

THE FORMAL PARTICIPATION OF SYRIANS TO THE EMPLOYMENT IN
ANKARA AND ATTITUDES OF LOCAL PEOPLE TOWARD SYRIANS
– AN EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

TOBB UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS AND TECHNOLOGY

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MIGRATION STUDIES

MASTER OF ARTS

APRIL 2023

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ABSTRACT

THE FORMAL PARTICIPATION OF SYRIANS TO THE EMPLOYMENT IN ANKARA AND ATTITUDES OF LOCAL PEOPLE TOWARD SYRIANS – AN EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

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Master of Arts, Migration Studies

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Despite a significant Syrian population in Turkey, the proportion of Syrians with work permits is low. Promoting their legal employment is necessary for economic benefits, prevention of radicalization, and their right to work. However, given negative attitudes toward Syrian refugees in Turkey, it's crucial to examine how formal employment affects these attitudes. The study employed Contact Theory and Realistic Group Conflict Theory (RGCT) to examine the impact of formal employment of Syrians on attitudes toward them, considering workplace contact and workplace competition. An experimental survey with eight vignettes, varying across three variables with two levels each, was administered to 240 local workers in Ankara's industrial areas. The study found that formal employment is linked to positive attitudes (lower social distance) and lower threat perception, consistent with Contact Theory, while workplace competition is linked to negative attitudes (higher negative emotions) and higher threat perception, consistent with RGCT. However, no significant results were found for hypothesized workplace contact and interactions of manipulations. Also, threat perception was found as a partial mediator in the association between competition and attitudes, and as a full mediator between formal employment and attitudes.

Key Words: Formal Employment of Syrians, Workplace Contact, Workplace Competition, Attitudes toward Syrians, Inclusive Immigration Policies.

