T.C.
ANKARA YILDIRIM BEYAZIT UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

ATTITUDES TOWARDS SYRIANS: A MODEL TESTING AND AN EMPATHY FOCUSED INTERVENTION STUDY

PHD THESIS

ARZU ÇALIŞKAN SARI

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

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SUPERVISOR
PROF. DR. ÖZDEN YALÇINKAYA ALKAR

ANKARA, 2021

ONAY SAYFASI

Arzu ÇALIŞKAN SARI tarafından hazırlanan "Attitudes Towards Syrians: A Model Testing and an Empathy Focused Intervention" adlı tez çalışması aşağıdaki jüri tarafından oy birliği ile Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Psikoloji Anabilim Dalı'nda Doktora tezi olarak kabul edilmiştir.

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PLAGIARISM PAGE

I hereby declare that all information in this thesis has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all materials and results that are not original to this work; otherwise, I accept all legal responsibility. Date (12/07/2021)

İmza
Arzu ÇALIŞKAN SARI

DEDICATION

To my late father whom I miss so much…

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ABSTRACT

Attitudes Towards Syrians: A Model Testing and an Empathy Focused Intervention Study

Turkey is one of the countries with the highest Syrian refugee population hosted in the world. In this context, evaluating social cohesion process in terms of the local society is a necessity. The aim of the current study was to examine the role of social contact, intercultural sensitivity, intergroup anxiety, gender, age, education, abroad experience and city on attitudes of Turkish local society towards Syrians. In this regard, data were collected from 207 local community members living in Ankara and Adana provinces of Turkey. The criterion for choosing these provinces is the difference between the numbers and the ratio of Syrians to the general population.

According to the analysis, qualitative social contact that indicates close interpersonal relations, intercultural sensitivity and intergroup anxiety predicted the attitudes of the local community towards Syrians. While social contact and intercultural sensitivity positively predicted positive attitudes towards Syrians, intergroup anxiety predicted negatively. In addition, intergroup anxiety had a mediating role between qualitative social contact, intercultural sensitivity and attitudes towards Syrians. Moreover, while there was no gender difference in attitude towards Syrians, females were higher in intercultural sensitivity than males. There was also no difference between education levels in the attitudes towards Syrians. Furthermore, individuals with abroad experience had higher positive attitudes towards Syrians and higher intercultural sensitivity. In the correlation analysis, although there is a negative correlation between age and positive attitude towards Syrians, the age of individuals is not strong enough to predict attitude towards Syrians. Lastly, there was no significant difference in attitudes towards Syrians between the people living in Adana and Ankara.

For the second part of the thesis, based on the results of the survey study, an intervention program was developed for Turkish local community. The aim of the empathy-focused intercultural communication program is to increase positive attitudes towards all immigrants, especially for Syrians.

Adult local community members over the age of 18 were reached through an announcement about the program. In this context, 52 people in total stated that they would like to participate

in the program and registered. Participants were randomly divided into two groups as experimental and control groups. In this context, 26 people were assigned to the experimental group and 26 people to the control group.

According to the results of the 4-week online program, Empathy Focused Intercultural Communication Program for Turkish Local Society showed a positive promissory approach for decreasing negative attitudes towards Syrian refugees and increasing emphatic approach. Lastly, these results, possible reasons of them, limitations and suggestions for future research were discussed and the possible implications were shared.

Key words: attitudes towards Syrians, integration, intercultural sensitivity, intervention program to increase positive attitudes towards Syrians, social acceptance

ÖZET

Suriyelilere Yönelik Tutumlar: Bir Model Testi ve Empati Temelli Müdahale Çalışması

Türkiye, dünyada en fazla Suriyeli mülteci nüfusunu ağırlayan ülkelerden biridir. Bu bağlamda, sosyal uyum sürecini yerel toplum açısından değerlendirmek bir zorunluluktur. Mevcut çalışmanın amacı, sosyal temas, kültürlerarası duyarlılık, gruplararası kaygı, cinsiyet, yaş, eğitim, yurt dışı deneyimi ve yaşanılan şehrin Türk yerel toplumunun Suriyelilere yönelik tutumundaki rolünü incelemektir. Bu bağlamda, Türkiye'nin Ankara ve Adana illerinde yaşayan 207 yerel toplum üyesinden veri toplanmıştır. Bu şehirleri seçme kriterini, Suriyelilerin sayısı ve genel popülasyona oranındaki fark oluşturmaktadır.

Analizlere göre, kişiler arası ilişkilerin yakınlığını gösteren niteliksel sosyal temas, kültürlerarası duyarlılık ve gruplararası kaygı, yerel halkın Suriyelilere yönelik tutumunu yordamaktadır. Sosyal temas ve kültürlerarası duyarlılık Suriyelilere yönelik olumlu tutumları pozitif yönde yordarken, gruplararası kaygı negatif yönde yordamaktadır. Buna ek olarak, gruplararası kaygı; nitel sosyal temas ve kültürlerarası duyarlılık ile Suriyelilere yönelik tutumlar arasında aracı bir role sahiptir. Ayrıca, Suriyelilere yönelik tutumda cinsiyet farklılığı görülmezken, kadınların kültürlerarası duyarlılığı erkeklerden daha yüksektir. Suriyelilere yönelik tutumlarda da eğitim düzeyleri arasında fark bulunmamıştır. Bunun dışında, yurt dışında deneyimi olan bireylerin Suriyelilere karşı daha olumlu tutumları ve daha yüksek kültürlerarası duyarlılığı olduğu görülmüştür. Korelasyon analizinde yaş ve Suriyelilere yönelik olumlu tutumlar arasında negatif bir ilişki olmasına rağmen, yaş değişkeninin Suriyelilere yönelik tutumları yordayacak kadar güçlü olmadığı görülmüştür. Son olarak, Adana ve Ankara'da yaşayan kişilerin Suriyelilere yönelik tutumlarında farklılaşmadığı görülmüştür.

Tezin ikinci kısmında anket çalışmasının sonuçlarına dayanarak, Türk yerel toplumu için bir müdahale programı geliştirilmiştir. Empati odaklı kültürlerarası iletişim programının amacı, başta Suriyeliler olmak üzere tüm göçmenlere yönelik olumlu tutumları artırmaktır. Programla ilgili bir duyuru ile 18 yaşın üzerindeki yetişkin yerel topluluk üyelerine ulaşılmıştır. Bu kapsamda toplam 52 kişi programa katılmak istediğini belirterek kayıt olmuştur. Katılımcılar rastgele deney ve kontrol grubu olarak iki gruba ayrılmıştır. Bu kapsamda deney grubuna 26 kişi, kontrol grubuna 26 kişi atanmıştır.

4 haftalık çevrimiçi programın sonuçlarına göre, Türk Yerel Toplumu için Empati Odaklı Kültürlerarası İletişim Programı, Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik olumsuz tutumları azaltmada ve empati yaklaşımını artırmada olumlu bir tablo ortaya çıkarmıştır. Son olarak, bu sonuçlar, olası nedenleri, çalışmanın sınırlılıkları ve gelecekteki araştırmalar için öneriler tartışılmış ve olası çıkarımlar paylaşılmıştır.

Anahtar sözcükler: kültürlerarası duyarlılık, sosyal kabul, Suriyelilere yönelik tutum, Suriyelilere yönelik olumlu tutumları arttırmak için müdahale programı, uyum

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1. INTRODUCTION

In recent years, geographic mobility has gained momentum all over the world. The 21st century is defined as the "age of migration" due to the huge increase in migration movements (Castles, & Miller, 2008). Migration, which is a very dynamic phenomenon that concerns many different fields of social sciences, has reached a level that can change international balances. As migration movements have increased significantly in recent years, the issue of integration of migrants has been one of the most important issues to be discussed.

Today, Turkey is the country that hosts the largest refugee population in the world. Approximately 3.6 million of them are Syrians. Turkish government provides protection for Syrians who need international protection in the framework of temporary protection in line with international law (Directorate General of Migration Management [DGMM], 2021).

Social cohesion of Syrians, which is the largest migrant group in Turkey, is among the major political and social issues in recent years. Over the past ten years, a number of frictions and social tensions have been observed between Syrians and the local population. Increase in reporting these tensions between Syrians and local society, increased visibility of the presence of Syrians in the public sphere and the rise in the negative perception of Syrian groups make essential new studies on social cohesion (Özdemir, 2017). The existence of Syrians leads local society to think both positive and negative in social life and social media. Besides limited positive opinions towards Syrians, many campaigns involving hate speech were launched in social media, as well. If precautions are not taken and hate speech, stigmatization, prejudiced attitudes and behaviors towards Syrian migrants increase among local people, the situation can go up to hate crimes (Yazıcı, 2016).

In order to ensure integration, which is one of the key factors of migration, it is important to examine intergroup relations and cultural processes from a social and psychological perspective (Berry, 2005 as cited in Yayak, 2018). The discipline of social psychology, which has produced many findings about the group memberships can be useful in analyzing a complex phenomenon like migration, especially through some theoretical approaches.

While everyone agrees that Syrians will not go back anytime soon, there should be some efforts to live together (Kanat, & Üstün, 2015; Erdoğan, 2017). Therefore, there are some needs to overview the perspectives and policies about Syrians under temporary protection and making some studies with local people in the context of social acceptance. Studies on the local population have always been lacking while working for Syrians. It should not be forgotten that the integration processes are bidirectional and the acceptance of Turkish society will be decisive in the level of peace of the future, as well as the effort expected by the Syrians (Erdoğan, 2017). The acceptance of the Syrians by host society, the desire and motivation to live together and the breaking of the prejudices are essential for the welfare of the country. There is a need for integration policies based on rights-based, human-based but also based on Turkish society's expectations (Erdoğan, 2017). In order to ensure social cohesion between migrants and host communities, migrant integration policies, as frequently mentioned in the international literature, need to be linked to their social and psychological dimensions beyond the right and service provision.

The present study addresses the issue from a social and psychological point of view and summarizes the integration models in the literature. With this study, literature about the concepts such as integration, social cohesion, acceptance, inclusion, exclusion is examined deeply and Turkey’s integration model which is described as "harmonization" is explained. In the current study, receiving society is the main topic which is underestimated in the process of integration. There is a need for research about which local people are prone to live together with Syrians and which local are too far to live together as demographically, socially and psychologically. Even if the migration is temporary purposes, the risks and costs of non-integration will be outweigh compared to the costs of integration policies.

Adana and Ankara provinces were compared in terms of local community's attitudes towards Syrians and their social contacts. The criterion for choosing these provinces is the numbers and ratio of Syrians to the general population. The aim was to compare a province with a high number of Syrians with a province where they live relatively less. Adana is the 6th province where Syrians live most. As of March 18, 2020, there are 246 462 Syrians in the province. Ankara, on the other hand, is a city that is less likely to encounter Syrians except some of certain regions. The number of Syrians in Ankara has been reported as 98 068. While the ratio of Syrians to the population of the province in Ankara is 1.74%, this rate is 11.12% in Adana (DGMM, 2020).

The current study does not only examine the role of psychological factors of local society's acceptance of Syrian migrants, but also proposes an intervention program to increase the positive attitude of the local society towards migrants. Many intervention programs have been carried out to increase the resilience of refugees and to strengthen their social cohesion (Hibon, 2017; Mahoney, & Siyambalapitia, 2017), but a structured intervention program for Turkish local community has not been made in the field of psychology as our knowledge.

1.1. Migration

Fichter discusses migration under the head of "mobility." There are two different aspects of mobility in time and space which are physical and social mobility. Social mobility refers to a change in the social status of a person or group. That is, the movements of which move up or down between the social positions. Physical mobility is called as migration. Physical mobility, which is a movement from one geographical area to another, contains migration of a large number of people from one place to another, deportation of unwanted people or migration from one region to another within the same country or between the countries (Gönüllü, 1996 as cited in Yayak, 2018). However, migration cannot be evaluated as only a displacement, but one of the most powerful elements of social change (Karpat, 2010).

Instead of explaining migration from a more physical concept such as mobility, it can be also explained by focusing on the immigrant, that is, the human being itself. Forced migration is the drama of humanity; and people have been to face this drama during the history. Migration is the drama of humanity; because, in essence, a person has to leave his/her land, habits, life style, social environment, values and traditions and go to a geography where they are not accustomed. These new lands can be discriminatory and exclusive and this situation is an obstacle for the social cohesion (Çağlar, 2011). As such, the size of the drama may be even greater. Each migration act has its own story although it has something in common. Migration affects every people in different dimensions and can cause traumas.

In every period of life, human beings have needed to change the region where they live for various reasons (Bulgur, 2017). It is obvious that wars and conflicts are the main causes of forced migration in almost every period of history. In order to get rid of the

violence caused by the conflicts, civilian population generally migrate to a place where they can feel more secure. Under normal conditions, individuals do not want to travel to a region where they are unfamiliar to their language, culture and people. However, individuals may decide to change their geography for some compelling reasons. Many different factors affect the individual's migration decision like natural disasters, wars, social, economic and political factors (Yanık, & Karaali, 2018). Of course, some individuals may prefer to migrate voluntarily, but the subject of this thesis is compulsory migration.

1.2. Migration with Statistics

Almost all discussions on migration begin with the numbers and the statistics. The international migrant population worldwide reached 272 million (IOM, 2020). This figure corresponds to an average of 3.5 percent of the world population. 79.5 million people had to forcibly leave their lands around the world at the end of 2019 (UNHCR, 2020). 26 million people are in refugee status, as well. The number of refugees and displaced people in the world has reached to its highest levels since World War II because of many ongoing conflicts, and in particular, the Syrian Civil War (UNHCR, 2015 as cited in Getmansky, Sinmazemir, & Zeitzoff, 2017). Syrians who left their country due to civil war have lived mostly in Turkey (3 585 209 Syrians), Lebanon (914 648 Syrians), Jordan (655 435Syrians), Iraq (247 568 Syrians) and Egypt (129 642 Syrians), respectively (UNCHR, 2020). According to the data of 2021, the number of migrants living in Turkey was announced as 3 million 671 thousand 761 people (DGMM, 2021).

According to the US-based Pew research company, 13 million Syrians have left their homes because of the ongoing crisis since 2011 (Sputnik Turkey, 2019). Most Syrians preferred to stay in the Middle East, and about 1 million went to Europe. According to this research, the largest migrant group worldwide are Syrians in recent years. 6 million Syrians have moved within the country, which constitutes 49 of the total migration rate. 49 percent of Syrians (more than 5 million) went to neighboring countries in the Middle East. Due to the open door policy of Turkish government, socio-cultural ties between Turkey and Syria and the geopolitical position with 877 kilometer land border, Turkey has become one of the main destinations for asylum seekers fleeing from Syria war (Köse, Sunata, & Deniz, 2018; Navruz, & Çukurçayır, 2015).

The ratio of migrants to the world population increased from 2.9 percent to 3.3 percent between the years of 1990 and 2015. This rate corresponds to 1 in every 30 people in the world population is migrant. In addition, 52 percent of migrants are men and 48 percent are women. The majority of migrants are between the ages of 30-34 (TRT Haber, 2019).

Syrians fleeing the civil war in their country and come to Turkey have preferred İstanbul most to live among the provinces with the number of 557 708 people. Istanbul was followed by Sanliurfa, Hatay and Gaziantep, while Bayburt was the last with the lowest number of Syrians registered (DGMM, 2020). Adana, which is one of the two provinces where data was collected, has become one of the provinces where Syrians reside heavily in recent years. Its closeness to the Syrian border, relatively low living expenses, high employment opportunities made Adana an attraction center for Syrians (Kaya, 2020). As of 9 July 2020, it has been determined that there are 247 671 Syrians under temporary protection in Adana province (DGMM, 2020). While the residential areas reserved for Syrian immigrant groups in Adana were originally planned as temporary accommodation centers (tent camps), the incoming immigrant population has spread to almost every district of the city because of increasing number of immigrants. The gradual increase of the immigrant population has clarified the needs such as employment, housing, infrastructure, consumption and cultural living space. Therefore, Syrians have become more visible in the social fabric of the city (Kaya, 2020).

1.3. National Legal and Institutional Framework of Migration

New term migration practices depend on Law of Foreigners and International Protection numbered 6458 which comes in the force in 2013. The most important legal framework for the social integration of migrants in Turkey is Law of Foreigners and International Protection. With the law, the issue of harmonization (integration) was first regulated in Turkish legislation. Within the scope of the Law, the Directorate General of Migration Management was established and it is responsible for conducting administrative transactions and operations related to harmonization processes. For this purpose, "Harmonization and Communication Department" was established. The following definitions include explanations of migration-related terms according to legal legislation.

1.3.1. Migrant (Immigrant)

There is not an internationally accepted migrant definition. The term migrant covers situations where the decision of the person about migration with free will of the person for "personal comfort" and without any external force (IOM, 2009). Therefore, this term includes individuals and family members who immigrate to another country or region, both to improve their financial and social situation and to increase their or their families' expectations from the future. The migrant is the person who leaves his/her country of origin for purely economic reasons or for improving his/her life financially. Economic migrants are not considered as part of the refugee status criteria and therefore do not have the right to receive international protection like refugees.

1.3.2. Geographical Restriction

In Geneva Convention (1951), which regulates the international refugee regime, the concept of refugee is defined by limiting it to temporal and geographical criteria (Parlak, & Şahin, 2015). Turkey has stated in a Declaration issued in 1961 that the refugee concept will be used for individuals who have left the country due to events occurring in Europe. Accordingly, Turkey recognizes people who requested asylum due to required specific reasons as refugees only if they come from European continent; it does not accept the people as refugee status from outside the European countries

1.3.3. Refugee and Conditional Refugee

Refugee is a status given to people who have fled from some negative events in European countries and who have requested asylum in other countries. If their asylum requests have been accepted by the country, they can accepted as refugees. These negative events can be listed as fear of discrimination and torture in their country due to their race, religion, nationality, membership of a certain social group or political opinion. Asylum seekers can be accepted as refugees after the refugee status determination process (Yabancılar ve Uluslararası Koruma Kanunu [YUKK], 2013). In addition, the state can grant conditional refugee status to individuals seeking asylum. Conditional refugee is a status given to people who have fled from some negative events occurring outside of the European countries. The only difference between the refugee and the conditional refugee is the region where the individual applying for asylum.

1.3.4. Temporary Protection

Temporary protection is a kind of protection which is developed for immediate solutions in the event of a mass influx. It is a practical and complementary solution which is implemented in the framework of non-refoulement of States without loss of time with individual status determination procedures, to persons arriving the borders (YUKK, 2013).

A series of protests and uprisings which began in Tunisia and Egypt affected almost all Arab countries and spread to Syrian Arab Republic as of 15 March 2011. Syria slid into chaos by the spiraling conflicts and domestic problems in some areas; hundreds of people were killed and injured. As humanitarian crisis in Syria grew more, restlessness in Turkish-Syrian borders increased. Then, on April 29 in 2009, 300-400 Syrian nationals first arrived at Hatay's Cilvegözü border gate. This was the first population movements from Syria to Turkey. These numbers gradually increased. As a result, Turkey gave temporary protection status to the Syrians. However, there is no common language about the naming of Syrians in Turkey. During the speeches, some politicians can use concepts such as our Syrian brothers, Syrian asylum seekers and our Syrian guests. Although none of these expressions are wrong in spoken language, it would be best to refer to Syrians in written texts as Syrians under Temporary Protection. Throughout the thesis, while talking about Syrians, it was mentioned as "Syrian migrants" or "refugees". The reason for this is the ease of expression in a short way instead of a long expression in the form of "Syrians under temporary protection". In international literature, Syrians are referred as refugees while this term is not used deliberately for the Syrians in Turkey. The reason is geographical restriction in Turkey's signing of the 1951 Geneva Convention. In the current thesis, a general term "migrant" was chosen as an umbrella concept. Individuals who have migrated voluntarily for economic purposes should not be understood from the concept of "migrant" here.

1.4. Syrians Living in Turkey

Turkey, due to the humanitarian crisis and instability experienced in the neighboring region has become one of the most affected countries by international migration mobility. As a result of the humanitarian crisis that began in Syria in 2011, millions of people had to migrate. Syrian refugees have fled primarily to neighboring countries, with the largest group of them residing in Turkey (UNHCR, 2015). Although the world tries to prevent the wave of migration from their land, Turkey has implemented an open door policy since the

beginning of the crisis. Over 3.6 million Syrian has been living in Turkey under temporary protection as a result of humanitarian policy carried out.

Most of the Syrians live with the local community in city centers, districts and villages, outside of temporary accommodation centers (camps). As of 2020, 96 percent of Syrians live in cities with Turkish citizens and the proportion of those living in temporary accommodation centers (camps) is decreasing day by day (DGMM, 2020). Most of the Syrians living in the 81 provinces of Turkey. In cities on the Syrian border such as Kilis, the population of refugees is higher than the local population (DGMM, 2020). For this reason, both refugees and the local community have found themselves sharing the same environment and the same resources in social and economic fields. As this period of joint sharing extends, social tensions are experienced from time to time between the local community and refugees and adaptation problems are observed.

The war in Syria enters its 8th year in 2019 and also Syrians' duration in Turkey extended. This extension will increase the permanence of this temporary migration (Adıgüzel, 2018:169). Based on the results of Erdogan's study which is "The Syrians in Turkey: Social Acceptance and Adaptation Research", at least 60 percent of Syrians in Turkey would be permanent (2017). Since 2011, Syrians living in Turkey have been working, they have set up business, their children have started to educational life and have married with Turkish citizens. These relationships have strengthened the persistence; thus it is necessary to develop the policy about integration of Syrians in Turkey.

According to the results of the comprehensive research conducted in 2019 by Murat Erdoğan, the rate of Syrians who said "I will never return" was 16.7% in 2017, while this rate increased to 51.8% in 2019 (Erdoğan, 2020). 60% of the Syrians were saying, "If the war in Syria ends, if a government we want is established, I will go back", this rate has dropped to 30% in 2019. Therefore, the evaluation that *60% of Syrians are permanent in Turkey* in 2017, increased to 70% in 2019. According to the study, it is clear that Syrians despair of their own country. According to this research, Syrians think that they are culturally close to Turkish society. However, local community in Turkey thinks opposite. Although Turkish society has a lot of negative thoughts about Syrians, there is a passive resistance because they do not activate it. In addition, Syrians have created their own ghettos. For this reason, Syrians do not realize the negative attitude of the local community towards themselves in Turkey.

