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**GENDERED PERCEPTIONS OF THREAT FROM IMMIGRANT
MINORITIES: A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF
PREJUDICE AGAINST SYRIANS IN TURKEY**

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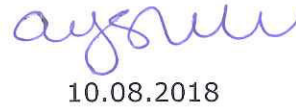
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ABSTRACT

GENDERED PERCEPTIONS OF THREAT FROM IMMIGRANT MINORITIES: A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF PREJUDICE AGAINST SYRIANS IN TURKEY

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MA, Psychology

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Studies about Syrian migration had been the primary focus for cultural psychologists since the onset of civil war in Syria in 2011. More specifically, perceptions and attitudes of the host country members towards Syrian immigrants had become a main topic because the mass migration included 6.3 million immigrants who settled in mainly Europe and Turkey (Erdoğan, 2018). Turkey can be in a unique position for researching the attitudes of the majority towards immigrants, because Turkey is one of the neighboring countries of Syria and many Turkish people have common cultural practices with Syrians. Moreover, it can be expected that perceptions and attitudes towards Syrian immigrants may be gendered: Male Syrian immigrants can be the primary target of prejudice rather than female ones, because in a male-dominated context ethnic minority women are seen as non-prototypical subordinate group members, thus, *invisible*. However, research on intergroup relations and outgroup prejudice largely ignores the gender dimension.

The main goal of this research was to provide a more comprehensive and theory-based understanding of a compelling social issue from a social psychological perspective. The main argument is that outgroup perceptions are gendered: migration status intersects with the gender status of the stigmatized outgroup members to influence the ingroup perceptions of the majority members. Furthermore, individual differences in hierarchical thinking and national identification also contribute to these perceptions depending on the gender of the stigmatized group member. Specifically, an intersectional invisibility hypothesis in relation to perceived threat from the female and male Syrian immigrants was tested from the perspectives of Integrated Threat Theory, Social Identity Theory, and Social Dominance Orientation. High levels of national identification, which is a relevant social identity in intercultural relations,

and social dominance orientations were expected to be related differentially to perceived threat, and intergroup anxiety depending on whether the subject of these perceptions were male or female Syrian immigrants. In other words, the gender of the outgroup members was expected to moderate the relation between individual differences in national identification and social dominance orientation on the one hand and perceived intergroup threat and anxiety on the other hand.

The following self-reported scales, in addition to basic demographic questions, were administered to a community sample of Turkish participants ($N = 560$; mean age = 36.50, $SD = 13.22$; the percentage of female and male participants: %56.3 and %39.5, respectively) from 25 Turkish cities: Perceived Threat scale and Intergroup Anxiety scale (Stephen et al., 1999), Stereotype Index (Yapıcı, 2004), Multi-component In-group Identification scale (Leach et al., 2008) and Social Dominance Orientation scale (Pratto et al., 1994). Comparisons of the scores on the gender-specific items of perceived threat from and anxiety with Syrian immigrants using Kruskal-Wallis tests revealed that, as expected, participants felt greater anxiety when they considered interacting with a male Syrian immigrant than did they with a female Syrian immigrant. Unexpectedly, however, moderated regression analyses showed that the gender of Syrian immigrants had no significant effect on the hypothesized links from national identification and social dominance to perceived threat and intergroup anxiety. These results suggest that regardless of the national identification or social dominance orientation of Turkish majority members, male Syrian immigrants are the primary targets of anxiety felt on the matter of Syrian migration. This research, thus, indicates that researchers should integrate a gender dimension in their study of intergroup relations rather than using it simply as a covariate or contaminating variable and, therefore, making the gendered nature of prejudice invisible.

Keywords: Intersectionality, intersectional invisibility, perceived threat, social identity, national identification, social dominance orientation, Syrian immigrants, gender and migration, gender roles

ÖZ

GÖÇMEN AZINLIKLARA KARŞI CİNSİYETE BAĞLI TEHDİT ALGISI: TÜRKİYE'DEKİ SURİYELİLERE KARŞI ÖNYARGI ÜZERİNE SOSYAL PSİKOLOJİK BİR ANALİZ

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2011'de Suriye iç savaşının başlamasıyla birlikte, ortaya çıkan Suriyeli göç dalgası kültürlerarası çalışmalar yapan psikologların temel odağı haline gelmiştir. Özellikle Suriyeli göçmenlere ev sahipliği yapan ülke üyelerinin bu göçmenlere yönelik bakış açısı ve tutumları, Türkiye'ye ve Avrupa'ya olan göçmen sayısının 6,3 milyona ulaşmasıyla birlikte oldukça önemli bir konu haline almıştır (Erdoğan, 2018). Bu bağlamda Türkiye, Suriye ile komşu olması ve Türk vatandaşlarının Suriyeliler ile ortak kültürel öğelere sahip olması nedeniyle, çoğunluğun göçmenlere yönelik tutumlarını araştırmak için eşsiz bir konumda bulunmaktadır. Dahası, Suriyeli göçmenlere yönelik algı ve tutumların Suriyeli göçmenlerin cinsiyetine bağlı olarak değiştiği de söylenebilir: Erkek Suriyeli göçmenler, kadın Suriyeli göçmenlere nazaran önyargının temel hedefi olabilirler, çünkü erkek egemen bir bağlamda kadın etnik azınlıklar prototipik olmayan alt grup üyeleri olarak görülebilir, yani, *görünmez* olabilirler. Ancak, gruplararası ilişkiler ve dışgruba yönelik önyargı odaklı çalışmalarda cinsiyet boyutu genelde ihmal edilmiştir

Bu araştırmanın temel amacı sosyal psikolojik bir bakış açısı ile zorlayıcı bir sosyal soruna kapsayıcı ve teori temelli bir anlayış kazandırabilmektir. Temel argüman, dışgruba yönelik algının dışgrup üyelerinin cinsiyetine bağlı olarak değişebileceği yönündedir: Etiketlenmiş dış grup üyelerinin cinsiyeti ile göçmen statüsü, çoğunluk konumundaki iç grubun algısını etkileyecek şekilde kesişmektedir. Dahası, hiyerarşik düşünce ve ulusal kimlik düzeyindeki bireysel farklılıklar da etiketlenmiş grup üyelerinin cinsiyetine göre değişen bu algılar üzerine katkıda bulunmaktadır. Kadın ve erkek göçmenlere karşı duyulan tehdit algısı ile ilişkili olarak kesişimsel görünmezlik hipotezi; Bütünleşik Tehdit Teorisi, Sosyal Kimlik Teorisi ve Sosyal Baskınlık Yönelimi perspektifleriyle test edilmiştir. Sosyal baskınlık yöneliminin ve kültürlerarası ilişkilerle bağlantılı bir sosyal kimlik olan ulusal özdeşimin

yüksek olmasının, algılanan tehdide ve gruplararası kaygıya, ve bu algıların öznesi olan Suriyeli göçmenlerin cinsiyetine göre değişeceği beklenmektedir. Diğer bir deyişle, dışgrup üyelerinin cinsiyetinin içgrup üyelerinin ulusal özdeşimi ve sosyal baskınlık yönelimi üzerindeki bireysel farklılıkları ile algılanan gruplararası tehdit ve hissedilen kaygı düzeyleri üzerindeki ilişkisinde düzenleyici bir etkisinin olması beklenmektedir.

Temel demografik sorularla birlikte şu ölçekler, 25 farklı şehirdeki Türk katılımcılardan oluşan bir örnekleme uygulanmıştır ($N = 560$; ortalama yaş= 36.50, $SD = 13.22$; kadın ve erkek katılımcıların yüzdesi: sırasıyla, %56.3 and %39.5): Algılanan Tehdit ve Gruplararası Kaygı Ölçeği (Stephen et al., 1999), Kalıpyargı Dizini (Yapıcı, 2004), Çok-bileşenli İçgrupla Özdeşim Ölçeği (Leach et al., 2008) ve Sosyal Baskınlık Yönelimi Ölçeği (Pratto et al., 1994). Kruskal-Wallis testleri kullanılarak bulunan Suriyeli göçmenlere karşı dışgrupun cinsiyetine bağlı olarak algılanan tehdit ve gruplararası kaygı puanlarının karşılaştırılması, beklenildiği gibi, katılımcıların erkek Suriyeli göçmenlere karşı kadınlara olduğundan daha fazla kaygı hissettiklerini ortaya çıkartmıştır. Ancak, beklenmedik bir şekilde, düzenleyici regresyon analizleri Suriyeli göçmenlerin cinsiyetinin ulusal özdeşim ve sosyal baskınlık yönelimi ile algılanan tehdit ve gruplararası kaygı arasındaki ilişkilerine anlamlı bir etkisi olmadığını göstermiştir. Bu sonuçlar erkek Suriyeli göçmenlerin, Türk üyelerin ulusal özdeşim ya da sosyal baskınlık yöneliminden bağımsız olarak gruplararası kaygının temel hedefi olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu tez, böylece, araştırmacıların dışgrupun cinsiyet boyutunu sadece bir karıştırıcı ya da bozucu değişken olarak kullanmamaları, bunun yerine araştırmalarıyla bütünleştirmeleri gerektiğinin altını çizmektedir.

Anahtar sözcükler: Kesişimsellik, kesişimsel görünmezlik, algılanan tehdit, sosyal kimlik, ulusal özdeşim, sosyal baskınlık yönelimi, Suriyeli göçmenler, cinsiyet ve göç, toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri



To all the unprivileged...

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Ezel Üsten

İzmir

August 2, 2018

TEXT OF OATH

I declare and honestly confirm that my study, titled “GENDERED PERCEPTIONS OF THREAT FROM IMMIGRANT MINORITIES: A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF PREJUDICE AGAINST SYRIANS IN TURKEY” and presented as a Master’s Thesis, has been written without applying to any assistance inconsistent with scientific ethics and Traditions. I declare, to the best of my knowledge and belief, that all content and ideas drawn directly or indirectly from external sources are indicated in the text and listed in the list of references.

Ezel Üsten

Signature



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LIST OF ABBREVIATION

SDO : Social Dominance Orientation

SES : Socio-economic Status

SPSS: The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences



1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 General Introduction

Widespread prejudice against Syrian immigrants has been one of the most important challenges that Syrians faced since the onset of civil war in Syria in 2011. A massive number of people left their birth-country to seek solace and safety mainly in the neighboring countries, including Turkey. According to a report of the United Nations, this is the second largest relocation in modern history, after the Palestinians (“Syrians Largest Refugee Group”, 2015). Because this is a quite recent situation, which caught many host countries quite unprepared for a huge flow of migration, many social scientists, including those in Turkey, have begun to investigate the perceptions of and towards Syrians in relation to intergroup conflict, prejudice, and discrimination (Akgul, Kapti & Demir, 2015; Aydin & Kaya, 2017; Christophersen, Liu, Thorleifsson & Tiltnes, 2013; DeJong et al., 2017; Wall, Otis Campbell & Janbek, 2017; Yigit & Tatch, 2017).

Turkey is one of the neighboring countries of Syria and is also a getaway for Syrians who want to settle in Europe. Some Syrians who had moved to Europe were sent back to Turkey because of the treaties that were signed between European Union and Turkey (“A Dark Day for Europe”, 2016). Today, Syrian immigrants make up nearly 4% of the population in Turkey, a country hosting the highest number of Syrians since 2011 (Erdogan, 2018). Studies on Syrian immigrants are in a quite unique position because of the reasons such as a massive increase in population in Turkey in a short time, in addition to common cultural traits between Turkey and Syria. Specifically, attitudes towards Syrian immigrants from the perspectives of Turkish people is worth-investigating because intergroup attitudes are major determinants of harmonious vs. conflictual intergroup relations and long-term social cohesion (Fiske, 2000).

Anti-immigrant attitudes and tense intergroup relations are not unique to Turkish context but can be seen as related to a generic social psychological phenomena called *integrated threat*. Integrated threat framework includes symbolic and realistic threats, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes, which can enhance in the host majority in the face of rapid migration and sudden changes in diversity (Stephan & Stephan, 2013). For instance, Pettigrew (2017) investigated that sudden increase of the immigrant population in areas that so far held modest numbers of immigrants, indeed, reinforces threat perception. According to Pettigrew (2017), this situation is one of the major reasons for many British

citizens having to vote to leave EU in Brexit referendum. Another example can be seen as an insight for Turkish context: Karaoglu (2015) found that because of the suddenly increasing number of Syrian immigrants in Turkey, the attitudes of Turkish people became rapidly and increasingly negative towards these newcomers.

Threat can be real but often imagined; for instance, some people fear that immigrants will contaminate the dominant culture (Stephen et al., 1998). Intergroup anxiety (emotional aspect of perceived threat) and negative stereotyping (cognitive aspect of perceived threat) as well as symbolic and realistic threat to one's culture and societal welfare are key predictors of prejudice (Stephen & Stephen, 1998). In fact, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotyping are high among Turks against Syrian immigrants (Kardeş, Banko & Akman, 2017; Topal, Özer & Dokuzlu, 2017; Yazıcı, 2016;). Turks perceive a high level of threat from Syrians both in economic (e.g., "They will take over our jobs") and cultural sense (e.g., "Their culture is a threat to ours") (Genç & Özdemirkıran, 2015; Oytun & Gündoğar, 2015). Syrian immigrants are also often labelled as traitors or cowards and they are discriminated against in Turkish society (Özdemir & Öner-Özkan, 2016).

However, even if there is an increasing number of studies documenting the high prevalence of negative attitudes and expectations from Syrian immigrants in Turkey, existing research is generally quite descriptive; the underlying processes regarding prejudice or threat associated with these groups are mostly unknown. Furthermore, researchers themselves seem to be susceptible to a well-documented outgroup homogeneity effect in outgroup perceptions by assessing attitudes towards Syrian immigrants without paying attention to the diversity within them (Judd & Park, 1988). For instance, most news highlights cover stories about male aggression or online hate speeches targeting Syrian immigrant men and portraying them as rapists, abusers, terrorists and cowards (Rettberg & Gajjala, 2015). The typicality of an outgroup member affects the perception of the majority members towards that outgroup (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). Given dominant patriarchy in Turkish and Syrian cultures (Kandiyoti, 1988; Sev'er, 2003), there can also be gender differences in how outgroup members are perceived by the mainstream members. However, researchers tend to either ignore the gender of the perceiver or to consider it as a covariate, or as a noise, a tendency which leads to a great deal of variance as unexplained in understanding outgroup prejudice (e.g., Schmidt, Hewstone, Tausch, Cairns & Hughes, 2009; Verkuyten, 2009). Thus, the key question is whether different members of a minority outgroup are exposed to different attitudes from the majority members. More specifically for the purposes of this research, do

Syrian immigrant women and men elicit different attitudes from the host community in Turkey?

The present research has two main goals: 1) to assess whether the levels of perceived threat and intergroup anxiety vary depending on the gender of the target outgroup (Syrian immigrants); and 2) to go beyond descriptive assessment of integrated threat by investigating underlying social psychological processes related to negative attitudes towards Syrian immigrants. The research also aims to explore stereotypes assigned to Syrians by the Turkish majority. Studying variations in intergroup attitudes and perceptions is important, because different types of attitudes and forms of contact could lead to different acculturation processes for both immigrants and the hosts (Piontkowski, Rohmann & Florack, 2002). In particular, different members of an immigrant group, despite their similarity in terms of educational or professional background or age may experience different opportunities and challenges in their new country depending on how typical they are perceived based on their culture of origin. Accordingly, migration policies should take into account this diversity to implement optimal interventions to overcoming prejudice and discrimination against disadvantaged immigrants. It seems that Syrian immigrants will remain as an important part of Turkey. Therefore, theory-based empirical studies can contribute to positive intergroup relations in migration. Additionally, results of such studies could guide migration policies, with an aim to make positive impact on social cohesion and solidarity.