ÖZ

ANKARA'DAKİ SURIYELİLERİN İŞ HAYATINA YASAL OLARAK KATILIMI VE YEREL HALKIN TUTUMLARI – DENEYSEL BİR ÇALIŞMA

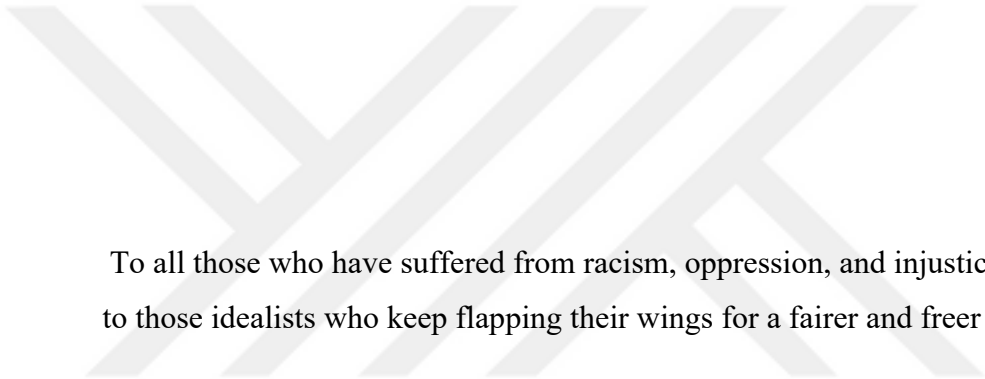
KAÇDIOĞLU, Süeda

Yüksek Lisans, Göç Çalışmaları

Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Başak YAVÇAN MERİÇ

Türkiye’de önemli bir Suriyeli nüfus bulunmasına rağmen çalışma izni olan Suriyelilerin oranı düşüktür. Kayıtlı çalışmanın teşviki, ekonomik faydaların, radikalleşmenin önlenmesinin ve Suriyelilerin çalışma haklarının sağlanması için gereklidir. Ancak Türkiye’deki Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik olumsuz tutumlar göz önüne alındığında, yasal istihdamın bu tutumları nasıl etkilediğinin incelenmesi önem arz etmektedir. Bu amaçla çalışmada, Suriyelilerin yasal istihdamının yerel halkın tutumları üzerindeki etkisi, iş yeri teması ve iş yeri rekabeti dikkate alınarak Temas Teorisi ve Gerçekçi Grup Tehdidi Teorileri aracılığıyla incelenmiştir. Ankara’nın sanayi bölgelerindeki 240 işçiye 8 örnek olay içeren (iki seviyeli üç bağımsız değişkeni ölçmek üzere) deneysel bir anket uygulanmıştır. Çalışma, yasal istihdamın, Temas Hipotezi ile uyumlu bir şekilde, olumlu tutumlarla (daha düşük sosyal mesafeyle) ve daha düşük tehdit algısıyla ilişkili olduğunu; iş yeri rekabetinin ise Gerçekçi Grup Tehdidi Teorisi ile uyumlu bir şekilde olumsuz tutumlarla (daha yüksek negatif duygularla) ve daha yüksek tehdit algısı ile ilişkili olduğunu bulmuştur. Bununla birlikte, varsayılan iş yeri teması ve manipülasyonların etkileşimleri için anlamlı sonuçlar bulunamamıştır. Ayrıca tehdit algısının, rekabet ve tutumlar arasındaki ilişkide aracı değişken rolü, resmi istihdam ile tutumlar arasındaki ilişkide ise tam aracı değişken rolü üstlendiği bulunmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Suriyelilerin Kayıtlı İstihdamı, İş Yeri Teması, İş Yeri Rekabeti, Suriyelilere Yönelik Tutumlar, Kapsayıcı Göç Politikaları.



To all those who have suffered from racism, oppression, and injustice, and
to those idealists who keep flapping their wings for a fairer and freer world.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my deep gratitude to the following individuals who have provided invaluable guidance, support, and encouragement throughout my academic journey.

First and foremost, I would like to thank my thesis advisor, Assoc. Prof. Başak Yavçan Meriç, for her unwavering support, guidance, and patience throughout the entire thesis process. Her expertise, insightful feedback, and constructive criticism have been instrumental in shaping this thesis.

I am also grateful to my thesis committee members, Asst. Prof. Suzan Ceylan Batur and Assoc. Prof. Özgehan Şenyuva, for their valuable feedback and input on my thesis. Their thoughtful comments and suggestions have greatly improved the quality of this thesis.

I am indebted to my family for their unconditional and endless love and support. I would not have been able to complete this thesis without them. Their constant encouragement, belief in my abilities, and sacrifices have been a source of strength and motivation for me throughout my life. Especially, my father Hikmet Kaçdıoğlu, who has been there for me whenever I needed, deserves special thanks.

My dear friends, Ece Yalçın, Müzdelife Demirel, Halime Metin, and Mohammed Momen Ali who have offered me their limitless support and encouragement for not only my academic journey but also my life journey deserve also special recognition. I am grateful for their presence in my life. I also extend my gratitude to İlke Koçak and Pırıl Zaim for their friendship, camaraderie, and shared experiences which have made the long hours of research and writing much more manageable and enjoyable.

Furthermore, I would like to thank my bosses Ömer Faruk Kayaaslan and Salih Cenap Baydar for their encouragement and endless understanding during this process.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to the esteemed faculty members of TOBB ETU Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences, who have created a supportive and stimulating academic environment. Their dedication to teaching and research always inspires me.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CM	: Competiton Conditions
CN	: Contact
FR	: Formal Employment
GDP	: Gross Domestic Product
ILO	: Interntional Labor Organization
İŞKUR	: Turkey İş Kurumu
KMO	: Kaiser- Mayer- Olkin Test
MANCOVA	: Multivariate Analysis of Covariance
MIPEX	: Migrant Integration Policy Index
OIZs	: Organized Industrial Zones
RGCT	: Realistic Group Conflict Theory
SD	: Social Distance
TMMOB	: The union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects
TOBB ETU	: TOBB Economy and Technology University
USA	: United States of America

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the aftermath of the 2011 crisis in Syria, millions of Syrians were forced to migrate to other countries, including Turkey. As a result, Turkey has become the country that hosts the largest number of refugees globally (UNHCR 2022). Turkey is a party to the 1951 Refugee Convention (UN General Assembly 1951) and its 1967 Protocol (UN General Assembly 1967) with the geographical limitation. Therefore, Turkey does not recognize the legal status of people arriving due to events occurring outside of Europe as refugees (UN General Assembly 1951). However, as the number of refugees increased due to continuing negative conditions in Syria and open-door policy of Turkey, a new legislation was required for the legal status of Syrians in Turkey.

Turkey adopted Temporary Protection Regulation on 22 October 2014, which sets out the rights and obligations along with procedures for those who are granted temporary protection in Turkey (Resmi Gazete 2014). The number of Syrians under Temporary Protection in Turkey is 3.443.219, as of 23.03.2023 according to the statement of the Presidency of Migration Management (2023).

