). For the analysis of pairwise comparisons, Tukey's HSD test was run in the group of largest cities because the sample sizes in each condition were equal to each other (see in Field, 2009). However, in the group of border cities, the numbers of respondents in each

experimental context were different although the homogeneity of variances assumption was verified. Therefore, Hochberg's GT2 was chosen as a post hoc test (see in Field, 2009). Subsequently, the Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA) was performed to observe the effect of manipulations on prejudice after the impact of covariates, RWA and SDO, was taken into the model. In parallel with the mentioned statistical procedures, in Chapter 7, the outputs of these statistical analyses will be illustrated.



7. RESULTS OF STUDY II

In this part, first, the descriptive analysis of the data will be displayed to illuminate the characteristics of the data. Accordingly, the results of the experimental comparisons will be detailed according to the contextual division as the groups of largest and border cities. In the last section of this chapter, the findings of the model that includes both the individual-difference variables and experimental conditions will be portrayed.

7.1. Descriptive Statistics

In total, 186 respondents were involved in the research. The number of individuals in the empathetic condition were 64 (4 of them was missing), in the threat-evoking condition were 60 (4 of them was missing), and 62 in the neutral condition (5 of them was missing).

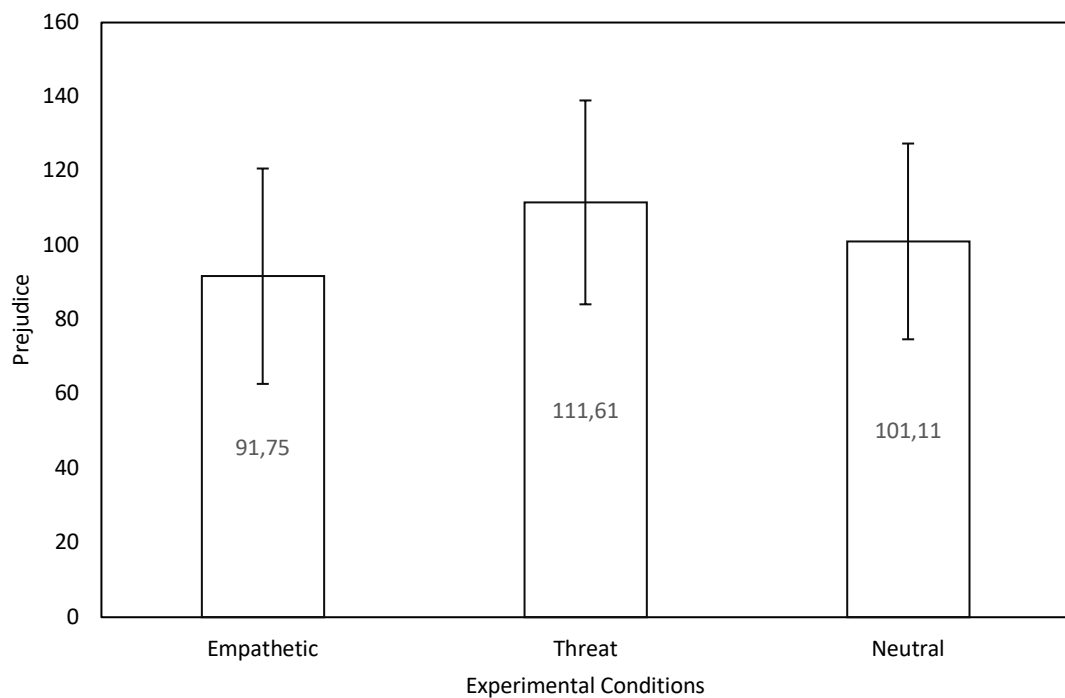


Figure 2. The means and standard deviations of prejudice across the experimental conditions.

The means and standard deviations of prejudice scores in the overall data were shown in Figure 1. In the empathetic condition, the mean of the responses was 91.75 and the standard deviation was 27.43, in the threat condition, the mean was 111.61 and the standard deviation 27.43, and in the neutral condition, the mean 101.11 and the standard deviation 26.34.



Table 7.1.

Descriptive Statistics of Demographic Variables of Study II

Variables	Empathetic				Threat				Neutral			
	N	%	M	SD	N	%	M	SD	N	%	M	SD
Cities												
İstanbul	10	15.6			11	18.3			11	17.7		
Ankara	12	18.8			10	16.7			11	17.7		
İzmir	10	15.6			10	16.7			11	17.7		
Gaziantep	12	18.8			9	15.0			11	17.7		
Hatay	10	15.6			10	16.7			10	16.1		
Şanlıurfa	10	15.6			10	16.7			8	12.9		
Contexts												
Largest Cities	32	50.0			31	51.7			33	53.2		
Border Cities	32	50.0			29	48.3			29	46.8		
Education*			2.43	.96			2.50	.97			2.52	.99
Not a High	13	20.6			12	20			12	19.7		
High School,	17	26.6			14	23.3			15	24.2		
Bachelor's	26	40.6			26	43.3			24	38.7		
Doctoral and	7	10.9			8	13.3			10	16.1		
Missing	1	1.6			-	-			1	1.6		
Income (TL)**			2.6	1.28			2.43	1.19			2.69	1.21
Less than 1000	13	22.2			16	27.6			10	16.4		
1001-2000	19	29.7			15	25.0			22	35.5		
2001-3000	15	23.4			16	26.7			10	16.1		
3001-5000	8	12.5			8	13.3			15	24.2		
More than 5000	7	10.9			3	5.0			4	6.5		
Missing	1	1.6			2	3.3			1	1.6		
Gender												
Female	31	48.4			22	36.7			30	48.4		
Male	33	51.6			38	63.3			32	51.6		
Age			36.3	13.9			34.3	12.3			37.0	11.7
RWA			97.1	35.0			94.7	29.7			97.1	31.2
SDO			43.3	18.4			44.9	19.8			45.0	15.5

* 1= Less than High School, 2= High School, No College, 3= Bachelor, 4= Doctoral and Master's.

**Monthly income (TL); 1= Below 1000 TL, 2 = 1001-2000 TL, 3 = 2001-3000 TL, 4 = 3001-5000 TL, 5 = More than 5000 TL.

The demographic variables and the scores of individual-differences in RWA and SDO were displayed in the Table 7.1. As an advantage of using random assignment, the means of monthly income level, last completed education degree, age, scores of RWA, and SDO were similar to each other across the experimental conditions. Similarly, the number of participants in the two different districts of Turkey were in a congruence, as well.

7.2. Correlation Coefficient

The correlation analyses were conducted in the neutral condition to eliminate the possible effects of manipulation. According to the findings, there was a statistically significant and positive correlation between the scores on the RWA and SDO scales ($r = .59, n = 47, p = .01$). The positive relationship was illustrated in Figure 3.

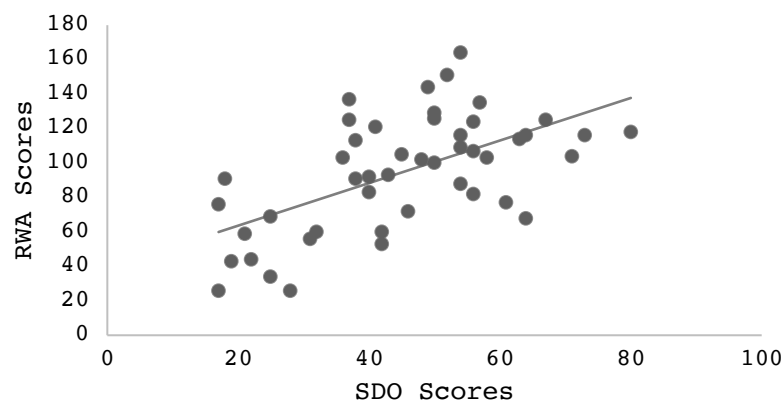


Figure 3. The positive correlation between the scores on RWA and SDO scales.