1.5. Syrian Perception in Turkey and Psychological Factors Affecting Local Society's Social Acceptance

With increasing migration of Syrian population to Turkey and increasing the tendency to remain in the country, negative attitudes towards Syrian migrants in Turkish society has become visible (İçduygu, 2015). Perception of threat can be considered as an important reason for negative attitudes about Syrians. It is claimed that the "threat perception" underlies the negative attitudes and behaviors about refugees. This threat perception can derive from many different sources. For example, the changes that occur in the social environment of local society as a result of the use of physical and psychological resources by Syrian migrants can create a threat environment in the perception of them (Ekici, 2019). Syrians can be seen as criminals, they are accused of stealing jobs and creating cheap labor, and responsible for anything that goes wrong (Orhan, & Şenyücel-Gündoğar, 2015). Even in the newspaper news, it is seen that Syrians are the subject of the negative news such as war, social tension, economic unemployment, and housing conditions (Göker, & Keskin, 2015; Ünal, 2014).

Moreover, the social distance of the local people towards the Syrians is an important indicator in their perception of Syrians negatively. For example, according to a study, as the social distance of the local community towards Syrians increases, their tendency to support negative policies towards Syrians also increases (Erişen, 2018). According to the research done; in 2014, 71 % of Turkish society said "We are not the same culturally ". This rate increased to 82 % in 2019. Social distance between the local community and Syrians is increasing each passing day. It is also seen in the study that the anxiety of Turkish society has increased (Erdoğan, 2020). Another interesting result is the responses to the proposition that "Syrians enrich us culturally". Only 4.3% of the local community agree with this statement. This means that cultural similarities and intercultural communication issues need to be studied with the local community.

The socio-economic relations of refugees with the host community have also a significant impact on the integration of refugees and their social acceptance (Porter et al, 2008). In the context of this relationship, refugees either adapt to urban areas and lead a sustainable life, or continue their lives in ghetto structures away from urban areas (Sommers, 2001). In the situation that local societies are reluctant to refugee integration policies and international organizations cannot give assistance to refugees, refugees are compelled to

integrate into livelihoods of the society in an informal way and with their own means. In this case, refugees compete with the local society on limited resources such as access to water, shelter, food, education and healthcare, and this process negatively affects the local people's perception of them (Navruz, & Çukurçayır, 2015).

Another reason for the negative attitude of the local society towards the Syrians is the perception of cultural differences. Many Turkish people are of the opinion that there are deep cultural differences between themselves and Syrians. The most important cultural boundary that local people try to put between themselves and Syrian migrants is about nationalism (Bakioğlu, Artar, & İzmir, 2018). The main emphasis here is that Syrians are perceived as people who escape from the war and do not struggle for their country. According to some people from the local society, Syrians who have come to Turkey are the people who avoid to fight for their country. The Turkish nation has a history of heroism in which their ancestors fought at the expense of their lives. Therefore, the discourse that two communities have a fundamental cultural difference is tried to be strengthen. The Turkish people often state that if they are in the same situation, they will fight at the expense of their lives and will not leave their country.

Turkish people perceive Syrians in Turkey not only as threat but also as benefit (Topal, Özel, & Dokuzlu, 2017). Of course, Turkish society feel uncomfortable because of the numbers of Syrians that exceed 3.5 million and they think that this harms Turkish economy. However, Turkish nation has the awareness that accepting these people is a human duty because of its historical, cultural and religious background (Topal, Özel, & Dokuzlu, 2017). Having a value like helping people who are in a difficult situation has prevented them from perceiving these people as threats in a sense.

Personal value preferences of the local society and the differences in the demographic characteristics are also influential on perception about Syrian migrants. For example, open-to-change and self-enhanced individuals have a more positive approach towards migrants. The people who have a tendency to be conservative have more negative attitudes towards them (Topal, Özel, & Dokuzlu, 2017).

The situation in the world with regard to attitudes towards refugees is not different from Turkey, as well. For example, in a study conducted in student sampling in Greece, it was shown that people who have negative attitudes towards refugees are more than people who have positive attitudes (Dimacos, & Tasiopoulou, 2003). According to this study, a

great deal of students think that refugees commit crime more often, increase the unemployment level of the local people because they create cheap labor force and cause some health risks. Five percent of students have more extreme ideas. They think that refugees should be sent out of the country immediately because they are guilty and they are thieves and rapists. They consider them especially for refugees from Eastern bloc countries. At the same time, a few students also think that refugees contribute to the culture of the local community with their cultural heritage, music and traditions. In this study, it can be said that only some of the students have positive attitudes towards migrants. It is known that Germany is the country that accepts the most refugees among European states as well. Immigrants of Turkish origin constitute the largest foreign population living in Germany today, followed by Syrian refugees. Immigrants and refugees are not generally seen by the host society as a part of that society and are exposed to exclusion in many ways (Güllüpınar, 2017, p.159). Syrian refugees also face prejudices in Germany because of the fear that local societies feel about the negative changes in the social structure (Ayvaz, 2019). To conclude, in most countries, refugees are not seen as a part of the society, and they are viewed negatively for reasons such as changing the cultural structure of the local society and increasing unemployment.

The acceptance of refugees by the local society may depend on many psychological and social factors. In a study with the participation of 138 countries in 2016, it was revealed that people with strong social interaction (eg, with a broad circle of friends) in daily life tended to accept migrants easier than people with weak social interaction (Esipova, Pugliese, & Ray, 2017). This research has shown that older people in all countries are less likely to accept migrants than young people. However, as the social interaction of people in each age group increased, migrant acceptance index scores also increased. In fact, since social interaction among the traditional older group is also lower compared to young people, it may be an expected result that social acceptance against migrants is lower among this group. Again, this research shows that the acceptance of migrants is an emotional issue. In other words, the migrant acceptance index scores of people are related to their positive or negative feelings in their daily lives. If people experience positive feelings in their daily lives such as pleasure, fun, respect, learning interesting new things, smiling and laughing, their acceptance levels towards migrants increase (Esipova, Pugliese, & Ray, 2017). This interesting and comprehensive research shows us that countries should understand the emotional and social

components if they would like to maximize the positive contribution of migrants and ensure the inclusive acceptance of the host society.

Personal interaction with refugees can also be accepted as an important factor for the local society in their attitudes towards refugees. People from Turkish local society who do not know any refugee can be more distant and negative in their attitudes towards refugees. Having refugee friends or neighbors promote social acceptance among Turkish local people (World Food Programme, 2020).

In addition, if the difficulties, traumas and the family and material losses of the displaced individuals are fully understood by the local community, they will be more willing to accept the refugees. That is, it is very important to be able to empathize with the refugees. Forcing a person to leave his/her homeland means the destruction of his/her social fabric, identity and cultural ties. For this reason, it is very difficult for the individuals who enter into an unresolved mourning process to integrate into the local community (Yordanova, 2018). However, if only the local community is friendly and warm, their injuries can be healed and they can integrate into society. Thus, the local community should not be ignored in the studies and the right information about the refugees should be provided to ensure that local community accepts refugees.

1.6. Theorıes of In-Group and Inter-Group Relations Affecting Attitudes Towards Migrants

1.6.1. Social identity theory

The concept of social cohesion and social tensions between Syrians and local community can be evaluated within the scope of Social Identity Theory (1979), developed by Tajfel and Turner, in terms of the relations between the dominant and migrant groups. Social identity theory is a theory of social psychology that provides explanations for in-group dynamics, intergroup relations and collective self in the analysis of group phenomenon. (Argyle, 1992; Brehm ve Kassin, 1993). According to the theory of social identity, people are primarily motivated by having a positive social identity (Turner, 1999). There is a tendency for people to perceive their group as superior to other groups because people are motivated to make a positive self-assessment for themselves (Brehm & Kassin, 1993; Hogg & Abrams, 2001).

In the present study, the level of identification of individuals with their own groups (Turkish society) was measured using the Group Identification Scale (Roccas, 2003). The scale has two sub-dimensions as group belonging and personal belonging. The first factor was found to be related perceptions along with the group (group belonging) and the second factor mostly related to personal identity perception and perceptions of individuals outside the group (personal belonging). In a study, group identification was evaluated with four sub-dimensions which are importance, commitment, superiority and deference (Roccas et al., 2008). Importance means that people perceive the group as an important part of self-identity while commitment means a desire to contribute to the welfare of the group. In addition, superiority means perceiving the in-group as better and more worthy than other groups. Lastly, deference means the level of honor about the group norms, symbols and leaders (Duckitt, 1989). The sub-scales of the questionnaire used in the present study also similar to the sub-dimensions of mentioned above widely used scale. Especially, importance and superiority sub-scales are closely related to Group Identification Scale (Roccas et al., 2008).

1.6.2. Intergroup contact theory

Intergroup contact theory (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998) suggested that personal contact between different group members would positively affect intergroup relations. (Bağcı, & Çelebi, 2017). Theories of social contact started with Allport (1954) and then, based on Allport's arguments, Pettigrew (1998) developed the theory of intergroup contact. According to Allport (1954), some conditions must be met in contact to reduce bias. For example, in order for the contact to be effective, both groups must have similar opportunities and common goals and cooperate with each other. Allport emphasized that if two groups are in equal status, have common goals, there is cooperation between them, if the intergroup cooperation is supported by the authority (tradition, law, etc.), and if group members establish personal, informal relationships with each other, contact has an effective role in reducing prejudice. To summarize, better information about out-group members through true contact with friendship or neighborhood or education can be effective in creating positive attitudes towards other groups (Fetzer 2000).

Although the gathering of different group members to create positive environment is a convenient method, the theory of contact has been criticized by many researchers in some aspects. Subsequent studies have suggested that contact theory may not be effective, especially in societies where conflict is very intense. For example, Dixon, Durrheim, and

Tredoux (2005) stated that it is difficult to maintain favorable contact conditions between groups that experience long-term conflict, and in such cases, the positive impact of contact on attitudes may decrease. These studies have shown that intergroup contact is not the only factor affecting attitudes and behaviors towards other groups, and perceived or experienced conflict can also determine inter-group relationships.

Intergroup conflict theories state that the competition and struggle that groups take in order to obtain limited resources triggers intergroup conflict and hostility (Realistic Conflict Theory, LeVine, & Campbell, 1972). Similar theories such as ethnic competition theory (Scheepers, Gijsberts, & Coenders, 2002) or social identity theory (Tajfel, & Turner, 1979) have argued that group members are hostile to other groups in order to protect their existence, obtain limited resources and protect their social identity.

In the present study, Social Contact Scale was used to measure intergroup contact between Turkish local society and Syrians (Islam, & Hewstone, 1993). The scale has two sub-dimensions, as quantitative and qualitative. In the Quantitative Social Contact sub-scale of the questionnaire, it is aimed to measure the frequency of social contact between two groups. In the Qualitative Social Contact sub-scale, there are questions about the quality of social contact between the two groups (Bozoğlan, 2019). Close relationships like neighborhood and friendship are at the forefront between two societies in qualitative social contact.

1.6.3. Extended contact theory

One of the important contributions made within social contact studies is that the person does not have to real contact experience with an outgroup member in social contact practices (Turner & Crisp, 2010). According to Wright et al. (1997), recognizing an in-group member who has contact with an outgroup member has a bias-reducing effect, even in the absence of actual social contact. Getting to know an in-group member who has an outgroup friend gives the person the impression that one can be friendly with outgroup members. In addition, it was stated that increasing the number of in-group members with outgroup friends would decrease in the level of prejudice (Wright et al., 1997). For example, in a study, children aged between 5 and 11 were read a story about the friendship of an in-group member and an immigrant child, and it was found that the attitude of the children who read this story towards immigrants was more positive than the children who did not read such a story

(control group) (Cameron, Rutland, et al. Brown &, Douch, 2006). In this context, it is possible to benefit from this theory, especially in intervention studies with majority groups designed to reduce prejudices. It may not be possible for a member of each group to have the real contact experience with an individual from a different group.

1.6.4. Realistic conflict theory

According to the "Realistic Conflict Theory" which is proposed by Muzaffer Şerif in the field of social psychology, groups can compete with everyone for limited resources (Sherif et al., 1961). In order to understand this situation better, Muzaffer Serif conducted an experiment called Rober's Cave in 1954. This experiment begins with 22 male children, whose demographic characteristics are very similar (11 years old and not know each other). They were taken to the scout camp in Robber's Cave park and placed in one of two groups randomly. The experiment has three stages. In the first stage, a sense of belonging is evoked in the group. Groups find a name and a flag for themselves and choose a leader. They set common goals and develop group norms. In the second stage, the competition phase begins. At this stage, the aim is to create tension between the two groups with the help of competitions. A tournament with sportive activities is organized between the two groups and the winner group is awarded with trophies and gifts. The children prepare for the tournament with great desire. While they cheer their groups during the tournaments, they also swear at the opposite group. Pressure rises steadily. By the end of the competitions, the situation goes on to burn the other group's flag. When things get crazy, they have to separate the kids. In the third stage of the experiment, both groups are told that drinking water tank is damaged and this problem can be solved only if they work together. Children work together for repairing, and at the end of the experiment they become very good friends with each other in both groups. Although this experiment is criticized for various reasons, it would be a great example of how easily people can be polarized.

This experiment is important in terms of how people can see each other like enemies even if there is no significant reason after feeling polarized by belonging to a group. Another conclusion that can be drawn from this experiment is that if inter-group solidarity is to be targeted, it will be appropriate to avoid some competitive activities and to set targets that different groups can achieve with the joint effort. It is not enough to bring together different groups to strengthen the sense of belonging and socialization. It will be more effective to set common goals they can achieve.

When the main question of the dissertation which is "What psychological factors drive negative attitudes towards migrants", is taken into consideration, it can be seen that one of the answers lies in the realistic conflict theory. For example, if people believe that migrants have taken jobs from local citizens, they are expected to have a more negative attitude towards those migrants (Zarate et al., 2004).

1.6.5. Social dominance theory

While explaining prejudice and negative attitudes to other groups, social dominance theory should also be evaluated along with the threat theories. The concept of social dominance is largely expressed as the variable of individual difference, which is called the social dominance orientation, or the desire for superiority over the group and the other external groups (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). In response to the concept of a minority group, the dominant group is a privileged statement that orders the disproportionate share of the resources of the society, which includes wealth, reputation and political influence. It seems that there is a relationship between social dominance orientation and attitudes, ideological beliefs and behaviors that promote inequality between groups. Racism, sexism, nationalism, patriotism, cultural elitism and conservatism can be examples of social dominance. When evaluated on a Syrian migrants living in Turkey, it is observed that local community may have a tendency to feel superior and privileged to those migrants. For example, giving priority to Syrians in hospitals, even if they are very vulnerable, is viewed negatively by most of the local society. Turkish people think that it is better to give priority in the services to Turks in their own country.

1.6.6. Optimal distinctiveness theory

The concept of distinctiveness can be summarized briefly in the form of being aware of differences between himself/herself and other individuals and the group to which he/she belongs. According to Becker et al., this concept is a very important concept in terms of being the anchor of various theories about social-psychological self and identity process. Brewer's theory of optimal distinctiveness emphasizes that people are happy with their choices and group membership because of their need for inclusion and distinctive features (Becker et al., 2012).

McGuire's distinctiveness theory assumes that the different or unique characteristics of individuals belonging to a group are more important to them than the common characteristics of other people or groups (1984). Individuals who tend to protect the features of their own culture and try to come together with people from the group they belong to in order to maintain the difference and who feel more free and comfortable in their own group exhibit cultural distinctiveness. The way that societies can be a successful multicultural society is possible by feeling that the migrant individual is a member of a common group that belongs to both migrants and the locals of that society. For this reason, their cultural distinctive characteristics and their equal rights with everyone should be accepted and recognized both officially and socially (Boog, 2014).

1.6.7. Frustration- aggression theory

Frustration-aggression hypothesis suggests that aggressive behavior stems from the frustration and blocking of goals (Dollard, Miller, Doob, Mowrer, & Seras, 1939). The hypothesis was applied in studies of scapegoating and hate crimes. Violence against different groups can be explained very well with this theory. For example, frustrated groups may unleash their aggression on a convenient social target, often a minority group. According to this theory, frustration increases to other minority groups during economic crisis.

In the realm of intergroup relations, the frustration-aggression hypothesis was used to shed light on the dynamics of stereotyping, prejudice, and out-group hostility. The theory of scapegoating is probably the most well-known application of the frustration-aggression hypothesis to the study of prejudice. For example, Syrians generally declared as scapegoat for every negative situation in Turkey. Therefore, this theory has been a guide in explaining negative attitudes towards Syrians.

1.6.8. Integrated threat theory

Despite the attempts to manage migration, anti-immigrant threat and prejudice remains a major concern at the individual and societal levels. One of the explanatory factors for widespread anti-immigrant attitudes is threat perception. Host community members worry about the economic burden of immigrants and the potential danger that they represent towards dominant host culture and the society. Overall, research shows that other cultures are a threat to one’s own culture and this threat perception leads to prejudice and

discrimination (Croucher, 2017). Integrated threat theory (ITT) developed by Stephan and Stephan brings an explanation about the sense of threat against out-groups (1993). ITT suggests that prejudice and negative attitudes towards migrants and out-groups can be explained by 4 types of threats which are realistic threat, symbolic threat, negative stereotype, and intergroup anxiety. Realistic threats are perceived threats to the physical existence and well-being, economic and political power of individuals in other groups. Symbolic threats are perceived threats arising from cultural differences in the values, life views and moral structure of outgroups. Negative stereotypes are some prejudiced thoughts that are formed in the in-group and attributed to the out-groups. Intergroup anxiety is the experience that in-group members feel in the process of social contact with out-group members, especially if there is a historical hostility between the groups.

In the studies of perception of threat towards Syrian refugees in Turkey, it is observed that there is a special emphasis on realistic threat and symbolistic threat (Karaoğlu, 2015; Keles, Aral, Yıldırım, Kurtoğlu, & Sunata, 2016). Analyzing the perception of Turkish citizens towards Syrian refugees, Karaoğlu (2015) states that social distance towards those group is predicted by the general threat. The study states that negative feelings towards the out-groups are predicted by the threat of social dominance, general threat and cultural difference. Integrated threat theory constitutes the base of the current intervention program.

In recent thesis study, intergroup anxiety, which is one of the varieties of integrated threat theory, was evaluated as a mediator variable between social contact, intercultural sensitivity, group identification and attitudes towards Syrians.

1.6.9. The developmental model of intercultural sensitivity (DMIS)

The importance of intercultural communication is increasing day by day with the increase of international relations. Therefore, it becomes a necessity for people to be open and ready to interact with individuals from different cultures (Aksoy, 2016). Intercultural communication competence, which consists of the knowledge, skills and attitudes required to cope with cultural differences, is the ability to demonstrate effective and appropriate communication behaviors in order to achieve the desired response in a particular environment (Chen, 1990). These elements, which are basically valid for all communication processes, are more important in terms of preventing or resolving conflicts where the cultural context is diverse or different (Aksoy, 2016).

In Turkey, there are many individuals from different nationalities and therefore different cultures, as well. With the help of Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS), it will be better to understand intercultural sensitivity of people and support intercultural sensitivity. DMIS is a model created to explain the different reactions people give when they encounter cultural differences (Bennett, 1998). Bennett observed that individuals address cultural differences in a certain predictable fashion and can be divided into six developmental stages from ethnocentric to ethno relativist. Each of these stages occurs with the development of the previous stages. These stages consist of rejection, defense, reduction, acceptance, adaptation and integration. In DMIS, rejection, defense and minimization are the steps of ethno-centrism. Ethnocentrism can be expressed as placing the individual's own culture at the center of reality (Hammer et al. 2003). Ethno-relativity, which consists of steps of acceptance, adaptation and integration, is that the individual experiences his/her own culture in the context of other cultures (Hammer et al. 2003). Ethnocentrism is the judgment of the other cultures in the context of the individual's own worldview. On the other hand, ethno-relativity is to evaluate other cultures in their own context.

It is possible to summarize Bennett's explanations regarding the steps in DMIS as follows (Aksoy 2015; Bennett 1998): The individual in the rejection step is mostly isolated from different cultures, perceives his/her own values, norms and attitudes as pure reality. He/she has no knowledge about other cultures; he/she is exclusive and discriminatory. At the defense level, the judgment of the individual regarding different cultures is based on relatively more knowledge and experience. These individuals are more threatened by different cultures than those in the rejection step, and worldviews are organized according to a distinction between "we" and "they". Minimization is the step where individuals take a more neutral attitude towards cultural differences. These individuals seek to reduce cultural differences between people and communities in the context of their current worldviews, beliefs and ideologies. Although they accept the superficial differences of cultures such as food and beverage, and clothing style, they think that all people are the same in deep. The reduction is a more positive approach in terms of intercultural sensitivity compared to previous steps, but it is still an ethnocentric approach. The step of acceptance is the first step of ethno-relativity. The individual at this stage recognizes cultural differences, enjoys exploring different cultures and is therefore more open to intercultural interactions. However, it is not yet ready to acquire and demonstrate new communication behaviors. The individual at the stage of adaptation can use his/her knowledge of his own culture and other

cultures, empathize with the members of different cultures and display appropriate communication behaviors within these cultures. In this sense, the step of adaptation is an extremely important level in the development of intercultural sensitivity. Integration step is seen as the highest level of intercultural sensitivity. Individuals at this stage are seen as multicultural individuals in addition to their own cultural identity. They have a wide range of cultural knowledge and they accept all the differences. Their ability to demonstrate appropriate and effective communication behavior with people from other cultures is also very high (Aksoy, 2015).

In the present study, the Intercultural Sensitivity Scale was used to measure the sensitivity of individuals to different cultures. Turkish adaptation of the scale consists of one dimension (Üstün, 2011). The original scale consists of 5 different sub-dimensions. (Chen, & Starosta, 2000). The first one is interaction engagement. Interaction engagement means ability to effectively start to communicate in intercultural environments (Cotter, & Reichard). The second one is respect for cultural differences. This means not judging the people according to their own values, and treating individuals from different cultures with care and attention. The third one is interaction confidence. This means being comfortable and not getting anxious while communicating with people from different cultures. Individuals with high self-esteem develop a more positive perspective other groups or cultures than those with low self-esteem (Chen, & Starosta, 1996). Fourth one is interaction enjoyment. This means that people feel good when communicating with individuals from different cultures and enjoy this communication. That is, it means to enjoy interacting with people from different cultures, being patient when interacting with people from different cultures. The last one is interaction attentiveness. It is the lack of prejudices that prevent the individual from listening sincerely during intercultural communication and to know some clues that can be perceived as wrong or rude in different cultures.