There are four theories used to formulate the hypotheses. In disentangling the gender effect from negative attitudes towards a stigmatized outgroup, key arguments from the *Intersectionality Theory* were used because this theory addresses the process and consequences of one's position within the range of intersecting multiple identities (Warner & Shields, 2013). In assessing negative intergroup perceptions, the *Integrated Threat Theory* (ITT) was used to identify the antecedents and consequences of perceived threat, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotyping in relation with outgroup members (Stephan & Stephan, 1996). In evaluating individual differences in negative outgroup perceptions, the *Social Identity Theory* (SIT) and the *Social Dominance Orientation Theory* (SDO) were used. SIT explains prejudice and discrimination based on self-identifications with ingroups vs. outgroups. According to SIT, individuals tend to see close others and those from the same cultural background (e.g., language, religion, ethnicity, sex, gender) as the members of an ingroup whereas they tend to see all other people as the members of an outgroup. This categorization is associated with ingroup favoritism, outgroup degradation and perceived homogeneity. SDO tries to explain how people feel about these emerged groups based on identifications (or disidentifications)

with them. Are these ingroups and outgroups equal, or are their relations hierarchy-based (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth & Malle, 1994; Tajfel & Turner, 1979)?

Hence, the aim of this research was to provide a more comprehensive and theory-based understanding of a compelling social issue from a social psychological perspective. The main argument is that outgroup perceptions are gendered: migration status intersects with the gender status of the stigmatized outgroup members to influence the ingroup perceptions of the majority members. Furthermore, individual differences in hierarchical thinking and national identification also contribute to these perceptions depending on the gender of the perceived.

Intended contributions of this research are as following: 1) This is the first time that the key arguments from the theories of intersectionality, integrated threat, social identity and social dominance orientation are used jointly to understand perceptions of a devalued outgroup who are under-researched in the literature; 2) Instead of using convenience samples, such as university students as in many studies, community samples are used so that data comes from individuals with different SES levels to gain a more representative and generalizable insight into the nature of intergroup relations in Turkish context; and 3) Study findings can guide program and intervention developers such as policy makers, educationists, and social workers regarding attitudinal diversity in Turkish majority to come up with optimal interventions targeting prejudice and discrimination against disadvantaged immigrants.

A cautionary note should be added in here: Although the target of intergroup perceptions were stated as “Syrian immigrants” in the research, the adjective “immigrant” does not cover Syrians’ situation outrightly (Geneva Convention, 1951). Most Syrians in Turkey are “refugees” or “asylum seekers” reflecting that they migrated involuntarily or by force. Although voluntary and involuntary immigrants have different experiences of acculturation, or adjustment to relocation, for instance, the pull and push factors are different for the two groups of immigrants, they may face similar challenges and problems especially if they belong to a stigmatized outgroup (Berry, Kim, Minde & Mok, 1987). Thus, the term “immigrants” is used not only to refer to the disadvantaged status of Syrian refugees and asylum seekers, it is also used to build up the hypotheses based on research on intergroup relations with devalued immigrant members. However, the readers of this research should keep in mind the actual legal status of most Syrians in Turkey, which is *refugee*.

In the following sections, first, because this research aims to show gender-specific intergroup attitudes in the case of a recent immigrant group in Turkey, that is Syrian immigrants, the role of migration in intergroup relations, followed by the study context will be described. Next, the basic and most relevant premises of theories will be introduced in the

theoretical approaches section. Finally, the hypotheses will be stated based on the literature review.

1.2 Migration

Migration is simply a process of location change; people migrate for various reasons which include different social dynamics. Work opportunities, education, marriage, or any other related reason can be counted as why people want to migrate to other places, but people sometimes are forced to migrate, because their lives are at stake due to various life-threatening conditions such as famine, epidemics, or war. This differentiation is known as push (factors that force people to move away) and pull (factors that attract people to move into) factors of migration (Berry, Poortinga, Segall & Dasen, 2002; Passaris, 1989). For example, for international students, push factors can include limited access to education or need for economic wealth, while pull factors can include an attractive host country or reputation of the chosen institution (Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002). Undocumented migration to Bengal from Bangladesh can also show push and pull factor differences as an example; while push factors include economic depression, poverty, struggle for livelihood, political instability, fear of riots and terrorism, absence of democratic rights, pull factors for Bengal include geographical closeness of Bangladesh, the linguistics and cultural similarities, same food habit and low cultural distance (Datta, 2004).

The chosen location of the migration is just as important as the reason for why people migrate. The differentiation between international and internal migration includes different experiences for the lives of immigrants. When people migrate to places where the distance between their culture of origin and settlement is large, the amount of change necessary for optimal adjustment can also be large, influencing how both majority host and minority immigrant people relate to or separate from one another (Berry, Poortinga, Segall & Dasen, 2002). For example, it was found that cultural distance is related with mental health indicators such as anxiety (Babiker, Cox & Miller, 1980), social difficulty (Furnham & Bochner, 1982), or sociocultural adjustment problems for immigrants (Searle & Ward, 1990).

1.2.1 Demographic Informations of Syrian Immigrants in Turkey

In 2011, one of the most devastating crises in modern history began in Syria. The crisis is still ongoing in 2018 and it seems its effects will continue for years. The most affected ones surely are Syrian citizens; the neighboring countries of Syria such as Turkey

and Jordan, and more distant locations such as North-West Europe are also affected by the situation in Syria.

Although approximately 6.3 million Syrian immigrants left their home in order to escape from the civil war, only 15% of them were able to reach developed countries. Fifty-one percent of 6.3 million Syrian immigrants settled in Turkey and 45.000 Syrians moved to Europe, because of the refugee and asylum seeker policies of the European countries and the dual agreements between the European Union and Turkey (Erdogan, 2018). Some European countries closed their borders to refugees, and some countries such as Hungary even decided to build a fence along Hungarian borders to prevent refugees to come (“Migrants Race North”, 2015). With 3.3 million Syrians living in Turkey since 2011, Turkey currently stands in a quite unique position for studies that related to Syrian immigrants.

Turkey is quite an attractive destination for people in the Middle-East who had to leave their country for various reasons as a result of Turkey’s friendly visa policies and its geographical closeness to the West (Köşer-Akçapar, 2010). Turkey’s approach to keep its borders open to people fleeing oppression and war, to supply basic needs to the newcomers and not to force anyone to leave the country, has been applied under certain restrictions beginning in 2016. This friendly policy has contributed to a dramatic increase in the number of immigrants in Turkey. The number of Syrian immigrants granted a “temporary protection” was 3.303.113 as of November 9, 2017. After the updates and new registrations, the number of the documented Syrians in Turkey is estimated to be between 3 and 3.5 million (Erdogan, 2018).

Currently, there are approximately 1 million working Syrian immigrants in Turkey; roughly 10.000 of them have work permits. Only 38.000 Syrian immigrants were given citizenship. Twenty thousand Syrian immigrants are studying in universities in Turkey from November 2017 onwards. Ninety-two percent of the Syrian immigrants are living in cities rather than in refugee camps. Of Syrian immigrants, %54 are men and %46 are women (Erdogan, 2018).

Before April, 2011, the number of foreigners granted “international protection” was 58.018 in Turkey. By November, 2017, this number reached the %4 of the population of Turkey. At the same time, the number of Turkey-born Syrian children exceed 295.999 and continues to increase by 306 birth per day (Erdogan, 2018). This latter trend suggest a tendency that Syrians immigrants will stay, with the coexistence of Turkish citizens and newcomers in harmony a pressing issue to be addressed.

1.2.2 Attitudes Towards Syrian Immigrants.

Although there is a large difference between the numbers of Syrian immigrants in Europe than in Turkey, one can assume that there can be different attitudes towards Syrian immigrants in these contexts. Because Turkey is one of the neighboring countries of Syria and many Turkish people have common cultural practices similar to Syrians' including religious identity and rituals, the cultural distance is relatively lower between Turkish and Syrian people than it is between Europeans and Syrians. Hence, the Turkish majority is expected to be more welcoming to Syrian immigrants than are Europeans (Polek, Wöhrle & Pieter van Oudenhoven, 2010). In fact, in Gaziantep (a Turkish city close to the Syrian border), %65 of the local residents have stated that they have a similar culture with the Syrian people (Altengi, Al-Bahr, Najjar, Babelli & Asheer, 2015).

However, recent studies in different Turkish cities reveal that the attitudes of Turkish people towards Syrian immigrants are generally negative, and this contradicts with "cultural distance" hypothesis related to intergroup prejudice (Erdogan, 2014; Topal, Ozer & Dokuzlu, 2017). For example, public perceptions of Turkish people towards Syrian immigrants have been marked by both symbolic and economic threat (Topal, Ozer & Dokuzlu, 2017). Turkish people also have safety concerns; they perceive Syrian immigrants as a threat both economically and for their lifestyles (Erdogan, 2014).

One can clearly see these negative perceptions also in social media and press. YAZICI (2016) found that there is prevalent hate speech regarding Syrian immigrants in the Turkey's largest participatory dictionary, i.e., Ekşi Sözlük. Beyond hate speech, YAZICI also found some components of economic threat, internal and international threat, societal and cultural threat, and criticism over ruling party comments in relation to Syrian migration. Another study which also used data from participatory dictionaries report that in most entries related to Syrian immigrants they are seen as a major cause of national unrest and safety issues (Kardes, Banko & Akman, 2017). Aslan (2018), in a study of the hate speech in YouTube, found that Syrian immigrants are labeled as traitors, potential threats, and sources of financial problems. Public discourse through press portrays a similar picture: significant number of news contain negative attitudes or attacks on Syrian immigrants which had been enforced by Turkish citizens (e.g., "Antalya'da, Suriyelilere saldırı", 2017; "Gaziantep'te 'Suriyelileri İstemiyoruz' Protestosu", 2014; "İzmir'de Suriyelilere saldırı", 2017; "Konya'da 'Suriyeli İstemiyoruz' Sloganları", 2016).

It seems that, contrary to expectations, Turkish people feel threat from Syrian immigrants and their attitudes tend to have a strongly negative tone. These negative attitudes contain components of symbolic and economic threat, and safety and political concerns.

1.3 Theoretical Approaches

1.3.1 Intersectionality Theory

Intersectionality theory brought insights to the issues of gender and gender inequality. The theory was first used by Black feminist theoreticians though it was limited in scope before it took place in Feminist Theory (Davis, 2008). As a feminist theory, intersectionality is used mainly in sociology and feminist studies; social psychologists began relatively recently to apply the theory to understand gender-related problems. Intersectionality scholars argue that multiple social identifications lead to different outcomes; for example being a white male, a white female, a black male, and a black female are associated with different experiences with different psychological outcomes (Cole, 2009). The main purpose of intersectionality research was initially to understand how gender inequality occurs in regards to power relations associated with sexual orientation, race, class, SES, age, and ethnicity but later it was extended to involve all identities, not only the oppressed ones, because no identity has the ultimate oppression or the ultimate privilege (Warner & Shields, 2013). For example, gender always has a relation with class and ethnicity; at the same time race, class and nationality are intertwined with gender (Prins, 2006).

Intersectionality theory is a holistic theory that explains multiple identity and prejudice forms. Rather than focusing on single effects of racism, sexism, or classism, intersectionality theory explains how different forms of prejudice place individuals to different layers in social hierarchy and how these multiple identities intertwine and affect each other. Thus, it is widely accepted that intersections of various identities may create discrimination but it can produce privilege or opportunities as well (Dill & Zinn, 2016). For instance, a Turkish lesbian from the dominant ethnic group could be in a disadvantaged position because of the heterosexual norms of the country, but she has a racial advantage and privilege unlike other lesbians from different ethno-cultural minority groups in Turkey (Shields, 2008).

For explaining disadvantages of multiple subordinate identities, and for answering the question of *which group suffers the most*, a double jeopardy hypothesis was presented (Epstein, 1973). According to the hypothesis, people with multiple subordinate identities face more challenges than others. For example, minority women face greater disadvantage with both racism and sexism than minority men (Beale, 1979). But, whether these different forms

of oppressions are additive (cumulatively summed up) or interactive (synergistically interact with each other and forms a multiplied marginalized identity); the double jeopardy hypothesis predicts that people with multiple subordinate identities face greater discrimination than people with single subordinate identity.

On the other side of the coin, intersectional invisibility hypothesis argues that the prototypicality of a subordinate group would dominate the perception of the majority group, thus the members of subordinate groups with non-prototypical characteristics would face less disadvantage (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). For instance, in the U.S. context, black women face lesser racial discrimination than black men from majority white group because the prototypicality of blackness consist maleness (Purdie-Voungns & Eibach, 2008). Blackness and maleness were found to be highly associated with the prototypicality of “black” group (Goff, Thomas & Jackson, 2008), people are slower to associate black women with the category “black” in implicit association tests (Thomas, Dovidio & West, 2014), the photos of black women are least likely to be recognized among black men, white men and white women (Sesko & Biernat, 2010), black women are viewed as less prototypical of their race (Schug, Alt & Klauer, 2015). Therefore, black women, because they do not fit the prototypical features of “blackness”, become *invisible* in the eye of white majority members, and face lesser discrimination than black men (Purdie-Voungns & Eibach, 2008).

In case of Syrian migration, intersectional approach was used for understanding consequences of different experiences of Syrian immigrant men and women in mainly sociological studies (Allouche, 2017; Dağtaş, 2018; Knappert, Kornau & Figengül, 2018; Nader, 2018). Those studies were few in number, but brought extensive insight to the subject. For example, Dağtaş (2018) concluded that there is no universal women’s experience such as in Syrian migration case; even though researchers, with intersectionality theory, had the necessary tools for identifying the global power structures in relation with oppression to minorities. Intersectional approach only gives the starting point to researchers, but most of the examples have different outcomes with their unique contexts. In another example, Kanappert, Kornau and Figengül (2018) found that while male Syrian immigrants were feeling abused and excluded in their work experiences, female Syrian immigrants were feeling excluded because of gender roles in both their home and the host society. Bringing more intersecting identities to the equation, Syrian immigrant women and LGBTI sex workers were found to be harshly oppressed by Turkish majority members and they reported that their access to health services were even more limited than other Syrians due to excessive discrimination they face (Ördek, 2017).

In this research, intersectionality theory will be used to explain attitudes towards different segments of an outgroup. Simply, a Syrian man and a Syrian woman may elicit different attitudes and outcomes in the majority group members.

1.3.2 Integrated Threat Theory

Integrated Threat Theory (ITT) examines negative attitudes such as threat or fear in four main sub-topics; symbolic and realistic threats (perceived threat), intergroup anxiety and negative stereotyping (Stephan & Stephan, 1996; Stephen, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald & Tur-Kaspa, 1998).

Realistic threat refers to the perception that an outgroup or the members of an outgroup are threatening for one's ingroup's *physical* or tangible properties such as power, benefit, welfare, land, financial assets etc. The perception that an outgroup may or will damage the ingroup welfare elicits prejudice against ingroup. A common belief that Syrian immigrants will cause security concerns exemplifies realistic threats (Genç & Özdemir, 2015). Unlike realistic threat, symbolic threat refers to the perception that an outgroup is a threat to the cultural values, beliefs, lifestyle, traditions, or worldviews of one's ingroup. Because the majority often thinks that their cultural practices are the *most moral* when comparing to other cultures and that their cultural practices should not be contaminated, it can be expected that the majority members may feel threatened when they fear that their culture can be altered via the interaction with the outgroup. This fear is what motivates the attitudes of the majority members. For example, the belief that Syrian immigrants are a danger to Turkish culture due to their language, culture and lifestyle that are different from Turks' is a clear example of symbolic threat (Oytun & Gündoğar, 2015).