The other statistically significant correlation was observed between level of prejudice and RWA ($r = .28, n = 54, p = .05$). The association between prejudice and RWA was found in a positive direction, but on a weak level (see Figure 4).

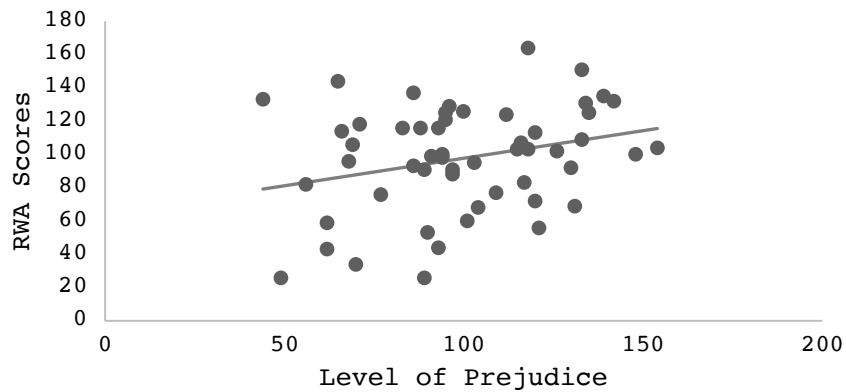


Figure 4. The positive correlation between the RWA and level of prejudice.

A statistically significant correlation could not be achieved between the level of prejudice and the scores on SDO ($r = .26, n = 47, p > .05$).

7.3. Comparison of Prejudice Levels in the Largest Cities

The analysis of variance test yielded that the influence of manipulations on the level of prejudice was significant in the group of largest cities, $F(2, 84) = 7.752, p = .001, \eta^2 = 0.16$. The error bar graph of the level of prejudice along with a line which displayed the general trend of the means in the experimental conditions illustrated in Figure 5.

The means of the empathy- and threat-evoking conditions against the neutral condition were analyzed with Dunnett's test as a post hoc procedure. According to the findings, the mean score of prejudice for the empathetic condition was significantly lower than the neutral condition, $p = .004$ (one-tailed). However, there is no significant differentiation of prejudice levels between the threat-evoking and neutral conditions, $p = .314$ (one-tailed).

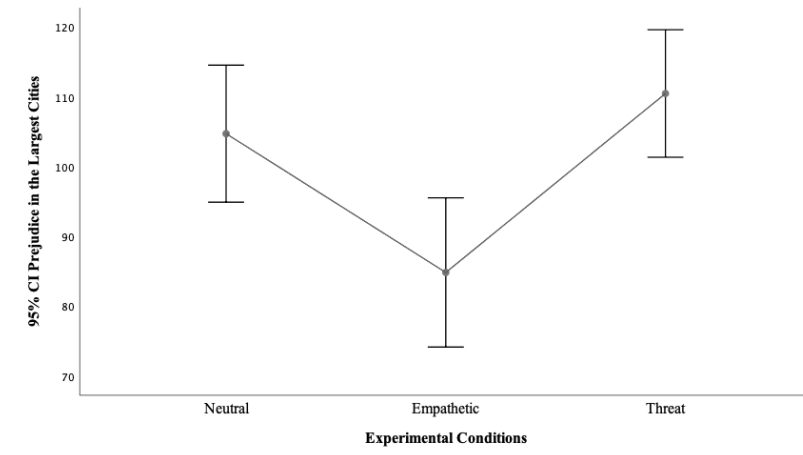


Figure 5. The error bar chart of the level of prejudice across the experimental conditions in the group of largest cities.

When the planned comparison was performed, the finding revealed that the respondents in the threat condition had higher levels of prejudice compared to the others in the empathetical condition, $t(84) = 3.752, p = .000$ (one-tailed), $r = 0.4$. Table 7.2.

Comparisons of the Influences of Experimental Conditions on Prejudice in the Largest Cities

Condition (I)	Condition (J)	Mean Diff (I-J)	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Empathetic	Threat	-25.655*	6.837	-41.97	-9.34
	Neutral	-19.897**	6.837	-36.21	-3.58
Threat	Empathetic	25.655*	6.837	9.34	41.97
	Neutral	5.759	6.837	-10.55	22.07
Neutral	Empathetic	19.897**	6.837	3.58	36.21
	Threat	-5.759	6.837	-22.07	10.55

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ (Tukey HSD)

As the findings which were illustrated in Table 7.2, the further pairwise comparisons, through Tukey HSD test, indicated that while the participants who read

empathetical text had significantly lower level of prejudice than the participants who did not take a manipulative text ($p = .013$), there was no statistically significant difference between the conditions of threat and neutral in terms of the participants' prejudice scores ($p = .678$). In a similar vein to the aforementioned result reached from the planned comparison, the pairwise comparison showed that when the respondents read the threat-evoking text, they became more prejudiced towards the refugees than the respondents who were in the empathetic condition ($p = .001$).

7.4. Analysis of Covariance in the Largest Cities

First, the condition that whether the covariates were independent from experimental conditions was checked to involve them into the analysis. According to the analysis of variance test, in which RWA and SDO are the outcomes and experimental conditions as a predictor, the results revealed that the average level of RWA, $F(2, 93) = .533, p = .59$, and SDO, $F(2, 82) = 1.288, p = .28$, scores were approximately same in all three conditions, meaning it is appropriate to include RWA and SDO as covariates.

Table 7.3.

Summary of ANCOVA for the Level of Prejudice in the Largest Cities

Variable	<i>B</i>	Std. Error	<i>t</i>	95% CI	
(Intercept)	71.422	8.903	8.022	53.694	89.150
Empathy	-20.261*	6.435	-3.149	-33.075	-7.448
Threat	2.691	6.529	.412	-10.311	15.692
RWA	.226*	.084	2.708	.060	.393
SDO	.416*	.149	2.788	.119	.714

* $p < .01, R^2 = .33$

In the main analysis of covariance, the results showed that covariates, RWA, $F(1, 77) = 7.332, p = .008, \eta_p^2 = .087$, and SDO, $F(1, 77) = 7.774, p = .007, \eta_p^2 = .092$, significantly related to prejudice towards Syrian refugees in Turkey. The significant effect of the experimental conditions on prejudice was continued to be observed after controlling for the influence of RWA and SDO, $F(2, 77) = 7.788, p = .001, \eta_p^2 =$

.168. The coefficients of the variables were indicated in Table 7.3. The ANCOVA results can be indicated as an equation of multiple linear regression:

$$y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 x_{i,1} + \beta_2 x_{i,2} + \dots + \beta_{p-1} x_{i,p-1} + \varepsilon_i$$

$$\text{Prejudice} = 71.422 - 20.261\text{Empathy} + 2.691\text{Threat} + .226\text{RWA} + .416\text{SDO} + \varepsilon$$

Apart from the threat condition, all other components in the equation were found as the significant predictors of the level of prejudice. That is to say, as empathy-evoking situation increased by one unit, the level of prejudice decreased by about 20.26 units, when the effects of all others were held constant. While prejudice and empathy had a negative relationship to each other, RWA and SDO displayed positive associations with prejudice. More specifically, if the influences of other predictors were held constant, as RWA increased by one unit, the prejudice level increased by around 0.23 units. In a similar manner, as SDO increased by one unit, the level of prejudice elevated by 0.42 units when all else was held constant. Additionally, the conducted analysis of covariance was able to explain the 33 percent of the total variance in prejudice.

Planned contrasts yielded that being exposed to the empathetic text significantly decreased prejudice towards Syrian refugees in Turkey, $t(77) = -3.15$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .114$ in compared to neutral condition. However, being manipulated by threat inducing text did not reveal a significant differentiation from the neutral condition $t(77) = .41$, $p = .681$, $\eta_p^2 = .002$.

Table 7.4.