1.7. Integration Measurement Tools

It is difficult to define integration policies as well as a very difficult area to measure and evaluate these policies. However, there are some tools that can be used to measure integration of countries comparatively by examining specific concrete policies and legal regulations. These tools can be listed as Zaragoza Criteria, Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Migrant Integration Index, Eurostat Migrant Integration Index and Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX). These four tools are

calculated by assessing the services received by migrants in areas such as education, health, access to the labor market, combating discrimination, access to long-term residence and family reunification. These tools are developed for measuring the countries' integration policies rather than the individuals.

The integration of local people to migrants is generally measured by attitude scales. There are some of the Turkish scales improved for measuring the perspectives of local society about Syrians living in Turkey (Çalışkan-Sarı, & Yalçınkaya-Alkar, 2018; Keleş et al., 2016; Kılcan, Çepni, & Kılınç, 2017). In the current study, *The Scale of Attitudes towards Syrians Living in Turkey* was used in order to evaluate local society's attitudes in the areas about marriage with Syrians, crime relations of Syrians and general issues in daily life. That is, it can be said that this scale consists of 3 sub-scales. When the literature is reviewed, similar subscales are observed when measuring attitudes towards different ethnic groups (Özüdoğru, Kan, Uslu, Yaman, 2018). Bogardus's Social Distance Scale (Bogardus, 1933) has been translated and adapted into many countries' own languages (Ayers et al., 2009) to measure the attitudes of local people towards immigrants. In the scale of Bogardus, for example, although marriage with a person from an immigrant group does not appear as a sub-scale, it is definitely a widely used item in attitude measurements. In other words, the question of "Would you marry with a person from an immigrant group?" is a good determinant in order to measure the proximity to the migrant groups. In some scales, fear and threat perception towards outgroups come to the fore in measuring attitudes towards outgroups (Stephan, & Stephan, 1996, 2000). One of the sub-dimensions of the current scale of Attitudes Towards Syrians is determined as *attitudes towards possible criminal relations.* In the Integrated Threat Theory, it is stated that threat perception causes negative attitudes towards the outgroup regardless of whether it is real or not. For example, threat appeared as a sub-scale in addition to acceptance and rejection in an attitude scale towards Syrians (Özüdoğru, Kan, Uslu, Yaman, 2018).

1.8. Conceptual Uncertainty About Social Cohesion, Integration, Social Acceptance, Social Inclusion and Harmonization

The social cohesion literature has repeatedly criticized the lack of consensus on the theoretical conceptualization of the structure. The current section tries to clarify this uncertainty by reviewing the literature on recent approaches. If we have a common idea of what the concept contains, we can empirically monitor the situation and development of

social cohesion in different societies, test the assumption that social cohesion is declining, identify weak points and develop practical suggestions (Schiefer & van der Noll, 2016). The meaning of each term will be defined below and the similarities and differences, and their intertwining points will be tried to be explained.

From a human rights perspective, “social inclusion” is the full recognition of a person's social identity and legal personality, and an individual's full self-realization within the society ("Ayrımcılığa," n.d., p.9). It means integrating into the network of relationships within the community through participation channels based on education, culture, employment and civil sphere. When the issue is evaluated on migrants, social inclusion can be defined as migrants are valued, respected, accepted and encouraged to fully participate in the society. The opposite of social inclusion is social exclusion. “Social exclusion” is a complex and multi-layered dynamic. Symbolic boundaries based on factors like race, nation, ethnic, language, culture, gender and class form the basis of social inequality and hierarchy. These boundaries emphasize group differences and assist the social construction of "us" and "them" concepts (Turner, 1999). This process also determines the advantageous and disadvantageous groups of the society, and shapes the distribution of resources between groups in the society with the social hierarchy it creates (Bali, 2008). Due to symbolic boundaries, some relatively disadvantageous individuals or groups cannot integrate themselves into society and participate in the social system. In this process called social exclusion, symbolic differences cause discriminatory discourses and social, economic, political and cultural barriers and push people out of the current social system (Duffy, 1995; Ryan, 2007). These dynamics drive people away from finding jobs, professional development, income and education opportunities, social and community structures, networks and activities. If we think about migrants again, migrants are the groups that are likely to be exposed to social exclusion. We know that there are many groups in the local communities who do not want to rent homes for migrant families and do not want migrant children in the schools. These are the examples of social exclusion. To conclude, it is the duty of all citizens, especially state organs, to ensure social inclusion. In all legal arrangements made by the state, migrant groups with a high risk of social exclusion should be paid attention to ensure social inclusion.

Social cohesion can be defined as the nature of the relationships between individuals, groups and the institutions that govern them in a particular environment (Guay, 2015). Strong, positive and close relationships are perceived as indicators of high social cohesion,

while weak, negative or fragmented relationships and exclusionary identities mean low social cohesion (Lyytinen ve Kullenberg, 2013). Although it is difficult to make a simple and stable definition of "social cohesion", it will be correct to define two basic components of the concept of social cohesion (European Commission Employment and Social Affairs DG, 2005:70). The first one is to strengthen social relations and increase mutual recognition and acceptance among individuals belonging to different groups. The second one is to try to reduce social exclusion of certain risk groups in society and to reduce inequality between these groups. In order to provide a sense of belonging to the community, migrants must have an equal acceptance by the host community and have the chance to benefit from basic security needs such as job opportunities, social security, and adequate housing. These two components of social cohesion are the indicators of a real integration. In other words, social inclusion is a sub-component of social cohesion, but these two concepts together constitute integration. Integration is mostly an umbrella concept and includes all other concepts. To elaborate, when defining the concept of integration, it is not possible to fully convey this expression without using concepts such as social inclusion and social cohesion. In addition, "Social acceptance" cannot be considered separately from these concepts. The only difference is that when it comes to social acceptance, it is talked about the host society part of integration rather than the migrants themselves. That is, it can be explained by the fact that the host society embraces migrants socially, economically and culturally and does not view them as threats.

In addition to above mentioned concepts, "harmonization" concept has been proposed by Turkey and it has been used in the legal texts. In the Cambridge dictionary, harmonization has explained as the process of minimizing unnecessary or conflicting standards that may have evolved independently. It is an analogy to the incompatible music harmonization process. The aim is to find partnerships, identify critical requirements that need to be protected and provide a common standard. This concept has emerged with the claim of being used instead of the integration concept. With this concept it can be thought that Turkey's adaptation model is better expressed. In this concept, mutual adaptation criteria comes to the fore. It is believed that the emphasis is placed on both the migrant and the host community equally. The authorities of Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM) have found the integration term inefficient in terms of explaining the current situation of Turkey related to migrant policies and perspectives towards them. Integration is a more Western concept. On the other hand, another reason for the negative perception about

the concept of "integration" is the difficulties experienced by the migrants in the European Union countries in the adaptation process and the negative association about the integration process that does not give the desired results. In particular, after the events of September 11, 2001 in the Western world, there has been a rising integration debate and a kind of unending Islamophobia, racism, xenophobia and populism debates (Er, & Ataman, 2008). Therefore, bureaucratic and decision makers in Turkey may have taken a critical attitude to the concept of integration. Harmonization term has a more mystical, more intimate atmosphere. This concept emphasizes the equal effort of the host society with migrants in order to ensure harmony with migrants. That is to say, in the concept of harmonization, co-existence is essential. In fact, harmonization is a social cohesion model that adopts an interculturalist perspective and says that harmonization is a bilateral process, that is, a process of mutual interaction that transforms the host majority society while changing migrant communities. In addition, volunteering is important in the concept of harmonization. For example, there are no mandatory criteria for migrants to learn the Turkish language. If they do not learn in a certain time period, there are no sanctions. Instead, migrants are encouraged to learn host community's language in order to harmonized to the society better.

The issue of harmonization has been regulated with article 96 of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection (YUKK, 2013). According to this article, the General Directorate can plan harmonization activities with public institutions, local administrations, non-governmental organizations and universities in order to facilitate the mutual harmonization between foreign people and the society and enable foreigners to act independently in all areas of social life in our country, in the country where they are resettled or when they return. In fact, the Act has a very broad framework for the harmonization of migrants and foresees to cooperate with various institutions for their adaptation. To sum up, integration is not a one-sided process, as has been adopted by the Directorate General of Migration Management. When it comes to integration, it is often understood that the minority is added to the majority by changing and majority is supposed to be static. However, harmonization is bilateral. There are at least two parties in the adaptation process, and while the minority changes in this process, the majority also changes. This change manifests itself in terms of language, culture, democracy, norms, demographic structure, economy, innovation processes and many other fields.

In the paragraphs above, it is explained why the concept of integration is not used deliberately by public authorities. However, in general, it can be seen that the concept of

harmonization does not diverge much from the concept of integration. Because the concept of integration is not one-sided process either. According to the UN, the migrant should be willing to adapt to the lifestyle of the host society without having to lose its cultural identity; the host society, on the other hand, should be sensitive in hospitality to meet the social needs of the migrant population. Public institutions should make the necessary efforts, as well (UNHCR, 2002 cited in Erdoğan, 2015:20). However, considering the general opinion of public authorities, integration focuses on migrants' adaptation to the host society. What society and states receiving migration must do to facilitate this process is ignored (Adıgüzel, 2018:151).

1.9. Models for Living Together

There are two important theoretical approaches when models of coexistence between migrants and host communities come to the fore in Europe (Adıgüzel, 2018:151). The first one is assimilation and the second one is integration. These two models can be investigated under acculturation concept. Two different models which are marginalization and ghettoization (separation) emerge under the umbrella of acculturation, apart from integration and assimilation, as well. In the USA and Canada, different from these two approaches in Europe, multiculturalism stands out (Brosseau, & Dewing, 2009). Multiculturalism means managing the diversity through formal initiatives in federal, provincial and territorial domains. The main reason for the difference between the US and Canada and European countries in terms of migration policies stems from their migration history and experience. America and Canada are the countries that accept permanent migrants outside and actually established by migrants.

1.9.1. Acculturation

According to Flaskerud's (2007) definition, acculturation is the change that occurs as a result of the interaction of one group with another. In the process of acculturation, changes occur in the language, values and behaviors of both the mainstream society and the migrant minority society as a result of their mutual interaction. Despite these changes, it is stated that both groups continue to differ from each other in their essence (Flaskerud, 2007). Although the acculturation process affects both the mainstream society and the migrant society, the

research findings indicate that migrant individuals are more affected by the acculturation process (Berry, 2001; Rohman et al. 2008).

Four acculturation attitudes have been determined with the desire of individuals to maintain their own cultural identity or to turn to the mainstream society (Berry, 2001). For migrant societies, the acculturation attitudes are assimilation, separation, integration and marginalism (Berry 1997; Schmitz 2001). Assimilation corresponds to the desire of the migrant groups to adopt the characteristics of the mainstream society and not to continue their own culture. Separation can be considered the opposite of assimilation. In other words, separation is that the migrant society maintains its cultural characteristics and avoids interacting with the mainstream society. Integration is the interaction of the migrant society with its mainstream society while maintaining its own culture. In integration, people would like to be part of the mainstream society, while they maintain their own cultural integrity. Marginality occurs when migrant community members cannot identify themselves with their own cultural groups or the mainstream society (Berry, 1997; Schmitz, 2001).

1.9.1.a. Assimilation

The term assimilation requires migrants and refugees to integrate with the society through a one-way, one-sided adaptation process. Newcomers should leave their distinctive linguistic, cultural and social features, and instead, adopt the mainstream values and practices. Thus, the migrant individual cannot be distinguished from the majority population (Erat, 2018). The government tries to create favorable conditions for this process, by insisting on the use of the sovereign language and enforcing the participation of migrant children in normal public schools. Assimilation has been the dominant approach in many migration countries, including the UK, USA, Australia and Canada until the 1960s and is still important in some European countries, especially in France (Castles, Korac, Vasta, & Vertovec, 2002).

1.9.1.b. Integration

Integration is the acceptance of migrants to the society, both as individuals and as groups. This definition of integration has been deliberately left open because the specific requirements for the acceptance of local society show huge difference from country to country. In fact, integration depends on many actors like migrants themselves, the host

government, institutions and local societies (Penninx, 2003). Integration can be understood differently depending on the country and context, but in general it can be defined as the process of mutual harmonization between the host community and the immigrant. It requires a sense of obligation and respect for a range of core values that connect immigrants and host communities to a common goal (Dünya Bankası, 2018).

When the issue comes to how integration works, it depends on two parties. One of them is migrants themselves with their unique characteristics and efforts; the other part is the receiving society with their interaction patterns with these migrants. The local community is the most important actor in the integration process in the context of their reaction to the new comers. (Penninx, 2003).

Integration is essential for all stakeholders, not only as a means of providing economic and cultural benefits, but also as a way of ensuring the safety and stability of communities as a whole. Although migration has economic, legal and international dimensions, its most important dimension is social dimension; living together in harmony with the society in which the new migrant belongs. Social integration is an important concept in order to understand the dynamics of intergroup relations. For example, social integration plays an important role in understanding how contact between different ethnic groups increases the positive relationship between groups and reduces prejudice and conflict (Martinoviç, Tubergen, & Maas, 2009). In the studies carried out so far, social integration has been studied mostly from the perspective of sociology (Hein, 1993; Ünal, 2014). At this point, this gap in the literature necessitates the study of social integration not only from the perspective of society but also on an individual basis.

Integration is not a unilateral process, it is an interactive process involving a mutual perspective (Valtonen, 1998). According to the UN, migrants should be willing to adapt to the lifestyle of the host community without having to lose their cultural identity; the host society should be sensitive in hospitality to meet the social needs of the incoming population, and public institutions should make the necessary effort (UNHCR, 2002 as cited in Adıgüzel, 2018:170).

1.9.1.c. Marginalization

Marginalization occurs when migrants reject both their own culture and the culture of the host community (Berry 1997, 2001; Schmitz, 2001). In societies where cultural

exclusion is promoted, individuals often adopt marginalization strategies of acculturation. In societies where cultural and social exclusion is promoted, migrant individuals tend to adopt marginalization strategies of acculturation. There can be two reasons for marginality: The first one is that the individuals who are members of the minority community have little interest in their own culture. The second one is exclusion or discrimination by the host community (Berry, 2001).

1.9.1.d. Ghettoization

When different ethnic groups or cultures come together, there may not always be harmony and the situation may go to ghetto. Ghetto can be defined as an area or region in which individuals who are not fully integrated by race, religion or cultural (ethnic) characteristics are concentrated (Erkal, 1997, cited in Adıgüzel, 2018:155). The ghettos offer immigrants the opportunity to speak their own language, as well as the opportunity to live their customs, traditions and customs in a foreign country. In general, it can be called the neighborhood cluster formed by people from the same opinion and backgrounds. In such spaces, first-generation migrants can gain economic standing power by preserving their own identity and culture within their own ethnic solidarity group without undergoing an acculturation process (Adıgüzel, 2018:155).

When the Turkish citizens living in European countries are observed, it is seen that a certain part of them is ghettoized. Neighborhoods inhabited by the Turkish community in European countries are as safe haven for those who come to Europe from rural areas of Turkey. It is important to meet the collective needs of Turkish people living in communities, ensuring that religion, morals and mother tongue are not lost, but on the other hand it is an obstacle to learn the language of the country in which they live (Kaya, & Kentel, 2008 as cited in Adıgüzel, 2018:156). Syrians living in Turkey have also been ghettoized in certain areas. This constitutes an important obstacle to social integration. Some cities such as Gaziantep and Kilis have become Syrian migrant cities in their own right. We see that there are Syrian neighborhoods in cities such as Mersin, Istanbul and Ankara. Migration creates a climate of insecurity. It smashes the familiar values and behavior patterns. It becomes impossible to solve problems in conventional ways. The need for developing new solutions arises (Tılıç, 1996 as cited in Adıgüzel, 2018:156). The ghettos become an important spatial force for migrants in tackling problems stemming from both themselves and the host social and political structure.

1.9.2. Multiculturalism

In this model, migrants are not expected to leave their own differences, although it is desirable to comply with certain values of the host society. That is, multiculturalism is to live the differences together and to manage living together, to create the law of living together in a pluralistic environment. The process, which starts with the permission to come as a migrant in countries that adopt a multicultural approach, may extend to access to the state and citizenship (Erat, 2018,).

Multiculturalism emerges from three basic approaches. The first one is demographic differences approach. That is, ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious differences of societies should be understood from this approach. The second is ideological and normative meaning. It means continuing cultural diversity in society. The last is its political meaning. It is about building a unified institutional system that respects cultural differences and gives equal access to all members of society (Lodzinsky, 2007). Multiculturalism, as it is known, first appeared in migrant countries like America, Australia and Canada, and was first accepted as a policy in the States such as Australia and Canada. Of course, the implementation of multiculturalism policy is easy for countries such as Canada that have never experienced a period of national establishment. However, problems may arise in the understanding of the concept of multiculturalism for the nation-states that are subsequently migrated (Doytceheva, 2009). For example, multiculturalism in Europe came up with the immigration of workers. However, Europe was not aware of how decisive the presence of migrant workers in integration policies because they considered that migrant workers were temporary in Europe. Therefore, they did not adopt any integration policy or multiculturalism. In general, it is a fact that multicultural policies in Europe are still not adopted today (Ceylan, 2016).

1.10. Demographic Factors Affecting Local Society's Attitudes towards Migrants

Gender, age, education level, religiosity, living city, abroad experience can affect local people's social acceptance of migrants. In many studies, males were reported more prejudice towards migrants compared to females (Beswick, & Hills, 1972; Walker, 1994; Schweitzer et al., 2005). According to the study conducted by Schweitzer et al. (2005), it is concluded that 59.8% of participants scored above the midpoint on prejudicial attitudes measure. In general, although many studies show that males have a more negative attitude

towards refugees than females, there are also studies showing that there is no difference between them. That is, there is no consensus between the results of the studies about the influence of gender on local people's perception towards migrants.

The relationship between religiosity and social distance towards immigrants is also a controversial research subject. While the high level of religiosity in the USA decreases the social distance towards immigrants, it has been found in studies conducted in European countries that religiosity increases anti-immigrant attitudes (Portes, & Rumbaut, 2006). In the study conducted in Istanbul, groups were divided into three categories according to religiosity level. These groups have been defined as non-religious, little worshiper, and most worshiper. It has been observed that the non-religious and most worshiper groups are more tolerant towards immigrants than little worshipers (Kuru, 2020).

Findings from different studies revealed that well educated people hold certain values that reflect strong direct effect of education on positive attitudes towards refugees (Hainmueller & Hiscox, 2007; Crawley, Drinkwater, & Kauser, 2013). In a study, attitudes towards Middle Eastern refugees in Ireland were examined and according to results of it, participants with higher levels of education were less likely to report negative attitudes towards refugees (Curry, 2000). That is, research has shown that higher education level has an inverse relationship with xenophobia (Quillian 1995; Scheepers et al. 2002; Raijman et al. 2003).

It has been shown in some studies that age is an important variable in attitudes towards migrants and people have more negative attitudes towards minority groups as they age (Topal, Özel, & Topuzlu, 2017). According to Dustmann and Preston (2001) people who encounter with the ethnic minorities at later phase of their life are less likely to be tolerant towards them.

According to some studies, participants who live in cities with the high number of migrant population have more positive attitudes towards them (Keleş et al., 2016). According to results of this study, when the refugee populations in the cities increases, participants tend to show positive attitudes to refugees.

Abroad experience can also affect people positively in terms of intercultural competence, intercultural development and intercultural sensitivity (Hanson, 2017). There are huge numbers of studies investigating the effect of studying abroad on prejudice, intercultural sensitivity and global engagement (Paige et al. 2010; Murphy et al. 2014;

Salisbury, An & Pascarella 2013, Hanson, 2017). According to literature, studying abroad experience has a positive relationship with the ability to adapt to cultural differences, and working with people from different cultures (Forgues 2005; Lowe, Byron, & Mennicke 2014; Murphy et al. 2014; Anderson et al. 2006; Stebleton, Soria, & Cherney, 2013). In addition to the experience of being a student abroad, being abroad as a tourist can also reduce the prejudice against people from different cultures (Landis, Bennet, & Bennet, 2004). Therefore, any international contact can reduce bias towards different groups. A study conducted by Pettigrew and Tropp (2000) found that people who have been as touristic purposes were less prejudiced than those who did not.

1.11. Intercultural Sensitivity, Intergroup Social Contact, Intergroup Anxiety, Group Identification in the Context of Social Acceptance

Research has shown that there is a relationship between intergroup contact and support for multiculturalism (Bağcı, &Çelebi, 2017). Multiculturalism is described as the recognition of ethno-cultural differences within the same political system (Verkuyten, & Martinovic, 2006). Studies in the field of support for multiculturalism show a positive relationship between intergroup contact and multiculturalism. For example, studies carried out in the Netherlands have shown that as Dutch contacts with minority members increase, they become more familiar with the culture of minorities and support multiculturalism (Verkuyten, Thijs, & Bekhuis, 2010). Similar studies have confirmed that positive contact with other group members is associated with support for multiculturalism (González, Verkuyten, Weesie, & Poppe, 2008; Ward, & Masgoret, 2006). In the light of many empirical studies, positive attitudes towards minority groups and support for multiculturalism have increased with social contact (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Studies to determine the factors that predict attitudes towards different groups in international literature are mostly done in the field of intergroup contact. Allport (1954), who introduced the intergroup contact theory, and Pettigrew (1997; 1998), who later updated and developed this theory, suggested that positive intergroup contact would help group members display more positive attitudes and behavior towards each other. For example, according to the results of a meta-analysis conducted by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006), intergroup contact positively affects attitudes when it is positive and has potential for friendship. Accordingly, the following hypothesis has been established: People who report higher level of qualitative social contact will score highly on positive attitudes towards migrants.