Intergroup anxiety is the emotional dimension of the ITT. Intergroup anxiety refers to actual anxiety that ingroup members feel when they encounter an outgroup member. Negative stereotypes are generalized beliefs and attitudes associated with members of an outgroup. For instance, Syrian immigrants are often labeled as traitors, cowards and so on (Özdemir & Öner-Özkan, 2016).

Although realistic and symbolic threats are associated with different resources to be protected from outgroups, it is not uncommon that the stigmatized group members are seen as the source of both realistic and symbolic threat simultaneously, as in the case of prejudice towards Syrian immigrants in Turkey (Karaoğlu, 2015). Of the four threat levels, a distinction can be made on the basis of group or individual; symbolic and realistic threat, and negative stereotyping are directed towards an outgroup, while intergroup anxiety is about feeling

threatened by an outgroup member personally during an actual or imagined interaction (Croucher, 2013).

In this research, perceived threat from Syrian immigrants and its relationship with social dominance orientation and social identity are examined. Specifically, the effect of gender of Syrian immigrants on perceived threat will be examined within the context of national identity (as a relevant social identity) and social dominance orientation.

1.3.3 Social Dominance Orientation

Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) explains one's perspective of hierarchy among social groups and refers to the tendency to dominate other groups (vs. treat them in an egalitarian way) to legitimize prejudice and discrimination.

According to SDO, formulated by Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth and Malle (1994), people who have high SDO tend to show higher disagreeableness and aggression but lower openness and agreeableness. Therefore, a positive correlation between SDO and prejudice is expected and numerous studies evidenced such a relationship (Akrami, Ekehammar & Araya, 2000; Pratto & Shih, 2000; Schmitt, Branscombe & Kappen, 2003;). For instance, Whitley (1999) found that a high level of SDO was related to most forms of prejudice directed towards African Americans and homosexuals by white Americans.

The correlates of SDO are not limited to prejudice; SDO explains a broad range of attitudes concerning intergroup relations. Empathy, tolerance and altruism towards others are in negative correlation, but nationalism and racism have a strong positive correlation with SDO (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth & Malle, 1994). Individuals with higher social dominance orientation object egalitarianism, humanism and universalism and support power, dominance and superiority (Duckitt, 2001). SDO seems to be gender-related as well: Men are found to have higher SDO than women (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth & Malle, 1994). Also, SDO is related to sexism and social dominance oriented people favor more strongly inequality between sexes (Akrami, Ekehammar & Araya, 2000; Sidanius, Pratto & Bobo, 1994).

Moreover, according to Sidanius and Pratto (1999) and their subordinate male target hypothesis, minority men are the primary focus of discrimination that is implemented by majority men because majority men tend to think that they would have to compete with minority men over economic and symbolic resources. Subordinate male target hypothesis also brought insight to intersectionality scholars; more specifically to intersectional invisibility hypothesis and the subject of *whose group suffers most*. According to Sidanius and Pratto (1999), minority men are more exposed than minority women to discriminatory practices by majority members because of the unique position that their gender and ethnicity put them into.

Arguments of intersectional invisibility hypothesis have their roots in these explanations and suggest that minority men are the prototypical members of their devalued groups while minority women are the *invisible* so they are less disadvantaged in the context of prejudice.

In this research, SDO will be investigated in its relationship with perceived threat from and intergroup anxiety towards Syrian immigrants.

1.3.4 Social Identity Theory

Social Identity Theory (SIT), proposed originally by Tajfel (1978), posits that individuals tend to perceive themselves not as solely an individual with specific assets and dispositions, but also as members of specific ingroups. These personal and social identities help one gain self-respect and sense of belongingness (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Tajfel (1978) considers the society-individual relationship as a context of constructing identity as “we” rather than “I” through one’s engagement with cognitive-behavioral processes related to social identity. Tajfel’s theory builds on three cognitive processes called social categorization, social identification, and social comparison. Social categorization refers to the tendency of people to assign themselves and others into different groups. Social identification emerges afterwards because the core of social categorization consists of the separation of groups. Hence, people tend to identify themselves as ingroup members. The final process, social comparison, refers to the comparison of these emerged ingroups and outgroups. These processes are used to explain why people favor their own group and experience high self-esteem while developing prejudice against outgroups.

People tend to categorize their social environment, and thus, create ingroups and outgroups. The category of ingroup consists of similarity of ingroup members; it is possible for ingroup members to have negative attitudes and feelings towards other groups because of perceived dissimilarity with outgroups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Ingroup-outgroup categorization can be based on differences regarding race, ethnicity, gender, sex, class, SES, or other categories. The level of identification with a social group, or social identity can be a predictor of prejudice (Brewer, 1999; Brown, 2011). For instance, according to Brewer (1999), ingroup identification, integrity and loyalty can lead to outgroup hate and hostility via moral superiority, perceived threat, common goals and fears. These perceptions eventually lead the members of distinct groups to scapegoating and blaming each other rather than cooperate or collaborate.

National identity or identification, as a specific form of social identity, refers to a sense of belongingness to a national community. According to Jones’s and Smith’s (2001) conceptualization, national identification has two dimensions: Identification with racial or

political community (citizenship). Which dimension applies depends on the point of views of the citizens of a country. Later, Janmaat (2006) suggested that there is a third dimension which posits culture sharing can also be applied as a dimension of national identification. Accordingly, recent studies usually investigated ethnic and cultural dimensions as one (Taşdemir & Özkan, 2016).

Furthermore, national identification stands in a position for researchers to understand how majority reacts to migrants. These reactions may include national identification as a consequence of negative attitudes towards outgroups, as a moderation between outgroup threat and support for minority rights, and as a negative predictor for support for minority rights (Verkuyten, 2009).

In this research, national identification will be investigated in relationship with perceived threat from and intergroup anxiety towards Syrian immigrants because national (ethnic) identity is a more relevant category than race relations in determining intergroup attitudes and conflicts in Turkish context.

1.4 Conceptual Framework and Hypotheses: A Moderation Model of the Gendered Perception of Threat from and Anxiety towards Syrian Immigrants

For social and national identity, there is a debate over whether they lead to prejudice or not. Ingroup identification can indeed lead individuals to make positive evaluations about their ingroup (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), but does that also mean that the process could produce negative views to outgroups? According to a study by Mummendey, Klink and Brown (2001), xenophobia only occurs when intergroup comparisons are made, and intergroup comparison is one of the key elements of nationalism, rather than patriotism. More specifically, nationalism promotes ingroup members to make an intergroup comparison and intergroup comparison process leads to prejudice; but patriotism does not promote intergroup comparison. Accordingly, while nationalism is associated with greater intolerance against minorities, patriotism is associated with greater tolerance towards minorities (Blank & Schmidt, 2003). In their study, Mummendey, Klink and Brown found that outgroup derogation occurred only when British and German participants were primed with intergroup comparison. As Turner (1999) stated, the SIT does not predict a direct relationship between identification and outgroup derogation. Rather, it predicts an indirect relationship via social comparison. For instance, Blank and Schmidt (2003) found that a high level of national identification is related to high levels of prejudice when people are biased to make and use social comparison.

Also, there are some other cases that national identification leads majority to hold anti-immigrant attitudes. For example, Pehrson, Vignoles and Brown (2009) found that when

people define national belonging based on language or with ancestry-based criteria, national identification was positively correlated with prejudice. Likewise, Falomir-Pichastor and Frederic (2013) found that perception of immigrants as a threat increases as national identification increases. Verkuyten (2009) found that high national identification of Dutch people was associated with high outgroup threat towards Turkish and Moroccan minorities and strong rejection of multiculturalism. Pehrson, Vignoles and Brown (2009) found that prejudice is stronger when national identification criteria was language-based or ancestry-based from a survey data which includes 37.010 individuals from 31 countries.

As a context related example, Taşdemir and Özkan (2006) found that as people identify themselves with Turkish national identity, they tend to think that the protection of ingroup existence is needed and they become susceptible to potential outgroup threat; therefore outgroup derogation occurs.

Hypothesis 1: People who are high in national identification perceive stronger threat from Syrian immigrants.

Then, whether and in which circumstances do attitudes towards subordinate group members vary? Niedlich and Steffens (2015) found that for a competence-related job application, among groups of self-identified heterosexual and homosexual men, heterosexual women and lesbians, German majority members perceived heterosexual women as the least competent. This outcome can be arguably attributed to traditional gender roles where men are perceived as more competent, compared to women, who are perceived as more relationship-oriented (Heilman, 2012). However, a different female group, i.e., lesbian women, were perceived as more competent than heterosexual women. Similarly, homosexual men were perceived as less competent than heterosexual men (Niedlich & Steffens, 2015). The attitudes are different towards different subgroups because of intersections of multiple identities in the eyes of the observers.

According to some intersectionality theorists, members of multiple groups experience different kinds of opportunities or challenges (Dill & Zinn, 2016). Consequences of being a black woman is simply different than being a white (or of any other race) woman. This differentiation is widely studied among different social groups and their intersections. It was found that because of the discriminatory practices held by the majority; the experiences of low-class minorities are qualitatively different from those of middle-class minorities. Furthermore, experiences of low-class minority women are qualitatively different from the experiences of low-class minority men, of middle-class minority men and of middle-class

minority women, in the cases such as “the welfare queen¹” (Foster, 2008). Also, intersectional invisibility hypothesis suggests that members of subordinate groups face different attitudes based on their similarity to what the perceivers consider as the prototypical of this group. For example, black women in the U.S. usually face less discrimination from majority because black men are prototypical of category “black” in the minds of majority; whereas black women usually escape this discrimination as less prototypical members of their groups, thus are “invisible” (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008).

In line with increased discrimination based on the prototypicality of group members, in a simulation study among mostly white U.S. citizens, black men were shot more than were black females, white females, and white males because black men are more readily seen as suspects of crime in the U.S. American context (Plant, Goplen & Kunstman, 2011). In other words, Black men, as the prototype of subordinate racial group, are seen as the most threatening. Black people are typical targets of discriminatory practices in the U.S. on the one hand (Crosby, Bromley & Saxe, 1980); men are perceived as more violent than women in the same context, on the other hand (Cicone & Ruble, 1978). Those who share both threatening identities, i.e., Black men, elicit more alert, hence more frequent shot, than people who are associated with only one (white men and black women) or no threatening category (white women). It can be said that even if black women were facing racial oppression as members of a devalued group, in intersectional cases such as this, they are less likely to be the target of direct aggression because of their non-prototypicality, so they are *invisible*.

When applied to the perceptions of Syrian immigrants, Turkish people can be expected to feel more threat from Syrian men rather than Syrian women. Regarding the images in the press and on social media, hate speech and negative attitudes are more prevalent against Syrian immigrant men than Syrian immigrant women (Rettberg & Gajjala, 2015). Some studies show that Syrian immigrant men are also labeled as cowards and traitors because they did not fight in the civil war as justification for prejudice against them (e.g. Aslan, 2018; Yazıcı, 2016). There could be more prevalent negative stereotype associations rather than positive ones for men Syrian immigrant such as “coward” and “traitor”. It can thus be expected that when the Turkish majority considers Syrian immigrants, they typically focus on male members of this devalued group rather than its female members. This causes the

¹ Welfare queen refers to a derogatory term in the U.S. that is held by the white majority for low-class black single women; because the white majority blames this latter group of women for committing welfare frauds (Foster, 2008).

Turkish majority to become threatened by, feel anxiety towards, and associate negative stereotypes with male Syrian immigrant.

Hypothesis 2a: Turkish majority members perceive more threat from Syrian immigrant men than they do from Syrian immigrant women.

Hypothesis 2b: Turkish majority members feel more anxiety towards Syrian immigrant men than they do towards Syrian immigrant women.

In addition to these hypotheses, it can also be expected that Turkish majority members apply different stereotypes to female and male Syrians. Because stereotypes may be positive, negative and neutral and there is no sufficient theoretical and empirical support for making predictions based on gender of the outgroup member, stereotypes assigned by the Turkish majority to male and female immigrants will be the exploratory part of this research. More specifically, the strength of many negative, positive and neutral stereotypes related to male and female Syrian immigrants will be compared one by one to see which specific beliefs the majority members hold regarding these subgroups of immigrants.

It can also be expected Turkish men feel more threat and anxiety in relation to Syrian immigrants than do Turkish women. Based on traditional gender role expectations prevalent in honor-bound Turkish culture (Cross, Uskul, Gerçek-Swing, Alözkan & Ataca, 2013; Güngör et al., 2014), Turkish men, relative to Turkish women, can feel more threat from Syrian immigrants (McLaren, 2003). In honor cultures, especially in the Mediterranean context, maleness is associated with aggression against outgroups in the service of protecting ingroup honor, morality and safety. Thus, it can be expected that Turkish men react more negatively to Syrian immigrants in the sense of perceived threat and anxiety, because their attitudes are influenced by Turkish code of honor. Also, women are generally found to be more welcoming and supportive as their attitudes towards minority members and immigrants (Hernes & Knudsen, 1992). Traditional gender roles encourage men to be self-focused while women to be other-focused (Hughes and Tuch 2003). Therefore, it can be expected that Turkish women, relative to Turkish men, hold less negative attitudes towards Syrian immigrants and are more pro-immigrant.

Hypothesis 3a: Turkish men perceive more threat from Syrian immigrants than do Turkish women.

Hypothesis 3b: Turkish men feel more anxiety towards Syrian immigrants than do Turkish women.

If there is a gender differentiation in the perception of threat and felt anxiety, are there individual differences in these perceptions and feelings related to devalued outgroup members? Based on the SIT, the degree of national identification can be expected to influence outgroup attitudes among Turkish people. According to the SIT, people see the outgroup as *the other*, to the extent that they identify themselves with an ingroup (Brewer, 1999; Brown, 2011). From this logic, to the extent that Turkish people identify themselves strongly with Turkish national identity, they should see Syrian immigrants as an outgroup, or *the other*.

In the literature, there is no noticeable distinction between men and women regarding the tendency towards national identification. Yet, the level of national identification can be related to more or less threat perception depending on the gender of the outgroup members. In Turkish press and social media, the male involved in crime news or hate speech are often linked with the notion of “being Turkish” (e.g. Aslan, 2018; Yazici, 2016). The commonly used argument that “They are stealing our jobs” (e.g. “Gaziantep: Suriyeliler ve İşsizlik”, 2015) implicates blue collar male oriented work and yet, referring to jobs that are supposed to be occupied by Turkish nationals. Another common belief that Syrian immigrants are threatening the harmony and security for women in Turkey or that Syrian immigrants are potential rapists and abusers (Rettberg & Gajjala, 2015), also implicate that the agents of these threats are Syrian immigrant men (e.g. Genç & Özdemir Kiran, 2015; Yazıcı, 2016).

Hypothesis 4a: The gender of the outgroup members moderates the relationship between national identification and perceived threat. The higher the level of national identification, the stronger the feeling threatened by Syrian immigrant men than by Syrian immigrant women (See Figure 1, for the hypothesized links).

Hypothesis 4b: The gender of the outgroup members moderates the relationship between national identification and intergroup anxiety. The higher the level of national identification, the stronger the feeling of intergroup anxiety towards Syrian immigrant men than Syrian immigrant women (See Figure 2, for the hypothesized links).