In the first years of migration, the government implemented more humanitarian approach-based policies and tried to avoid negative reactions of citizens by using “Muslim brothers” and “host-guest” discourses. It had been successful to some extent; however, it is known that there are widespread negative attitudes to Syrians in the society.

With the increase in the number of Syrians and the increase in their stay in the country, the need for socio-economic policies increased and the government took steps in this direction and prepared the “Regulation Concerning Work Permits of Foreigners Under Temporary Protection” which came into effect in 2016 (Resmi Gazete 2016). According to this regulation, below items are applied in order for foreigners who are under temporary protection to obtain a work permit.

- Individuals who are classified as foreigners under temporary protection in Turkey are required to have held this status for at least six months.
- Foreigners under temporary protection are only authorized to work in the province where they are legally registered, except in certain circumstances.
- The number of foreigners under temporary protection that can be employed in a workplace with a work permit application cannot exceed 10% of the number of Turkish citizens employed there. In workplaces with fewer than ten workers, only one foreigner under temporary protection may be employed. However, if no Turkish citizen with the same qualifications is available, the quota does not apply.
- Foreigners under temporary protection must receive no less than the minimum wage as payment.
- Vocational training programs organized by İŞKUR are open to foreigners under temporary protection, and they may commence work in the workplace where they received training. The employment quota for vocational training programs may differ.
- Work permit exemptions may be obtained by foreigners under temporary protection who are employed in seasonal agriculture or livestock.
- Foreigners under temporary protection are not eligible to apply for jobs or professions that are exclusively designated for Turkish citizens by law.

While important for legalizing work for Syrians under temporary protection, the regulation has had limited success in formalizing their employment in Turkey's informal economy (Erdoğan 2020).

According to 2021 data of the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, 91,500 Syrian nationals were given work permits. Considering the number of Syrians registered in Turkey, this number is very small, and it is known that the majority of Syrians work informally. According to Yavçan's statement (BloombergHT 2021), the number of Syrians working unregistered is around 1 million.

The objective of this study is to investigate how the formal or informal employment of Syrians impacts attitudes toward them in their workplaces. The next chapter will commence with a discussion on current attitudes toward Syrians in Turkey, along with the wider implications of socio-economic integration of

immigrant populations. The importance of the study will also be emphasized in this chapter.

The third chapter will provide an overview of the theories and literature review that will be used in the study, while the fourth chapter will outline the methodology employed.

The fifth chapter will present the study's findings. Finally, the sixth chapter will discuss the implications of the results and their potential contributions to the field, along with limitations of the study and suggestions for future research.





CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND

2.1. Current Attitudes toward Syrians in Turkey

Most studies reveal negative attitudes of locals to Syrians in Turkey. Ipsos (2017), a global research company, examined attitudes toward immigrants and refugees in 26 countries with 17.903 participants. Results from Turkey show the general perspective of local people about immigrants. 83% of people think that “there are too many immigrants in our country”. 73% of people agree to that “immigration has placed too much pressure on public services in your country”, and 78% to that “immigrants in your country have made it more difficult for people of your nationality to get jobs”. Moreover, attitudes stay negative even if questions are oriented for refugees. The percentage of being in favor of closing borders for refugees is 66%, belief to refugees are actually terrorists who pretend like refugees is 87%, belief to refugees are here because of economic purposes is 69% (Ipsos 2017). Also, the report (Ipsos 2017) shows that Turkey has the most negative perspective for immigrants.

A study (Erdoğan and Ünver 2015) conducting interviews with Turkish business people reveals that business people also have worries about job losses of Turkish people although they benefit from Syrians as skilled and unskilled workforce. Also, they support Syrians to have a work permit but with some state support for insurance and tax costs of them.

Another study (Pinar et al. 2016) held by ILO in Şanlıurfa province states that 88% of the company owners say that Syrians should return; however, they do not have a direct negative attitude toward employment of Syrians. 70% of the employers agree that work permissions should be provided for Syrians, but expenditures should be covered by international organizations. Moreover, near to 90% of employees think that Syrians increase informal employment, salaries of Turkish workers decrease due to informal employment of Syrians with lower wages, and Syrians lead to job losses for Turkish workers. However, nearly half of

the participants agree that government should create and implement an employment policy for Syrians (Pinar et al. 2016).