Comparisons of the Influences of Experimental Conditions on Prejudice in the Largest Cities

Condition (I)	Condition (J)	Mean Diff (I-J)	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Empathetic	Threat	-22.952*	6.376	-38.557	-7.347
	Neutral	-20.261*	6.435	-36.010	-4.513
Threat	Empathetic	22.952*	6.376	7.347	38.557
	Neutral	2.691	6.529	-13.289	18.671
Neutral	Empathetic	20.261*	6.435	4.513	36.010
	Threat	-2.691	6.529	-18.671	13.289

* $p < 0.01$

As it can be seen in Table 7.4, when the all possible pairwise conditions were compared to each other, the findings displayed that the participants in the empathetic condition were more likely to have lower level of prejudice scores compared to ones in the neutral condition ($p = .007$) and in the threat condition ($p = .002$). There were no other significant differentiations in the other pairwise comparisons.

7.5. Comparison of Prejudice Levels in the Border Cities

According to the overall comparison of the experimental conditions, the findings demonstrated that the effect of manipulation on the level of prejudice was marginally significant in the group of border cities, $F(2, 83) = 2.504$, $p = .088$, $\eta^2 = .06$. The descriptive statistics were shown in Table 7.5.

Table 7.5.

Prejudice Scores Descriptive of the Experimental Conditions in the Border Cities

Experimental Conditions	<i>N</i>	Mean	<i>SD</i>
Empathetic	31	98.23	28.693
Threat	27	112.81	31.098
Neutral	28	97.36	26.821
Total	86	102.52	29.395

The experimental conditions, threat and empathetic, were analyzed against the neutral condition with Dunnett's post hoc procedure. The output displayed that the mean score of prejudice for the threat-evoking condition was significantly higher than the neutral condition, $p = .046$ (one-tailed). However, according to the results, the empathy-evoking condition did not produce a lower level of prejudice than the neutral conditions, $p = .710$ (one-tailed).

The bar chart presented in Figure 6 showed the level of prejudice data in the sample of border cities with an added line for displaying the linear trend of means across the experimental conditions.

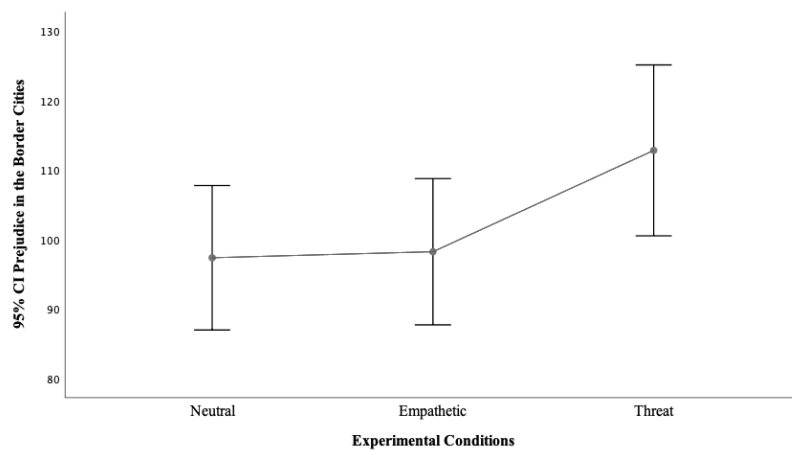


Figure 6. The error bar chart of the level of prejudice across the experimental conditions in the group of border cities.

Further, the planned contrast comparison was performed, and the output revealed that the threat inducing text significantly increased the respondents' levels of prejudice compared to the empathetic text, $t(83) = 1.918, p = .03$ (one-tailed), $r = 0.2$.

Table 7.6.

Comparisons of the Influences of Experimental Conditions on Prejudice in the Border Cities

Conditions (I)	Conditions (J)	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	<i>p</i>
Empathetic	Neutral	-.869	7.532	.999
	Threat	-15.458	7.792	.143
Threat	Neutral	.869	7.532	.999
	Empathetic	-14.589	7.605	.164
Neutral	Empathetic	15.458	7.792	.143
	Threat	14.589	7.605	.164

On the other hand, the multiple comparisons for each pair of conditions did not produce a statistically significant differentiation in terms of the participants' levels of prejudice, which was displayed in Table 7.6.

7.6. Analysis of Covariance in the Border Cities

In similar to the section of largest cities analysis of covariance, first the independence between covariates, RWA and SDO, and experimental conditions was tested to confirm the validation of the involvement of the covariates into the main analysis. Results approved that the average level of RWA, $F(2, 87) = 1.257, p = .29$, and SDO, $F(2, 69) = 1.903, p = .16$, scores were approximately same in all three experimental contexts.

After that confirmation, the results from the main analysis of covariance uncovered that neither RWA, $F(1, 64) = .062, p = .804, \eta_p^2 = .001$, nor SDO, $F(1,$

64) = .310, $p = .580$, $\eta_p^2 = .005$, significantly associated with prejudice towards Syrian refugees in Turkey. In parallel to the previous group comparisons, after controlling for the possible impacts of RWA and SDO on the levels of prejudice, there was no significant differentiation among the experimental conditions in terms of the prejudice, $F(2, 64) = 1.629$, $p = .204$, $\eta_p^2 = .048$. The findings were not found as statistically significant, and therefore, further planned or pairwise comparisons were not conducted for the group of border cities.

In order to designate whether there was a difference in the frequencies of the exposure to the Syrian refugees between the groups of cities, control and confirm the assumption of socio-contextual differences regarding the probability of contacting with the refugees, the data from two different districts, border region, and largest cities, were compared. The results yielded that while people in the border cities reported a higher frequency of seeing Syrian refugees in their surroundings than the ones in the largest cities. A significant difference was found for the scores of frequencies of seeing Syrian refugees between the border cities ($M = 4.33$, $SD = .70$) and the largest cities ($M = 3.72$, $SD = 1.01$); $t(166.45) = 7.77$, $p = .000$, when the variances were not assumed as equal.

8. DISCUSSION

The intergroup prejudice is one of the perplexing phenomena in the studies of intergroup relations, and therefore, the notion is scrutinized by scholars from several disciplines or interdisciplinary fields for many years. The quite prominent example is the possible intergroup prejudice between Syrian refugees and the host societies, as a consequence of the devastating conflict that has forced the Syrian people to flee to several countries. The highest number of Syrian refugees reside in Turkey, and the peculiar situation requires to examine the issue, thoroughly. However, there is not enough research that contemplates the prejudice in the society of Turkey towards Syrian refugees through neither an interdisciplinary perspective nor by employing a multilevel approach. In that lens, the primary intention of the present study was to uncover whether the prejudice in Turkey against Syrian refugees is vulnerable to be affected by the empathy- and threat-evoking conditions. In addition to the situational effects, the roles of individual differences, and the contextual diversification were taken into the model to apprehend the matter thoroughly; that is because, for sure, the issue is of the knotty concerns in the society. Given a multilevel approach, the current design endeavors to provide a fertile ground to explore the possible explanations of the prejudice phenomenon. By doing so, possible compositional and ecological fallacies are likely to be diminished in this research (see in Pettigrew, 2006).

To put it more specifically, the primary objective of the research is to show the variation of prejudice levels across the experimental conditions. In that sense, the results supported the first hypothesis of the preliminary study, in which the sample consisted of students from the universities in Istanbul. The expectation was to find a significant differentiation on the levels of prejudice among the experimental conditions. In accordance with the hypothesis, the findings revealed that there is a significant differentiation; meaning, the empathetic and threat-evoking conditions

produced a kind of significant influence on individuals' prejudice scores. Also, the effect size of these experimental conditions was found as around 11 percent, which can be suggested as a relatively high magnitude.

The further focus of the examination was to designate the direction of the shifts in the respondents' prejudice levels across the experimental conditions. Previous research uncovers the negative relationship between empathy and prejudice (McFarland, 2010; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008); and in that context, one of the major hypotheses was to assert that the empathy-evoking manipulation leads people to reduce their prejudice towards the Syrian refugees. Explicit support was also found for the second hypothesis: While individuals in the empathetic condition had a lower level of prejudice than the people in the neutral condition, people who faced the threat-evoking stimulus had a higher level of prejudice than the others in the neutral condition.