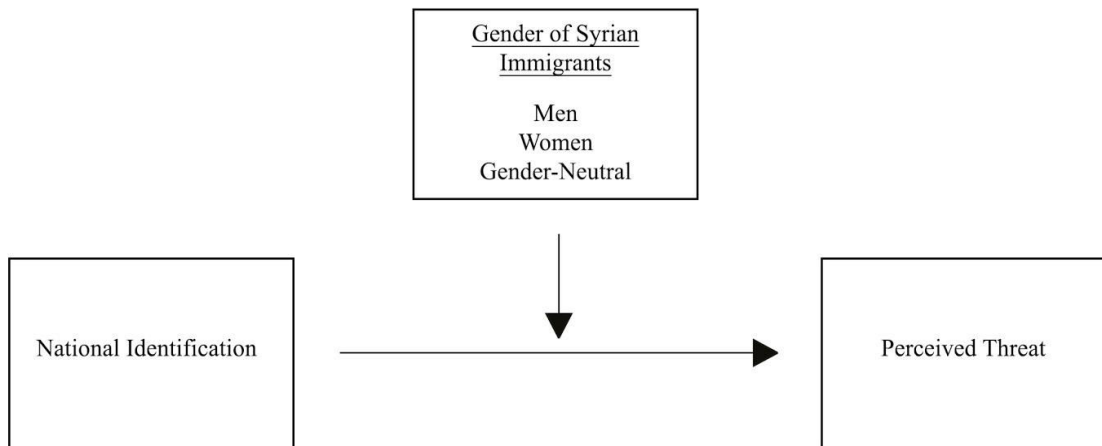


Figure 1. The moderator role of Syrian immigrants’ gender in the relationship between national identification and perceived threat

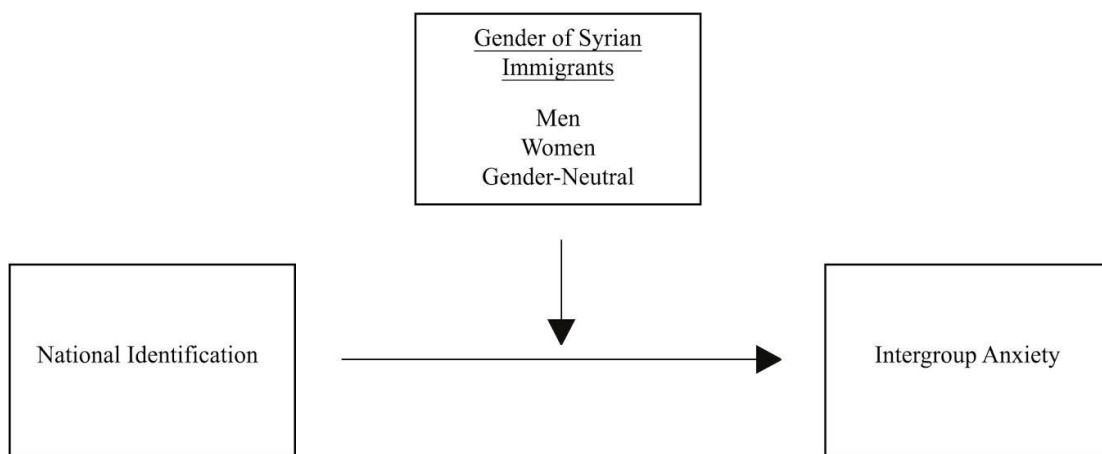


Figure 2. The moderator role of Syrian immigrants’ gender in the relationship between national identification and intergroup anxiety

When people have higher social dominance orientation, they tend to show more prejudice against outgroup members because of their tendency of seeing relationships in a hierarchical fashion. Empirical evidence show that SDO predicts a greater preference for hierarchy enhancing policies, threat and intergroup anxiety (Morrison & Ybarra, 2008; Quist

& Resendez, 2003). Therefore, it can be expected that Turkish people with higher SDO would feel more threat from and anxiety towards Syrian immigrants.

The SDO theory does not only make predictions about hierarchical perceptions of ingroup and outgroup identities, it also explains anti-egalitarian views (Sidanius, Levin, Liu & Pratto, 2000). Traditional gender role attitudes shape the perception that men are superior to women. From this perspective, it can be expected that Turkish people with a stronger SDO feel greater threat from Syrian immigrant men who hold a normatively superior position as compared to their female counterparts in the same ethnic group. Because women are traditionally and typically seen as “dependent” on men in many societies (Glick & Fiske, 1996), a high SDO would amplify this perception: people with high SDO can see women as inferior; passive receivers or victims of the actions done by men. Thus, it can be expected that majority members can see immigrant women more “passive” and hold less negative thoughts towards them whereas they can see immigrant men more “active” (also, competitively superior), thus holding more negative thoughts on, in the migration context. As a predication, Sidanius and Pratto (2001) proposed a *subordinate male target hypothesis* in that minority men face greater discrimination than minority women because majority men tend to think that they would have to compete with minority men over economic and symbolic resources.

Hypothesis 5a: The gender of the outgroup members moderates the relationship between social dominance orientation and perceived threat . The higher the SDO, the stronger the feeling threatened by Syrian immigrant men than by Syrian immigrant women (See Figure 3, for the hypothesized links).

Hypothesis 5b: The gender of the outgroup members moderates the relationship between social dominance orientation and intergroup anxiety. The higher the SDO, the stronger the feeling intergroup anxiety towards Syrian immigrant men than Syrian immigrant women (See Figure 4, for the hypothesized links).

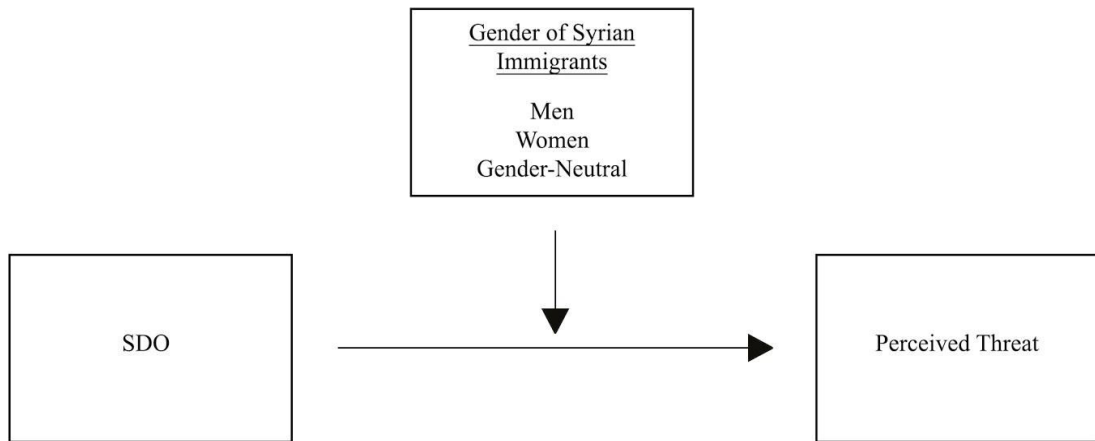


Figure 3. The moderator role of Syrian immigrants’ gender in the relationship between SDO and perceived threat

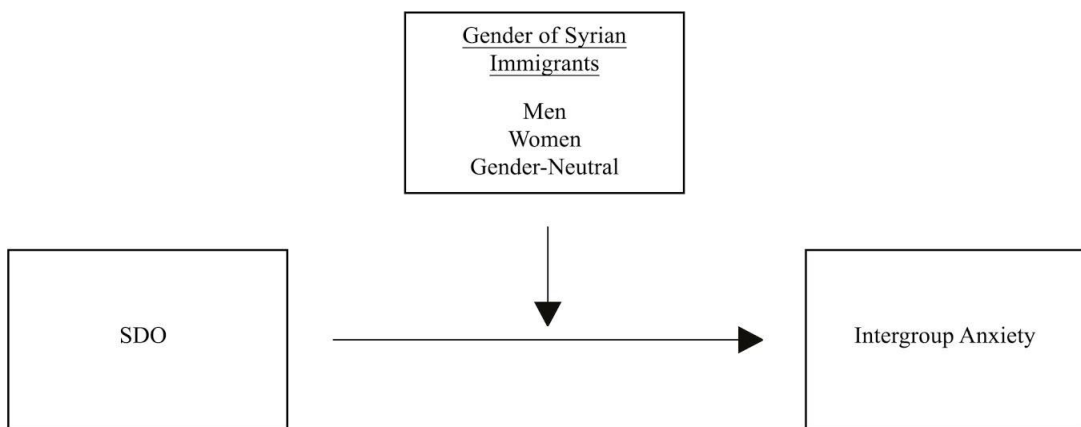


Figure 4. The moderator role of Syrian immigrants’ gender in the relationship between SDO and intergroup anxiety

To have a comprehensive gender perspective, the perceivers’ sex, gender identification, and gender ideology were also included in the analyses as potential covariates. *Gender identification* refers to one’s level of identification with one’s gender. *Gender ideology* refers to one’s thoughts on traditional gender roles regarding equality seeking or equality opposing. It can be assumed that gender ideology, gender identification, and participant gender are related to mentioned hypothesis. For example, SDO was found to be both gender and sexism related; men are found to have higher SDO than women and social dominance oriented people favor more strongly inequality between sexes (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth & Malle, 1994; Sidanius, Pratto & Bobo, 1994). Also, gender identification, as a

form of social identity, found to be related with perceived discrimination and sexism (Cameron, 2001).



2. METHOD

2.1 Participants

The data were collected both via an online survey and via paper-pencil questionnaires. Participants were accessed through snowball sampling. Even a total of 585 participants finished the survey, 18 of them were excluded because they did not answer the predictor and/or outcome variable questions. Demographic informations of the remaining 567 participants' data can be seen in below tables.

Three types of questionnaires were prepared with the three outcome variables, i.e., perceived threat, intergroup anxiety, and outgroup stereotyping. Each outcome variable was assessed in a relation to a different gender category: Participants who took the Syrian immigrant woman questionnaire consisted of 164 people (28.9%), participants who took the Syrian immigrant man questionnaire consisted of 158 people (27.9%), and participants who took the gender-neutral Syrian immigrant questionnaire as consisted of 245 people (43.2%).

As seen in Table 1, of 567 participants, 319 were women (56.3%), 224 men (39.5%). Twenty four (4.2%) participants did not declare their gender.

Table 1

Characteristics of the Sample: Gender of the Participants

<i>Variables</i>	<i>n</i>				<i>%</i>			
	<i>G</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>T</i>
Gender								
Women	155	82	82	319	63.3	50.0	51.9	56.3
Men	77	77	70	224	31.4	47.0	44.3	39.5

Note. G = Gender-neutral. W = Woman. M = Man. T = Total.

Participants' age ranged from 18 to 82 ($M = 36.50$, $SD = 13.22$). Thirty four of them did not declare their age. The mean age for the women participants was 36.7 ($SD = 13.10$) and that of men was 35.80 ($SD = 13.10$). The mean age of participants who completed the Syrian immigrant woman questionnaire was 35.37 ($SD = 13.26$), that of participants who completed Syrian immigrant man questionnaire was 39.27 ($SD = 13.16$), and that of participants who completed gender-neutral Syrian questionnaire was 35.46 ($SD = 13.02$). The results of One-Way ANOVA showed that there is a significant age difference between participants who completed woman, man, and gender-neutral Syrian questionnaires, $F(2, 527) = 4.363$, $p <$

.05). Pairwise comparisons revealed that the mean age of participants who completed the Syrian immigrant man questionnaire was higher than both of participants who completed Syrian immigrant woman questionnaire ($p < .05$) and participants who completed gender-neutral Syrian immigrant questionnaire ($p < .05$). This outcome will be used and discussed in both result and discussion sections, respectively.

Most participants were born in Izmir ($n = 188, 33.2\%$). The rest reported through 33 other Turkish cities and 11 reported abroad as their birthplace. The current place of residence of the participants was also mostly Izmir ($n = 354, 62.4\%$). The rest reported through 24 other Turkish cities and 2 reported abroad as their current place of residence. The birthplace and current place of residence distribution were similar across participants who completed man, woman, and gender-neutral Syrian immigrant questionnaires.

As displayed in Table 2, the majority of the participants declared their education level as university graduate. The distribution of education level of participants was similar across participants who completed man, woman and gender-neutral Syrian immigrant questionnaires.

Table 2

Demographic Characteristics of the Sample: Education Level of the participants

Variables	n				%			
	G	W	M	T	G	W	M	T
Education								
Primary School	12	3	8	23	4.9	1.8	5.1	4.5
Junior High School	11	9	9	29	4.5	5.5	5.7	9.2
High School	39	31	33	103	15.9	18.9	20.9	18.2
University	152	89	82	323	62.0	54.3	51.9	57.0
Master's/PhD	31	29	25	85	12.7	17.7	15.8	15.0

Note. G = Gender-neutral. W = Woman. M = Man. T = Total.

As seen in Table 3, most of the participants declared their income level as between 1501 and 3000 TL. The distribution of income level of participants was similar across participants who completed man, woman, and gender-neutral Syrian immigrant questionnaires.

Table 3*Demographic Characteristics of the Sample: Income Level of the participants*

Variables	n				%			
	G	W	M	T	G	W	M	T
Income								
Lower than 600 TL	17	18	8	43	6.9	11.0	5.1	7.8
601 - 1500 TL	42	20	14	76	17.1	12.2	8.9	13.4
1501 - 3000 TL	95	61	62	218	38.8	37.2	39.2	38.4
3001 - 6000 TL	61	49	47	157	24.9	29.9	29.7	27.7
Higher than 6001 TL	28	9	17	54	11.4	5.5	10.8	9.5

Note. G = Gender-neutral. W = Woman. M = Man. T = Total.

Marital status of the participants consisted of 246 married (43.4%), 258 single (45.5%), 31 divorced (5.5%), 10 as a widow (1.8%). Five participants selected the 'other' option (0.9%) and 17 participants did not declare their marital status (3%). Of 164 participants who answered the Syrian immigrant woman questionnaire, 58 married (35.4%), 88 single (53.7%), 10 divorced (6.1%), 1 as a widow (0.6%). Two participants selected the 'other' option (1.2%) and 5 participants did not declare their marital status (3%). Of 158 participants who answered the Syrian immigrant man questionnaire, 87 married (55.1%), 50 single (31.6%), 9 divorced (5.7%), 6 as a widow (3.8%). Six participants did not declare their marital status (3.8%). Of 245 participants who answered the gender-neutral Syrian immigrant questionnaire, 101 married (41.2%), 120 single (49%), 12 divorced (4.9%), 3 as a widow (1.2%). Three participants selected the 'other' option (1.2%) and 6 participants did not declare their marital status (2.4%).

As seen in Table 4, majority of the participants declared that they work in a full-time job. The distribution of working status of participants was similar across participants who completed man, woman, and gender-neutral Syrian immigrant questionnaires.

Table 4*Demographic Characteristics of the Sample: Working Status of the participants*

<i>Variables</i>	<i>n</i>				<i>%</i>			
	<i>G</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>T</i>
Working Status								
Full-Time	139	95	87	321	57.4	57.9	55.1	56.6
Part-Time	21	7	9	37	8.7	4.3	5.7	6.5
Unemployed	19	20	8	47	7.8	12.2	5.1	8.3
Retired	24	17	24	65	9.8	10.4	15.2	11.5
Student	39	20	24	83	15.9	12.2	15.2	14.6

Note. G = Gender-neutral. W = Woman. M = Man. T = Total.

2.2 Materials

The information about scales is presented below with their corresponding internal reliability coefficients. While Perceived Threat, Intergroup Anxiety scales, and Stereotype Index were used to measure respectively general threat, intergroup anxiety levels towards outgroup, and outgroup stereotyping; broadly negative attitudes of participants to outgroups (Stephen et al., 1999; Yarıcı, 2004), Multi-component In-group Identification scale was used in order to measure national identification level of participants (Leach et al., 2008) and Social Dominance Orientation scale was used to measure tendency of participants to dominate outgroups vs treat them in an egalitarian way (Pratto et al., 1994). Lastly, Gender Ideology and Perceived Importance of Gender Identity Scales was used in order to measure respectively sexism vs gender equality and gender identification of participants (Greenstein, 1996; Schamader, 2002).