According to Syrians Barometer (Erdoğan 2019), while Turkish citizens mostly described Syrians as “They are victims who escaped persecution/war” in 2017, the most selected description changed to “They are dangerous people who will cause us a lot of troubles in the future” in 2019. Also, in both 2017 and 2019, Turkish people preferred qualities such as “messy/dirty, untrustworthy/dangerous, rude, lazy, distant, bad” instead of “hard-working, sincere, nice, polite, clean, trustworthy” to describe Syrians, and it is observed that there is an increase in the rate of negative qualities and a decrease in the positive qualities from 2017 to 2019. These numbers illustrate that attitudes of local people have become more negative in just two years. When it comes to 2020 (Erdoğan 2022), although there is a slight decline in negative attitudes, they still continue to be significantly negative.

Also, 62,4% of Turkish people agree to the statement of that “I think that Syrians will strip us of our jobs” in 2020 (Erdoğan 2022). This ratio was 65% in 2019 (Erdoğan 2019). Although there is a small decrease, the concern about losing jobs seems still substantial.

2.2. Implications of Socio-economic Integration of Immigrants and Refugees

Turkey mainly showed a humanitarian approach from beginning of the crisis in Syria and allowed millions of people to enter the country. It is thought that migration will be temporary and when the crisis in Syria is over, Syrians will return. However, crisis in Syria has lasted longer than expected and the number of Syrians increased dramatically.

When different migration examples are examined worldwide, it would be seen that migrations thought to be temporary eventually became permanent. A prominent example to that is the guest-workers migrating to Europe after the 1950s. Most of these workers stayed in the receiving countries, although they had been accepted as temporary labor migrants and the countries gave incentives to returnees (Haas and Fokkema 2011). Also, it is known that as the staying duration of immigrants rises, their likelihood of returning falls (Bovenkerk 1974).

There is a similar trend in Turkey as well. The willingness and intention of Syrians to return to Syria is decreasing according to Syrians Barometer (Erdoğan 2019; 2022). The study shows that the rate of Syrians who say “I do not plan to return to Syria under any circumstances” jumped from 16,7% in 2017 to 51,8% in 2019, and to 77,8% in 2020. Also, the return of Syrians can only be possible on a voluntary basis due to the non-refoulement principle^{1,2} of international law. Even if voluntary returns do occur, a significant number of Syrians are expected to stay.

Castel (2000) states that when immigrants do not have jobs and social relationships or have insecure works and fragile social relationships, they are excluded. Thus, it becomes crucial to integrate immigrants and refugees since exclusion from society and being expose to negative experiences related to receiving society may cause to radicalization of immigrants (Schumann et al. 2020), especially when it is taught that most immigrants do not return and live together with local people in the receiving countries. As mentioned in the article of Castel (2000), working of immigrants is one of the ways to integrate them.

Moreover, right to work defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Article 23.1 states that “Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.”. Nevertheless, when it is asked about that issue to local people in the receiving countries, they voice some concerns such as “immigrants/refugees steal our jobs” or “they are a burden on our country” (Mayda 2006; Scheve and Slaughter 2001; Ipsos 2017).

In fact, there is a comprehensive debate in the literature whether the participation of immigrants to employment is good or bad for the economy of receiving state and local people. Examining production, trade, and fiscal effects of migration is important to reveal if immigrants are burden. A study conducted by Peri (2010), has found that immigrants benefit the economy of receiving country by expanding the productive capacity because they have positive effects on investment and specialization. This situation yields efficiency gains and increases income per worker. In the study of Head and Ries (1998), the knowledge of immigrants and

¹ <https://www.unhcr.org/4d9486929.pdf>

² <https://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10>

their connections to origin countries have been seen important to decrease transaction costs related international trade. The authors have found that immigrants have a positive effect on bilateral trade of Canada. In the literature, there are controversial findings about fiscal effects of immigrants. However, when studies (Fratzcher and Junker 2015; Kancs and Lecca 2018; Marbach et al. 2018); are examined, it is shown that with pro-integration policies, immigrants decrease fiscal burdens and even make positive contributions to state in the long-term. Integration of immigrants may seem as costly by states and governments, but these studies show socioeconomic and fiscal advantages of integration may actually significantly outweigh the costs of integration in future. In addition, integration policies related to participation of immigrants to employment may reduce to crime rates of immigrants (Dai et al. 2013). It seems like concerns of local people related to “burden on the receiving country” may not be reflecting the reality, at least in the long term.