The earlier studies have displayed that there is positive correlation between threat perception and prejudice (e.g., Stephan & Renfro, 2002; Stephan & Stephan, 2000). However, the causal mechanism between these two concepts is relatively ambiguous to designate which one causes the other. While, Duckitt and Sibley (2010) demonstrate, in their experimental study, that threat was as an essential factor that contributes to arouse a higher level of prejudice against immigrants, Bahns' (2017) findings suggest a reverse causal relationship in between them; meaning, it is possible for both of them cause to each other in a circular manner. In that research, the causal mechanism was formulated as unidirectional; in turn, the threat-evoking condition makes individuals more prejudiced. As it is indicated above, the results of this study produced evidence for the unidirectional mechanism between threat and prejudice. More specifically, the respondents who were exposed to the threat-evoking condition had a higher level of prejudice compared to the other conditions; thus, it can be

asserted that when individuals perceived the refugees as menacing their prejudiced attitudes towards the refugees were likely to increase.

Lastly, the statistical analyses produced consistent evidence with the third hypothesis which focuses on the influences of empathy and threat on prejudice, by indicating when people are exposed to the empathetic condition, their levels of prejudice are likely to be lower than the others in threat condition. In this respect, the existence of substantial experimental effects on prejudice was revealed by the finding that presented participants' prejudice scores were on a significantly lower level in the empathetic condition in comparison to the others in the threat-evoking one. Moreover, the finding goes along with previously obtained associations between empathy-prejudice and threat-prejudice.

Nevertheless, the first study was able to reflect the issue from the perspective of the university student group, in which the participants presumably have concerns regarding neither an economic competition with refugees nor a shared atmosphere with them. Therefore, the results may vary in the other contexts in which people have various concerns about the refugees. The present research seeks also to apprehend whether there is a within-variance in the society of Turkey regarding the prejudice towards Syrian refugees, or not.

For the sake of this pursuit, the second study was conducted in two different districts of Turkey, which portray the contexts of largest and border cities. The outputs were consistent with the first expectation: the threat and empathetic conditions produced an experimental effect on the level of prejudice in both contexts. To put it more clearly, the largest city context illustrated that the experiment presented a significant impact on prejudice scores. The empathy- and threat-evoking conditions could explain 16 percent of the variance in prejudice in that sample. In other words, the results showed that being exposed to the empathetic or threat-

evoking texts was able to explain a considerable portion in the variation of prejudice scores. Further, a statistically significant differentiation could also be observed in the border cities, on a relatively lower level than the context of largest cities, though. The experimental situations could explain 6 percent of the variance of prejudice scores.

Why the empathetic and threat-evoking conditions were not influential at the same extent as in different samples can be related to the contextual differences between the regions of Turkey. More specifically, it can be expected that individuals, who live in the border cities (Hatay, Şanlıurfa, and Gaziantep), are more likely to have direct contact with the refugees because of their higher ratio to the general population. That is to say, this feature of the border cities enables people to contact with the refugees more directly; and as a consequence, the host society probably has relatively stable attitudes towards them in comparison to the individuals who live in the largest cities (Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir). In turn, the experimentally manipulated empathetic and threat may not have been as influential on people's prejudice in the border cities while people in the largest cities are more likely to shift their levels of prejudice after being exposed to the manipulation.

The further focus of the examination was to designate the direction of the shifts in the respondents' prejudice levels across the experimental conditions. With regard to this aim, the hypothesis was formulated as when individuals, who live in the largest cities, are exposed to the empathetic text; they have a lower level of prejudice in comparison to the neutral condition. However, the others, who are exposed to the threat-evoking text, do not differentiate from the neutral condition in terms of the prejudice level. The findings were consistent with the expectation; when individuals read the empathy-inducing text in the context of largest cities, their level of prejudice was likely to be on a lower level in comparison to the individuals who were not

exposed to manipulation. In addition, the threat condition did not produce a substantial effect on the levels of prejudice in the same context.

Along with the same focus, the third hypothesis articulates that individuals in the threat condition are more likely to have a lower level of prejudice than the others in the neutral condition whereas the prejudice scores in the conditions of empathetic and neutral do not differentiate to each other. The results were found as consistent with the hypothesis. Individuals had a significantly higher level of prejudice when they read the threat-evoking text than the others who did not take a manipulation. Plus, as it was expected, there was no significant difference between the neutral and empathetic conditions in terms of prejudice level.

Consequently, it can be depicted that people in the largest cities are more vulnerable to shift their prejudice levels to a lower degree whereas they are not open to be affected by the threat-evoking condition in compared the empathy stimulus and they do not increase their levels of prejudice. In other words, while they were influenced by the empathetic condition on a significant level, they were not responsive to the threat-evoking text. Research emphasizes the prevalent negativity against Syrian refugees in the society of Turkey (e.g., IPSOS, 2016; International Crisis Group, 2018); and therefore, one possible explanation might be related to the ceiling effect: If people were already prejudiced against the refugees on a highest level, then, they probably are not be affected by a threatening stimulus even more. However, when people asked to put themselves in others' shoes by inducing empathy, they responded to it and displayed a lower level of prejudice than the others. This shows that people in the largest cities are relatively flexible attitudes toward the refugees. Another possible reason might be associated with the low probability of direct interaction with refugees in this context. Even though people already have perceptions and attitudes toward Syrian refugees, their information channels are more

likely to be indirect ways than direct contact. Therefore, they might not have rigid stances which are not affected by different situations.

On the other hand, the mechanism is apparently different in the context of border cities. As opposed to the largest cities, people, who live in the border region, seems to be more sensitive to the threat-evoking condition and vulnerable to shift their prejudice levels towards a higher degree. That can be caused by the inflexible perceptions and more direct experience-based attitudes that people have in the border cities. Duckitt and Sibley's experimental research present that when the immigrants are described as economically competitive, and threatening the social norms, conventions, and lifestyle, respondents' opposition towards them are increasing (2010). Even though the negativity towards Syrian refugees is prevalent in Turkey, the realistic and symbolic threats seem to remain significant concerns in the border district; and thus, individuals might be more likely to take these regards into their accounts (see in Stephan & Renfro, 2002).

Besides, Pettigrew and Tropp (2008) assert that there is a positive influence of intergroup contact on prejudice because the contact helps to reduce intergroup anxiety. In the case of Syrian refugees, intergroup contact is presumably higher in the border district than the largest one, as a result of the asymmetric distributions to the populations. When the previous research is taken into consideration, it could be expected that due to the intergroup contact in the border cities, people are more open to being affected by empathetic text (see in Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). However, the current findings produced a reverse association. In that sense, it can be indicated that even though intergroup contact plays a positive role in the decrease of prejudice in particular cases, the direction of the relationship might be different in others.

The literature mostly concentrates on how contact and prejudice are related to each other (e.g., Binder et al., 2009; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). However, it is obscure

that whether intergroup contact, either positive or negative, causes to have more stable attitudes, which are not influenced by different situations, toward a minority or outgroup. The present research displayed that the situational effects of empathy and threat on prejudice are different in different contexts along with imbalance probability of interaction between Syrian refugees and host group. Thus, the outputs of this research might extend the recent discussion regarding contact-prejudice relation by suggesting a new angle.

In addition to the contextual and situational ingredients, individual differences have a crucial role in elucidating the prejudice phenomenon (Altemeyer, 1996; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994; Duckitt, 2001; Duckitt & Sibley, 2010). Given the emphasis in the literature, people's stances on the Right-Wing Authoritarianism and Social Dominance Orientation have been put in the analyses. The expectation was that after RWA and SDO were adjusted, the previous tests of comparison in both contexts produce the same results in terms of the differentiation across experimental conditions; and the results partially supported it. In other words, intergroup contact can be conceptualized as positive or negative. Aberson (2015) addresses this differentiation and reveals that threat substantially mediated the link between prejudice and contact. He also remarks that threat is a significant factor regardless of what the type of contact is. In that lens, people might have a more negative kind of contact in the border cities, and their vulnerability to being influenced by threat-evoking text was on a higher level.