2.2.1 Demographic Questions

Participants were given questions about socio-demographic information. The demographic questions consisted of sex, age, education and income levels, birthplace, the city of residence, marital status, occupation, and finally working status of the participants.

2.2.2 Perceived Threat Scale

In order to measure perceived threat level of participants, an 18-item Perceived Threat scale that was developed by Stephen et al. (1999) as a two dimensional measurement (Realistic and Symbolic Threats), was used. The scale includes items like “(ingroup) and (outgroup) are different in their religious beliefs” (symbolic), “(outgroup) are taking job

opportunities in the hands of (ingroup)” (realistic). The response format was a 5-point Likert scale from 1 = *Strongly Disagree* to 5 = *Strongly Agree*, as higher scores indicated higher levels of threat towards Syrian immigrants. Participants were asked to imagine a context with just Syrian immigrant men, Syrian immigrant women, or Syrian immigrants in general accordingly to their questionnaire sub-groups.

The scale was adapted to Turkish by Balaban (2013) and adapted to Syrian immigrant context by Karaoğlu (2015). In Karaoğlu’s (2015) study the scale was used as a general threat scale with Cronbach’s Alpha value of .93. The current study also combined symbolic and realistic threats as general threats, because the target outgroup consists of Syrian immigrants just as the target outgroup in Karaoğlu’s (2015) study. Also, in this research Cronbach’s Alpha was found as .96.

2.2.3 Intergroup Anxiety Scale

A 13-item scale, developed by Stephen et al. (2000), was used in order to measure intergroup anxiety. Participants were asked to think of a hypothetical situation with a question: “A Syrian immigrant approached to you and asked for direction when you were walking on the street. What did/would this encounter make you feel?”. Participants with female Syrian questionnaire were asked if they were approached by a Syrian immigrant woman, participants with male Syrian questionnaire were asked if they were approached by a Syrian immigrant man, and participants with general Syrian questionnaire were asked if they were approached by a Syrian immigrant without any gender hints (See Appendix D).

Seven items in the scale were reverse coded (e.g. “safe”, “comfortable”). Other items were directly measured intergroup anxiety (e.g. “anxious”, “nervous”). Another two items were added to scale in order to shed a light to the subject more broadly; “superior” and “admiring” (reverse item).

The response format was a 7-point Likert scale from 1 = *Never* to 7 = *Always*, as higher scores indicated higher levels of intergroup anxiety towards Syrians. The scale was adapted to Turkish by Kunduz (2009) and in her study Cronbach’s Alpha value was found as .92. In the current study Cronbach’s Alpha value was found as .82.

2.2.4 Stereotype Index

The 32-item Stereotype Index was developed by Yapıcı (2004). The index consists of adjectives such as “insidious”, “brave”, “sensitive”, “rude” etc. Participants were asked to mark minimum 5 items out of 32.

The index consist positive and negative adjectives, as well as context dependent neutral adjectives. “Manful”, “pacifist”, “helpful”, “hardworking”, “warm”, “attached to

family values”, “brave”, “honest”, “connected to religious beliefs”, “tolerant”, “polite” and “clean” items were associated as positive, while “sly”, “aggressive”, “selfish”, “lazy”, “cold”, “free on sexual matters”, “coward”, “fraud”, “prejudice”, “superstitious”, “infidel”, “rude” and “dirty” items were associated as negative stereotypes. Other items; “emotional”, “rationalist”, “fatalist”, “democratic”, “conservative” and “modern” were decided to treat as context dependent neutral stereotypes.

2.2.5. Multi-component In-group Identification Scale

In order to measure national identification, 20-item Multi-component In-group Identification scale was adopted. The scale includes items such as “I feel a bond with (Turkish people)”, “It is pleasant to be (Turkish)”.

The scale was developed by Leach and his colleagues (2008) as a two dimensional structure with five components. Self-investment dimension includes Solidarity (e.g. I feel bond with [Turkish people]), Satisfaction (e.g. Being [Turkish] gives me a good feeling) and Centrality components (e.g. The fact that I am [Turkish] is an important part of my identity); Self-definition dimension includes Individual Self-stereotyping (e.g. I have a lot in common with the average [Turkish] person), and Ingroup Homogeneity (e.g. [Turkish] people have a lot in common with each other). In the current study dimensions and components were not used because a total national identification score was needed in order to asses above hypotheses.

The response format was a 7 point Likert scale from 1 = *Strongly Disagree* to 7 = *Strongly Agree*, as higher scores indicated higher levels of ingroup identification. The scale adapted to Turkish by Balaban (2013); in her study the scale was used as a unidimensional measurement to assess Turkish identification level with a .93 Cronbach’s Alpha value. In the current study, the scale was used as a unidimensional measurement because the sample consists on Turkish people just as the sample in Balaban’s (2013) study. Also, Cronbach’s Alpha value was found as .98 for the total scale.

2.2.6 Social Dominance Orientation Scale

The Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) scale has 16 items. The scale was developed by Pratto and his colleagues (1994) and includes statements such as "We could have less troubles if we treated different groups more equally." (reverse coded), "Inferior groups should know their place.". The format of response was a 5-point Likert scale from 1 = *Strongly Disagree* to 5 = *Strongly Agree*. Higher scores indicate higher levels of social dominance orientation.

Turkish adaptation of the SDO scale was conducted by Akbaş (2010). In the current study Cronbach's Alpha value was .90.

2.2.7 Gender Ideology Scale

An 8-item Gender Ideology Scale was developed by Greenstein (1996). The scale includes items such as "Husband and wife should make important decisions for family together." (reverse coded), "Women should quit their jobs and focus to nurture when they have kids.". The response format was a 5 point Likert scale from 1 = *Strongly Disagree* to 5 = *Strongly Agree*, as higher scores indicated higher levels of sexism.

Turkish translation of Gender Ideology Scale was made via translation-back translation technique by Güngör and her two colleagues (personal communication). Cronbach's Alpha value was found as .81 in the current study.

2.2.8 Perceived Importance of Gender Identity Scale

To assess the gender identification of the participants, the Perceived Importance of Gender Identity Scale was used. The scale was developed by Schamader (2002), but no researcher has attempted to translate the scale to Turkish before. For the current study, translation and back-translation were made for the 4-item scale. The scale consists of statements such as "Being a woman/man is an important part of my self image.", "Being a woman/man has very little to do with how I feel about myself." (reverse coded). The response format was yet again a 5 point Likert scale from 1 = *Strongly Disagree* to 5 = *Strongly Agree*, as higher scores indicated higher levels of gender identification.

Cronbach's Alpha value was found as .68 in the current study, which was moderately satisfactory. However, due to fewness of the items in the scale and because the scale has no vital importance on the hypothesis models, it was agreed as adequate.

2.3 Procedure

Before data collection, a few pre-interviews were conducted. A total of 15 people who were living in Izmir were found through snowball sampling and Syrian migration as a theme was discussed with them. Participants reported that they mostly feel negatively about Syrian migration in Turkey. Furthermore, they expressed that they were mostly feel threat, anger, fear from *male* Syrian immigrants, rather than female Syrian immigrants. Also, participants were mostly reported their negativity in relation with their attachment of being Turkish. Most of them mentioned their negativity via how this migration affects and will affect the harmony of Turkish society with a hierarchical point of view. After these pre-interviews were finished, combining national identification and social dominance orientation with the main hypotheses was decided.

Prior to data collection, an approval from Yasar University Ethics Committee was obtained in order to conduct the field study. Upon the ethical approval, three different forms (male, female, gender-neutral) of an online survey was prepared in Google Forms. Furthermore, the link of the survey was shared in various social media channels such as Twitter and Facebook. The participants who responded to the online questionnaire were given the choice of filling up one of the three forms of the questionnaire. Beside the online survey, because of the need of a normally distributed sample of age and education level; half of the questionnaires with three different forms were printed and presented in propria persona to more elderly participants and participants who had no or little access to social media. With this way, age or SES differences balanced across these three different forms. The survey was introduced to participants for research purposes as "Thoughts towards Syrian Immigrants".

On the first page on the survey, a brief information and a consent form were given. First, demographic questions are requested to fill out by all of those who admitted to continue. The independent variable scales were presented as firstly Multi-Component Ingroup Identification and after that, Social Dominance Orientation Scale. The scales of the dependent variables were followed independent variable scales and given in following order: Perceived Threat and Intergroup Anxiety Scale, and Stereotype Index. The target group of the study consists of people with Turkish nationality. All the participants were requested to answer each question. After completing the survey which took approximately 10 minutes, they were thanked for participating.

3. RESULTS

For each scales an average score was calculated. To deal with missing variables, a mean score replacement strategy was used. Afterwards, Mahalanobis distance was used to detect multivariate outliers out of the data of 567 participants. Calculation of Mahalanobis distance (Mahalanobis distance (4) = 18.47, $p < .001$) showed that there were 4 multivariate outliers. These outliers were excluded from the data. Next, univariate outliers were detected. Three Participants with Z scores were above or below of the acceptable limit of 3.29 excluded from the data. Remaining 560 participants' data were retained for further analyses.²

3.1. Descriptive Statistics and Correlations for Study Variables

Table 5 shows the means and standard deviations for the major study variables. Briefly, perceived threat ($M = 3.26$, $SD = 1.04$) and national identification ($M = 4.80$, $SD = 1.63$) and) were observed in relatively high levels. But SDO ($M = 1.95$, $SD = 0.77$) level showed an opposite trend, participants mostly scored low on SDO scale. Intergroup anxiety ($M = 3.94$, $SD = 0.97$) was relatively higher than perceived threat as its mean level corresponded to the midpoint of the scale.

Table 5

Means and standard deviations of major study variables

<i>Variables</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Range</i>
Perceived Threat	3.26	1.04	1-5
Intergroup Anxiety	3.94	.97	1-7
National Identification	4.80	1.63	1-7
Social Dominance Orientation	1.95	0.77	1-5

² However, normality tests showed that the criteria of normal distribution for correlation analyses was not met for the following variables as reflected by the skewness and kurtosis values (± 3.29) except intergroup anxiety (*skewness* = 0.74, *kurtosis* = 1.19), perceived threat (*skewness* = -0.23, *kurtosis* = -5.01), national identification (*skewness* = -4.63, *kurtosis* = -3.43) and SDO (*skewness* = 7.56, *kurtosis* = -0.06). Hence, the results of the analyses that done without using non-parametric techniques should be examined with caution because the results are prone to Type 1 error. Also, normality transformations (inverse, logarithm and square root) did not work as none of the variables showed any signs of normality after transformations.

For correlations of major study variables and covariances, Pearson's Correlation Coefficient analysis was conducted. Perceived threat, intergroup anxiety, national identification, SDO, gender ideology, gender identification, gender, age, education and income were included in the correlation analysis. See Table 6 for further details.

Table 6

Correlations among Study Variables

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
1. Perceived Threat	1							
2. Intergroup Anxiety	.52***	1						
3. National Identification	.49***	.22***	1					
4. Social Dominance Orientation	.40***	.29***	.24***	1				
5. Participant Gender (0 = W, 1 = M)	-.01	-.11*	.07	.18***	1			
6. Age	.14**	.03	.21***	-.06	-.03	1		
7. Education	-.30***	-.14**	-.30***	-.22***	-.04	-.27***	1	
8. Income	-.06	-.05	.04	-.13**	.00	.27***	.29***	1

Note 1. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Note 2. W = Women. M = Men

As it can be seen on the Table 6 that perceived threat had a significant relationship with almost all variables except gender and income. Its correlation with intergroup anxiety ($r = .53, p < .001$) was the strongest among other correlations. It can be said that participants who perceived higher threat, experienced more anxiety than did participants who perceived less threat. Intergroup anxiety had also significant relationship almost all variables, but not with age and income. National identification was similar to perceived threat; had significant relationships with every variables except gender and income. The highest correlation among them was with perceived threat ($r = .49, p < .001$). In other words, participants with stronger national identification perceived higher threat than did participants with weaker national identification. Again, SDO had also a significant relationship with almost all variables but not with age, and its highest correlations were with perceived threat ($r = .40, p < .001$) and gender identification ($r = .43, p < .001$). It can be said that participants with stronger SDO both

perceived higher threat and identified themselves with their gender more than did participants with weaker SDO.

Gender ideology had insignificant relationship only with income. Especially, its correlation with education ($r = -.35, p < .001$) was relatively higher than the others. It can be seen that participants who are relatively more sexist, had low education level than the participants who are relatively less sexist. Gender identification also had a significant relationship with almost all variables, except gender, age and income. But gender itself had a significant relationship only with social dominance orientation, intergroup anxiety and gender ideology. Because high gender ideology scores mean more conservative life views on gender roles of men and women, it can be seen that men are more sexist than women ($r = .28, p < .001$). Interpretations on above correlations will be explained in the discussion section.

3.2. Mean Differences for Dependent Variables and Chi-Squares for Stereotype Index

Hypothesis 1 predicted that people who are high in national identification perceive stronger threat from Syrian immigrants. To test the hypothesis, a simple regression analysis was conducted. It showed that increased national identification predicted greater perceived threat ($b = .31, SE = .02, \beta = .49, p < .001$). The model was statistically significant, $R^2 = .24, F(1, 559) = 175.45, p < .001$. Therefore, *Hypothesis 1* was confirmed.

To examine whether if there were any differences which dependent variables shows accordingly to gender of Syrian immigrants, a Kruskal-Wallis test with 3 levels was conducted. Because of the situation of dependent variables were not normally distributed, using simple One-Way-ANOVA test was avoided.

Hypothesis 2a predicted that people perceive higher threat from Syrian immigrant men than they do from Syrian immigrant women. It was found that perceived threat was significantly affected by gender of Syrian immigrants, $H(2 = 11.03), p < .01$. Mann-Whitney tests were used to follow up this result. A Bonferroni correction was applied and so all effects are reported at a .0167 level of significance. It can be seen that the perceived threat towards Syrian immigrant women and men does not differentiate unlike *Hypothesis 2a* suggested, $U = 11029, r = -.10, p = .06$. Also, the difference in perceived threat between Syrian immigrants without any specified gender and Syrian immigrant women was not statistically significant $U = 18081.5, r = -.06, p = .198$. However, perceived threat found to be significantly greater towards Syrian immigrant men than Syrian immigrants without any specified gender, $U =$

15227.5, $r = -.17$, $p = .001$. Based on these findings, even though there was no differentiation in perceived threat of participants between Syrian immigrant men and women, it can be seen that participants feel more threatened by Syrian immigrant men when compared to Syrian immigrants as general without any hints of gender specification. It can be said that *Hypothesis 2a* was partially confirmed.

Hypothesis 2b predicted that people feel more anxiety towards Syrian immigrant men than they do towards Syrian immigrant women. It was found that intergroup anxiety was significantly affected by gender of Syrian immigrants, $H(2 = 17.71)$, $p < .001$. Mann-Whitney tests were used to follow up this result. A Bonferroni correction was applied and so all effects are reported at a .0167 level of significance. It was found that, indeed, intergroup anxiety towards Syrian immigrant women and men differs; participants feel more anxiety towards Syrian immigrant men than Syrian immigrant women just as the *Hypothesis 2b* suggested, $U = 9525.5$, $r = -.21$, $p < .001$. The level of intergroup anxiety towards Syrian immigrant men was also greater than Syrian immigrant without any specified gender, $U = 14782.5$, $r = -.19$, $p < .001$. However, intergroup anxiety was not found to be statistically significant between Syrian immigrants without any specified gender and Syrian immigrant women $U = 19211.5$, $r = -.01$, $p = .761$. Based on these findings, it can be seen that participants feel more anxiety towards Syrian immigrant men than Syrian immigrant women. Thus, *Hypothesis 2b* was confirmed.