Another factor that determines attitudes towards other groups in the intergroup relations literature is stated as intergroup anxiety. According to Stephan and Stephan (1985), attitudes towards other people can change according to people's expectations from them. Intergroup anxiety is defined as the emotion resulting from the possibility of experiencing unpleasant experiences such as rejection in an interaction with the other group, feeling of embarrassment, and uneasiness as a negative affect state (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). According to Integrated Threat Theory, intergroup anxiety is also a type of threat (Stephan et al., 2000). In this context, while symbolic and realistic threat perceptions constitute intergroup threat, intergroup anxiety constitutes interpersonal threat perception. According to this theory, the attitudes and behaviors of the majority and minority groups towards each other in intergroup dynamics are shaped according to the positive or negative reactions from the opposite groups. Studies in this area have shown that the perceived conflict in intergroup relations increases the level of anxiety felt, on the contrary, positive and meaningful contact with opposite group members reduces intergroup anxiety (Voci, & Hewstone, 2003). For example, Page-Gould, Mendoza-Denton and Tropp (2008) showed in their experimental study that friendships with other group members reduced stress hormones, decreased the level of intergroup anxiety, and as a result, positively changed attitudes towards the other group. Accordingly, the following hypothesis has been established: Intergroup anxiety will play a mediating role in the relationship between intergroup social contact and attitudes towards Syrians.

In-group identification is one of the most basic concepts of social identity theory, and it can be defined as a sense of belonging and commitment to one's group (Hortaçsu, 2007). When the issue comes to in-group identification, a sense of national identity would be related to a stronger feeling towards the same nationals and a weaker sense of solidarity with non-nationals. According to a study conducted in Britain, participants with more ethnic perceptions tend to favor more assimilationist policies than do other groups (Heath, & Tilley, 2005). Representing a stronger and more distinguished perception of national identity can result in less favorable perceptions of migrants and result in higher rates of xenophobia (Hjern, 1998). In a study, it was evaluated that group members who had high level of identification with their ethnic groups were more sensitive to the distinctive characteristic differences between the groups. Therefore, they were more prone to evaluate negative results on the basis of discrimination between groups (Sellers, & Shelton, 2003). Sidanius, Liu, Pratto and Shaw (1994) state that the level of in-group identification determines the level of

out-group discrimination. Accordingly, the following hypothesis has been established: Participants who report high levels of group identification will score highly on negative attitudes towards migrants. On the other hand, when looking at the literature, some studies suggested that unlike social identity theory, strong identification with social identities may be associated with positive attitudes towards outgroups. For example, Phinney, Jacoby, and Silva (2007) showed that a strong ethnic identity is positively associated with intergroup attitudes. According to Phinney et al., a strong in-group identity will enable a person to be more confident in the face of outgroups, thus better understanding differences with outgroups and being more tolerant of outgroups. Similarly, a strong in-group identity has been positively associated with a tendency to contact outgroups (Phinney, Ferguson, & Tate, 1997). Accordingly, the findings showed that students who strongly agreed with their national identity were more tolerant and more positive to foreign students whose national identity was different.

In the literature, intercultural sensitivity has often been associated with international students and success in business. In the literature, it has been shown that individuals lacking intercultural sensitivity are less likely to perform their duties and succeed in international business (Bhawuk, & Brislin, 1992). According to a study conducted in United States, looking at only technical expertise when hiring personnel in a company is insufficient for success. Intercultural sensitivity and compatibility are a major criterion for success (Hawes & Kealey, 1981). In this study, it is a new perspective to associate intercultural sensitivity with attitudes towards immigrants and to take intercultural sensitivity as a predictor of attitudes.

1.12. Aims of the Study and Contribution to the Literature

In order to create a *culture of living together* with Syrians, it is important for the local people to accept Syrians and to break their prejudices to live in a peaceful country. It should not be forgotten that harmonization is a mutual process, without the social acceptance of migrants by the local community, there is no complete integration process. The main purpose of the present study is to examine the attitudes of local community members towards Syrians in terms of various demographic and psychological variables. One of the specific objectives of the study is to examine the differences in the attitudes of local community members in Ankara and Adana provinces towards Syrians. Unless the variables that affect the negative attitudes of local community members towards this group are understood sufficiently, it is

not possible to create a culture of living together. Considering the results of this quantitative study, developing and implementing an intervention program for local community members is another main goal of the study. As far as we know, there is no structured intervention program developed for the local community intended to positively change the attitudes towards migrants. If a positive change is observed in the attitudes of the experimental group (local community members) towards Syrians in the measurements at the end of the program; it can be ensured that the program is disseminated in public institutions and non-governmental organizations and the program can reach more people. Therefore, if a program based on intercultural awareness and communication for the members of the local community in Turkey is created and disseminated, ideal but difficult to reach discourse "culture of living together" can be come true. This is lacking in the studies in Turkey and when it comes true, it would be useful for the literature and integration policies as an innovative study. Most of the studies conducted so far in the context of local community and integration has been on determination of state, now there is a need for other studies to take concrete steps rather than state determination studies. It is thought that this intervention program, which is prepared in the light of the information provided by psychology and communication science and will be applied to the members of the local community, can be very beneficial for the literature and humanity in the context of migration and integration.

In addition, the group that needs to be studied in the research now should be the local community rather than asylum seekers. Social distance and intergroup anxiety between the local community and Syrians is increasing as time progresses (Erdoğan, 2020). For this reason, the current thesis study that studies the dynamics of the local society and proposes an intervention program will contribute to the literature.

1.13. Hypotheses of the Study

- It is hypothesized that intergroup anxiety, social contact, group identification and intercultural sensitivity will be related to attitudes towards migrants in a Turkish sample.
- Participants who report lower levels of intergroup anxiety towards Syrian migrants will score higher on positive attitudes towards migrants.
- Participants who report lower levels of group identification will score higher on positive attitudes towards migrants.

- People who report higher level of social contact will score higher on positive attitudes towards migrants.
- People who report higher level of intercultural sensitivity will score higher on positive attitudes towards migrants.
- There will be an association between gender and local people's attitudes towards Syrians. Specifically, it is predicted that females may report more positive attitudes towards Syrian migrants compared to men.
- There will be an association between gender and intercultural sensitivity. Specifically, females' intercultural sensitivity level will be reported higher than men.
- There will be an association between religiosity and attitudes towards Syrian migrants. It is predicted that people who report higher levels of religiosity may be more positive towards Syrians in their attitudes.
- Another hypothesis is that people with higher levels of education were less likely to report negative attitudes towards Syrians.
- People with higher levels of education were more likely to report intercultural sensitivity.
- One of the demographic data, former presence in abroad, may be related to the attitude towards Syrians. The attitude of those who have been abroad before may be more positive towards the Syrians.
- One of the demographic data, former presence in abroad, may be related to the intercultural sensitivity. Intercultural sensitivity of those who have been abroad before may be higher.
- The question of communication with Syrians, which is also one of the demographic data, may be related to the attitude towards Syrians. The attitudes of the people who are in contact with the Syrians may be more positive.
- In addition, the purpose of local people's communication with the Syrians affects the outcome variable.
- It is predicted that there will a difference between Adana and Ankara provinces in attitudes towards Syrians. The attitudes of people who live in Adana will be more positive than the people who live in Ankara.
- Finally, it is predicted that there will a difference between Adana and Ankara provinces in social contact. Social contact of the people living in Adana will be higher than people living in Ankara.
- It is predicted that there will be a larger unique contribution of intergroup anxiety

than three other independent variables on attitudes towards Syrians.

- Intergroup anxiety will mediate the relationship between social contact and attitudes towards Syrian migrants. When social contact between Syrian migrants and local people increases, intergroup anxiety decreases and when intergroup anxiety decreases, positive attitudes towards migrants increase.
- Intergroup anxiety will mediate the relationship between group identification and attitudes towards Syrian migrants. When group identification increases, intergroup anxiety between Syrian migrants and local people also increases and when intergroup anxiety increases, positive attitudes towards migrants decrease.
- Intergroup anxiety will mediate the relationship between intercultural sensitivity and attitudes towards Syrian migrants. When intercultural sensitivity level increases, intergroup anxiety decreases and when intergroup anxiety decreases, positive attitudes towards Syrian migrants increase.
- For the second part of the thesis, there will be difference between the participants who are in the experimental group and control group. The experimental group's positive attitudes will be higher than control group's attitudes towards Syrians.
- There will also be a difference between post-test and pre-test scores of experimental group. Post-test scores of experimental group will be higher than pre-test scores of experimental group

2. METHOD

In this section, information about the method used in the research is given. In this context, how participants are included in the research and the data collection tools used in the research are discussed in detail. Finally, the procedure and data analysis are explained.

2.1. Participants

A total of 209 individuals who are over the age of 18 years old participated in the current study. However, 207 of them were included in the study as two of them had higher than 5% missing data. The age of participants ranged from 19 to 74. 110 participants were females and the rest of it were males.

2.2. Measurements

Data were collected with a survey that included the following parts:

2.2.1. A Demographic Form

A demographic form that consists of questions such as gender, age, education level, occupation, the place of birth as village, district and province, monthly income were asked to participants to fill out. Furthermore, abroad experience and the reason for it, the number of visited country, the communication experience with Syrian migrants and the level of religiosity were asked. Demographic form can be seen in Appendix A. Demographic and attitudes towards Syrians related characteristics of the sample were presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Demographic and attitudes towards syrians related characteristics of the sample

	M	SD	Min	Max
Age	34.39	12.14	19	74
Income	6.158.88	4258.12	580TL	24.000TL
Total countries visited	1.59	2.55	0	16
Level of prayerfulness	4.93	1.80	1	7
	N	*%*		
Gender				
Female	110	53.1		
Male	97	46.9		
Educational Level				
Primary School	15	7.2		
High School	24	11.6		
University	146	70.5		
Master or PhD	22	10.6		
Accommodation Unit				
Village	18	8.7		
District	35	16.9		
Province	154	74.4		
An abroad experience				
Yes	106	51.2		
No	101	48.8		
Communication with Syrians				
Yes	125	60.4		
No	82	39.6		
Reason of communication				
Because of work	65	31.4		
Because of friendship	25	12.1		
Because of neighborhood	11	5.3		
Other	24	11.6		
Didn't communicate	82	39.6		
Province				
Ankara	125	60.4		
Adana	82	39.6		

2.2.2. Intergroup Anxiety Scale

Seven-item adjective pairs were used to assess how the participants felt and their concerns during their social interactions with the other group. In the selection of the adjectives that constitute the Intergroup Anxiety Scale, the adjectives and expressions used in the literature were used to evaluate the state of anxiety (Stephan, 1985; Stephan & Stephan, 1996). Turkish adaptation, validity and reliability study of the scale was conducted by Güler (2013). According to the factor analysis conducted with the data of this study, single factor structure explained 72.63% of the variation. In addition, Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient was found .94 and Spearman-Brown reliability coefficient was found

.90. Since the evaluation in this scale is from negative to positive, the low value reflects the negative evaluation and the high value reflects the positive evaluation. That is, high scores show lower levels of anxiety towards Syrians. Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient was found .92 for recent thesis study. Intergroup Anxiety Scale can be seen in Appendix B.

2.2.3. Group Identification Scale

The Group Identification Scale, developed by Roccas (2003), is a 5-point Likert-type 10-item scale in order to determine the participants' perceptions of identification with the group they belong to. Group Identification Scale was adapted to Turkish by Güler (2013). The Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient of the scale was .88. In the validity study, it was seen that the scale explained 57.5% of the variance and it had two factors. The first factor was found to be related perceptions along with the group (group belonging) and the second factor mostly related to personal identity perception and perceptions of individuals outside the group (identity perception). High scores show higher levels of identification within the group. Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient of this scale for recent study was found as .87. Group Identification Scale can be seen in Appendix C.

2.2.4. Social Contact Scale

The social contact scale consists of 10 items and measures the frequency and quality of contact between Muslims and Hindus living in India. It was developed by Islam and Hewstone in 1993. The scale has been adapted into Turkish by Akbaş (2010) in order to measure social contact between Turkish people and Kurds. While the Social Contact Scale was adapted into Turkish by Akbaş (2010), the groups were changed to Alevis and Sunnis in accordance with the researcher's study. In this study, the terms "with Alevis and Sunnis" in the scale were changed to "Syrians" by the researcher in accordance with the purpose of the study. This scale has two sub-scales which are quantitative social contact and qualitative social contact. There are five questions in both sub-scales of the scale. The reliability of the both subscales were found as .83. The scale explains 62% of the total variance. High scores show higher levels of contact between Turkish local society and the Syrians while low scores indicate limited social contact between the groups. The reliability of this scale for the current study was found as .85. Social Contact Scale can be seen in Appendix D.

2.2.5. A Scale for Attitudes towards Syrians Living in Turkey

Recent scale was developed for assessing the attitudes of Turkish local people towards Syrians (Çalışkan-Sarı, & Yalçınkaya-Alkar, 2018). Scale consists of 25 items and it is Likert type. According to the factor analysis conducted with the data of this study, three factor structure explained 53 % of the variation. These three subscales are called as attitudes about marriage relationships with Syrians, attitudes about crime relations of Syrians and general attitudes towards Syrians about daily issues, respectively. Cronbach alpha reliability score is calculated as .73. As the scores taken from scale increase, it means that people's attitudes towards Syrian migrants are more positive. Cronbach alpha reliability score is calculated as .77 for current thesis study. Scale for Attitudes towards Syrians Living in Turkey can be seen in Appendix E.

2.2.6. Intercultural Sensitivity Scale

The 24-item 5-point Likert-type Intercultural Sensitivity Scale was developed by Chen and Starosta (2000) and it was adapted to Turkish by Üstün (2011). As a result of the validity and reliability study, a 23-item scale consisting of 1 factor emerged. The original scale has a total of 5 subscales: Participation in intercultural interaction, respect for cultural differences, Self-confidence in intercultural interaction, pleasure from intercultural interaction, and caring about intercultural interaction. The Cronbach's Alpha coefficients calculated in two separate studies and they were found as .86 and .88, respectively. High scores show higher levels of intercultural sensitivity. Intercultural Sensitivity Scale can be seen in Appendix F.

2.3. Procedure

First of all, necessary permission was taken from Social Sciences and Humanities Ethic Committee of Yıldırım Beyazıt University. The data was collected with convenient sampling method which is one of non-random sampling methods by the researcher herself and the questionnaires were replicated as hard copies and distributed to the participants. The scales were delivered to the participants that located in Ankara and Adana by the researcher in four different platforms. The first one is the staff of the Directorate General of Migration Management (DGMM, Ankara) and the people that are reached by these staff like the family members of the staff. The second group is from Adana. Data was collected by the researcher

during a conference organized by the Directorate General of Migration Management in Adana from the staff of Provincial Directorate of Migration Management, local authorities (muhtars) and municipal employees. Filling the scales took approximately 20 minutes time in total. After they complete the questionnaires, they were thanked for their participation.

2.4. Statistical Analysis

In order to test the hypotheses of the present study, correlations, t tests, ANOVA, MANOVA, mediation regression model and the hierarchical regression model were selected. The independent variables of the study were group identification, intergroup anxiety, social contact as qualitative and quantitative and intercultural sensitivity. The dependent variable was the attitudes of the local society towards Syrians.

3. RESULTS

3.1. Preliminary Analysis

Following screening the variables for the accuracy of data entry, missing values, and homoscedasticity, statistical analyses were performed by using SPSS version 22 for Windows. Standardized Z-values were checked to see if there were univariate outliers deviating from the normal distribution. The standardized Z values of the scores obtained in the scales were found to be between -2.79 and 3.29. Accordingly, no extreme values were found in the dataset of the study (Tabachnick, & Fidell, 2013). In addition, Mahalonobis distances were examined to determine whether there were multivariate outliers in the data set of the study and it was determined that there were no multivariate outliers (Kline, 2011; Tabachnick, & Fidell, 2013). Normality was checked by observing skewness and kurtosis values. According to the results, all skewness and kurtosis values ranged from -0.73 to 1.05. According to Kline (2011), the values above +3 and lower than -3 shows a non-normal distribution. For this reason, it could be stated that the data of the current study were normally distributed. Besides, histograms and Q-Q plots were also examined, and the results showed that the data set of the current study was perfectly normal. Descriptive statistics were examined for the scales and illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2. Means, standard deviations, minimum and maximum values of the measures

Variables	Min.	Max.	Mean	SD
ATS	25	125	72.85	21.34
IA	7	35	20.04	7.32
GI	15	50	33.84	7.69
IS	55	113	86.40	11.24
SC				
Quantitative	5	22	8.88	3.99
Qualitative	5	25	16.45	4.23

Note. ATS (Attitudes towards Syrians), Intergroup Anxiety (IA), Group Identification (GI), Intercultural Sensitivity (IS), Social Contact (SC).

The Results of Correlation Analysis between Variables

To examine the relationship between socio-demographic variables (age, income, prayerfulness level) and instrument variables, Spearman's correlation analysis were conducted. All results of the correlation analysis were presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Correlations among demographics and variables related to attitudes towards syrians

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Age	-								
2. Income	-0.146	-							
3. Level of Prayerfulness	0.193**	-0.237**	-						
4. Total ATS	-0.186*	0.076	-0.023	-					
5. Total IA	-0.127	-0.052	0.137*	0.672**	-				
6. Total GI	0.025	-0.096	0.290**	-0.148*	-0.080	-			
7. Total IS	-0.058	0.204**	-0.139*	0.405**	0.371**	-0.126	-		
8. SC Quantitative	0.073	-0.226**	0.250**	0.387**	0.501**	0.017	0.124	-	
9. SC Qualitative	0.094	-0.051	0.043	0.642**	0.637**	-0.084	0.501**	0.381**	-

ATS (Attitudes towards Syrians), Intergroup Anxiety (IA), Group Identification (GI), Intercultural Sensitivity (IS), Social Contact (SC)

** correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

3.2. Differences between Turkish Local Society in Communication Experince with Syrians

T tests were used to test the statistical significance of the difference between two means. An independent samples t-test was conducted to compare attitudes towards Syrians of local society who communicated with Syrians and who did not. The results were shown in Table 4. The results of independent samples t-test revealed that there was a statistically significant difference between groups regarding the attitudes towards Syrians [$t_{(205)} = 5.23$, $p < 0.001$, $d = 0.74$]. Positive attitudes towards Syrians were significantly higher in participants who have communicated with Syrians before (M = 78.77, SD = 18.86) compared to participants who did not communicate (M = 63.83, SD = 21.85). In a way that people who have communication experience with Syrians have more positive attitudes towards Syrians

compared to people who have no communication. Cohen's d was also used to calculate the effect size. Since Cohen's d value is found to be 0.74, it can be said that it is a large effect.

Three independent samples t-tests were conducted to compare attitudes towards Syrians, quantitative and qualitative social contact of participants in terms of the city they live as Ankara and Adana. The results were shown in Table 4.

Table 4. The results of ındependent sample t-tests for attitudes towards syrians and social contact according to province and communication experience

Variables		*Ankara*	*Adana*	*p*
Attitudes towards Syrians	*M(SD)*	71.03(23.18)	75.62(17.96)	0.13
Quantitative Social Contact	*M(SD)*	7.10(3.04)	11.60(3.73)	<0.001
Qualitative Social Contact	*M(SD)*	17.10(4.18)	16.03(4.24)	0.17
Communication Experience		*Yes*	*No*	
	M(SD)	78.77(18.86)	63.83(21.85)	<0.001

The results of independent samples t-test revealed that there was a statistically significant difference between participants living in Ankara and participants living in Adana regarding quantitative social contact [$t_{(205)} = -9.51$, $p < 0.001$, $d = -1.35$]. Quantitative social contact was significantly higher in participants who were living in Adana (M = 11.60, SD = 3.73) compared to participants who were living in Ankara (M = 7.10, SD = 3.04). That is, quantitative social contacts of people with Syrians living in Adana are higher than those living in Ankara. In other words people in Adana had more time to contact with Syrians than people living Ankara. When looking at the effect size, it can be said that the effect size of the difference between the Adana and Ankara in terms of quantitative social contact is large, since Cohen's d value is -1.35. However, there was no statistically significant differences between two groups regarding attitudes towards Syrians and qualitative social contact ($p > 0.05$).

3.3. Differences in Turkish Local Society in Attitudes towards Syrians in terms of Reason for Communication

One-way analysis of variance was conducted to examine the mean differences in attitudes towards Syrians of the participants in terms of reason for communication with refugees. Before conducting ANOVA, normality and homogeneity of variance assumptions were checked. For four groups of independent variables, skewness and kurtosis values were between -0.495 and +0.586, indicating that normality assumption was not violated, and each

level of independent variable is normally distributed (Field, 2013). When Q-Q plots and histograms were examined, it was observed that the data was normally distributed across four groups which were communicating because of work, friendship, neighborhood and other reasons. Levene's test of homogeneity of variance indicated that homogeneity of variance assumption of ANOVA was not violated for attitudes towards Syrians ($p > 0.05$).

The results of one-way analysis of variance showed that there was not a significant difference among four groups of communication reasons in terms of attitudes towards Syrians ($p > 0.05$). The results are shown in the Table 5.

Table 5. The results of ındependent sample t-test for attitudes towards syrians according to communication reasons

Communication reasons	Work	Friendship	Neighborhood	Other
N	65	25	11	24
M(SD)	79.89(17.69)	80.08(20.43)	67.36(20.41)	79.58(19.01)
p		0.22		

3.4. Differences in Turkish Local Society in their Attitudes towards Syrians and Intercultural Sensitivity in terms of Gender, Abroad Experience and Educational Level

To compare local society's attitudes towards Syrians and their intercultural sensitivity in terms of gender, abroad experience, and educational level, a one-way multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) conducted. Since there is more than one dependent variable, MANOVA analysis was used to measure the difference between groups. Before starting the analysis, it was tested whether the dataset met the assumptions of MANOVA analysis. Mahalonobis distances were examined to determine whether there were multivariate outliers in the dataset of the study, and it was determined that there were no multivariate outliers (Kline, 2011; Tabachnick, & Fidell, 2013). To examine the assumption of homogeneity of covariance matrices, Box's M test was conducted. The results of Box's M test regarding gender, been abroad and educational level indicated that the covariance matrices are equal because p values are larger than .05.

According to the results of the MANOVA analysis; gender was found to have a statistically significant effect on the attitudes towards Syrians and intercultural sensitivity [Wilks- $\lambda = 0.97$, $F(2,204) = 3.31$, $p = 0.04$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.03$]. The results were shown in Table 7. Results of univariate F tests revealed that there was a significant difference between male

and female participants in terms of intercultural sensitivity [F (1,206) = 4.82, $p < 0.05$]. As can be seen in Table 7, intercultural sensitivity of female participants (M = 88.21, SD = 11.39) were higher than male participants (M = 84.80, SD = 10.91). However, there was not a statistically significant difference between male and female participants regarding attitudes towards Syrians [F (1,206) = 0.10, $p > 0.05$].