Concerning the possible roles of the individual difference variables in prejudice, the current study re-examined the results after adjusting people's stances on RWA and SDO. In the context of largest cities, in addition to the empathy-evoking condition, RWA and SDO were found as the significant predictors of the prejudice. In addition, the model was able to explain approximately 33 percent of the variance in

the levels of prejudice in this context. Consistent with the results stated above, the threat condition did not display a statistically significant association with prejudice. Further, when the experimental conditions were compared to the neutral, the findings showed that while the prejudice scores were on a significantly lower level in the empathetic condition in comparison to others, threat and neutral conditions did not differentiate to each other. That is to say after SDO and RWA were adjusted, the results are consistent with the prior analyses.

The dual process model of ideology and prejudice (DPM), formulates prejudice as an outcome of the perceived social threats, as a result of RWA, and competitiveness over group dominance, because of SDO (Duckitt & Sibley, 2009). The causal model suggests that if the social or group context includes threatening or dangerous features, this leads to an emerging dangerous worldview which is the underlying dimension of RWA, as an ideological attitude. Moreover, when the group dominance and competition are the social or contexts, they contribute to a competitive-based worldview, that produces SDO as an ideological attitude. Even though the threat-evoking text, which presents the situation by describing the refugees as competitive and threatening, did not yield a significant influence on people's prejudice level in the group of largest cities, RWA and SDO were able to predict the subject. That is to say, even though threat might not be a significant explanation on a situational level, on the individual level, some components related to this can be an essential part of prejudice. Meaning, prejudice might be connected to the worldviews based on competitiveness and dangerousness through the relatively stable ideological attitudes, RWA and SDO. However, when the refugees were portrayed as threatening and competitive in the context of largest cities, this situation was not found as influential on prejudice scores.

On the other hand, after RWA and SDO were added in the model, a significant differentiation on prejudice levels could not be observed across experimental conditions in the context of border cities. Although a considerable variation was displayed in the previous examination, when RWA and SDO were adjusted in the model, the differentiation disappeared among conditions. The expectation was not consistent with this finding. The hypothesis stated that after RWA and SDO are adjusted, the significant differences among the experimental conditions would be maintained; and prejudice in the threat-evoking condition would be on a higher level than the others.

First, the results revealed that even though people in the largest cities are open to being affected by empathy, people in the border cities are not flexible in terms of shifting their levels of prejudice towards an empathetic manner. The contextual differences are quite crucial to consider. As it was stated, the percentage of refugees to the general population in these districts are not similar to each other. More specifically, Turkish Migration Report (2016) showed that while the percentage of the refugees was 1.26 % to 2.96 % of the population in the largest cities, the ratio of the refugees was 16 % to 24 % in the border cities in 2016. Presumably, the contact is more prevalent in the border cities than the largest ones. As a consequence, people in the largest cities have perceptions stemming from media channels, social media, and discussions in the society. On the other hand, in the border cities, due to the hands-on experiences, and direct contacts with the refugees, people had more inflexible attitudes and did not found as open to being empathetic. Scrutinizing how intergroup contact, along with its positive and negative versions, influence prejudice would be fertile in future studies to understand the contextual determinants with their details.

Regarding the individual-level analysis, it is quite interesting to elucidate why both SDO and RWA did not produce significant results to predict prejudice in the

border cities. As opposed to the literature, it seems that individual difference variables might be highly context-dependent. The DPM model suggests that SDO and RWA developed as a result of the competitive and dangerous worldviews or contexts, respectively. Even though the immediate context in the border cities is probably competitive and threatening according to the society, the individual level ingredients, which are accepted as they include competition and dangerousness concerns, could not predict prejudice on a statistically significant level. There should be different explanations related to the specific characteristics of the issue. In this consideration, McFarland underlines that “[t]he correlations with authoritarianism and social dominance have now been replicated in several cultures” (2010, p. 472). It would be favorable to focus on the association of the immediate context and variables in further research.

All in all, the present research is significant to display the multifaceted nature of prejudice, by utilizing different levels of analysis. It also seems to be a fruitful example to portray how different domains involved in the intergroup procedures and relations in Turkey.

9. CONCLUSION

The present study produced notable findings regarding the intergroup prejudice displayed by the host society towards Syrian refugees in Turkey. The results suggest that empathetic and threat-evoking conditions are able to explain the prejudice phenomenon, but differently in particular contexts. Further, the study constitutes that while the individual-difference variables could explain some part of the prejudice in the largest cities, they seem to be unable to predict people's levels of prejudice in the border district. That is to say, even though the literature suggests that both RWA and SDO are the significant ingredients of the notion, intergroup prejudice, they are not likely to clarify the issue in different cases or contexts. Therefore, it seems to be quite imperative to take the contextual determinants into account in future studies to illuminate the matter more accurately.

There are some limitations in the current research, in which the most significant ones can be put forth as twofold. First, albeit the random assignment was utilized, the sampling procedure relied on the convenient sampling method in both studies. Nevertheless, the study produces evidence for future studies which can employ more representative sampling processes that contribute the generalizability of the outputs.

Second, the study focused on the differential effects of individual, situational, and contextual determinants on the prejudice toward Syrian refugees in Turkey. Because of the limited sample size in the experimental conditions of that study, subgroup analyses could not be conducted. It would be more auspicious to formulate different models to uncover the mediation or moderation links among the variables. By doing so, more detailed models would be developed to elucidate the puzzle of intergroup prejudice.

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Appendix A: Demographic Form

1. Lütfen yaşınızı belirtiniz: _____
2. Lütfen medeni durumunuzu belirtiniz.
 - a. Bekâr
 - b. Evli
 - c. Boşanmış
3. Cinsiyetiniz:
 - a. Kadın
 - b. Erkek
 - c. Diğer: _____
4. Lütfen okuduğunuz bölümü belirtiniz:

5. Lütfen kaçınıcı sınıfta olduğunuzu belirtiniz:

6. Aylık ortalama geliriniz nedir?
 - a. 500 TL ve altı
 - b. 500-1000 TL
 - c. 1001-2000 TL
 - d. 2001-3000 TL
 - e. 3001-5000 TL
 - f. 5000 TL ve üzeri
7. Aylık ortalama ne kadar harcama yapıyorsunuz?
 - a. 500 TL ve altı
 - b. 500-1000 TL
 - c. 1001-2000 TL
 - d. 2001-3000 TL
 - e. 3001-5000 TL
 - f. 5000 TL ve üzeri

Appendix B: Empathetic Text

Suriye’de yaşanan iç savaş nedeniyle 2011 yılından bu yana milyonlarca Suriyeli, ülkelerini terk etmek zorunda kaldılar. Türkiye, insanlığa dair olumlu duruşunu koruyarak, Suriye’den gelen kardeşlerine kucak açtı. Bu kucaklama zaten, ahlaki ve vicdani bir gereklilikten başka bir şey değildi. Çünkü geldikleri yerde, yani Suriye’de okullar, hastaneler, masum siviller ve hatta bebekler her gün bombalara maruz kalıyor. Bu insanları görmezden gelmek toplumumuzun ve kültürümüzün kabul edebileceği bir yaklaşım değil.

Yaşadığımız çağ son derece acımasız bir anlayışa bürünmüş zihniyetlerle dolu. Oysaki bu acımasızlıklar neticesinde, Suriye’de yaşanan bu vahşi savaş, her toplumun başına gelebilir. Dolayısıyla bu hazin tabloyu insan odaklı çözmeye çalışmalıyız. Bugün onların başına gelenlerle, yarın bizim karşılaşmayacağımızı kimse garanti edemez.