As the exploratory part of the study, it was said in the theoretical framework that it can be expected that Turkish majority members apply different stereotypes to female and male Syrians. In order to find the strength of negative, positive and neutral stereotypes related to male and female Syrian immigrants chi-square analyses were conducted according to whether participants marked the associated stereotype or not. See Table 7 for full index significances.

Table 7*Chi-Square Test Results of Stereotypes Across Syrian Immigrant Men and Women*

	W (%)	M (%)	Chi-Square
Authoritarian	1 (0.6%)	8 (5.1%)	5.83**
Aggressive	24 (14.9%)	60 (38.5%)	22.57***
Attached to Family Values	36 (22.4%)	23 (14.7%)	3.03
Brave	31 (19.3%)	7 (4.5%)	16.38***
Clean	8 (5%)	3 (1.9%)	2.19
Cold	40 (24.8%)	42 (26.9%)	.18
Connected to Religious Beliefs	66 (41%)	46 (29.5%)	4.59*
Conservative	88 (54.7%)	69 (44.2%)	3.45
Coward	42 (26.1%)	40 (25.6%)	.01
Democratic	0 (0%)	1 (0.6%)	1.03
Dirty	75 (46.6%)	88 (56.4%)	3.06
Emotional	25 (15.5%)	11 (7.1%)	5.65*
Fatalist	62 (38.5%)	38 (24.4%)	7.35**
Fraud	24 (14.9%)	35 (22.4%)	2.96
Free on Sexual Matters	24 (14.9%)	16 (10.3%)	1.55
Hardworking	22 (13.7%)	13 (8.3%)	2.29
Helpful	12 (7.5%)	4 (2.6%)	3.95*
Honest	2 (1.2%)	3 (1.9%)	0.24
Infidel	13 (8.1%)	23 (14.7%)	3.5
Lazy	70 (43.5%)	71 (45.5%)	.13
Manful	9 (5.6%)	2 (1.3%)	4.39*
Modern	1 (0.6%)	1 (0.6%)	0
Pacifist	24 (14.9%)	12 (7.7%)	4.10*
Polite	9 (5.6%)	3 (1.9%)	2.92
Prejudice	28 (17.4%)	27 (17.3%)	0
Rationalist	3 (1.9%)	2 (1.3%)	.17
Rude	34 (21.1%)	81 (51.9%)	32.52***
Selfish	37 (23%)	56 (35.9%)	6.38**
Sly	36 (22.4%)	50 (32.1%)	3.76

(continued)

Table 7*Chi-Square Test Results of Stereotypes Across Syrian Immigrant Men and Women*

	W (%)	M (%)	Chi-Square
Superstitious	30 (18.6%)	25 (16%)	.38
Tolerant	8 (5%)	3 (1.9%)	2.19
Warm	8 (5%)	2 (1.3%)	3.52

Note 1. W = Syrian Immigrant Women. M = Syrian Immigrant Men.

Note 2. Percentage (%) was used to show marked items within the questionnaire.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Looking at the results, there were few significant differences in the 32 item index. For example, the stereotype of “aggressive” was used mostly for Syrian immigrant men rather than Syrian immigrant women ($\chi^2 (1) = 22.57, p < .001$). A similar result can be seen in the “selfish” item ($\chi^2 (1) = 6.32, p < .01$). Participants tended to think Syrian immigrant men as more selfish than Syrian immigrant women. “Rude” item showed similar result; participants saw Syrian immigrant men ruder than Syrian immigrant women ($\chi^2 (1) = 32.52, p < .001$). Interestingly, “brave” item showed an opposite result; participants tended to think Syrian immigrant women as braver than Syrian immigrant men ($\chi^2 (1) = 16.38, p < .001$). Beside these four analyses, there were found some significant results; however, some negative items showed no significant difference. For example, the item “lazy” showed no difference across Syrian immigrant men and women ($\chi^2 (1) = 0.13, p > .05$). Interpretations of these results will be discussed in the discussion section.

Hypothesis 3a predicted that men perceive more threat from Syrian immigrants than do women. To find out if there were any differences that dependent variables showed accordingly to gender of participants, Mann-Whitney tests was conducted. Because dependent variables were not normally distributed, using independent samples t-tests was avoided. Unlike the prediction of *Hypothesis 3a*, perceived threat level of women participants ($MDN = 3.17$) did not differ significantly than perceived threat level of men participants ($MDN = 3.22$), $U = 34432.5, z = -.13, p = .896, r = -.01$. *Hypothesis 3a* was not confirmed.

However, analysis of *Hypothesis 3b* showed interesting results. *Hypothesis 3b* predicted that men feel more anxiety towards Syrian immigrants than do women. Even though

the intergroup anxiety level of women participants ($MDN = 4$) differed significantly than the intergroup anxiety level of men participants ($MDN = 3.87$), the difference was contrary to what *Hypothesis 3b* suggested. Women participants feel more anxiety towards Syrian immigrants than do men participants, $U = 30564.5$, $z = -2.33$, $p = .02$, $r = -.10$. *Hypothesis 3b* was not confirmed.

3.3 Moderation Analyses

3.3.1 The Moderating Role of Immigrants' Gender in Predicting Perceived Threat from National Identification

Hypothesis 4a predicted that the gender of the outgroup members moderates the relationship between national identification and perceived threat: The higher the level of national identification, the stronger the perceived threat from Syrian immigrant men than by Syrian immigrant women. A moderation analysis was carried out using Andrew F. Hayes' PROCESS Macro (Model 2) to investigate whether the gender of Syrian immigrants moderates the relationship between national identification and perceived threat. National identification was the predictor and perceived threat was the outcome variable. Gender of Syrian immigrants was included in the analysis as a moderator. The moderator variable was dummy coded and Syrian immigrant men was used as the reference category to find out if there was an effect regarding men vs. women (also, vs. gender-neutral category of Syrian immigrants). Gender ideology, gender identification, gender of participants, age, education and income were entered as control variables.

It was found that national identification predicted perceived threat and their relationship was positive ($R^2 = .32$, $F(11, 495) = 20.85$, $p < .001$). However, unlike the *Hypothesis 4a* suggested, national identification was no differentially related with perceived threat depending on the gender of the outgroup member as gender-neutral ($\Delta R^2 = .001$, $\Delta F(1, 495) = .78$, $p = .38$) or women ($\Delta R^2 = .000$, $\Delta F(1, 495) = .04$, $p = .84$), when the reference group was taken as Syrians immigrant men. So that *Hypothesis 4a* was not confirmed. Also, the analysis showed that gender identification and education were the only significant control variables related to perceived threat. Participants who were more highly identified with their gender as a man or women, and those with lower education perceived more threat from Syrian immigrants. See Table 8 for further details.

Table 8

The Moderating Role of Gender of Syrians on the Relationship between National Identification and Perceived Threat

	<i>Coeff.</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>95% CI</i>	
National Identification (A)	.28***	.03	10.77	.23	.33
Syrian – Gender-Neutral (B)	-.20*	.10	-2.10	-.39	-.01
Interaction 1 (A x B)	.05	.06	.88	-.07	.18
Syrian - Women (C)	-.11	.10	-1.04	-.32	.10
Interaction 2 (A x C)	.01	.07	.20	-.12	.15
Gender Ideology	.02	.06	.38	-.10	.15
Gender Identification	.10*	.04	2.50	.02	.17
Gender	-.11	.08	-1.31	-.27	.05
Age	.00	.00	.48	-.00	.01
Education	-.18***	.05	-3.59	-.28	-.08
Income	-.04	.04	-1.06	-.12	.04

Note 1. CI = Confidence Interval

Note 2. Syrian – Gender-Neutral (vs. Syrian – Men) and Syrian – Women (vs. Syrian – Men)

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

3.3.2 The Moderating Role of Immigrants' Gender in Predicting Intergroup Anxiety from National Identification

Hypothesis 4b predicted that the gender of the outgroup members moderates the relationship between national identification and intergroup anxiety: The higher the level of national identification, the stronger the feeling anxiety from Syrian immigrant men than by Syrian immigrant women. A moderation analysis was carried out using Andrew F. Hayes' PROCESS Macro (Model 2) to investigate whether gender of Syrian immigrants moderates the relationship between national identification and intergroup anxiety. National identification was the predictor and intergroup anxiety was the outcome variable. Gender of Syrian immigrants was included in the analysis as a moderator. The moderator variable was dummy coded and Syrian immigrant men was used as the reference category to find out if there was an effect regarding men vs. women (also, vs. gender-neutral category of Syrian immigrants). Gender ideology, gender identification, gender of participants, age, education and income were entered as control variables.

It was found that national identification predicted intergroup anxiety and their relationship was positive ($R^2 = .13$, $F(11, 495) = 6.65$, $p < .001$). However, unlike the *Hypothesis 4b* suggested, national identification was no differentially related with intergroup anxiety depending on the gender of the outgroup member as gender-neutral ($\Delta R^2 = .002$, $\Delta F(1, 495) = 1.26$, $p = .26$) or women ($\Delta R^2 = .001$, $\Delta F(1, 495) = .37$, $p = .54$), when the reference group was taken as Syrians immigrant men. Also, the analysis showed that gender identification and gender were the only significant control variables related to intergroup anxiety. Participants who were more highly identified with their gender as a man or women, and women participants feel more anxiety towards Syrian immigrants. See Table 9 for further details.

Table 9

The moderating role of gender of Syrians on the relationship between national identification and intergroup anxiety

	Coeff.	SE	t	95% CI	
National Identification (A)	.11***	.03	3.90	.05	.16
Syrian - Gender-Neutral (B)	-.33***	.10	-3.24	-.54	-.13
Interaction 1 (A x B)	.07	.07	1.12	-.06	.20
Syrian - Women (C)	-.36***	.11	-3.25	-.58	.14
Interaction 2 (A x C)	.04	.07	.61	-.10	.18
Gender Ideology	.12	.07	1.81	-.01	.26
Gender Identification	.11*	.04	2.58	.03	.19
Gender	-.30***	.09	-3.36	-.47	-.12
Age	-.00	.00	-1.08	-.01	.00
Education	-.06	.05	-1.20	-.17	.04
Income	-.03	.04	-.65	-.11	.06

Note 1. CI = Confidence Interval

Note 2. Syrian – Gender-Neutral (vs. Syrian – Men) and Syrian – Women (vs. Syrian – Men)

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

3.3.3 The Moderating Role of Immigrants' Gender in Predicting Perceived Threat from SDO

Hypothesis 5a predicted that the gender of the outgroup members moderates the relationship between SDO and perceived threat: The higher the level of SDO, the stronger the perceived threat from Syrian immigrant men than by Syrian immigrant women. A moderation analysis was carried out using Andrew F. Hayes' PROCESS Macro (Model 2) to investigate whether gender of Syrian immigrants moderates the relationship between SDO and perceived threat. SDO was the predictor and perceived threat was the outcome variable. Gender of Syrian immigrants was included in the analysis as a moderator. The moderator variable was dummy coded and Syrian immigrant men was used as the reference category to find out if there was an effect regarding men vs. women (also, vs. gender-neutral category of Syrian immigrants). Gender ideology, gender identification, gender of participants, age, education, and income were entered as control variables.

It was found that SDO predicted perceived threat and their relationship was positive ($R^2 = .25$, $F(11, 495) = 15.23$, $p > .001$). However, unlike the *Hypothesis 5a* suggested, SDO was no differentially related with perceived threat depending on the gender of the outgroup member as gender-neutral ($\Delta R^2 = .002$, $\Delta F(1, 495) = 1.18$, $p = .28$) or women ($\Delta R^2 = .000$, $\Delta F(1, 495) = .000$, $p = .98$), when the reference group was taken as Syrians immigrant men. *Hypothesis 5a* was not confirmed. Also, it was found that gender identification, age and education were the only significant control variables related to perceived threat. Participants who were more highly identified with their gender as a man or women, those with lower education, and older participants perceive more threat towards Syrian immigrants. See Table 10 for further details.

Table 10*The moderating role of gender of Syrians on the relationship between SDO and perceived threat*

	Coeff.	SE	t	95% CI	
SDO (A)	.50***	.06	8.24	.38	.61
Syrian - Gender-Neutral (B)	-.27**	.10	-2.67	-.46	-.07
Interaction 1 (A x B)	.14	.13	1.09	-.11	.38
Syrian - Women (C)	-.11	.11	-.98	-.32	.11
Interaction 2 (A x C)	-.00	.14	-.02	-.27	.26
Gender Ideology	-.08	.07	-1.12	-.22	.06
Gender Identification	.09*	.04	2.21	.01	.17
Gender	-.14	.09	-1.60	-.31	.03
Age	.01**	.00	2.78	.00	.02
Education	-.22***	.05	-4.21	-.32	-.12
Income	-.00	.04	-.02	-.08	.08

Note 1. SDO = Social Dominance Orientation, CI = Confidence Interval

Note 2. Syrian – Gender-Neutral (vs. Syrian – Men) and Syrian – Women (vs. Syrian – Men)

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

3.3.4 The Moderating Role of Immigrants' Gender in Predicting Intergroup Anxiety from SDO

Hypothesis 5b predicted that the gender of the outgroup members moderates the relationship between SDO and intergroup anxiety. The higher the level of SDO, the stronger the feeling anxiety from Syrian immigrant men than by Syrian immigrant women. A moderation analysis was carried out using Andrew F. Hayes' PROCESS Macro (Model 2) to investigate whether gender of Syrian immigrants moderates the relationship between SDO and intergroup anxiety. SDO was the predictor and intergroup anxiety was the outcome variable. Gender of Syrian immigrants was included in the analysis as a moderator. The moderator variable was dummy coded and Syrian immigrant men was used as the reference category to find out if there was an effect regarding men vs. women (also, vs. gender-neutral category of Syrian immigrants). Gender ideology, gender identification, gender of participants, age, education and income were entered as control variables.

It was found that SDO predicted intergroup anxiety and their relationship was positive ($R^2 = .17$, $F(11, 495) = 9.36$, $p < .001$). It was also found that SDO was differentially related

with intergroup anxiety depending on the gender of the outgroup member as gender-neutral ($\Delta R^2 = .01$, $\Delta F(1, 495) = 8.55$, $p < .01$), but not for women ($\Delta R^2 = .002$, $\Delta F(1, 495) = 1.20$, $p = .27$), when the reference group was taken as Syrians immigrant men. However, unlike the *Hypothesis 5b* suggested, this finding cannot be applied to Syrian immigrant men and women difference. *Hypothesis 5b* was not confirmed. Also, it was found that gender identification and gender were the only significant control variables related to intergroup anxiety. Participants who were more highly identified with their gender as a man or women, and women participants feel more anxiety towards Syrian immigrants. See Table 11 for further details.