According to the results of the analysis; abroad experience was found to have a statistically significant effect on attitudes towards Syrians and intercultural sensitivity [Wilks- $\lambda = 0.91$, $F(2,204) = 10.05$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.09$]. The results were shown in Table 6. Results of univariate F tests revealed that there was a significant difference between participants who have an abroad experience and who have not an abroad experience in terms of attitudes towards Syrians [F (1,206) = 11.90, $p <0.01$]. As can be seen in Table 6, attitudes towards Syrians of local society with an abroad experience (M = 77.72, SD = 21.77) were higher than the mean scores of local society without an abroad experience (M = 67.74, SD = 19.73). To clarify, local people's attitudes towards Syrians are more positive if they have an abroad experience. Similarly, F tests revealed that there was a significant difference between participants who have an abroad experience and who haven't in terms of intercultural sensitivity [F (1,206) = 15.55, $p <0.001$]. As can be seen in Table 6, intercultural sensitivity of participants with an abroad experience (M = 89.30, SD = 11.48) were higher than the mean scores of participants without an abroad experience (M = 83.35, SD = 11.24). That is, intercultural sensitivity of local people who have an abroad experience is higher than local people who have not abroad experience.

Table 6. MANOVA results for attitudes towards syrians and ıntercultural sensitivity according to abroad experience and gender

Abroad	Yes		No		*p*
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	
ATS	77.72	21.77	67.74	19.73	
IS	89.30	11.48	83.85	11.24	< 0.001
Gender	Female		Male		
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	
ATS	72.34	21.28	73.30	21.48	
IS	88.21	11.39	84.80	10.91	<0.05

ATS (Attitudes towards Syrians), IS (Intercultural Sensitivity

According to the results of the MANOVA analysis, educational level was found to have a statistically significant effect on the attitudes towards Syrians and intercultural sensitivity [Wilks- $\lambda = 0.93$, F (6,404) = 2.41, $p = 0.027$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.04$]. Results were shown in

Table 7. As can be seen in Table 8, the results showed that there was a significant difference among four groups of educational level in terms of intercultural sensitivity [F (3,203) = 2.68, p = 0.048, η_p^2 = 0.04]. To determine the difference among four groups of educational level in terms of intercultural sensitivity, Bonferroni test was used for making pairwise comparison between groups according to educational level and to determine statistically significant differences. Intercultural sensitivity of participants with a master or Ph.D. degree (M = 91.55, SD = 10.92) were significantly higher than scores of primary school graduates (M = 81.67, SD = 10.92). However, although difference among four groups of educational level in terms of attitudes towards Syrians was very close to statistical significance, it was not found significant (p = 0.05).

Table 7. MANOVA results for attitudes towards syrians and ıntercultural sensitivity in terms of education

Educational Level		Primary School[a]	High School[b]	University[c]	Master or PhD[d]
Total ATS	*N*	15	24	146	22
	M(SD)	69.73(22.43)	62.17(20.79)	74.35(20.95)	76.68(21.43)
	p		0.05		
	Difference		-		
Total IS	*M(SD)*	81.67(10.92)	84.67(13.41)	86.39(10.74)	91.55(10.92)
	p		0.04		
	Difference		a<d		

ATS (Attitudes towards Syrians), IS (Intercultural Sensitivity)

3.5. Predictor Variables of Attitudes towards Syrians in Turkey

To examine the predictor variables of attitudes towards Syrians, a hierarchical regression analysis was conducted. In hierarchic regression, independent variables are not entered into the regression simultaneously, they are entered in steps. Hierarchical regression analysis is used in case it is wanted to see if adding additional variables to the model will change R^2 significantly when calculating other variables in the model. In the first step of regression analysis of current study, age was entered. It was found that this model was not significant. In the second step of regression analysis, qualitative social contact was entered to the model. It was found that, this model was significant and accounted for 39% of attitudes towards Syrians (F (2,113) = 35.521, p < 0.001, R = 0.625, R^2 = 0.390). In the third step of regression analysis, intercultural sensitivity was entered to the model. It was found that, this model was significant and accounted for 42% of attitudes towards Syrians (F (3,113) = 26.740, p < 0.001, R = 0.649, R^2 = 0.422). In the fourth step of regression analysis, quantitative social contact was entered to the model. It was found that, this model was

significant and accounted for 42% of attitudes towards Syrians (F (4,113) = 19.985, p < 0.001, R = 0.650, R^2 = 0.423). In the fifth step of regression analysis, group identification were entered to the model. It was found that, this model was significant and accounted for 44% of attitudes towards Syrians (F (5,113) = 16.622, p < 0.001, R = 0.659, R^2 = 0.435). In the final step of regression analysis, intergroup anxiety were entered to the model. It was found that, this model was significant and accounted for 53% of attitudes towards Syrians (F (6,113) = 19.980, p < 0.001, R = 0.727, R^2 = 0.528). Hierarchic regression results were shown in Table 8.

To conclude, increase in positive attitudes towards Syrians was related to decrease in intergroup anxiety and increase in qualitative social contact, and intercultural sensitivity. However, age, quantitative social contact and group identification were not found to be significant predictors of attitudes towards Syrians (p > 0.05).

Table 8. Predictors of attitudes towards syrians

Model	Predictors	B	β	*t*	R^2	R^2 Change
1					0.002	0.002
	Age	0.068	0.619	0.418		
2					0.390	0.388
	Age	-0.033	0.354	-0.262		
	Qualitative Soc. Cont.	2.766	0.416	8.412**		
3					0.422	0.032
	Age	0.001	0.321	0.008		
	Qualitative Soc. Cont.	2.319	0.359	6.265**		
	Intercul. Sensitivity	0.330	0.157	2.447*		
4					0.423	0,001
	Age	-0.021	0.320	-0.161		
	Qualitative Soc. Cont.	2.260	0.357	5.807**		
	Intercul. Sensitivity	0.324	0.157	2.390*		
	Quantitative Soc. Cont.	0.215	0.006	0.511		
5					0.435	0,012
	Age	-0.049	0.319	-0.369		
	Qualitative Soc. Cont.	2.198	0.349	5.650**		
	Intercul. Sensitivity	0.304	0.155	2.244*		
	Quantitative Soc. Cont.	0.321	0.013	0.755		
	Group Identification	-0.278	-0.090	-1.501		
6					0.528	0,093
	Age	-0.038	-0.023	-0.313		
	Qualitative Soc. Cont.	1.198	0.271	2.865*		
	Intercul. Sensitivity	0.160	0.099	1.250		
	Quantitative Soc. Cont.	0.112	0.022	0.286		
	Group Identification	-0.293	-0.118	-1.726		
	Intergroup Anxiety	1.202	0.427	4.606*		

*p < 0.05, **p < 0.001

3.6. Mediation Analysis

Although there are two main approaches in the literature on the statistical testing of mediation effect, the causal steps approach of Baron and Kenny (1986) is a widely used and popular approach (Gürbüz, 2019: 51; Hayes, 2009; 410). However, recent studies have brought important criticisms to this method (Hayes, 2018; Fritz and Mackinnon, 2007). In the Baron and Kenny's method, three different hypotheses (hypotheses a, b and c pathways) must be supported to determine the presence of mediating effect. However, according to the researchers advocating the contemporary approach, the existence of mediation effect should be based on whether the indirect effect itself is significant instead of singular tests (Fritz and Mackinnon, 2007).

Another criticism of the traditional approach is that if the total effect of X on Y is not significant, the analysis is terminated, and the mediation effect rejected. Contemporary approach suggests that mediation effect may be meaningful even in cases where total effect is not significant and argues that total effect should not be a prerequisite for indirect effect (Cerin, & Mackinnon, 2009; Hayes, 2009).

The third criticism is related to the Sobel test. The Sobel test is claimed to be a rigid and not totally reliable test (Mackinnon, Lockwood and Williams, 2004). Therefore, it is suggested that bootstrap confidence interval results will give more realistic results instead of this test in the mediation model (Hayes, 2018; Preacher and Hayes, 2008).

Finally, according to the contemporary approach, the terms partial mediation and full mediation are not suitable for describing mediation models. Instead of qualitative descriptions such as mediation or no mediation, it is more appropriate to report the findings of the model numerically by calculating the direct effect, indirect effect, and total effect values (Fritz and Mackinnon, 2007; Hayes, 2018; Preacher and Hayes, 2004).

In this section, the Bootstrap method, which gives more valid results in determining indirect effects compared to traditional methods and is more effective against Type I errors (Gürbüz, 2019; Hayes, 2018; Zhao, Lynch and Chen, 2010) used. The analysis was conducted with the help of process macro extension developed by Hayes (2018). In the analysis, 5000 resampling option with bootstrap method was preferred.

3.6.1. The Mediator Role of Intergroup Anxiety on the Relationship between Intercultural Sensitivity and Attitudes towards Syrians

In order to test whether intergroup anxiety has a mediating role in the effect of intercultural sensitivity on the attitudes towards Syrian migrants, mediation analysis was performed with bootstrap method. The model was visualized in figure 1 and the analysis' results were presented in Table 9.

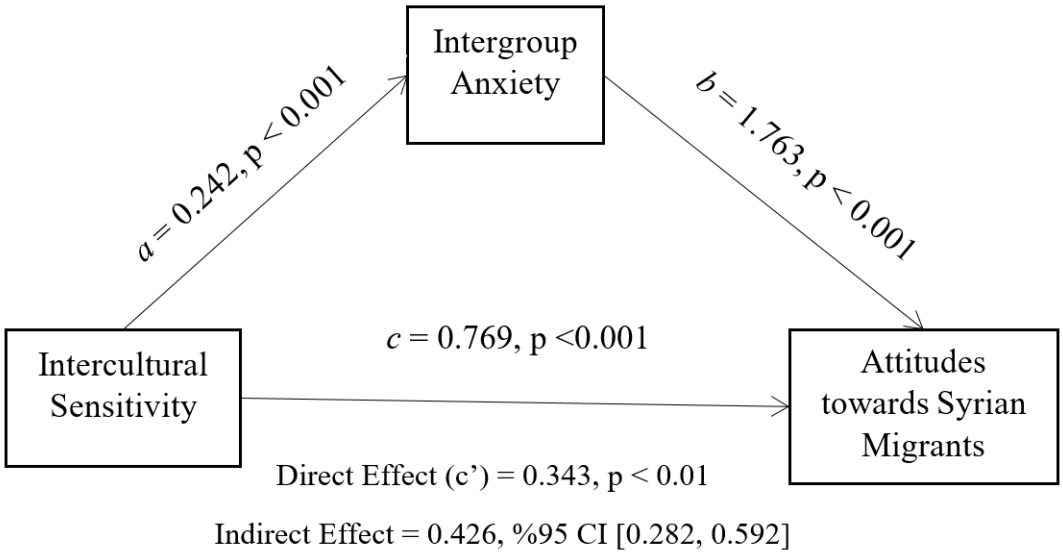


Figure 1. The mediator role of intergroup anxiety on the relationship between intercultural sensitivity and positive attitudes towards syrians (N = 207)

The results of the analysis revealed that the effect of intercultural sensitivity on the intergroup anxiety was statistically significant (b = 0.242, %95 CI [0.158, 0.325], t = 5.714, p < 0.001). Low intergroup anxiety has a significant positive effect on attitudes towards Syrian migrants (b = 1.763, %95 CI [1.451, 2.076], t = 11.123, p < 0.001). That is, people with low intergroup anxiety have more positive attitudes towards Syrian. The total effect of intercultural sensitivity on attitudes towards Syrian migrants was significant (b = 0.769, %95 CI [0.529, 1.008], t = 6.337, p < 0.001). The direct effect of intercultural sensitivity on the attitudes towards Syrian migrants was significant when intergroup anxiety and intercultural sensitivity were included in the model simultaneously (b = 0.343, %95 CI [0.139, 0.546], t = 3.318, p < 0.01).

The indirect effect of intercultural sensitivity on the attitudes towards Syrian migrants was determined according to the confidence intervals obtained with the Bootstrap

method. Accordingly, it was found that the indirect effect of intercultural sensitivity on attitudes towards Syrian migrants was significant, thus intergroup anxiety mediated the relationship between intercultural sensitivity and attitudes towards Syrian migrants (*b* = 0.426, %95 BCA CI [0.282, 0.592]). To clarify, when intercultural sensitivity level increases, intergroup anxiety decreases and when intergroup anxiety decreases, positive attitudes towards Syrian migrants increase. When the mediating effect of the model was examined, the completely standardized indirect effect size was found to be K^2 = 0.22. Generally it is suggested that the effect size that is close to K^2 = 0.01, is interpreted as low effect, one that is close to K^2 = 0.09 is interpreted as moderate effect and one that is close to K^2 = close to 0.25 is interpreted as high effect (Preacher & Kelly, 2011). Accordingly, it can be said that the mediation effect of the model is high.

3.6.2. The Mediator Role of Intergroup Anxiety on the Relationship between Qualitative aspects of contact and Attitudes towards Syrians

In order to test whether intergroup anxiety is mediating the effect of Qualitative aspects of contact on the attitudes towards Syrian migrants, mediation analysis was performed by bootstrap method. Qualitative contact is a term that refers to closer relationships such as friendship and neighborhood relations in the contact of local people with Syrians. The model was visualized in figure 2 and the analysis results were presented in Table 9.

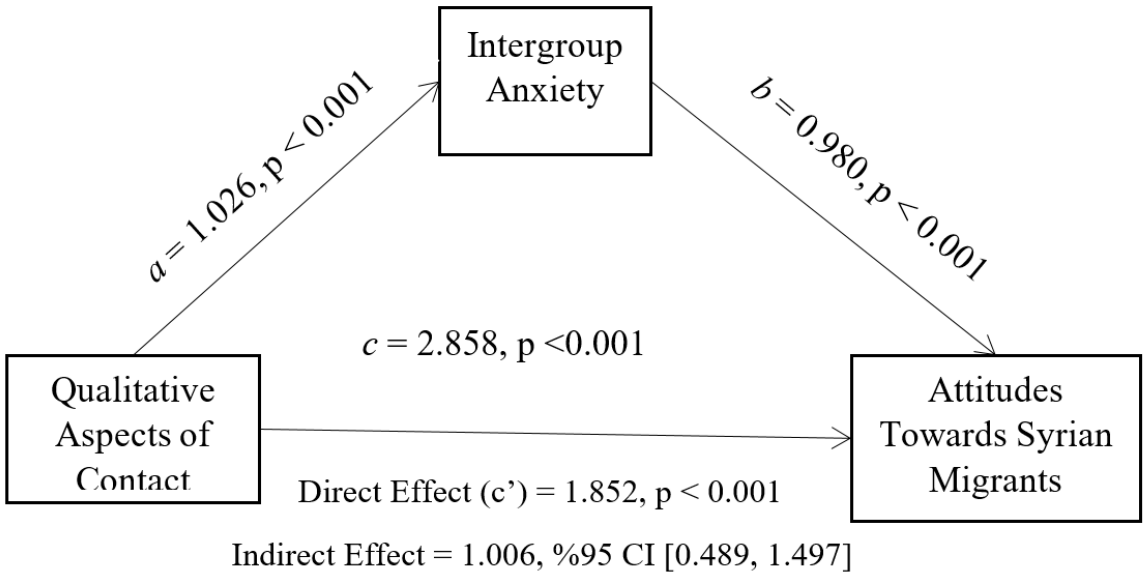


Figure 2. The mediator role of intergroup anxiety on the relationship between qualitative aspects of contact and positive attitudes towards syrians (N = 125)

The results of the analysis revealed that the effect of qualitative aspects of contact on the intergroup anxiety was statistically significant (*b* = 1.026, %95 CI [0.805, 1.247], *t* = 9.174, *p* < 0.001). Low intergroup anxiety has a significant positive effect on positive attitudes towards Syrians (*b* = 0.980, %95 CI [0.519, 1.442], *t* = 4.206, *p* < 0.001). The total effect of the qualitative aspects of contact on the attitudes towards Syrian migrants was found to be significant (*b* = 2.858, %95 CI [2.248, 3.468], *t* = 9.279, *p* < 0.001). The direct effect of the qualitative aspects of contact on the attitudes towards Syrian migrants was found to be significant when the intergroup anxiety as the mediator variable and the quality of the contact were simultaneously included in the model (*b* = 1.852, %95 CI [1.110, 2.595], *t* = 4.939, *p* < 0.001). The indirect effect of the qualitative aspects of contact on the attitudes towards the Syrian migrants was determined according to the confidence intervals obtained with the Bootstrap method. Accordingly, it was found that the indirect effect of the qualitative aspects of contact on the attitudes towards Syrian migrants was significant, and thus, the intergroup anxiety was mediated the relationship between the qualitative aspects of contact and the attitudes towards Syrian migrants (*b* = 1.006, %95 BCA CI [0.489, 1.497]). That is, when qualitative social contact between Syrian migrants and local people increases, intergroup anxiety decreases and when intergroup anxiety decreases, positive attitudes towards migrants increase. The completely standardized indirect effect size was found to be K^2 = 0.23. Accordingly, it can be said that the mediation effect of the model is high.

3.6.3. The Mediator Role of Intergroup Anxiety on the Relationship between Quantitative Aspects of Contact and Positive Attitudes towards Syrians

In order to test whether intergroup anxiety is mediating the effect of quantitative aspects of contact on the attitudes towards Syrian migrants, mediation analysis was performed by bootstrap method. Quantitative contact is a term that refers to the more superficial closeness of local people with Syrians. The model was visualized in figure 3 and the analysis' results were presented in Table 9.

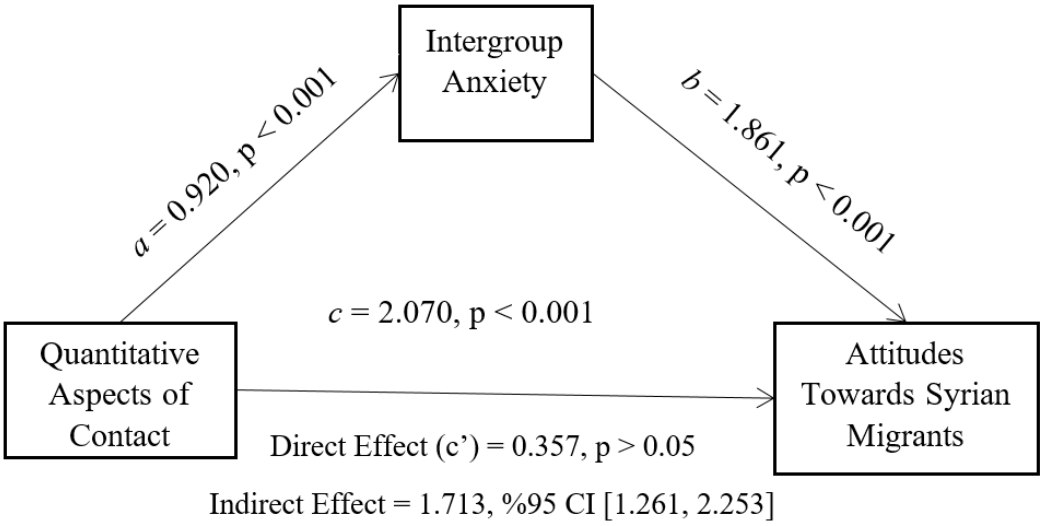


Figure 3. The mediator role of intergroup anxiety on the relationship between quantitative aspects of contact and positive attitudes towards syrians (N = 207)

The results of the analysis revealed that the effect of the quantitative aspects of contact on the intergroup anxiety was statistically significant (b = 0.920, %95 CI [0.702, 1.139], t = 8.294, p < 0.001). Low intergroup anxiety has a significant positive effect on attitudes towards Syrian migrants (b = 1.861, %95 CI [0.519, 1.442], t = 10.685, p < 0.001). The total effect of quantitative aspects of contact on the attitudes towards Syrian migrants was significant (b = 2.070, %95 CI [1.390, 2.749], t = 6.005, p < 0.001). The direct effect of the quantitative aspects of contact on the attitudes towards Syrian migrants was not significant when the quantitative aspects of contact and intergroup anxiety as a mediating variable were simultaneously included in the model (b = 0.357, %95 CI [-0.273, 0.988], t = 1.117, p > 0.05). The indirect effect of the quantitative aspects of contact on the attitudes towards the Syrian migrants was determined according to the confidence intervals obtained with the Bootstrap method. Accordingly, it was found that the indirect effect of the

quantitative aspects of contact on the attitudes towards Syrian migrants was significant, and thus intergroup anxiety was mediated the relationship between the quantitative aspects of contact and the attitudes towards Syrian migrants (*b* = 1.712, %95 BCA CI [1.261, 2.253]). When quantitative social contact between Syrian migrants and local people increases, intergroup anxiety decreases and when intergroup anxiety decreases, positive attitudes towards migrants increase. The completely standardized indirect effect size was found to be K^2 = 0.32. Accordingly, it can be said that the mediation effect of the model is high.

Table 9. Regression coefficients, standard errors and model summary information for mediator models

Independent Variables (IVs)	Effect of IV on M (a)		Effect of M on DV (b)		Direct Effect (*c'*)		Indirect Effect (*axb*)		95%CI
Intercultural Sensitivity	*B*	*SE(B)*	*B*	*SE(B)*	*B*	*SE(B)*	*B*	*SE(B)*	[*0.282,0.592*]
	0.242***	0.042	1.763***	0.159	0.343	0.103	0.426	0.079	
Qualitative aspect of contact	1.026***	0.112	0.980***	0.233	1.852***	0.375	1.006	0.256	[*0.489, 1.497*]
Quantitative aspect of contact	0.920***	0.111	1.861***	0.174	0.357	0.320	1.713	0.251	[1.261, 2.253]

Note. Unstandardized beta coefficients (*b*) were used. Mediator is Intergroup Anxiety and dependent variable is Attitudes Towards Syrian Migrants. M, Mediator; IV, Independent variable; DV, Dependent variable.

***p < .001

4. DISCUSSION

The aim of the current study was to investigate local society's attitudes towards Syrians and intercultural sensitivity in terms of various demographic and psychological variables. For this purpose, data were collected from the adult host community members living in Ankara and Adana provinces and the data were analyzed by t test, ANOVA, MANOVA, regression and mediation tests.