Kendinizi bir an için sığınmacıların yerine koyarak empati yapın. Suriyeli sığınmacıların, bizlerin anlayışına ve desteğine ihtiyacı var. Muhabir Beyza Kural’ın evsiz sığınmacılarla yaptığı röportajdan bir kesitte de bu hazin tabloyu görebiliyoruz: “...Suriyeliyiz diye ev vermediler. Komşular şikâyet ediyormuş. ‘Kaçak işçi çalıştırmıyoruz’ diye iş de vermiyorlar. İnsanlar yemek, yatak yardımı getiriyor. Ev olsa kalırız, ekmeğimizi yeriz, tuvaleti, suyu olur. Burada camiye gidiyoruz. Çocukları soğuk suda temizliyoruz. Büyük oğlumuz Suriye’de. Onların evi de yıkılmıştı. Nasıldır şimdi, ne yapıyor bilmiyoruz.”

Savaştan kaçarak bizim gibi ülkelere sığınan bu insanlar, koşulları ve olayları kendileri belirlemediler. Aksine evlerinden, yurtlarından vazgeçmek zorunda kaldılar. Kimileri işsiz, eğitimsiz, dilimize ve yaşam tarzımıza da yabancı. Toplum olarak sığınmacıları anlamaya çalışmak ve onlara destek olmak öncelikli bir insanlık görevidir.

Appendix C: Threat-evoking Text

Başbakan Yardımcısı Yalçın Akdoğan'ın geçtiğimiz ay yaptığı açıklamaya göre, Türkiye'de, 2 milyon 700 bini geçkin Suriyeli mülteci var ve İstanbul, mültecilerin en yoğun bulunduğu şehirlerden biri. Ülkeye büyük bir nüfus halinde gelen bu insanlar, şehirlilik kültürünün altını üstüne getirdiler. Toplumsal sorunlarla birlikte ekonomik alana da ciddi olumsuzluklar söz konusu.

En başta yardımlara ayrılan bütçeler nedeniyle ekonomik anlamda zor durumda kaldığımız yadsınamaz bir gerçek. 2015 yılının sonlarına doğru, resmi makamlardan gelen açıklamaya göre Suriyelilere 7 milyar dolar harcandı. Ülkemizde zaten pek çok sorun varken bu ciddi bir külfet oldu. Ayrıca, artan ev kiralari ve işsizlik de giderek kendini hissettiren ekonomik sorunlar arasında.

Türkiye'nin bu kadar büyük bir göç dalgasını kaldıracak alt yapısı aslında yok. Buna bir de denetlenemez göç dalgası eklenince bugün hemen her şehrin, tüm sokaklarında sığınmacıları görüyoruz. Araştırmacı Oytun Orhan'ın belirttiği gibi geleceğe dair de büyük toplumsal sorunlar doğması ihtimali yüksek: "Suriyeli sığınmacıların zor koşullarda yaşamaları, her türlü suç ve şiddet ortamının doğup gelişmesi açısından uygun koşulları sunuyor. Eğitim almamış, düşük gelirli, dışlanmışlık hissi içinde kimlik bunalımı yaşayan sığınmacı gençler, ileriki dönemde suç kaynağı oluşturabilirler". Bu gerçekler günümüz için de büyük bir tehlike.

Yakın zamanda bu konuya nasıl çözüm getirileceği belirsiz. Çocuk işçilerin, arttığı, her köşe başında evsizlerin yaşadığı bir ülke haline geliyoruz. Dahası, bu sorunların ne zaman sona ereceğini bilmiyoruz. Hatta Avrupa Birliği ile yapılan son anlaşma ile mülteci sayısı şüphesiz daha da artacak.

Appendix D: The questionnaire of prejudice towards Syrian refugees

1. Türkiye'deki Suriyeliler zulümden kaçan insanlardır, ülkemize kabul edildikleri için memnunum.
2. Türkiye'deki Suriyeliler bize yük olan insanlardır, bu ülkede olmamalıdır.
3. Türkiye'deki Suriyeliler dilencidirler ve bizleri sömürüyorlar.
4. Suriyeli sığınmacıların dinine, diline, etnik durumuna bakılmaksızın kabul edilmesi insanlık görevimizdir.
5. Sığınmacılar savaş devam ediyor olsa bile ülkelerine geri gönderilmelidir.
6. Suriyeli sığınmacıların Türkiye'ye kabul edilmesi ülkemizin tarihinden, coğrafyasından kaynaklanan bir zorunluluktur.
7. Suriyeli sığınmacıları kabul etmemiz din kardeşliğimizin gereğidir.
8. Suriyeli sığınmacılar bizi ilgilendirmez, toplumumuz onlardan uzak durmalıdır.
9. Suriye'de yaşanan olaylar ve savaş onların iç işidir, sığınmacıların ülkemize kabul edilmemesi gerekirdi.
10. Suriyeli sığınmacıların kabulü ülkemizin yararınadır.
11. Bu kadar sığınmacıya bakılması Türkiye'nin ekonomisine zarar vermektedir.
12. Türkiye'de yardıma muhtaç yüksek sayıda vatandaş varken, vergilerimin Suriyeli sığınmacılara harcanmasına karşıyım.
13. Suriyeli sığınmacılara doğrudan veya onlarla ilgili bir kurum üzerinden yardımda bulunabilirim.
14. Suriyeli sığınmacılara asla yardımda bulunmam.
15. Suriyeliler işlerimizi elimizden almaktadırlar.
16. Ülkemizde, Suriyeli sığınmacıların çalışmasına izin verilmelidir.
17. Suriyeli sığınmacılara Türkiye'de üniversite eğitimi dâhil her türlü eğitim verilmelidir.
18. Suriyeli sığınmacılar buldukları yerlerde şiddet, hırsızlık, kaçakçılık ve fuhuş gibi suçlara bulaşarak toplumsal ahlak ve huzuru bozmaktadır.
19. Suriyeli sığınmacılar ile komşuluk yapmak isterim.
20. Suriyeli sığınmacılar sadece kamplarda barındırılmalıdır.

21. Suriyeliler ile kültürel olarak aynı olduğumuzu düşünüyorum.
22. Suriyeli sığınmacılara Türkiye’de hiçbir şekilde eğitim verilmemelidir.
23. Suriyeli sığınmacıların Türkiye vatandaşlığına alınmalarında hiçbir sakınca görmüyorum.
24. Suriyeli sığınmacılar ile komşu olursam, şahsıma veya aileme zarar vereceklerini düşünüyorum.
25. Suriyelilerin Türkiye’de kalması gelecekte büyük sorunlara yol açabilir.
26. Suriyelilerin buradaki topluma uyum sağlayacağını düşünüyorum.
27. Sığınmacılara Türkiye genelinde yerleşmeleri sağlanarak, çalışmaları ve topluma uyum sağlamaları için politikalar geliştirilmelidir.
28. Suriyelilerle birlikte nüfusumuzun artması daha güçlü devlet olmamızı sağlayacaktır.

Appendix E: Demographic Form

1. Lütfen yaşınızı belirtiniz: _____
2. Cinsiyetiniz:
 - b. Kadın
 - b. Erkek
 - c. Diğer: _____
3. Aylık ortalama geliriniz nedir?
 - a. 500 TL ve altı
 - b. 500-1000 TL
 - c. 1001-2000 TL
 - d. 2001-3000 TL
 - e. 3001-5000 TL
 - f. 5000 TL ve üzeri
4. Eğitim:
 - a. Yok
 - b. Okur-yazar
 - c. İlkokul
 - d. Ortaokul
 - e. Lise
 - f. Üniversite
 - g. Lisansüstü
5. Mesleğiniz nedir?
 - a. Ev hanımı
 - b. Öğrenci
 - c. İşçi
 - d. İşveren (küçük: yanında 5 kişiden az çalışan olan)
 - e. İşveren (büyük: yanında 5 kişiden fazla çalışan olan)
 - f. Yönetici
 - g. Profesyonel (Üniversite)
 - h. Çiftçi
 - i. Tüccar
 - j. Serbest meslek
 - k. Diğer: _____
6. Yaşadığınız çevrede Suriyeli mülteci görme sıklığınız nedir?
 - a. Hiç
 - b. Nadiren
 - c. Bazen
 - d. Sık sık
 - e. Her zaman
7. Lütfen yaşadığınız yeri il ve ilçe olarak belirtiniz:

8. Lütfen en uzun süre yaşadığınız şehri belirtiniz:

Appendix F: RWA Scale

1.	Sosyal ve siyasi konulardaki tartışmalarda mevcut otoriteler genellikle doğru çıkarken; radikaller ve protestocular cahilliklerini ortaya koyan çığırkanlıklar yaparlar.
2.	Kadınlar evlendikleri zaman, kocalarına itaat edeceklerine dair söz vermelidirler.
3.	Ülkemizin ihtiyaç duyduğu şey, bizi mahveden yeni radikal yönelimleri ve günahkârlıkları ortadan kaldırmak için gerekeni yapabilecek güçlü bir liderdir.
4.	Eşcinsel erkek ve eşcinsel kadınlar, herkes kadar sağlıklı ve ahlaklıdır.
5.	İnsanların aklında şüphe uyandırmaya çalışan, ortalığı karıştıran, gürültücü kimseleri dinlemektense; yönetimdeki saygın otoritelerin ve dinin öğretilerine güvenmek her zaman daha iyidir.
6.	Ateistler ve mevcut dini yapılara karşı gelen insanlar da hiç kuşkusuz; düzenli olarak ibadet eden insanlar kadar iyi ve erdemlidirler.
7.	Ülkemizdeki krizlerin üstesinden gelebilmemiz için tek çıkar yolumuz, geleneksel değerlerimize dönmek, güçlü ve korkusuz bir lideri başa getirmek ve kötü fikirler yayarak sorun çıkaranları susturmaktır.
8.	Ülkemizde çıplaklar kampının olmasında yanlış hiçbir şey yoktur.
9.	Pek çok insanı rahatsız etse bile ülkemizin, geleneksel yollara karşı çıkma cesareti gösterebilen, özgür düşünörlere ihtiyacı var.
10.	Geleneksel inançlarımızı ve ahlak yapımızı aşındıran sapkınlıkları yok etmezsek, günün birinde ülkemiz yıkılacak.
11.	Onları herkesten farklı kılacak olsa bile, her insan kendi yaşam tarzına, dini inancına ve cinsel yönelimine sahip olmalıdır.
12.	“Geleneksel adetler ve değerler” hala en iyi yaşam biçimini gösteriyor.
13.	Kadın hakları, hayvan hakları ya da okullarda din dersinin seçmeli olması gibi konular için, mevcut yasal düzene ve çoğunluğun görüşlerine karşı çıkan ve bu gibi konuları sorgulayan insanlara saygı duymalısınız.
14.	Kötülüğü yok edip, bizi doğru yola döndürecek güçlü ve kararlı bir lidere, ülkemizin gerçekten ihtiyacı var.
15.	Ülkemizdeki en iyi insanların bazıları; hükümeti eleştiren, dini sorgulayan ve çoğunluğun bazı şeyleri yapmak için doğru ya da normal kabul ettiği yolları izlemeyenlerdir.
16.	Kürtaj, pornografi ve evlilik konularında Allah’ın koyduğu yasalar çok geç olmadan titizlikle uygulanmalı ve bu yasaları ihlal edenler şiddetle cezalandırılmalıdır.
17.	Bugün ülkemizde dinin öğretilerinden sapmış amaçları uğruna ülkeyi mahvetmeye hazır pek çok radikal ve ahlaksız kişi var. Bu kişilerin ilgili otoriteler (örneğin; asker, polis, yargı) tarafından durdurulması lazım.
18.	“Kadının yeri”, nerede olmak istiyorsa orasıdır. Kadının kocasına itaat ettiği ve tümöyle toplumsal geleneklere bağlı olduğu günler geçmişte kalmıştır.
19.	Atalarımızın yaptıklarını unutmaz, bu yapılanlara hürmet edersek, otoritenin yapmamızı söylediğini yaparsak ve her şeyi mahveden “çürük elmalardan” kurtulursak ülkemiz mükemmel olur.

20.	Hayatı yaşamak için “TEK BİR doğru yol” yoktur, herkes kendi yolunu oluşturmalıdır.
21.	Homoseksüeller ve feministler, geleneksel aile değerlerine karşı koyabilecek kadar cesur oldukları için takdir edilmelidirler.
22.	Eğer ülkede sorun yaratan belli gruplar seslerini kesip toplum içindeki geleneksel yerlerini kabul ederse, işler çok daha iyiye gidecektir.



Appendix G: SDO Scale

1. Bazı gruplar diğerlerinden daha üstündür.
2. İstediginizi elde etmek için bazen diğer gruplara karşı güç kullanmak gerekir.
3. Bazı grupların hayatta diğerlerinden daha fazla şansa sahip olması kabul edilebilir bir şeydir.
4. Hayatta öne geçmek için, bazen diğer grupların üstüne basmak gereklidir.
5. Eğer belirli gruplar yerlerini bilselerdi, daha az sorunumuz olurdu.
6. Belirli grupların üstte, diğer grupların ise altta olması muhtemelen iyi bir şeydir.
7. Daha alttaki gruplar yerlerini bilmelidir.
8. Bazen diğer gruplara hadleri bildirilmelidir.
9. Tüm gruplar eşit olabilseydi, iyi olurdu.
10. Grupların eşitliği idealimiz olmalıdır.
11. Tüm gruplara hayatta eşit şans verilmelidir
12. Farklı grupların koşullarını eşitlemek için elimizden geleni yapmalıyız.
13. Toplumda gruplar arası eşitliği arttırmalıyız.
14. Eğer farklı gruplara daha eşit davransaydık daha az sorunumuz olurdu.
15. Gelirleri olabildiğince eşit hale getirmek için çabalamalıyız.
16. Toplumda hiçbir grup baskın olmamalıdır.

Appendix H: Empathetic Text

Türkiye’deki Suriyeli Misafirlerimiz

Suriye’de yaşanan kanlı iç savaştan dolayı Suriyeliler ülkelerini ve evlerini bırakarak kaçmak zorunda kaldılar. Ülkemiz de 2011 yılından bu yana bu vahşet dolu savaştan kaçarak gelen insanlara kucak açtı. Suriye’de masum siviller ve hatta bebekler her gün bombalara maruz kalıyorken, bu insanları görmezden gelmek toplumumuzun ve kültürümüzün kabul edebileceği bir şey değil.

Şu an Suriyeli misafirlerimizin bir kısmı kamplarda yaşıyor. Bir kısmı da farklı şehirlere göç ederek yaşam mücadelelerine devam ediyor. Şehirlere göç edenler arasında maalesef sokaklarda, insani olmayan koşullarda yaşamlarını sürdürenler de var. Her ne kadar Türkiye elinden gelenin fazlasını yapmaya çalışsa da imkânları tek başına yeterli olmayabiliyor. Muhabir Beyza Kural’ın evsiz sığınmacılarla yaptığı röportajda Türkiye’deki bazı Suriyelilerin hazin durumu göze çarpıyor: “...Suriyeliyiz diye ev vermediler. Komşular şikâyet ediyormuş. ‘Kaçak işçi çalıştırmıyoruz’ diye iş de vermiyorlar. İnsanlar yemek, yatak yardımı getiriyor. Ev olsa kalırız, ekmeğimizi yeriz, tuvaleti, suyu olur. Burada camiye gidiyoruz. Çocukları soğuk suda temizliyoruz. Büyük oğlumuz Suriye’de. Onların evi de yıkılmıştı. Nasıldır şimdi, ne yapıyor bilmiyoruz”.