However, local people may be right to consider about their jobs and wages. Consent of migrants to low paid jobs, even lower than national workers accept, that causes to local people’s loss of jobs. In that case, local workers start to compete for more high-skilled jobs than previous (Castles et al. 2014, 243). In Turkey, Syrians had a similar effect on employment. According to Sağıroğlu (2016), when Syrians took jobs of Turkish people who work as unregistered, they sought for new jobs, and so an increase observed on registered employment, even if it is small. Also, he claims that Syrians have a positive effect on occurring new jobs and rising of skilled labor wages. Similarly, according to Del Carpio and Wagner (2015), Turkish workers, particularly those who are unskilled, illiterate, and female, may suffer as a result of the lack of work permits granted to Syrians. They also discovered that the influx of refugees creates more formal higher-paying occupations for Turkish citizens and so giving Turkish citizens a chance to advance in their employment. Some later studies (Alca 2019; Cengiz and Tekgüç 2022) investigate the effects of Syrian refugee inflows on Turkish nationals' labor market outcomes and finds similar results. The results show that while Syrian refugees have a positive effect on formal employment of Turkish nationals, they have a negative impact on informal employment among Turkish nationals. However, Syrian refugees have no

statistically significant impact on unemployment among Turkish nationals in general. This last finding also found in the study of Akgündüz et al. (2015). They state that Syrian refugees have little to no impact on the employment rates of native Turkish people across a range of skill levels. Accordingly, it could be said that while some of the local people, especially who work in informal economy, are adversely affected by the competition, some of them are positively affected by the increase in salaries, and so attitudes of people who affected by competition may be negative toward immigrants and refugees.

Syrians have also some other effects on the economy other than employment and wage effects. Kuyumcu et al. (2017) states that Syrians' effect on the GDP of Turkey is negative and growth in the GDP decelerated. However, a more recent study (Mahia et al. 2019) indicates that Syrians increased the GDP after they are economically integrated and investment level of Turkey notably risen due to Syrians. Capital inflows from Syrians predicted to reach a value of 179,032 million Turkish Liras, accounting for approximately 0.5% of total investment (total gross fixed capital formation). Moreover, their simulation model (Mahia et al. 2019) reveals that Syrian refugees have a positive impact on the economy both in the short and long term. The short term effect is measured as 1.96% of the GDP in 2017. In the long term (2023-2028) simulation model, the growth trend of Syrian workers suggests that the yearly economic impact of their integration will increase from 1.96% of GDP in 2017 to 4.05% of GDP by 2028. It is expected to have 265,000 new jobs for Turkish natives created indirectly by Syrians' integration (Mahia et al. 2019).

Even though, the exact impact of Syrians' on Turkish economy is still not clear, studies about Turkey example and previous immigration examples show that immigrants should be integrated into economy to compensate their negative effect in the short term and to contribute growth in the long term.

2.3. The Significance of the Study and Research Questions

If a country is unable to provide employment for the increased number of workers that come with a large refugee population, it can lead to hostility toward refugees since locals may feel that they are losing job opportunities to them. It can

also result in locals accepting worse working conditions or dropping out of the workforce due to increased competition for jobs (Del Carpio and Wagner 2015; Sak et al. 2018). It is possible to see a similar situation in Turkey. Since Syrians are willing to work unregistered and with lower wages than Turkish local people, especially in industrial areas with intense informal employment, local workers' wages decreased and, in some cases, they became unemployed (Del Caprio and Wagner 2015).

Since nearly 4 million Syrian refugees are living in Turkey, and immigrants and refugees are generally inclined to stay rather than to return according to literature and also as seen in the Syrians Barometer (Erdoğan 2019; 2022) too, increasing their legal working opportunities are crucial to avoid mentioned problems, and to benefit from their contributions to the economy as well (İçduygu 2015; Kirişçi 2014; Mahia et al. 2019). On the other hand, while doing these, attitudes of local people to Syrians should be taken into consideration because further negative attitudes of local people also cause to exclusion and radicalization of refugees and may cause to unpeaceful situations between groups (Castel 2000). Therefore, I have tried to reveal the attitudes of local people toward legal employment of Syrians in the industrial regions where Syrians mostly work informally by utilizing intergroup contact theory (Allport 1954) and realistic group conflict theory (Jackson 1993).