A hierarchical regression analysis was conducted to evaluate whether the variable added to the model made a meaningful contribution while determining the attitude of the local participants towards Syrians. In the first model, the age variable was entered, and age has not a significant contribution in predicting attitudes towards Syrians. In the correlation analysis, although there is a negative correlation between age and positive attitude towards Syrians, the age of individuals is not strong enough to predict attitude towards Syrians. In some studies, as the ages of host community members increase, a negative picture emerges in the attitudes towards immigrants (Bentsen, 2017; Bloom, 2011). Although the age of the participants varied from 19 to 74 in the current sample, the number of participants at the age of 20 was high. There were only 6 people over the age of 65. For this reason, as age diversity is not provided much, the age variable may not have predicted the attitude towards Syrians, as age diversity is not provided much.

In the second model, qualitative social contact was added to the model and it was seen that qualitative social contact positively predicted the attitude towards Syrians. In other words, the increase in the qualitative social contact of local community members with Syrians positively predicted positive attitudes towards Syrians. According to the Intergroup Contact Theory, as the individuals gain more accurate information about people from different groups through education or real contact (such as friendship, neighborhood relationship), their hostility towards these groups will decrease (Allport 1954; Pettigrew 1971; Fetzer 2000). For example; according to the findings of a meta-analysis study with 713 samples taken from 515 studies, intergroup contact has been found to reduce bias in 94% of the samples (Pettigrew, & Tropp, 2006). Another study showed that white housewives who are neighbors with black people have more positive attitudes towards blacks than white housewives who do not have black neighbors (Deutsch, & Collins, 1951 cited in Pettigrew, 1998). Based on current study's result that supports the literature, in order to positively affect local community's attitudes towards Syrians, the local community

members and Syrians should be brought together in platforms where they can establish positive and emphatic relations, and suitable environments should be created by the authorities for close relations.

In the third model, intercultural sensitivity was added to the analysis and this variable positively predicted the attitude towards Syrians. In other words, the increase in people's intercultural sensitivity levels positively predicted the positive attitude towards Syrians. Intercultural sensitivity means not accepting one's own values, beliefs, and behaviors as the only possible truth, and it the desire to see what their perspective looks like to a stranger with a different culture. It can be named as a set of values, beliefs and behaviors (Byram, Nichols, & Stevens, 2001). Based on this definition, it is an expected result that the intercultural sensitivity of the local community positively predicts attitudes towards Syrians who have a different culture. As far as we know, there is no study in the literature that directly investigates the role of intercultural sensitivity in attitudes towards Syrians. This is a valuable finding as it contributes to the literature.

In the fourth model, quantitative social contact was added to the model and it was seen that quantitative contact did not predict positive attitudes towards Syrians. The first assumption in the social contact hypothesis is that having limited information about people from the other group leads people to prejudice, and if people from different groups get to know each other and obtain information, prejudice will decrease (Allport, 1954). However, Pettigrew (1998) mentions that Allport's social contact hypothesis has three problems. These are confusion caused by the differentiation of conditions over time, uncertainty regarding the social contact process and the generalization effect not being clarified. Considering the confusion in the circumstances, it comes to the forefront that the people who contact with each other should speak the same language, contact voluntarily, and have appropriate economic conditions (Wagner, & Machleit 1986). At this point, it is very important to contact voluntarily to evaluate our current study. In the current thesis study, people who are in contact only quantitatively do not contact with Syrians with their own decision (not voluntarily), but work-based contacts. In other words, friendship and neighborhood relationships that require closer contacts are rarely seen. In this context, it is an expected result that quantitative social contact does not positively predict attitude towards Syrians.

In the fifth model, group identification was added to the model, and it was seen that group identification did not predict attitudes towards Syrians. Although there was a negative

relationship between in-group identification and positive attitudes towards Syrians similar to literature (Hjern, 1998), in-gruop identification did not predict attitudes towards Syrians. There can be two different extremes when it comes to group identification. In other words, too high and too low identification with the one's own group may negatively predict attitudes towards Syrians. The reason why ingroup identification does not predict attitudes towards Syrians in the present study may be individuals at these two different extremes. For example, in a study measuring the attitudes of American society towards Rwandan immigrants, Americans' levels of in-group identification were measured and individuals were classified as those with low in-group identification and those with high in-group identification. Then, the attitudes of all groups towards Rwandan immigrants were measured. It was observed that the attitude was most negative in those Americans with both low and high in-group identification (Stephan et al., 2005). To sum up, the reason why the attitudes towards Syrians were not determined by group identification may be due to these two different extreme groups, namely those who identify very much and those who do not identify at all.

Lastly, intergroup anxiety was added to the model, and as a result of the analysis, it was seen that intergroup anxiety negatively predicted the positive attitude towards Syrians. That is, the decrease in intergroup anxiety predicts the increase in positive attitude towards Syrians. In addition, intercultural sensitivity, which was significant in the first five models, was not significant when intergroup anxiety was added to the model. Similar results have been found in the literature, as well. For example, in a study, anxiety positively predicted social distance and negative feelings towards Syrians (Yanbolluoğlu, 2018). Evaluating the results of this study, the anxieties of the local community towards Syrians should be addressed in future studies and social policies should be planned considering intergroup anxiety. One of the ways to reduce anxiety is to provide correct information for the local communities. Intervention programs play a major role in decreasing threat perception and anxiety towards other groups arising from lack of information. For this reason, it is necessary to give importance to intergroup anxiety issue in intervention programs.

According to mediation analysis results, it was found that intergroup anxiety mediated the relationship between quantitative and qualitative social contact and attitudes towards Syrians. Specifically, higher qualitative and quantitative social contact with Syrians was related to positive attitudes towards Syrians and this relationship was mediated by lower levels of intergroup anxiety. The fact that intergroup anxiety mediates intergroup contact and attitudes towards different groups supports the literature (Hutchison, & Harriet, 2011;

Turner, Hewstone, & Woci, 2007; Voci, & Hewstone, 2003). In a study with non-Muslim students, high-quality contact with Muslims positively predicted attitudes towards outgroups, and this relationship was mediated by intergroup anxiety (Hutchison, & Harriet, 2011). In the Integrated Threat Theory put forward by Stephan and Stephan (2000), it is argued that intergroup contact has a role in reducing outgroup bias and this relatonship is achieved through the reduction of feelings of threat and anxiety. In addition, in the study conducted by Yanbolluoğlu, the role of intergroup anxiety in the relationship between contact and attitudes towards Syrians was examined. It was found that as positive contact increased between groups, the anxiety felt decreased, and thus positive feelings towards Syrian refugees increased and social distance decreased (2018). Many other studies have also shown that intergroup feelings like intergroup anxiety are strong mediators in changing negative attitudes between competing groups, especially if there is social contact between different group members (Miller, Smith, & Mackie, 2004).

Another mediation analysis results showed that intergroup anxiety mediated the relationship between intercultural sensitivity and attitudes towards Syrians. Specifically, higher intercultural communication was related to positive attitudes towards Syrians and this relationship was mediated by lower levels of intergroup anxiety. Turkey has both positive and negative experiences of different ethnic, cultural, political and social groups in terms of intergroup processes throughout the history. Therefore, investigating positive and negative attitudes and intercultural communication trends towards these specific minority groups is important to regulate intergroup relations (Bağcı, & Çelebi, 2017). It is an expected result that local community members with higher intercultural communication will feel lower levels of intergroup anxiety towards Syrians and this will increase their positive attitudes towards Syrians. However, any study examining this relationship directly with mediation analysis has been found in the literature. In this sense, this study contributes to the literature and it is obvious that intercultural sensitivity skills will contribute deeply in reducing intergroup anxiety and increasing positive attitudes towards migrants. Although there is a hypothesis about mediating effect of intergroup anxiety between group identification and attitudes towards Syrians, a mediation analysis was not conducted, because; in regression analysis, group identification did not predict attitudes towards Syrians.

When the results of demographic information were evaluated, it was observed that there was no significant difference in attitudes towards Syrians between women and men, Different results can be seen in the literature regarding the attitudes of women and men

towards Syrians. While some studies state that women are more positive in attitudes towards Syrians (Ankaralı et al., 2017; Topal, Özel, & Dokuzlu, 2017), some studies did not find a significant difference (Çimen & Quadir, 2019; Kaya, 2019; Şen, & Şimşek, 2019). In the present study, it is thought that one of the reasons for the lack of difference between men and women is due to the characteristics of the sample. Since the current sample consists of individuals with a high level of education, it can be expected that there will be no difference in attitudes towards Syrians between men and women. Because it is known that as the level of education increases, commitment to gender roles decreases (Savaş, 2018). Educated individuals are more likely to have a gender equality perspective than individuals with lower education levels. For this reason, studies in which the negative attitudes of men towards Syrians are high can be explained by gender roles. One of the main reasons for the negative attitude of men from the local community towards Syrians may be the idea that Syrians do not defend their country. Men from local society can have the idea that that those Syrian men should stay in their country as men and protect their homeland. In a study, it is emphasized by the local society that the Turkish people do not escape the war in any condition, do not leave their country at the cost of their lives and do not afraid of fighting like Syrians (Yazıcı, 2016).

In addition, women were found to be higher than men in intercultural sensitivity. While some studies support this result (Öğüt, & Olkun, 2018; Senem, & Arıkan, 2018), some studies did not find a difference between women and men in intercultural sensitivity (Güner, & Levent, 2018; Abaslı, & Polat; 2019). In a study conducted by Öğüt and Olkun (2018), it has been observed that female university students are higher than male university students in respect to cultural differences and enjoyment of interaction with the member of different cultures. In another study conducted by Senem and Arıkan (2018) with university students, it was found that female students' views on social differences were more open and tolerant than male students, as well.

Another variable of the study is the role of province in which local people live in the attitudes towards Syrians. According to the results of the current study, there was no significant difference in attitudes towards Syrians between people living in Adana and Ankara. However, it was seen that people living in Adana had a higher frequency of contact (quantitative social contact) with Syrians than people living in Ankara. There was no difference in the quality of contact (qualitative social contact) between the two provinces. Previous experience of contact with Syrians, on the other hand, positively affected the

attitude towards Syrians in both provinces. Based on all this information; it can be said that the local community's only superficial contact with Syrians because of high frequency of encounters with Syrians in Adana does not affect their attitudes positively. For example, local community members in Adana had much more contact with Syrians than in Ankara, but these contacts are considered to be of a necessity (work related issues) and superficial nature. There is no difference between the two provinces in terms of close relationships such as friendship and neighborhood, which show the quality of social contact. According to Allport's theory of intergroup contact, as the contact of individuals from different groups increases, prejudices will decrease and attitudes will move towards positive. However, Allport's Realist Conflict Theory states that not only social contact with other groups is enough to reduce these prejudices, but also dealing with together for a common purpose leads to the desired result (Aronson, Wilson, & Akert, 2012). The current study also showed that just contact with Syrians is not enough for positive attitudes. From this research, it can be concluded that the nature of contact, that is, contacts that can lead close relationships, are important in developing a positive attitude. The duration of contact should be frequent, long and close enough to allow friendship to develop. In another study, it was shown that individuals who were able to develop close relationships with Syrians, such as neighborhoods, talk positively about Syrians and even sympathize with them. They mention that these friendships create opportunities for cooperation and solidarity by making Syrians better understood by Turkish citizens (Bakioğlu, Artar, & İzmir, 2018). In the study conducted by Eşigül et al. (2017), it points out the importance of interacting with Syrians in shaping the perception of local people about Syrians. They state that the participants who are in interaction are more successful in empathizing, in critically evaluating the news and information about Syrians, and they are more positive about living together. In addition to these, it was determined in the study that having an immigrant acquaintance or having a dialogue with an immigrant positively affected attitudes towards immigrants (Ankaralı et al., 2017).

Another variable of the study is the role of abroad experience on attitudes towards Syrians and intercultural sensitivity. According to the results of the study; people with abroad experience have more positive attitudes towards Syrians and have higher levels of intercultural sensitivity. This result is also compatible with the literature. In a study, participants who were abroad have a higher level of respect for cultural differences compared to participants who have never had abroad experience (Öğüt, 2017).

Another variable of the study is whether local communities' attitudes towards Syrians and intercultural sensitivity vary according to their education level. Education level did not differ significantly in attitudes towards Syrians. The reason for this may be that the sample consists of mostly university graduates and the individuals with primary and high school graduates are relatively low. In a study, individuals with less than high school education have more social distance with Syrians than those who have university and postgraduate education (Kuru, 2020). In above mentioned study, attitudes towards Syrians in the Istanbul sample were examined and people living in İstanbul were divided into three groups according to their education level. It has been observed that the tendency for social distance is higher among those who have less than high school education level or who have never attended school. On the other hand, there is almost no difference between high school and university graduates. To sum up, groups with lower education levels have stronger anti-immigrant attitudes and social distance (Crawley, 2009; Jenssen, & Engesbak, 1994). However, in the present PhD study, this result was not observed due to the characteristics of the sample. In another thesis study, no difference was found in positive attitudes towards Syrians according to education level (Ayvaz, 2019).

In the present study, a significant difference was found between primary school graduates and postgraduates in intercultural sensitivity. As expected, the intercultural sensitivity level of postgraduates was higher than primary school graduates. Similarly, in another thesis study, it was determined that the level of intercultural sensitivity significantly differentiates according to the educational status of the individuals (Öğüt, 2017). According to this, it was observed that university graduates have higher levels of respect for cultural differences and enjoyment of intercultural interactions than primary school graduates.

Although it was initially thought that the high religiosity level of the local community would predict their attitudes positively towards Syrians; it was decided not to add this variable to the regression since religiosity level did not correlate with attitudes towards Syrians in the correlation analysis. It is not an expected result about the relationship between religiosity and attitudes towards Syrians in Turkey. Although sharing the same religious belief with Syrians does not carry the risk of a new confrontation on the axis of religion (Uygur, 2018), sharing the same religion or being a person with a high level of religiousness are not sufficient for positive attitudes towards Syrians. In other words, the emphasis on religious brotherhood with Syrians or ensar-immigrant discourse which are frequently used by the politicians, does not work well and local community members with a high level of

religiousness do not have positive attitudes towards Syrians. Therefore, it would be useful to know that other dynamics like intergroup anxiety are related to positive attitudes towards Syrians rather than religion.

To conclude, with this research, the importance of the host community's attitude is once again understood for the immigrants to exist and adapt to the new society. For this reason, it is important for the local community to be informed and aware of cultural diversity, intercultural communication and empathy in order to focus on the positive aspects of migration rather than its negative aspects. Taking advantage of this quantitative research results, a 4-week intervention program was developed in order to positively change the attitudes of the local community towards Syrians. In the second part of the study, this program was explained in detail and the intervention results were shared.

INTERVENTION PROGRAM FOR LIVING TOGETHER: EMPATHY AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION TRAINING FOR TURKISH LOCAL SOCIETY TO INCREASE THEIR POSITIVE ATTITUDES TOWARD MIGRANTS

4.1. Randomized Controlled Trial of Online Empathy Focused Intercultural Communication Program for Turkish Local Society to Increase Their Positive Attitudes Towards Migrants

After the Syrian civil war that started in 2011, millions of people had to migrate both within and out of the country. The conflict in Syria has resulted in the internal displacement of more than six million people and the long-term mass displacement of more than five million people abroad (IOM, 2020). Turkey is one of the countries hosting the largest Syrian refugee population in the world. Approximately 3.6 million Syrian refugees live in Turkey and the government of the Republic of Turkey has granted temporary protection status to Syrians. Hosting such a large number of refugees brings about some important social problems, especially in establishing harmonious relationships between the local community and refugees.

Social tensions between the local community and Syrians occasionally increase. Sharing of the limited resources, prejudices and the perception about huge cultural differences damage the relations between the two communities (Navruz, & Çukurçayır, 2015; Göker, & Keskin, 2015; Bakioğlu, Artar, & İzmir, 2018; Ekici, 2019). Although the Syrians feel close to the Turkish community, it is not the same case for the Turkish local community. According to the results of the comprehensive research conducted by Erdoğan (2020); while Syrians think that they are 57.1% similar or very similar to Turkish people in terms of culture, the rate of those who think they do not similar Turkish people at all is only 3.6%. (Erdoğan, 2020). In addition, it has been shown in this study that Syrians feel their social distance is really low towards Turkish society and they are eager to establish close social relations. However, from the Turkish local community point of view, the scenario is far from similar. Although there is no serious tension between the local community and Syrians, the rate of those who agree with the idea that the local community can live together with Syrians in peace is only 11.4%. When the harmonization (integration) issue of Syrians is asked to Turkish society, 64.4% think that Syrians can integrate into the society very little or not at all (Erdoğan, 2020). This picture indicates that research and intervention programs

should focus on the local community from now on. Social, cultural and emotional dynamics of Turkish host community and their sensitivities should be understood properly in order to create a harmonized and peaceful society.

Despite the attempts to manage migration, anti-immigrant threat and prejudice remains a major concern at the individual and societal levels. One of the explanatory factors for widespread anti-immigrant attitudes is threat perception (Croucher, 2017) Host community members worry about the economic burden of immigrants and the potential danger that they represent towards dominant host culture and the society. Overall, research shows that other cultures are threats to one's own culture and this threat perception leads to prejudice and discrimination (Croucher, 2017). Analyzing the perception of Turkish citizens towards Syrian refugees, Karaoğlu (2015) states that social distance towards those group is predicted by the general threat. The study states that negative feelings towards the out-groups are predicted by the general threat and cultural difference. Integrated threat theory constitutes the base of the current intervention program, as well.

It has been essential to develop and implement some intervention programs in order to reduce the negative attitudes, intergroup anxiety and prejudices of the local community towards refugees, especially towards Syrians, and to strengthen them in the context of intercultural communication. When the international literature is examined, it is seen that school-based curriculum programs are applied mostly for students in the context of multicultural life, breaking prejudices against refugees and preventing racism (Mansfield & Kehoe, 1994). In particular, anti-racist intervention programs have been more beneficial and effective for children and young people than implementing a multicultural curriculum in reducing intergroup prejudices, as they include in-group discussions, activities such as role playing, and allow them to rethink existing thoughts and attitudes (Aboud & Levy, 2000; Dei, 1996; McGregor, 1993; Spencer, 1998). In the light of this study, a program similar to the content of anti-racist programs has been prepared and implemented for young adults. The programs especially aimed to form a mindset that enable participants to understand the characteristics of different cultures with the help of empathy-based role playing and activities that can help review existing prejudices and discriminative behaviors.

When the literature is examined, it is seen that many promising classroom programs have been developed especially for refugee children in recent years (Ingleby & Watters, 2002; Rousseau et al., 2014; Sullivan & Simonson, 2016). In a school-based prevention

program, the socialization processes of refugee children in the host country with their peers and adults were examined in both primary and high schools. Teachers were informed about the developmental characteristics of refugee children and possible adaptation problems they may experience. In addition to providing education for teachers with multimedia-supported materials for all levels of development, education was provided to support refugee children in establishing a social bond at school (Ingleby & Watters, 2002). All of these can be considered as inspiring developments. However, considering the adaptation of the refugees in the Turkish sample, it would be much more beneficial to conduct studies, mostly for children, young people and adults who are the members of the local community. Because it can be accepted that the main problems in Turkey are increasing prejudice against Syrian refugees and social distance and exaggerating cultural differences. The consequences of not raising awareness among the local people and increasing their belief to live together with people from different cultures through various intervention programs, may be devastating Thus, the subject of the current intervention program consists of adult local community members.

The Aim of the Study

The aim of the present study is to change the attitudes of Turkish local society members in a positive way towards all migrant groups, especially Syrian groups with the help of the intervention program. Individuals participating in this program understand what culture is and learns the features of culture and gain awareness regarding cultural differences. They also comprehend the importance of empathy in intercultural communication with the help of role -playing, gaining deep knowledge of ethnocentrism, prejudice, discrimination and learning about types of discrimination.

When societies from different ethnic backgrounds are more integrated and the channels of dialogue, cooperation and interaction are open, some groups' conscious efforts to promote hate and highlight differences will not be successful. Programs developed for local communities to increase social cohesion also strengthen the resilience of states and societies, so societies can adapt to the challenges of the 21st century such as forced migration. While there were many studies aiming to increase the social adaptation of Syrians to Turkish local community, as we know there has not been any intervention program for Turkish local society to increase their social acceptance of Syrians. For this purpose, the current intervention program has been developed and the following hypothesis have been

formed: There will be a difference between the attitudes of people participating in the empathy and intercultural communication training program for the local community aimed at increasing the social acceptance of migrants and those who do not participate in this program (control group). The positive attitudes of the local people participating in the training program are expected to be higher than the control group.

4.2. Method of Intervention Program

4.2.1. Research Pattern

The quantitative research method was used in this study. When the research is analysed in terms of revealing the effects of independent variables (participation in the intervention program aimed at increasing social acceptance towards migrants or being in the control group) on dependent variables (attitude towards Syrians); it is an experimental model. This model was carried out by using a quasi-experimental design with pre-test and post-test comparison groups. The pre-test, post-test comparison group design is taking measurement from the participants before and after the experimental study regarding the dependent variable (Karasar, 1999). In this model, participants are divided into two groups as experimental and control groups. While a four-week online training program was applied to the experimental group, the control group was included as waiting list group and did not receive any training.

4.2.2. Measures

A demographic form, A Scale for Attitudes towards Syrians Living in Turkey, expectation from the program, sentence completion activity on attitudes towards Syrians and related empathy can be considered as the data collection forms.

A Demographic Form

A demographic form that consists of questions such as gender, age, education level, the place of birth as village, township and province, abroad experience and the communication experience with Syrian refugees were asked to participants to fill out.

A Scale for Attitudes towards Syrians Living in Turkey

This scale was developed to assess the attitudes of Turkish local people towards Syrians (Çalışkan-Sarı, & Yalçınkaya-Alkar, 2018). Scale consists of 25 items and it is Likert type. According to the factor analysis conducted with the data of this study, three factor structure explained 53 % of the variation. These three subscales are called as attitudes about marriage relationships with Syrians, attitudes about crime relations of Syrians and general attitudes towards Syrians about daily issues, respectively. Cronbach alpha reliability score is calculated as .73. As the scores taken from scale increase, it means that people's attitudes towards Syrian migrants are more positive. Cronbach alpha reliability was found as .97 for the current thesis study.