Aslında Türkiye’ye gelen Suriyeli sığınmacılar, ülkemizin nüfusunu zenginleştirerek, Türkiye’yi daha güçlü bir ülke haline getiriyorlar. Böylece uzun vadede toplumsal zenginliğe, çok kültürlü yapının gelişmesine katkıları olacak. Mesela, Suriyeli sığınmacıların çocukları Türkiye’deki eğitim imkânlarından faydalanarak ülkemizde eğitilmiş yeni bir nesil ortaya çıkmasını sağlıyorlar. Kimileri Suriyelilerle birlikte şehirlerdeki suç oranının arttığını söylüyor olsa da, Suriyeli sığınmacıların adli suçlara karışma oranı oldukça düşük. Hatta adlarının geçtiği çoğu adli vakada mağdur konumundalar. Zaten Suriye toplumu ile Türk toplumu arasında dini ve kültürel bir yakınlık söz konusu. Bu da toplumlar arasında uyumu kolaylaştırıyor. Artık dil konusu da aramızda bir engel değil. Suriyeli sığınmacılar Türkiye’de Türkçe dersi alarak yerel halk ile iletişim kurmakta zorlanmıyor.

Bunlarla birlikte Suriyeli sığınmacıların Türkiye’nin ekonomisine de katkıları var. Suriye’den sermayesi ile birlikte gelenler Türkiye’de iş yeri, hatta fabrika bile açarak ekonomimizin büyümesine yardımcı oluyorlar. Bunun yanı sıra, yoğun olarak

buldukları illerdeki eleman açığını kapatıyorlar. Dolayısıyla, düşünölenin aksine, Suriyeliler ekonomimize zarardan çok yarar sağlıyor.

Kendinizi bir an için sığınmacıların yerine koyarak düşünün. Suriyeli sığınmacıların, bizlerin anlayışına ve desteğine ihtiyacı var çünkü bu gibi acı olaylar öngörülemez şekilde, her toplumun başına gelebilir.



Appendix I: Threat-evoking Text

Türkiye’deki Suriyeliler

Suriyeliler, 2011 yılında 250-300 kişilik bir grup olarak Türkiye’ye giriş yaptılar. İlk zamanlarda bu göçün geçici ve kısa süreli olması bekleniyordu. Fakat 5 yılı aşkın bir süre geçmesine rağmen Suriye’den gelen göç dalgası durmadı. Bugün Türkiye’deki Suriyelilerin sayısı resmi rakamlara göre yaklaşık 3 milyon. Resmen kayıtlı olmayanları da hesaba katınca Türkiye’deki Suriyeli sayısı 3 milyonun üzerinde. Suriyelilerin, sadece 320 bini, yani yüzde 10’u kamplarda yaşıyor. Dolayısıyla gelen Suriyelilerin yüzde 90’ı Türkiye’nin neredeyse tüm illerine dağılmış durumda.

Suriyeliler ekonomik anlamda ciddi sıkıntılara sebep oluyor. Resmi rakamlara göre, şuana kadar Suriyelilere 7 milyar dolar harcandı ve bu ülke ekonomimiz için çok büyük bir külfet. Öte yandan Suriyelilere çalışma izni de verildi. Dolayısıyla bu durum kendi vatandaşlarımızı zor durumda bırakıyor ve Türkiye’deki işsizlik oranı artıyor. Çünkü Suriyeliler sıradan bir vatandaşın alacağı maaşın üçte birine çalışıyorlar. İşverenler de Suriyelileri daha çok tercih ediyor. Bu durumda kendi vatandaşlarımız iş bulamıyor. Ayrıca Suriyeliler, buldukları illerde kiraların ve tüketim gıdalarının fiyatlarının artmasına neden oluyor. Dolayısıyla yerel halkın alım gücü azalıyor. Vatandaşlar kiralayacak uygun fiyatlı ev bulamamaktan oldukça şikâyetçi.

Bu gibi ekonomik sorunlara, Suriyelilerin yaşadıkları mahallelerde sebep oldukları suç ve şiddet ortamı da ekleniyor. En son Gaziantep’te bir Suriyelinin ev sahibini bıçaklayarak öldürmesinden sonra halk Suriyelilerden korkmaya başladı. Araştırmacı Oytun Orhan’ın belirttiği gibi geleceğe dair büyük toplumsal sorunlar doğması ihtimali yüksek: “Suriyeli sığınmacıların zor koşullarda yaşamaları, her türlü suç ve şiddet ortamının doğup gelişmesi açısından uygun koşulları sunuyor. Eğitim almamış, düşük gelirli, dışlanmışlık hissi içinde kimlik bunalımı yaşayan sığınmacı gençler, ileriki dönemde suç kaynağı oluşturabilirler”.

Ülkeye büyük bir nüfus halinde gelen bu insanlar, şehirlilik kültürünün altını üstüne getirdiler. Çocuk işçilerin arttığı, her köşe başında evsizlerin yaşadığı bir ülke haline geliyoruz. Dolayısıyla etrafımızda dilenen Suriyeli görmeye alıştık. Her ne kadar komşu ülkeler olsak da, kültürel olarak Suriyeliler ile çok farklıyız. Mesela Türk erkeklerinin Suriyeli kadınları kuma getirmeleri toplumumuzun aile yapısını bozuyor.

“Komşusu açken tok yatan bizden değildir”, “Türk toplumu misafirperverdir” gibi atalarımızdan öğrendiğimiz insani sorumluluklarımız olsa da misafirlik kısa süreli ve

geçicidir. Türkiye’de açlık sınırının altında yaşayan milyonlar varken, Suriyelileri “misafir etmek” ne derece doğrudur? İyice düşünmek lazım...



Appendix J: The questionnaire of prejudice towards Syrian refugees

1. Suriyeli mülteciler, Türkiye'ye gelir gelmez Türk toplumunun kurallarını ve ilkelerine uyum sağlamayı öğrenmelidirler.
2. Suriyeli bir komşum olursa bana veya aileme bir zarar verebilir.
3. Suriyeli mülteciler işlerimizi elimizden alıyorlar.
4. Suriyeli mültecilerin ahlaki değerleri ve dini inançları, Türk vatandaşlarınınkiler ile uyumlu değil.
5. Suriyeli mülteciler, Türkiye'deki yerel halk ile iyi ilişkiler kurabilir.
6. Suriyeli mültecilere Türkiye'de çalışma izni verilmesini doğru buluyorum.
7. Suriyeli mültecilerin aile yaşamları ve çocuk yetiştirme şekilleri Türkiye'dekilere çok benzerdir.
8. Suriyeli mülteciler, Türk vatandaşlarının vergi yükünü artırıyorlar.
9. Suriyeli mülteciler, Türkiye'deki kültürel kalıpları kabul etmek zorunda değillerdir.
10. Suriyeli mültecilerin, Türkiye'de kalması gelecekte büyük sorunlara yol açabilir.
11. Mülteci çocukların, en az Türkiye'deki çocuklar kadar Türkiye'de eğitim alma hakkı vardır.
12. Suriyeli mültecilerin Türkiye'de işsizlik oranını artıracığını düşünüyorum.
13. Suriyeli mülteciler, Türk vatandaşları ile aynı ölçüde sağlık hizmeti almalıdır.
14. Suriyeli mülteciler yüzünden Türk vatandaşları artık daha az kamu hizmeti alıyor.
15. Türkiye'de yardıma muhtaç insan sayısı fazlayken, Suriyeli mültecilere yardım yapılmasına karşıyım.
16. Suriyeli mülteciler geldiğinden beri Türkiye'nin dış tehditlere daha açık hale geldiğini düşünüyorum.
17. Suriyeli mülteciler, Türkiye'nin ekonomisine yarar sağlamaktan çok zarar veriyorlar.
18. Suriye'den gelen göç, Türk kültürünü yok ediyor.
19. Suriyeli mültecilere Türk vatandaşlığı verilmelidir.
20. Suriyeli mülteciler yaşadıkları yerlerde şiddet, hırsızlık, kaçakçılık ve fuhuş gibi suçlara bulaşarak toplumsal ahlak ve huzuru bozmaktadır.
21. Suriyeli mültecilere rağmen Türk vatandaşlarının aldığı kamu hizmetinin kalitesinde bir düşüş yaşanmamıştır.
22. Suriyeli bir komşumun olmasından rahatsızlık duymam.