Table 11

The moderating role of gender of Syrians on the relationship between SDO and intergroup anxiety

	Coeff.	SE	t	95% CI	
SDO (A)	.37***	.06	6.18	.25	.49
Syrian - Gender-Neutral (B)	-.35***	.10	-3.56	-.55	-.16
Interaction 1 (A x B)	.36**	.12	2.92	.12	.61
Syrian - Women (C)	-.36***	.11	-3.34	-.57	-.15
Interaction 2 (A x C)	.15	.13	1.10	-.12	.41
Gender Ideology	.02	.07	.28	-.12	.16
Gender Identification	.08*	.04	1.99	.00	.16
Gender	-.33***	.09	-3.79	-.50	-.16
Age	.00	.00	.55	-.00	.01
Education	-.04	.05	-.82	-.14	-.06
Income	-.02	.04	-.51	-.10	.06

Note 1. SDO = Social Dominance Orientation, CI = Confidence Interval

Note 2. Syrian – Gender-Neutral (vs. Syrian – Men) and Syrian – Women (vs. Syrian – Men)

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

4. DISCUSSION

The current research focused on differentiation of attitudes of Turkish citizens towards Syrian immigrants via the gender of Syrian immigrants. It was hypothesized that national identification would predict perceived threat and anxiety towards Syrian immigrants; people would feel more threatened by and anxiety towards *male* Syrian immigrants than female Syrian immigrants; and further elaboration of this hypothesis, gender of a Syrian immigrant would moderate the relationship between national identification and perceived threat/intergroup anxiety, and SDO and perceived threat/intergroup anxiety.

To analyse these hypotheses, simple regression analyses, Kruskal-Wallis tests, chi-square tests, and four moderation analyses were conducted. In almost all of the models, perceived threat and intergroup anxiety were the outcome variables, as national identification, social dominance orientation, and gender of Syrian immigrants (apart from the models in which the gender of Syrians was used as a moderator) were the predictor variables. For the first moderation model, the gender of Syrian immigrants was added as moderator variable for the relationship between national identification and perceived threat; then for national identification and intergroup anxiety. For the second model, national identification replaced by SDO as predictor.

The hypotheses were mostly confirmed. As suggested in *Hypothesis 1*, national identification predicted threat towards Syrian immigrants. This outcome is in line with the social identity theory suggesting that ingroup identification can result in outgroup derogation (Riek, Mania & Gaertner, 2006; Stephen et al., 2002). Also, national identification predicted intergroup anxiety felt by Turkish people when they imagine interaction with Syrian immigrants, too. Furthermore, SDO was in a positive correlation with threat and intergroup anxiety. Turkish people who had a hierarchical understanding of intergroup relationships tended to feel both threatened and anxious even in an imagined interaction with Syrian immigrants.

However, the hypotheses mentioned in *Hypothesis 2*, were confirmed partially. Results showed that participants tended to feel anxiety towards male Syrian immigrants over female Syrian immigrants, yet this result did not apply for perceived threat. It seems that people may not be differentiating about their perceived threat level from Syrian immigrants whether or not the target Syrian was a man or woman, as they do with their intergroup anxiety level. *Hypothesis 2b* was confirmed, yet *Hypothesis 2a* was not. It could be the case that people feel threatened by Syrian immigrants only when they assume personal interaction

rather than when they consider intergroup contact in a more abstract level. In any case, the *Hypotheses 2b* and *2a* were reflecting somehow an individual-level interaction, because it can be said that the typicality of an outgroup member consists a generalization from just one member (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). As Stephen and Renfro (2002) pointed, there is a distinction between individual and group-level threat processes; intergroup anxiety is considered as an individual process regarding feeling of being personally threatened during an interaction. Even in some studies that investigated threat in a group-based level, intergroup anxiety was removed in order to make a clear assumption of group-level threat (e.g. Croucher, 2013). Another possible explanation for these results could be the case that the threat scale consisted of ungendered items which can be hard for participants to imagine in a gendered context, hence, the results showed no difference between perceived threat from Syrian immigrant men and women (see Appendix C).

However, these results indicate quite interesting debates for the intersectional invisibility hypothesis as well. As predicted, there was found a greater anxiety for male Syrian immigrants over female Syrian immigrants, even though these results did not apply to gender differentiation for perceived threat. Intersectional invisibility hypothesis suggest that there should be a greater negativity for the prototypical members and a lesser negativity for the invisible members of an outgroup; and Syrian immigrant men were thought to be the prototypical members while Syrian immigrant women were assumed as the invisible members of Syrian immigrants. However, results showed that Syrian immigrant women are seen as the prototypical members, even though Turkish majority members feel less anxiety for them. A gender-neutral category in the analyses showed male Syrian immigrants are the primary target of anxiety even in when those men were compared with Syrian immigrants in general. Also, because there was not found any difference between categories of gender-neutral and female Syrians, it can be said that Syrian immigrant women are the prototypical members of Syrian immigrants, but nevertheless they are invisible; because male Syrian immigrants are the primary target of prejudice in the end.

Also, participants may associate a larger amount of negative stereotypes with Syrian immigrant men than with Syrian immigrant women. Even though this result did not showed that all negative stereotypes were associated to male Syrian immigrants than female Syrian immigrants, an important quantity of them were significantly differed through male and female Syrian immigrants. For example, “aggressive” and “rude” items were associated to male Syrian immigrants more than female Syrian immigrants just as Rettberg and Gajjala (2015) suggested and this outcome is compatible with the comments about Syrian immigrants

in social media (e.g. Aslan, 2018; Yazıcı, 2016). However, “coward” item did not differ significantly among Syrian men and women like Rettberg and Gajjala (2015) suggested. Based on these findings, it can be said that there is a greater tendency for some of the negative items in the stereotype index to associate with male Syrian immigrants, rather than female Syrian immigrants. Additionally (and interestingly), the item “brave” was assigned female Syrian immigrants more than male Syrian immigrants. This situation can be interpreted as participants were angry with male Syrian immigrants because they did not *fight* for their own country (Rettberg & Gajjala, 2015; e.g. Yazıcı, 2016), while they were seeing female Syrian immigrants as brave because they had to endure all process of war through immigration to Turkey.

However, the results of the stereotypes can be also interpreted with male-bias too, as a counter interpretation. Because most of the stereotypes were male-biased to begin with, participants might reported stereotypes based on men vs women, rather than Syrian men vs women. This could be the case that “aggressive” and “rude” items were associated strongly with Syrian immigrant men than women, or “helpful” to more to Syrian immigrant women than men. On the other hand, this explanation does not cover of the associations of some of the items, e.g. brave, to women. It should be further investigated in order to establish specific associations for male and female Syrian immigrants, rather than establishing differences based on just gender without any specified context.

In the light of these findings of the analyses of *Hypothesis 2*, intersectional invisibility hypothesis was partly compatible to the case of thoughts on Syrian migration in Turkey, and as expected, the double jeopardy hypothesis was not. The double jeopardy hypothesis suggested that multiple subordinate group identities face more challenges than others; i.e, minority women face greater disadvantage than minority men via racism and sexism (Beale, 1979). However, in this case, results showed that female Syrian immigrants were not more discriminated against than male Syrian immigrants, furthermore, they were associated with positive stereotypes such as “brave” more than male Syrian immigrants. Intersectional invisibility hypothesis, however, could be affirmed for this case in the light of these findings. Even though there were not found any differences on threat perception for male and female Syrian immigrants, results showed that participants feel more anxiety towards Syrian immigrant men than Syrian immigrant women. Also, some of the major negative stereotypes were associated to male Syrian immigrants than female Syrian immigrants, as Rettberg and Gajjala (2005) suggested. However, the results also showed that male Syrian immigrants are not the prototypical ones, but still they are the most discriminated against. It could be said that

because of the traditional gender role expectations prevalent in honor-bound Middle-East culture, male Syrian immigrants showed the features of the prototypicality of their outgroup as they were more discriminated against than female Syrian immigrants. On the other side of the coin, female Syrian immigrants were *invisible*, yet also prototypical.

Hypotheses mentioned in *Hypothesis 3*, were not confirmed. It seems that Turkish men did not feel threatened by and anxiety towards Syrian immigrants more than do Turkish women, on the contrary of hypotheses suggested. Even though the literature suggests women are generally found to be more welcoming and supportive as their attitudes towards minority members and immigrants (Hernes & Knudsen, 1992), results showed an opposite result; women participants feel more anxiety towards Syrian immigrants than do men participants. However, this result did not apply for perceived threat. There were not found any difference of feeling threatened by Syrian immigrants across Turkish men and women. *Hypothesis 3a* and *Hypothesis 3b* were not confirmed.

Although women are found to be generally more supportive towards immigrants than men are, the outcome of the current research can be interpreted as a non-western case; because women are mostly found to be more supportive towards immigrants in the western context (e.g., Adler, 1996; Antfolk, Johansson, Westerlund, Marcinkowska & Santtila, 2018; Betz, 1994; Schweitzer, Perkoulidis, Krome, Ludlow & Ryan, 2005). However, in an ingroup-focused collectivist culture such as Turkey, the prevalent patriarch regime could lead attitudes of women to be more negative towards outgroups.

However, for the moderation analyses, the results showed only one significant indirect effect for one model; the indirect effect of gender of Syrian immigrants for the relationship of SDO and intergroup anxiety. All other three moderation analyses found not significant as there was no indirect effect of gender of Syrian immigrants for the relationship of national identification and perceived threat, national identification and intergroup anxiety, SDO and perceived threat. Although the indirect effect of gender of Syrian immigrants for the relationship of SDO and intergroup anxiety had shown significantly, hypotheses was still not supported. It seems that even though intergroup anxiety was felt towards more to male Syrian immigrants than female Syrian immigrants, when SDO is included in the equation, the effect is changed; participants on high social dominance orientation had less intergroup anxiety towards men Syrian immigrants when comparing them to Syrian immigrants without any specified gender. There was not found an indirect effect of female vs. male Syrian immigrants. These outcomes are rather odd, because all signs point intergroup anxiety to more on Syrian men, but SDO seems to changed the impact. Results object subordinate male target

hypothesis as well because Syrian immigrant men were not perceived as the primary target of threat unlike Sidanius and Pratto (2001) suggested.

So, *Hypotheses 4a*, *Hypothesis 4b* and *Hypothesis 5a* were not confirmed, and *Hypothesis 5b* was both not confirmed and results showed different than what was predicted; there is a greater intergroup anxiety for Syrian immigrants without any specified gender than men Syrian immigrants, when SDO was inside of the equation. This situation can be interpreted as participants with high SDO thinks with race hierarchy over gender hierarchy, when they were asked to imagine Syrian immigrants in SDO and intergroup anxiety contexts.

In addition to these findings, control variables in the analyses revealed that education predicted lower perceived threat and anxiety towards Syrian immigrants. Other than that, old age predicted higher perceived threat towards Syrian immigrants but there was no relationship among age and intergroup anxiety. Since the analysis of age differences among questionnaires showed that participants who completed male Syrian immigrant questionnaire are significantly older than other participants, and old age predicted higher perceived threat; it can be said that if the participants who completed male Syrian immigrant questionnaire were not significantly older than others, the level of threatened by Syrian immigrant men might be lower than it was in the current analyses. However, this age difference between questionnaires was thought to be no concern for the outcomes, because hypotheses for perceived threat were mostly not confirmed, and age had no relationship with intergroup anxiety hypotheses.

4.1 Contributions and Implications

There had been several contributions to the literature with this study; regarding both as intersectionality and immigrant studies; more specifically, researches on Syrian immigrants. First of all, the tendency in social psychology that overlooking outgroup diversity is overcome and contributed to existing few researches about outgroup diversity via its characteristics such as gender, SES and education. This research covered that mentioned problem and united it with the contemporary problem of immigration of Syrian refugees. In the end, it came up that, indeed, there were attitude differences towards Syrian immigrants regarding their gender.

Furthermore, one of the main contributions of this research which related to outgroup diversity that mentioned above, is the contribution of the literature of intersectionality theory and intersectional invisibility hypothesis. Social psychologists started to use intersectionality as an urgent matter rather newly, hence it was crucial to use intersectionality as a tool to understand attitudes towards Syrian immigrants. Especially, using intersectional invisibility

hypothesis for understanding these attitudes could be quite important when it comes to immigration policies and programs or acculturation strategies of Syrian immigrants.

The current research also points out attitude differences based on outgroup gender with contributions to main theories in the research: Social Identity Theory, Social Dominance Orientation Theory and Integrated Threat Theory. For Social Identity Theory, based on the findings of the current research, it can be seen that the social identity literature can be enhanced with an intersectional perspective; because the current social identity researches are limited with main categorizations of ingroup and outgroup; it can be more elaborative and rich if within categories (e.g. SES, gender, ethnicity etc.) could be added to them. Apart from social identity, the main contribution of this research to the SDO literature was that high SDO people are found to be more prone to race hierarchy than gender hierarchy, at least for Syrian immigration context. Hence, it should be studied solely in different cultures in the future to establish a hierarchy over different hierarchies. Finally, with this research, the diversity within an outgroup is investigated in the context of outgroup attitudes. Researchers who will study integrated threat in the future should take this outcome into the consideration when they will attempt discover attitudes towards outgroups.

As implications of the research; the results showed that people are feeling more anxiety to male Syrian immigrants rather than female Syrian immigrants. Therefore, it can be said that because of different attitudes are received based on gender of Syrian immigrants, experiences and everyday life of them may be quite different as well. Even though the patriarchal way of life has shaped most Syrian immigrants and their family lives (Cross, Uskul, Gerçek-Swing, Alözkan & Ataca, 2013; Güngör et al., 2014), independent male or female of Syrian immigrants could indeed be trying different acculturation strategies. For example, Göregenli, Umuroğlu and Karakuş (2015) found that while Syrian immigrant men reported an emphasis on the separation strategy, Syrian immigrant women reported mostly assimilation and integration strategies. By looking to the results of the current research, it can be said that, because Syrian immigrant men were seen as the primary target of anxiety, the expected acculturation strategy for them to front separation or marginalization because Turkish culture does not contain any component regarding multiculturalism for male Syrian immigrants (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault & Senecal, 1997). However, for Syrian immigrant women, anxiety and high levels of threat were not an issue; thus, it can be expected and found that those women would choose integration or assimilation (Göregenli, Umuroğlu & Karakuş, 2015). In the end, multiculturalism should be embraced for those of Turkish majority for all Syrian immigrants in order to adopt a harmonious culture. Furthermore, if the immigration

policies can be implemented based on the current research, a less disadvantaged life could be awaiting of those Syrian immigrants women, for example, in economic life.

Apart from acculturation, it could be expected that because of the prevalent patriarchy in both Syrian and Turkish cultures, the negative judgement of the Turkish majority members for Syrian immigrants might contain Syrian women as well; because in a typical Syrian family, women might seem as the passive receivers of thoughts of Turkish majority on male Syrian immigrants. Since the current research established that Syrian immigrant men are the primary target of anxiety felt, but passiveness due to patriarchy of Syrian immigrant women might reflect this anxiety to them as well in daily life. For example, a Syrian immigrant woman who seeks shelter or employment might come across the same anxiety for Syrian immigrant men, due to the men (husband, father, etc.) in her side.

However, if the immigration policies can be implemented based on the current research, a less disadvantaged life could be awaiting of those Syrian immigrant women, for example, in economic life. Furthermore, anxiety-related intervention might be a better choice for Turkish citizens based on the findings of this research, rather than general attitude-related intervention, and by that way anxiety towards Syrian immigrant men can be reduced.

4.2 Limitations and Future Directions

First of all, it was observed that the data was not normally distributed, hence, the results should be interpreted with caution. Even though some of the analyses was done by using non-parametric analyses, for other analyses there was no choice but pretending as if the data was normally distributed.