Short Answer Form Related to Expectations from Training Program

Before starting the training program, the participants in the intervention program were asked questions that they could give an open-ended answer about what they expect from the program and what they hope to learn. Below is a summary of the opinions answered by a total of 16 participants regarding the expectations from the training program:

- Confronting differences with common sense and breaking people's prejudices against different cultures and identities
- There is a lot of negative criticism against immigrants, especially against Syrians. Getting informed to approach these criticisms with more effective answers.
- To better understand the immigrants living in our country and to understand what kind of difficulties they have and what they think
- Assessing individually whether I have any prejudices against migrants
- I have evaluated Syrian immigrants' issue from a narrower perspective, I guess I cannot digest the privileges given to them and I wish I have a more moderate perspective at the end of these meetings.
- Strengthen the communication skills with people from other cultures by increasing the ability to use empathy skills
- In the intercultural communication training program, I hope to respect beliefs and thoughts in different cultures and to become able to empathize with these individuals. When

I complete my medical school education, as a physician, I will encounter patients in various cultures, I hope it will be useful to me in this regard and I will be a more open minded person in approaching patients.

- Even if we do not notice it, we can have prejudices against people who are forced to migrate. Frankly, I wanted to develop and educate myself on this subject. And I think that our society in general treats immigrants from the west and immigrants from the east differently, maybe we can talk about this.

- Aiming to verify the accuracy of the information I have acquired about immigrants and their lives, to correct what I know wrong, or to learn about issues I do not know at all.

- I am interested in psychology of migration and at the end of this training I would like to gain knowledge in the field of migration thanks to you. Since I want to do studies on migration after graduation, my expectation is to improve myself in this area.

- I usually try not to dismiss people who come from different cultures or have different lives and I think it is a sensitive issue, but of course there are things that seem strange to us. I think this training program will further develop us as a group. There are many people from different cities in our group as well, and we interact, listen to each other, share different examples. My expectation is to break our prejudices against people who are different and to get information about people from different cultures. People cannot understand and like what they do not know, so I think we will gain more awareness with the information we receive.

Sentence Completion Activity Form

The participants in the experimental group completed the following sentences prepared by the researcher in the form of short answers according to their opinions at the end of the intervention program.

1. My views about Syrians since I attended the education program…..

2. I can empathize with Syrians…..

3. People belonging to different cultures…..

4. If I meet a Syrian person in my life from now on…..

5. My prejudice against different ethnic groups…..

6. If I see a Syrian in need of help …..

7. If I had to leave my country suddenly during a conflict in my country, I would feel …..

8. What advice would you give to people who have not received this training (eg. friends or family members)?

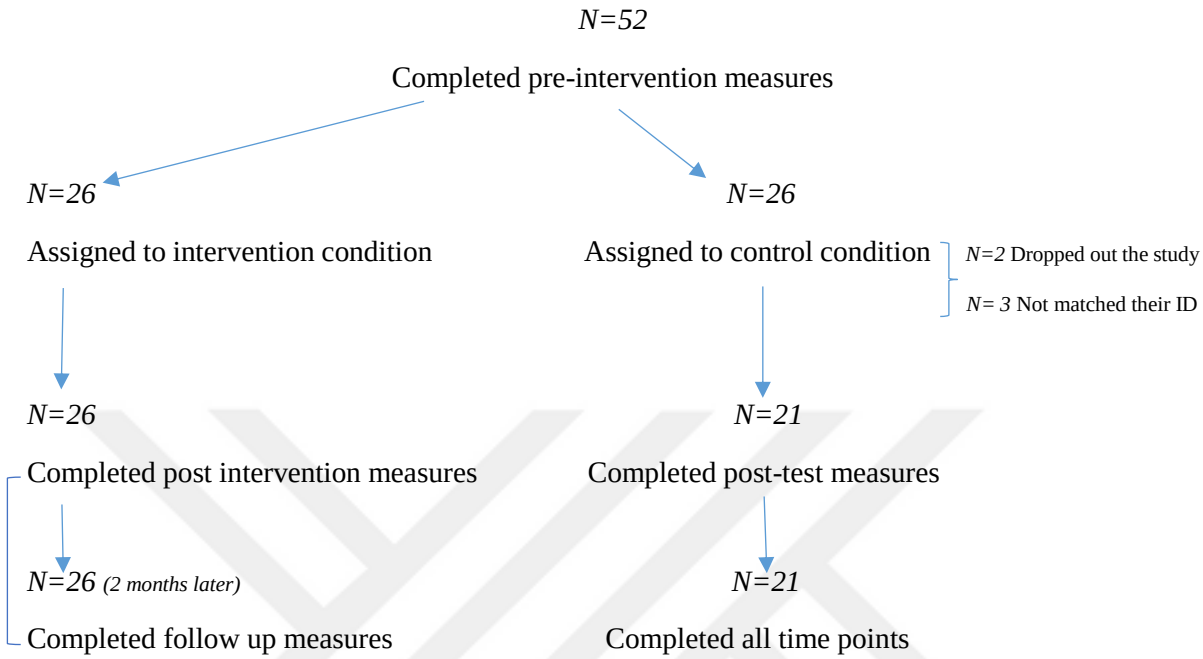
Recruitment

Adult local community members over the age of 18 were reached through an announcement about the program on online platforms. Being over the age of 18 and not working professionally in the field of migration are the necessary conditions for participation in the program. Apart from that, it was stated in the announcement that participants attending all sessions will be given a certificate of participation at the end of the program and a book gift voucher will be given to a person with a lottery. In this context, 52 people in total stated that they would like to participate in the program and registered by sending an e-mail to the researcher. A WhatsApp group consisting of these people was formed and randomly divided into two groups as experimental and control groups. In this context, 26 people were assigned to the experimental group and 26 people to the control group. All of the experimental group attended the 4-week program, but a 5-person drop out occurred in the control group. In the pre-test and post-test applications, people were asked to create an id number (nick name) in order not to get a real name information for confidentiality and participants asked to note this id to remember. In the control group, 2 people did not complete the final test, and the other 3 people could not participate in the sampling because the id numbers did not match. Finally, a follow-up study was carried out with the people in the experimental group, 2 months after the post-test, the participants were asked to fill in the Attitude towards Syrians Scale again, and all individuals in the experiment group answered the form.

Participants

Recent research was completed in January 2021 with the participation of 47 people over the age of 18. When determining the experimental and control group, a random assignment was made. The application was conducted with a total of 47 participants, 26 of whom were in the experimental group (21 females, 5 males) and 21 people (15 females - 6 males) in the control group. The mean age for experimental group was 26 while the mean age for control group

is 32. A diagram below has shown the number of participants in intervention and control group.



4.2.3. Procedure

In the experimental group, an online intervention program called "Empathy Focused Intercultural Communication Program for Turkish Local Community to Increase Their Social Acceptance towards Migrants" was conducted for 4 weeks and progressed as one hour each week. In the control group, no implementation was made, only the individuals filled the pre-test and post-test questionnaires within the same time periods as the experimental group. Details of each week's implementation are as follows:

Week 1:

- Participants getting to know each other and the researcher,
- Informing the group about the training program,
- Informing about the duration, purpose, rules and content of the program,
- Collecting the expectations from the program as written,
- Implementation of the pre-test
- Informing the group about the what is the culture and culture's components,

Week 2:

- Warm-up activity: Now and here
- Informing the group about empathy in the context of intercultural communication

Week 3:

- Informing the group about ethnocentrism, prejudice and discrimination,
- Learning the types of prejudice and discrimination

4th Week:

- Increasing the sensitivity of the group regarding cultural differences,
- The awareness of the group on which level of Bennet's Intercultural Sensitivity Development Model,
- Increasing the awareness of the group on incomplete or misinformation about Syrians that can cause intergroup anxiety,
- Participants were instructed to complete post intervention test (the scale of attitudes towards Syrians) and sentence completion activity about the program.

Statistical Analysis

Statistical analyses were performed on the data obtained from measurement tools. SPSS 20 package program was used for statistical analysis. 2x2 mixed design ANOVA was used to determine whether there was a significant difference between the pre-test and post-test scores of the experimental and control groups. Follow up measurement was also taken for experimental group and mean score for it was reported. The data obtained as a result of the research were evaluated at .05 significance level.

4.3. Results of Intervention Program

Descriptive Statistics

Summary statistics were calculated for each interval and ratio variable. Frequencies and percentages were calculated for each nominal variable. Frequencies and percentages are presented in Table 10.

Table 10. Demographic and attitudes towards syrians related characteristics of the sample

Variable	Experimental (n = 26)		Control (n = 21)	
	n	*%*	*n*	*%*
Gender				
Female	21	80.8	15	71.4
Male	5	19.2	6	28.6
Education Level				
Secondary school	0	0.0	1	4.8
High school	1	3.8	4	19.0
University	21	80.8	14	66.7
Master	4	15.4	2	9.5
Abroad Experience				
No	16	61.5	10	47.6
Yes	10	38.5	11	52.4
Social Contact Experience with Syrians				
No	9	34.6	9	42.9
Yes	17	65.4	12	57.1
The place where you grew up				
Township	4	15.4	2	9.5
Province	22	84.6	19	90.5

Note. Due to rounding errors, percentages may not equal 100%.

The average age of participants was 27.13 (*SD* = 4.03, Min = 18.00, Max = 36.00). The most frequently observed category of group was experimental (n = 26, 55%). Females constituted the majority of the participants (n = 36, 77%). Most of the participants were university graduates (n = 35, 74%). The most frequently observed category of being abroad before consisted of *no* answer (n = 26, 55%). In addition, the most frequently observed category of social contact experience with the Syrians in Turkey consisted of *yes* answer (n = 29, 62%). Finally, the most frequently observed category of the place where participants grew up was province (n = 41, 87%).

Summary Statistics

Summary statistics were calculated for pre-test, post-test, and follow up scores of attitudes towards Syrians. The summary statistics can be found in Table 11.

Table 11. Summary statistics table for pre-test, post-test, and follow up scores of attitudes towards Syrians

	Experimental (n = 26)				Control (n = 21)			
Variable	*M*	*SD*	Min	Max	*M*	*SD*	Min	Max
Pre-test	78.81	24.37	41.00	125.00	69.71	22.10	32.00	117.00
Post-test	94.23	22.93	28.00	123.00	66.57	22.85	32.00	115.00
Follow up	95.85	20.85	48.00	123.00				

For experimental group, the observations for pre-test had an average of 78.81 (*SD* = 24.37, Min = 41.00, Max = 125.00). The observations for post-test had an average of 94.23 (*SD* = 22.93, Min = 28.00, Max = 123.00). The observations for follow up had an average of 95.85 (*SD* = 20.85, Min = 48.00, Max = 123.00) for experimental group.

For control group, the observations for pre-test had an average of 69.71 (*SD* = 22.10, Min = 32.00, Max = 117.00). The observations for post-test had an average of 66.57 (*SD* = 22.85, Min = 32.00, Max = 115.00).

Mixed Design ANOVA Results

A mixed design analysis of variance (ANOVA) with one within-subjects factor and one between-subjects factor was conducted to determine whether significant differences exist among pre-test and post-test between the levels of group. Table 12 presents the ANOVA results.

Table 12. Mixed design ANOVA results

Source	*df*	*SS*	*MS*	*F*	*p*	η_p^2
Between-Subjects						
Group	1	7845.93	7845.93	8.44	.006	0.16
Residuals	45	41842.62	929.84			
Within-Subjects						
Within Factor	1	875.95	875.95	6.20	.017	0.12
Group: Within Factor	1	2002.16	2002.16	14.17	< .001	0.24
Residuals	45	6357.46	141.28			

The results were examined based on an alpha of 0.05. The main effect for group was significant, $F(1, 45) = 8.44$, $p = .006$, indicating that there were significant differences in pre-test and post-test between the levels of group. The experimental group's total pre-test and post-test scores are significantly higher than the total pre-test and post-test scores of the control group. The effect size for between subject groups was found as 16%. According to this result, it can be said that the effect size was high. In partial eta squared value, it is evaluated that .01 is low effect size, .06 is medium effect size, .14 and above is high effect size (Cohen, 1988).

The main effect for the within-subjects factor was significant, $F(1, 45) = 6.20$, $p = .017$, indicating there were significant differences between the values of pre-test and post-test. The total post-test scores of experiment group for positive attitudes towards Syrians was higher than pre-test scores of experiment group. However, the total post-test scores of control group was lower than the total pre-test scores. The effect size for within group factor was calculated as 12%. According to this result, within factor effect size was medium.

The interaction effect between the within-subjects factor and group was significant, $F(1, 45) = 14.17$, $p < .001$, indicating that the relationship between pre-test and post-test differed significantly between the levels of group. The difference between the post-test and pre-test scores of the experimental group is significantly higher than the difference between the post-test and pre-test scores of the control group. In other words, it can be concluded that the treatment (intervention program) significantly increased the participants' scores of positive attitudes towards Syrians. The interaction effect size was found as 24%. According to this result, is was seen that the effect size was high.

The Results of Sentence Completion Activity

At the end of the 4-week online training program, a sentence completion activity was applied for the participants to give open-ended answers. 20 participants completed sentence completion activity. Below are the frequencies and percentages of 8 sentence completion activities classified according to similar answers: (See Table 13)

1st Sentence: The sentence that started with the expression that "My views towards Syrians……" was completed with the statement that 15 (75%) of the participants *changed positively,* while 2 (10%) people *did not change their views*. 1 person (5%) *did not already have negative thoughts* while 2 (%10) participants also stated that *they partially changed.*

2nd sentence: In the sentence that begins with the statement that "….I can empathize with Syrians", 18 (90%) of the participants used a positive expression as *I think or felt*, while 2 (10%) stated that *I think but I know it is not enough.*

3rd sentence: In the sentence that begins with the statement that "People from different cultures….", While 4 people (20%) completed this sentence as *should not being exposed to negative discrimination and prejudice,* 8 people (40%) completed it as *a diversity*. While 2 people (10%) completed the sentence saying *they are not different*, 2 people (10%) completed the sentence as *we should respect*. 4 people (20%) completed it with sentences that *can manage to live together.*

4th sentence: The sentence that begins with the phrase that "If I meet a Syrian person in my future life ...." were completed by 8 participants (40 %) as *I would be careful enough to behave understandingly.* While 6 people (30 %) said *that I would not think of anything positive or negative,* 2 people (10%) answered that *I would behave the same way I behave a Turkish person.* One participant (5%) replied that *I would smile,* and 1 person (5%) said *I would ask more careful questions (non-traumatic).* One participant (5%) answered that *I take care to help whenever he / she needs help.* Finally, one participants (5%) completed the sentence saying, *I can live in the same environment.*

5th sentence: The sentence that started as "My bias against different ethnic groups ...." completed by 5 participants (25 %) as *are not* while 8 people (40%) completed it as *is decreasing.* 4 people (20%) answered that *I am trying to overcome this from time to time*,

and 2 people (10%) said that *it was very few before the training*. 1 participant (5%) completed the sentence as *can be, but it depends on the ethnic group.*

6th sentence: While 17 people (85%) complete the sentence that begins with "I see a Syrian in need of help…." as *I can help*, 2 people (10%) *inform someone who can help (such as social aid organizations, police*). 1 participant (5%) completed sentence as *I behave as I do he/she is a Turk in need.*

7th sentence: The sentence saying that "If I had to leave my country suddenly in a conflict, I would feel … " was completed by 11 participants (60 %) as *I would feel bad and anxious.* 5 people (25%) completed it as *frightened and desperate*. One person (5%) completed the sentence saying that *I would feel lonely and weak* while 2 participants (10%) *would feel bad, but I would not leave my country, even if I was going to die.*

8th sentence: Finally, to the question of "What advice can you give to people who have not received this training (for example, friends or family members)", 9 people (45%) advised them *to empathize with immigrants* and 2 participants (10%) *to attend similar trainings*. 5 participants (25%) answered that *I would like to explain their involuntary or deliberate prejudices and discrimination to them through examples.* 4 people (20%) replied that *I recommend that they evaluate their existing judgments in order to gain awareness*.

Table 13. Summary statistics for sentence completion activity

Answer Sentences	N =20	%
1st sentence: "My views towards Syrians……"		
changed positively	15	75
did not change their views	2	10
did not already have negative thoughts	1	5
partially changed	2	10
2nd sentence: "….I can empathize with Syrians"		
I think or felt	18	90
I think but I know it is not enough.	2	10
3rd sentence: "People from different cultures…."		
should not being exposed to negative discrimination and prejudice	4	20
are diversity	8	40
can manage to live together.	4	20
they are not different	2	10

we should respect.	2	10
4th sentence: "If I meet a Syrian person in my future life ...."		
I would be careful enough to behave understandingly.	8	40
I would not think of anything positive or negative.	6	30
I would behave the same way I behave a Turkish person.	2	10
I would smile.	1	5
I would ask more careful questions (non-traumatic).	1	5
I take care to help whenever he / she needs help.	1	5
I can live in the same environment.	1	5
5th sentence: "My bias against different ethnic groups ...."		
are not	5	25
is decreasing.	8	40
I am trying to overcome this from time to time	4	20
it was very few before the training.	2	10
can be, but it depends on the ethnic group.	1	5
6th sentence: "I see a Syrian in need of help…."		
I can help.	17	85
inform someone who can help (such as social aid organizations, police).	2	10
I behave as I do he/she is a Turk in need.	1	5
7th sentence: "If I had to leave my country suddenly in a conflict, I would… "		
feel bad and anxious	12	60
feel frightened and desperate.	5	25
feel lonely and weak.	1	5
feel bad, but I would not leave my country, even if I was going to die.	2	10
"8th sentence: What advice can you give to people who have not received this training (for example, friends or family members)"		
to empathize with immigrants	9	45
I would like to explain their involuntary or deliberate prejudices and discrimination to them through examples.	5	25
I recommend that they evaluate their existing judgments in order to gain awareness.	4	20
to attend similar trainings.	2	10

4.4. Discussion of Intervention Program

A recent study has investigated the effectiveness of online based, empathy focused intercultural communication program for young adults. Within the framework of our hypothesis, the results of the current intervention study demonstrated that participation in an online based, empathy focused intercultural communication program gave rise to an increase in Turkish local society's positive attitudes towards Syrian refugees and their emphatic and altruistic approach.

In international literature, similar results were observed when intervention programs aimed at reducing prejudice against refugees were examined (Turner, & Brown, 2008; Vassilopoulosa, Brouzosb, Kasapogloua, & Nikolopoulou, 2020). However, most of the studies were conducted with student samples in the classroom environment. For example, according to the results of the intervention program conducted with the participation of 106 young adolescent students in Greece, the attitudes of the students in the intervention program were found to be more positive towards refugees compared to the control group, while their general empathy capacities were also increased. In addition, the tolerance of the students in the intervention group increased and they showed less xenophobia. The popular and most preferred approach in intervention programs relating to increase positive attitudes towards different ethnic groups is based on recognizing the racism that exists in individuals and in the society they live in, and raising the level of awareness required to combat this racism (Dei, 1996; Short & Carrington, 1996; Walker, 1989). Beside this, some intervention programs aiming to increase positive attitudes towards different ethnic groups are implemented as curriculum programs that emphasize multiculturalism (Mansfield & Kehoe, 1994). Multicultural curriculum programs are based on the assumption that prejudice stems from ignorance. Therefore, informing the participants about the lifestyle and culture of minority groups reduces prejudice and changes participants' behavior towards minority groups (Aydın, 2013). The current intervention program continued the lessons interactively with the participants, using the themes from both two approaches to alleviate negative attitudes towards refugees. For example, ethnocentrism and prejudices that can cause discrimination and racism were frequently emphasized and the participants were asked to give examples of the types of discrimination they see in their lives and environments, as well.

A similar intervention program for adolescent students in Greece was carried out with primary school children in England (Turner, & Brown, 2008). 87 primary school students aged between 9 and 11 participated in the study, aiming to increase positive attitudes towards refugees with a multicultural curriculum and an anti-racist intervention program in the school environment. At the beginning and the end of the program, students' attitudes towards refugees, their empathy levels and their preferred acculturation strategies were measured. The attitudes of the students at the end of the program were turned into positive at the end of the program, but when the attitudes were measured again after 7 weeks, it was seen that the same result as the pre-test was obtained. In other words, it has been observed that the positive effect of the intervention program on attitudes is not permanent. When the acculturation model preferred by the students was examined, it was observed that the students in the experimental group adopted less assimilation and more integration models in the post-test, while the control group remained constant in the assimilation acculturation model both in the pre-test and the post-test. There was no difference in the empathy levels of the students before and after the program (Turner, & Brown, 2008).

An interesting intervention program aimed to increase advocacy for diversity, equality and social inclusion was also conducted with the participation of faculty members from different universities in the United States (Chen, Tutwiler, & Jackson, 2020). The content of the intervention program which was carried out with 29 faculty members consisted of recognizing and defining the ethnic differences, equality and social inclusion. The intervention program included a 3-day workshop and three journal clubs. Participants were followed for 1 year and self and collective efficacy measurements were taken from time to time to define and examine ethnic differences, equality and inclusion. According to the results of the research, it was seen that there was a significant difference between pre-test and 5 months after the pre-test measurements in the self-efficacy and collective efficacy levels. After the intervention program was implemented, people's self- and collective competences to recognize equality, diversity and social inclusion increased significantly. In the measurements after 1 year, it was observed that self-efficacy was considerably higher than the pre-test measurements (Chen, Tutwiler, & Jackson, 2020). To sum up, this intervention study that has been carried out recently with an adult sample has also effective and important results that emphasize the ethnic diversity and equality.

The importance of social and cognitive phenomena in reducing prejudices cannot be underestimated (Aboud, 2008; Rutland, Killen, & Abrams, 2010). There are studies with

successful results that focus on changing the intergroup attitudes of children, adolescents and adults by using social, cognitive and moral skills such as social categorization, perspective taking, empathy, which are also used in the current study (Levy, Lytle, Shin, & Hughes, 2016). According to the approach developed by Miller and Brewer (1984), interactions between individuals from different groups should be structured in such a way as to reduce the salience of social categories in order to reduce intergroup conflicts, and conditions should be developed to enable the person to perceive others through their individual identities. Blurring the boundaries between group categories and focusing on individual characteristics in social relations will enable individuals to see the differences within the category. Awareness of the distinctive individual characteristics of the outgroup members instead of perceiving the group as a homogeneous structure will help individuals to reduce their prejudices (Miller, 2002). In short, the person will perceive the other person as an individual, not as a member of the social group to which he/she belongs, so group-based negative attitudes will decrease. To sum up, it is seen that negative attitudes decrease when individuals from the other groups are evaluated on an individual basis, not just because they belong to that group, but as different people with some universal characteristics.

The modules of the current intervention program, which are prepared by making use of all these theories and approaches based on these theories, also include practices to reduce intergroup prejudices and anxieties. As we know, there has not been any intervention program designed to change the local society's attitudes toward the Syrian refugees positively in Turkey. It is thought that the current study will make a great contribution to the literature in this sense. In addition, the current study is an innovative study in terms of applying the empathy-focused intercultural communication program in adult sample and online. Before the intervention program started, expectations about the training were collected from the participants in writing. In general, it has been revealed that there is an expectation that there will be an education aimed at reducing prejudice against different cultures and identities. In addition, there are some participants who have expectations to get information about immigrants and their lives and to correct misunderstood facts about Syrians. In this context, it can be said that study is carried out with a group that is open to learning and has a high awareness level. Despite this, a significant increase in the positive attitudes of experimental group towards Syrians compared to pre-test scores is reported. That is, a ceiling effect on positive attitudes is not observed. This indicates that the content of the program is very strong in changing attitudes towards Syrians.

The current intervention program not only led to an increase in people's positive attitudes, but also an overall increase in participants' empathy levels and altruistic behavior towards Syrians. This result is reached through the sentence completion task applied at the end of the program. In the sentence completion task which with the participation of 20 people from the experimental group, the general subject of sentence completion task is about the increase in their empathy levels. In addition, displaying less prejudiced and more benevolent behavior towards Syrians in their daily life after the program are some of topics that are frequently written in sentence completion task. Based on these results, the intervention program not only changed the attitudes of the local community towards Syrian refugees in a positive way, but also increased their empathic approach and increased their sense of humanitarian approach. The importance of social and cognitive phenomena in reducing prejudices cannot be underestimated (Aboud, 2008; Rutland & Killen, 2015). There are studies with successful results that focus on changing the intergroup attitudes of children, adolescents and adults by using social, cognitive and moral skills such as social categorization, perspective taking, empathy, which are also used in the current study (Levy, Lytle, Shin, & Hughes, 2016).

4.5. Limitations

Online Empathy Focused Intercultural Communication Program for Turkish Local Society shows a positive promissory approach for decreasing negative attitudes towards Syrian refugees and increasing emphatic approach. However, further studies should be carried out to assess the efficacy of this program in a larger and different age groups with different socioeconomic status. Since the study’s sample consists of young adults between the ages of 18-36 and mostly university graduates and females, there may be some problems in terms of generalizability. However, since the intervention study is online and requires an internet literacy and continuity (4 weeks), it is an expected result to attract the attention of young and female groups with a high level of education.

In addition, it was not possible to conduct this intervention study face-to-face during the Covid-19 outbreak, where there was a complete obstruction from time to time and schools were mostly closed in Turkey. After Coronavirus outbreak, this program can also be applied face to face. In this way, some negative effects of online programs when used for

educational purposes like possible problems with the internet or technology use can be reduced and more interaction with the participants can be achieved.

In addition, when the announcements of such intervention programs are made through social media platforms, it is not possible to reach individuals who do not have internet access or who do not have computer/internet literacy. This decreases the generalizability of the study. However, applying training programs online for changing attitudes towards people from different ethnic backgrounds can also be an advantage to reach a wider audience. It may be easier to reach people online. To sum up, there are not only disadvantages, but also advantages of online training programs for changing attitudes. Likewise, the fact that the current online intervention program has such a high effect on changing attitudes positively shows that these kind of online intervention programs can easily be used for certain groups. In future studies, the comparison of the effects of both online and face-to-face programs for changing attitudes towards migrants will make a great contribution to the literature. In this way, the effect of methodological differences in attitude change will also be seen.

Lastly, in the present study, no intervention was implemented in the control group and the group was considered as a waiting group. Only pre-test and post-test were performed for the control group. However, in future studies, if the post-test of the control group is accepted as the pre-test after the intervention program completed for the experimental group and the training is implemented in the control group and the results are compared, the study may be much stronger.

4.6. Conclusion and Recommendations

The risk of polarization between the people of different ethnic groups and the local community members has increased considerably with the mass migration of Syrians. There are some studies that show that the social distance of the local community and intergroup anxiety towards Syrians has also increased (Erdoğan, 2020). In this context, it has been essential to develop and implement some effective intervention programs to reduce prejudices and intergroup anxiety, increase positive attitudes towards different groups, and provide empathy-based intercultural communication. If an effective early intervention program cannot be implemented, prejudices between the groups will be reinforced, negative attitudes and behaviors will increase, and then it will be much more difficult to solve the

problems. The current intervention program, developed within the scope of the doctoral thesis, was applied online to the members of the local community in the form of 4 modules (culture and cultures' components; empathy in the context of intercultural communication; ethnocentrism, prejudice and discrimination; sensitivity about cultural differences and Bennet's Model). The measurement tools used in the research were used as a pre-test measurement just before the sessions started; as a post-test measurement after the sessions completed and follow up measurement was applied 8 weeks after the post-test measurements for the experimental group. In addition, at the end of the modules, the participants in the experimental group were given sentence completion activities related to the program. The results of the study showed that the program was an effective method to increase the level of empathy and positive attitudes towards Syrians, and this result was also preserved in the follow up measurements in the experimental group. A much more effective result would have been obtained if the persistence could be measured again with a follow-up study after a certain interval period like 6 months later. When people are not given enough time to practice the subjects they have learned, it may not be clear whether the program has long lasting effects. Although 8 weeks is a reasonable period of time after the post-test measurement, since the study was carried out during the Covid-19 epidemic process, appropriate conditions may not have arisen for the people to digest and discuss the issues they learned about intergroup relations during this time period. In the future studies about this subject, if follow-up measurements are taken 2 or 3 times at certain time intervals, much more effective results will be obtained.

In line with the findings of the recent study, suggestions that can shed light on future studies and help psychologists, social workers, psychological counselors, migration experts, migration managers and other experts working in international organizations or non-governmental organizations can be listed as follows:

1. Migration is a very challenging field of study in terms of managing intergroup relations and developing positive relations, as it brings many opportunities, as well. In this context; the psychological and sociological dimension of migration should never be overlooked, while working with immigrants, the perceptions and reactions of the local community should always be taken into account and evaluated. If the people from different groups make feel to connect with the certain universal human values and the perception that there are more similarities than differences, a more positive picture will emerge in the context of intergroup relations. It is impossible for people to meet at a

common point in an environment where differences between groups are constantly discussed. Of course, it is a reality that there are some cultural differences between Turkish local society and Syrians and these differences should be known in order not to cause interpersonal misunderstanding and conflict. However, it should be emphasized that differences are diversity and there are many similarities between people from different groups.

2. Disregarding the individual differences of people and making over-generalizations about the people from different nationalities just because of group membership are also some stereotypical thoughts that strengthen the prejudices. It is important to avoid generalizations and emphasize that people have their own unique behavioral patterns and these patterns make them "special" or "unique" in the world they live in. An approach that overemphasizes the differences between groups and ignores individual differences will create difficulties in finding peace and coexistence. Of course, it is obvious that there are some cultural differences between these groups. However, what matters is not where they were born or where they came from, because we all live in the same world. Perceiving the refugees not as individuals but as groups such as Syrians or Afghans prevents people from seeing the unique characteristics of the individuals. In future intervention programs, it will be beneficial to prepare the module contents in a way that prevents over-generalizations about different groups.
3. It is a very normal situation to have some anxieties about different groups due to the thoughts that they may disrupt the demographic structure, as well as for economic and security reasons. One of the ways to reduce these intergroup anxieties is to provide the accurate information quickly and before the rumors about these groups are well penetrated. People who are constantly exposed to false information about a group remember them correctly over time (Horowitz, 2001). For this reason, it is necessary for the authorities that manage the migration to prevent information pollution, especially about Syrians, to provide accurate information to the local community at certain intervals and to be transparent.
4. In order to increase positive attitudes towards different groups, another useful point is to enable people to empathize. Studies aimed to understand different groups or feel what another person is experiencing from within their frame of reference (empathy) will be effective, rather than stimulating feelings of pity and compassion (sympathy) towards refugees, especially Syrians.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Demographic Form

Cinsiyetiniz: ( ) Kadın ( ) Erkek

Yaşınız:

Eğitim seviyesiniz: ( ) ilkokul ( ) ortaokul ( ) lise ( ) üniversite ( ) lisansüstü

Mesleğiniz:

Büyüdüğünüz Yerleşim Birimi: Bu soruyu cevaplarken yaşamınız boyunca en uzun süreyle kaldığınız yerleşim birimini işaretleyiniz. ( ) Köy ( ) İlçe ( ) İl

Aylık ailenizin toplam gelirini belirtiniz:……TL

Daha önce yurt dışında bulundunuz mu? ( ) Evet ( ) Hayır

Yurtdışında bulunduysanız ne sebeple bulunduğunuzu işaretleyiniz.

( ) iş seyahati ( ) eğitim ( ) turistik ( ) ikamet izniyle bulunma ( )diğer

Toplamda kaç ülke ziyaret ettiniz? (……..)

Türkiye'de bulunan Suriyelilerle hiç iletişimde bulundunuz mu? ( ) Evet ( ) Hayır

Bulunduysanız hangi amaçla bulundunuz?

( )işle ilgili ( ) arkadaşlık amaçlı ( ) komşuluk ilişkisi ( ) diğer (açıklayınız)

Kendinizi "dindar/inanan" olarak nitelendirir misiniz?

hayır, hiç dindar değilim evet, çok dindarım

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Din/İnanç, hayatınızda ne derece önemlidir?

hiç önemli değildir son derece önemlidir

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Appendix B: Gruplararası Kaygı Ölçeği

Lütfen Suriyeli bireylerle ilişkinizi düşünün. Bu ilişkiyi yaşarken (konuşurken, çalışırken) hissettiğiniz duyguları en iyi tanımlayana yakın rakamın üzerine (X) işareti koyunuz.

I- *sol taraftaki ifadeye yakın olmayı ifade eder.*
II- *sağ taraftaki ifadeye yakın olmayı ifade eder.*

I						**II**
Uzak	1	2	3	4	5	Samimi
Eşit olmayan	1	2	3	4	5	Eşit
Değersiz	1	2	3	4	5	Değerli
Kuşkulu	1	2	3	4	5	Güvenilir
Kaygılı	1	2	3	4	5	Kaygısız
Tehdit altında	1	2	3	4	5	Güven verici
Gergin	1	2	3	4	5	Rahat

Appendix C: Grupla Özdeşleşme Ölçeği

Aşağıdaki ifadelerin her birini okuyunuz ve düşüncenize uyan ifadeye katılıp katılmadığınızı işaretleyiniz. Diğer köken ile anlatılmak istenen farklı ülke ya da soya sahip insanlardır. Soruların yanlış ya da doğru yanıtları yoktur. Önemli olan, bilimsel bir çalışma için sizin kendi düşüncenizi içtenlikle belirtmenizdir.

	Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum
1.Kendimi ait hissettiğim kökenimin başarıları, benim başarılarımdır					
2.Bazı kişiler, kökenimden olanları eleştirdiğinde, bu bana kişisel hakaret gibi gelir.					
3.Kendi kökenimden olan herkesle kuvvetli bağlarım olduğunu hissederim					
4.Kendi kökenimden birisine herhangi kötü bir şey olduğunda bana olmuş gibi hissederim					
5.Kendi kökenime ilişkin konuştuğumda genellikle "onlar"'dan çok "biz"'i kullanırım					
6.Kendi kökenimden birinin başarısını duyduğumda bundan gurur duyarım.					
7.Diğer kökenden olanların benim kökenimden olanlar hakkında ne düşündüğünü merak ederim.					
8.Kökenimden olanların oluşturduğu grubun bir üyesi olmak, benim için önemlidir.					
9.Kendi kökenime ilişkin övgü yapıldığında bana yapılmış gibi hissederim.					
10.Kendimi ait hissettiğim kökenim, kimliğimin önemli bir parçasıdır.					

Appendix D: Sosyal Temas Ölçeği

Aşağıdaki ankette Türk halkının Suriyelilerle ne düzeyde iletişimde olduğunu anlamak için bazı sorular sorulmuştur. Soruların doğru veya yanlış cevabı yoktur. Sizin görüş ve düşüncenize karşılık gelen seçeneği (rakamı) "Hiç" ten "Her Zaman "a giden 1 ile 5 arasındaki uygun gördüğünüz rakamı daire içine alarak belirtiniz.

TEMAS SIKLIĞI

1.Hiç 2. Nadiren 3.Ara sıra 4.Sık sık 5.Her zaman

1. Ne sıklıkta Suriyelilerle okul/iş gibi resmi yerlerde iletişim halindesiniz?

1 2 3 4 5

2. Ne sıklıkta Suriyelilerle komşu olarak iletişim halindesiniz?

1 2 3 4 5

3. Ne sıklıkta Suriyelilerle yakın arkadaş-dost olarak iletişim halindesiniz?

1 2 3 4 5

4. Ne sıklıkta Suriyelilerle resmi olmayan/özel konuşmalar yapmaktasınız?

1 2 3 4 5

5. Ne sıklıkta Suriyeli tanıdıklarınıza ev ziyaretine gitmektesiniz?

1 2 3 4 5

Eğer Suriyeli bir göçmenle hiç temasta bulunmadıysanız temas kalitesi bölümünü atlayabilirsiniz.

TEMAS KALİTESİ

Size uygun olan kutucuğa X işareti koyunuz.

1. Suriyelilerle olan ilişkilerinizde iki tarafın da eşit olduğunu hisseder misiniz?

1.Kesinlikle Eşit Değil	2.Eşit Değil	3.Kararsızım	4.Eşit	5.Kesinlikle Eşit

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

1.Tamamıyla İstemeden	2.İstemeden	3.Kararsızım	4.İsteyerek	5.Tamamıyla İsteyerek

3. Suriyelilerle olan ilişkiniz yüzeysel mi yoksa tamamen içten midir?

1.Tamamıyla Yüzeysel	2.Yüzeysel	3.Kararsızım	4.İçten	5.Tamamıyla İçten

4. Suriyelilerle olan ilişkinizden keyif/memnuniyet duyar mısınız?

1.Kesinlikle Memnun Değilim	2.Memnun Değilim	3.Kararsızım	4.Memnunum	5.Kesinlikle Memnunum

5. Suriyelilerle olan ilişkiniz rekabete mi yoksa işbirliğine mi dayanır?

1.Tamamıyla Rekabete Dayanır	2.Rekabete Dayanır	3.Kararsızım	4.İşbirliğine Dayanır	5.Tamamıyla İşbirliğine Dayanır

Appendix E: Türkiye'de Yaşayan Suriyelilere Yönelik Tutumlar Ölçeği

Aşağıda ülkemizde yaşayan göçmenlerle ilgili birtakım maddeler bulunmaktadır. Her birini okuyunuz ve düşüncenize uyan ifadeye katılıp katılmadığınızı işaretleyiniz. Maddeleri değerlendirirken ülkemizde bulunan **Suriyeli göçmenleri** düşünmeniz gerekmektedir. Soruların doğru ya da yanlış yanıtları yoktur. Önemli olan kendi düşüncenizi samimiyetle belirtmenizdir. Hangi seçenek size uyuyorsa o kutucuğa X işareti koyunuz.

	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum
1.Türkiye'de yaşayan göçmenler çoğunlukla iyi insanlardan oluşur.					
2.Göçmenlerin sağlık hizmetlerinden ücretsiz yararlanmasından rahatsız olmam.					
3.Göçmenlerin ülkemize uyum sağlaması için gerekli çalışmalar yapılmalıdır.					
4.Bir göçmenle arkadaş olabilirim.					
5. Bir göçmenle aynı apartmanda yaşamaktan rahatsız olmam.					
6. Göçmenlerin ülkemize kabul edilmesinden rahatsız olmam.					
7. Bir göçmenle aynı iş yerinde çalışmaktan rahatsız olmam.					
8. Bir göçmenle iş ortağı olabilirim.					
9. Göçmenlerin çalışma izni almasından rahatsız olmam.					
10. Göçmenler ülkenin ekonomisine zarar vermektedir.					
11. Göçmen çocukların eğitim kurumlarından faydalanmasından rahatsız olmam.					
12. Göçmenlerin temizlik konusundaki tutumları beni rahatsız ediyor.					
13. Göçmenlerin gürültü yapmaları beni rahatsız ediyor.					
14. Göçmenler ülkemizdeki terör riskini artırmaktadır.					

15. Ülkemize gelen göçmenler şehirlerde yaşayabilmelidir.					
16. Göçmenlerin yoğun olarak yaşadığı bir mahalleye taşınmaktan rahatsızlık duymam.					
17. Göçmenlerin ülkemizde mal ve mülk edinmesine izin verilmesinden rahatsız olmam.					
18. Göçmenler suç işlemeye daha çok eğilimlidirler.					
19. Alışverişimi göçmenlerin mağazalarından yapmaktan rahatsızlık duymam.					
20. Göçmenlerin hırsızlık ve kapkaç olaylarına sıklıkla karıştığını düşünüyorum.					
21. Göçmenlerin taciz ve sarkıntılık olaylarına sıklıkla karıştığını düşünüyorum.					
22. Göçmenlerin tecavüz olaylarına sıklıkla karıştığını düşünüyorum.					
23. Erkek kardeşimin bir göçmenle evlenmesinden rahatsız olmam.					
24. Bir göçmenle evlenmekten rahatsızlık duymam.					
25. Kız kardeşimin bir göçmenle evlenmesinden rahatsızlık duymam.					

Appendix F: Kültürlerarası Duyarlılık Ölçeği

Aşağıdaki ifadeleri okuyunuz ve ilk izleniminize göre düşüncenize uyan ifadeye katılıp katılmadığınızı işaretleyiniz. Bu ölçekte "doğru" veya "yanlış" cevaplar olmadığını unutmayınız ve mümkün olduğu kadar içten cevaplar vermeye özen gösteriniz.

	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum
1. Farklı kültürlerden insanlarla etkileşim kurmaktan zevk alırım.					
2. Bence, diğer kültürlerin insanları dar görüşlüdür.					
3. Farklı kültürlerden insanlarla etkileşim kurma konusunda kendimden oldukça eminim.					
4. Farklı kültürlerden insanlarla etkileşim kurarken istediğim kadar sosyal olabilirim.					
5. Farklı kültürlerden insanlarla etkileşim kurarken söze nasıl başlayacağımı daima bilirim.					
6. Farklı kültürlerden insanların önünde konuşmak bana çok zor gelir.					
7. Farklı kültürlerden insanlarla vakit geçirmekten hoşlanmıyorum.					
8. Farklı kültürlerden insanların değerlerine saygı duyarım.					
9. Farklı kültürlerden insanlarla etkileşim kurarken çabuk gerilirim.					
10. Farklı kültürlerden insanlarla etkileşim kurarken kendime güvenirim.					
11. Farklı kültürlere sahip akranlarım hakkında bir izlenim oluşturmadan önce bekleme eğiliminde olurum.					
12. Farklı kültürlerden insanlarla birlikteyken sık sık cesaretim kırılır.					
13. Farklı kültürlerden insanlara karsı acık görüşlüyümdür.					

14. Farklı kültürlerden insanlarla etkileşim kurarken çok iyi gözlem yaparım.					
15. Farklı kültürlerden insanlarla etkileşim kurarken sıklıkla kendimi ise yaramaz hissederim.					
16. Farklı kültürlerden insanların davranış biçimlerine saygı duyarım.					
17. Farklı kültürlerden insanlarla etkileşim kurarken mümkün olduğu kadar çok bilgi edinmeye çalışırım.					
18. Farklı kültürlerden insanların fikirlerini kabul etmem.					
19. Bence, benim kültürüm diğer kültürlerden daha iyidir.					
20.Etkileşimimiz sırasında kültürel olarak farklı akranıma sık sık olumlu tepkiler veririm.					
21. Kültürel olarak farklı insanlarla uğraşmak zorunda kalacağım durumlardan kaçınırım.					
22. Kültürel olarak farklı akranıma, sözlerimle ve hareketlerimle onu anladığımı sık sık belli ederim.					
23. Kültürel olarak farklı olduğum akranımla aramdaki farklılıklardan zevk alırım.					

Appendix G: Etik Kurulu Onayı

ANKARA YILDIRIM BEYAZIT ÜNİVERSİTESİ (AYBÜ)
ETİK KURULU
PROJE ONAY BELGESİ

Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Psikoloji bölümü öğrencilerinden Arzu ÇALIŞKAN SARI 'nın, Türkiye'de Yaşayan Suriyelilerle Uyumun Geliştirilmesini Etkileyen Psikolojik Faktörlerin Rolünün İncelenmesi ve Yerel Toplumun Tutumları Değiştirmeye Yönelik Müdahale Programı Önerme ve Uygulamaadlı araştırması değerlendirilmiştir.*(Bu kısım başvuru sahibi tarafından doldurulmalıdır)*

Proje etik açısından uygun bulunmuştur. ☑

Proje etik açısından geliştirilmesi gerekmektedir. ☐

Proje etik açısından uygun bulunmamıştır. ☐

AYBÜ ETİK KURULU KARARI (Etik Kurul tarafından doldurulacaktır)	
Araştırma kodu (Yıl – Araştırma sıra no)	2019 – 224
Başvuru formunun Etik Kurula ulaştığı tarih	26.04.2019
Etik Kurul Karar toplantı tarihi ve karar no	29.05.2019 – 13
Yer	Yıldırım Beyazıt Üniversitesi, Esenboğa Külliyesi
Katılımcılar	Formda imzası bulunan üyelerimiz toplantıya katılmıştır.

KURUL BAŞKANI, BAŞKAN YARDIMCISI VE ÜYELER:

		İMZA
Prof. Dr. Cem Şafak ÇUKUR	**Başkan**	
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Dr. Ögr. ÜyesiErtuğrul DEMİRDEL	**Üye**	
Dr. Ögr. ÜyesiBehlül TOKUR	**Üye**	
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