Other than that, a problem was encountered during the data collection. It was observed that participants may not answered according to the questions of perceived threat in their questionnaire. What was needed from participants was to imagine the context accordingly to given gender of Syrian immigrants, and for that, “please mark your answers just by thinking *women* (or *men*) Syrian immigrants” warning was written on the top of the scale (See Appendix C). However, unlike intergroup anxiety items, perceived threat items consisted gender neutral context which can be hard for participants to imagine the item with a gendered context. For example, the item “Syrian immigrants are trying to harm the integrity of the country” can be transform to “Syrian immigrant *women* are trying to harm the integrity of the country”, which was rather confusing because the context has no relation with gender. The results showed that there could be a problem indeed; it was found that participants are feeling anxiety towards male Syrian immigrants but there was no significant differentiation in feeling

threatened via the gender of Syrian immigrants. The situation was rather confusing, because intergroup anxiety and perceived threat have a strong positive relationship, both in the literature and in this study (Stephen & Stephen, 1998), yet the results are showing difference on gender only in intergroup anxiety. It could be the case that participants were simply ignored the warning or could not imagine with a gendered context in the perceived threat scale. The intergroup anxiety questionnaire did not consist any gender-neutral context, hence, participants were simply asked to mark their feeling by the degree of the item if they are encountered a Syrian immigrant *woman* (or a *man*). Next studies about this subject should consider the problem of gender-neutral context, if asking for participants to pretend it is gender specific.

Another possible limitation can be seen as in the SDO scale, which participants scored quite low when comparing to, e.g., perceived threat scale. It could be the case that participants acted with social desirability, because the items of social dominance orientation scale did not consist items with subjects such as Turkish or Syrian, but merely consisted of only “groups”. Besides, being Turkish and prejudice towards Syrian immigrants are concepts which are positively promoted by Turkish society, hence, it could be an explanation for high points in those scales.

As future directions of this study, it can be investigated if another predictors of prejudice beside perceived threat and intergroup anxiety could have effects for Syrian immigrants based on their gender. In the prejudice literature it was found to be all theories that used in this study predicts prejudice (Stephen & Stephen, 1998), but it was not investigated in here; it was used only as an assumption. For a more solid and a concrete observation, also prejudice itself towards male and female Syrian immigrants separately should be studied.

For another possible future research; there can be a study to uncover the prototypical Syrian immigrant. In this research, it was assumed that the prototypical Syrian immigrant was a man, but it should be investigated because the prototypical Syrian immigrant came up as Syrian women. There could be a case just as Asian minority in USA where the prototypical member of a subordinate group was a women (Schug, Alt & Klauer, 2015). Researchers should attempt to discover which gender represents Syrians the most and the least for finding who is prototypical and who is the invisible. Because women and gender-neutral categories were having an insignificant relationship when comparing one and other in the current research, the interpretation on this subject was that Syrian woman is the prototypical. But further researches should investigate this interesting outcome with recognition-based

cognitive experiments as well. The situation should be investigated even so for a contemporary contribution to the intersectional invisibility hypothesis.

However, researchers should not be blindfolded with gender when studying who is the prototypical amongst Syrian immigrants; children can also be seen as *different* than adult men and women in the attitudes towards outgroup context. Even though “being a child” is not a gender, when people think of Syrian immigrants, three different categories come to their mind: men, women, and children Syrians. The current research focused solely on men and women difference, however, this decision might also contributed to invisibility of children as well, by ignoring them, not counting them as who was primarily seen by ingroup members. Future researches should take this situation into consideration and add “children” as a new category next to “men” and “women”.

Other than who is the prototypical, it should not be forgotten that the diversity within Syrian immigrants was not limited by gender, but also consisted SES, race, class, religious beliefs, etc., hence those subjects should be investigated in the future as well. For a more gender-specific perspective, however, the diversity within Syrian immigrant men and women should also be taken into consideration.

In addition to perception of ingroup members, a possible study regarding to acculturation differences of female and male Syrian immigrants could be conducted. Because as far as it is known that different kinds of contact could lead different experiences (Piontkowski, Rohmann & Florack, 2002), it can be expected that if there is a differentiation of acculturation strategies for female and male Syrian immigrants separately. It would be a significant contribution to intersectionality theory, with relating the subject with both acculturation and migration.

Lastly, ingroup gender could be included as a follow up research, in order to make a comprehensive interpretation of the attitudes towards outgroups. It can be expected that because it was found gender differences in ingroup as well as in outgroup; combining these outcomes could grant a more elaborative interpretation for attitudes towards outgroup when researchers attempting a generalization based on combined outcome.

Overall, attitudes of Turkish citizens towards Syrian immigrants based on their gender were identified and discussed throughout the current research. The moral of the story was visible yet neglected; including the outgroup gender dimension as a key factor to be considered in intergroup relations, it is neither noise nor negligible but perceptions, and

eventually, actions regarding how hostile or welcoming people can become towards stigmatized outgroup members. With these findings, various programs, activities, or policies can be established in regards to making a better life for Syrian immigrants. It can be seen that Syrian immigrants will be a part of Turkey in a long time, so multiculturalism and integration strategies should be supported by any means necessary.



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6. APPENDICES

6.1 Appendix A: Informed Consent Form

Gönüllü Katılım Formu

Bu çalışma, Yaşar Üniversitesi Psikoloji Bölümü öğrencisi Ezel Üsten tarafından yüksek lisans tez çalışması olarak yürütülmektedir. Çalışmamızın amacı Türkiye vatandaşlarının Suriyeli göçmenleri ne şekilde gördükleriyle ve bu görüşün göçmenlerin cinsiyetleriyle arasındaki etkileşimi hakkında fikir edinmektir. Bu sebeple sizden istediğimiz, hazırlamış olduğumuz anketleri doldurarak bu konulardaki görüşlerinizi bize iletmenizdir. Çalışmaya katılım tamamıyla gönüllülük temellidir.

Çalışma süresince sizden kimlik belirleyici hiçbir bilgi istememekteyiz.

Cevaplarınız tamamen gizli tutulacak ve sadece araştırmacılar tarafından değerlendirilecek; elde edilecek bulgular bilimsel amaçlarla kullanılacaktır.

Bu çalışmada size öncelikle demografik bilgi formu ve çeşitli sosyal konularda ölçekler verilmiştir. Çalışma yaklaşık 10-15 dakikanızı alacaktır. Çalışma sırasında sorulan sorular, kişisel rahatsızlık verecek herhangi bir ayrıntı içermemektedir. Size verilen ölçeklerdeki soruların doğru ya da yanlış bir cevabı yoktur; önemli olan sizin ne düşündüğünüz ve ne hissettiğinizdir. Çalışmanın sonuçlarının güvenilirliği açısından sorulara içtenlikle cevap vermeniz bizim için çok önemlidir.

Katılım sırasında herhangi bir sebepten ötürü kendinizi rahatsız hissederseniz, bir sebep göstermeksizin anketi yarıda bırakabilirsiniz. Çalışmamıza katıldığınız için şimdiden teşekkür ederiz. Çalışmanın sonuçları bilimsel dergilerde yayımlanabilir veya bilimsel toplantılarda sunulabilir. Çalışma hakkında daha fazla bilgi almak için Psikoloji Bölümü öğrencilerinden Ezel Üsten (e-posta: ezelusten@gmail.com) ile iletişim kurabilirsiniz.

Araştırmaya değerli katkınız için şimdiden çok teşekkür ederiz.

6.2 Appendix B: Demographic Questions

Cinsiyet:

Doğum Tarihi:

Doğum Yeri:

Eğitim Düzeyi:

- 1) Okuma yazma biliyor ama diploması yok
- 2) İlkokul mezunu
- 3) Ortaokul mezunu
- 4) Lise mezunu
- 5) Üniversite mezunu
- 6) Yüksek lisans/doktora mezunu

Aylık Toplam Geliri:

- 1) 600 TL'den az
- 2) 601 – 1500 TL arası
- 3) 1501 – 3000 TL arası
- 4) 3001 – 6000 TL arası
- 5) 6000 TL'den fazla

Medeni Durumu:

- 1) Evli
- 2) Boşanmış
- 3) Dul
- 4) Diğer

Şu Anda Yaşamakta Olduğu Şehir:

Mesleği:

Çalışma Durumu:

- 1) Tam zamanlı bir işte çalışıyor
- 2) Yarı zamanlı bir işte çalışıyor
- 3) İşsiz
- 4) Emekli
- 5) Öğrenci

6.3 Appendix C: Perceived Threat Scale (Stephan et al., 1999)

Algılanan Tehdit Ölçeği (Karaoğlu, 2015)

Aşağıdaki ifadeler duygu ve düşüncelerinizi ne derece yansıtıyor?/Aşağıdaki ifadeleri SADECE Suriyeli kadınları/erkekleri düşünerek puanlayınız.

Örn; Suriyeliler, iş olanaklarını Türklerin elinden alıyorlar.

Suriyeli kadınlar, iş olanaklarını Türklerin elinden alıyorlar.

Suriyeli erkekler, iş olanaklarını Türklerin elinden alıyorlar.

	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Biraz Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum		
1. Suriyeliler, iş olanaklarını Türkiyelilerin elinden alıyorlar.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Suriyeliler, Türkiye'nin sosyal refah seviyesinin azalmasına neden oluyorlar.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Suriyeliler Türkiye'nin Avrupa'da güçlenmesini engellemektedir.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Aile ilişkileri ve çocuk yetiştirme tarzları açısından Suriyeliler, Türkiyelilerden farklıdır.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Suriyelilere mülteci olarak birçok hak sağlanması, diğer mülteci grupların da (Afganlar, İranlılar, Iraklılar, Somalililer gibi) bu hakları talep etmesine ve dolayısıyla ülkede bölünmelere yol açabilir.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Ülkemize giren Suriyelilerin artan sayısı Türkiye'nin düzenini tehdit etmektedir.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Suriyeliler ekonomik olarak Türkiye'ye yarar sağlamaktan çok zarar veriyorlar.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Suriyeliler ülke bütünlüğüne zarar vermeye çalışmaktadırlar.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Suriyeliler Türkiye'nin kurulu düzenini tehdit etmektedirler.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Suriyelilerin kimliklerine sahip çıkmaları, Türkiye'nin birlik ve beraberliğine karşı olduklarını gösterir.	1	2	3	4	5
11. Suriyeliler iş yapışları açısından Türkiyeliler kadar ahlaklı değildir.	1	2	3	4	5
12. Suriyelilerin örf ve adetleri Türkiyelilerinkilerden farklıdır.	1	2	3	4	5
13. Suriyeliler, yaşam tarzı açısından Türkiyelilere benzemezler.	1	2	3	4	5
14. Suriyeliler, Türkiyelilerin yoğun olduğu bölgelere göç ettiklerinde o bölgeyi kötü etkilemektedirler.	1	2	3	4	5
15. Suriyeliler kültürlerine ve dillerine gereğinden fazla sahip çıkıyorlar.	1	2	3	4	5
16. Suriyeliler kendi kültürlerini yaşatmaya çalışması Türkiye'yi olumsuz etkiler.	1	2	3	4	5
17. Dini inanışları açısından Suriyeliler ve Türkiyeliler birbirlerine benzemezler.	1	2	3	4	5
18. Suriyelilerin buldukları ortamlarda suç oranları artar.	1	2	3	4	5

6.4 Appendix D: Intergroup Anxiety Scale (Stephan et al., 2000)

Gruplararası Endişe Ölçeği (Kunduz, 2009)

Yolda yürürken bir Suriyeli/Suriyeli kadın/Suriyeli erkek göçmen sizi durdurup sizden yol tarifi istedi. Bu karşılaşma size neler hissettirdi/hissettirdi?

		Asla			Zaman Zaman			Daima
1.	Gergin	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	Arkadaşça (cana yakın)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	Kararsız	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	Rahat (içim rahat)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	Endişeli	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	Güven duyan (güven dolu)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	Tehlikede	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	Kendinden emin	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.	Tuhaf	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.	Güvende (emniyette)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.	Kaygılı	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.	Huzurlu	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13.	Empatik	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14.	Üstün	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15.	Hayran	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

6.5 Appendix E: Stereotype Index

Kalıpyargı Dizini (Yapıcı, 2004)

Size göre aşağıdaki sıfatlardan hangileri Suriyeli göçmenleri/göçmen kadınları/göçmen erkekleri en iyi biçimde nitelemektedir? Lütfen kendi görüşlerinizi yansıttığını düşündüğünüz en az 5 sıfatı işaretleyiniz.

1.	Mert	
2.	Sinsi	
3.	Barışçı	
4.	Saldırgan	
5.	Bencil	
6.	Yardımsever	
7.	Çalışkan	
8.	Tembel	
9.	Soğuk	
10.	Sıcak (canayakın)	
11.	Cinsel konularda serbest	
12.	Aile değerlerine bağlı	
13.	Cesur	
14.	Korkak	
15.	Dürüst	
16.	Hilekar	
17.	Dini inançlarına bağlı	
18.	Hoşgörülü	
19.	Önyargılı	
20.	Duygusal	
21.	Mantıklı düşünen (akılcı)	
22.	Hurafeci	
23.	Sapık inançlı	
24.	Kaderci	
25.	Nazik/kibar	
26.	Kaba	
27.	Demokrat	
28.	Otoriter	
29.	Geleneksel/Muhafazakar	
30.	Modern/Yenilikçi	
31.	Pis	
32.	Temiz	

6.6 Appendix F: Multi-component In-group Identification Scale (Leach et al.,

2008)

Türklükle Özdeşim Ölçeği (Balaban, 2013)

Aşağıdaki ifadeler duygu ve düşüncelerinizi ne derece yansıtıyor?

* Aşağıdaki maddelerde sözü geçen “Türk” ifadesi “Türkiye Cumhuriyeti vatandaşı” anlamında kullanılmıştır.

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

18	Türkler eleştirildiğinde ben de kendimi kişisel olarak eleştirilmiş hissediyorum.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19	Türkler benim için önemli bir gruptur.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20	Türlere oldukça saygı duyuyorum.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7



6.7 Appendix G: Social Dominance Orientation Scale (Pratto et al., 1994)

Sosyal Baskınlık Yönelimi Ölçeği (Akbaş, 2010)

Aşağıdaki ifadeler duygu ve düşüncelerinizi ne derece yansıtıyor?

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

6.8 Appendix H: Gender Ideology Scale (Greenstein, 1996)

Aile hayatıyla ilgili olarak řu konular hakkında dűřünceleriniz neler?

		Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum		Biraz Katılıyorum		Kesinlikle Katılıyorum
1.	Önemli bir řey satın alınacağı zaman (araba, buzdolabı, arsa gibi) son karar kocanın olmalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5
2.	Ev işleri kadının sorumluluğundadır.	1	2	3	4	5
3.	Aile için önemli kararları karı-koca birlikte vermelidirler.	1	2	3	4	5
4.	Para işleriyle kocanın ilgilenmesi en iyisidir.	1	2	3	4	5
5.	İyi bir eğitim erkek çocuk için mi kız çocuk mu için daha önemlidir dersin erkek için daha önemlidir derim.	1	2	3	4	5
6.	Mutlu bir evliliğin sırrı hayatın yükünü eşit şekilde paylaşmaktan geçer.	1	2	3	4	5
7.	İlerde kendi hayatını kazanmak erkek çocuk için kız çocuk için olduğundan daha önemli olmalıdır.	1	2	3	4	5
8.	Kadınlar çocuk sahibi olduklarında iş hayatını bırakmalı çocuklarını yetiştirmeye odaklanmalıdırlar.	1	2	3	4	5

6.9 Appendix I: Perceived Importance of Gender Identity Scale (Schamader,

2002)

Kendinizle ilgili olarak Őu konular hakkında dűŐünceleriniz neler?

	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Biraz Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum		
1. Bir kadın/erkek olmak kendimi nasıl gördüğümün önemli bir parçasıdır	1	2	3	4	5
2. Bir kadın/erkek olmak nasıl bir insan olduğuma dair fikrimde bir önem taşımaz.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Kadın/erkek kimliğim kim olduğumun önemli bir yansımasıdır.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Bir kadın/erkek olmanın kendime dair hislerimle çok az ilgisi vardır.	1	2	3	4	5