The purpose of the thesis is to find out what the relationships between the formal participation of Syrians to employment and attitudes toward them are, and competition's effect on these relations. Answers to the following questions have been sought in the thesis:

- What is the relationship between the contact and the attitudes of local people toward Syrians?
- What is the relationship between the competition in the workplaces and the attitudes of local people toward Syrians?
- What is the relationship between the formal participation of Syrians to employment and attitudes of local people toward Syrians?

- What is the relationship between the formal participation of Syrians to employment and attitudes of local people toward Syrians in the presence of competition in the workplaces?

As mentioned before, legal employment of Syrians is extremely low. Also, it is not possible to reach to the workplaces where Syrians work legally since there is no such source of information publicly available. Although it was possible to reach a few of these workplaces through personal connections, the necessary number of workplaces where the examined attitudes can be measured accurately could not be reached. Therefore, attitudes are measured through quasi-experimental vignettes by manipulating legal employment of Syrians, contact between groups, and competition in the workplace.





CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Building on Realistic Group Conflict Theory (Jackson 1993; Sherif 1954; Campbell 1965) and Contact Hypothesis (Allport 1954), the present study explores the relationship between contact, threat, and intergroup attitudes. In this section, firstly these theories are explained with supporting studies, then a literature review is conducted focusing on mainly contact, threat, and intergroup attitudes concepts. In the literature review part, the impacts of realistic threat for native workers, labor market competition, and inclusive integration policies on attitudes of local people to immigrants are also examined. Lastly, the hypotheses that the present study aims to test are defined to explore the impact of workplace contact, competition, and legal employment status of Syrian refugees on local workers' attitudes toward Syrians.

3.1. Realistic Group Conflict Theory

According to Realistic Group Conflict Theory (Jackson 1993), when there are limited resources such as money, jobs, social status, political power or military protection between different groups, a competition over these resources occurs, and this competition causes to occurrence or sustainment of prejudice and negative attitudes toward outgroup. Moreover, the competition be formed by lack of resources does not only have to stem from real scarcities but also from perceived ones.

Realistic Group Conflict Theory (RGCT) has been articulated by various scholars, but the first introducers are Muzaffer Sherif and Donald Campbell. Sherif (1954; 1961) conducted an experiment called Robbers Cave in 1954, which showed the earliest presentation of group conflict. The experiment designed as three stages. In the first stage, a certain number of boys were gathered in one house and were allowed to have friendships. After a few days, they were randomly divided into two groups. In the second stage, several competitions organized between these groups and winners were awarded. In the last stage, several tasks that need team-work and

intergroup cooperation were given to the groups. It is shown that during the competition between groups, aggressive and hostile attitudes occurred toward the other group. Moreover, contact among groups was not enough to decrease negative attitudes toward the outgroup. However, presence of superior goals and cooperation among groups helped to decrease negative attitudes toward the outgroup and to sustain positive intergroup relations. Friendship patterns of the boys were in line with their group through competition tasks. However, after the implementation of a bunch of tasks that based on superordinate goals, the friendship patterns of the boys changed. Their friendship choices were much less group oriented with the cooperative tasks.

After Robbers Cave experiment, similar experiments had been conducted to see whether the same results would be seen. These experiments revealed that competition is an important indicator to explain hostile behaviors and negative attitudes for adolescents and adults as well (Blake and Mouton 1961; Rabbie and Horwitz 1969; Worchel et al. 1978). Also evidences for RGCT found not only from social psychology discipline but also from different disciplines in early years. Some anthropological studies show that attempts to obtain scarce sources create intergroup violence (Divale and Harris 1976). Moreover, sociological studies brought evidences for RGCT (Cummings 1980; Farley 1987; Shamir and Sullivan 1985). These studies mostly focus on that even if sources are plenty, uneven distribution of sources such as economic resources and power causes to conflict, frustration, hate, and aggression among groups (Farley 1987).

The basis of realistic group conflict theory is that occurrence of the competition among groups for scarce resources leads to group conflict, and so prejudice and discrimination toward the outgroup (Campbell 1965). Prejudice and discrimination toward outgroup have their roots in perceived or real conflicts of interests among groups (LeVine and Campbell 1972). Campbell (1965) named the occurrence of conflict between groups due to competitive actions on scarce sources as “realistic group conflict theory”.

RGCT says that as the perceived competition rises between groups for resources, intergroup threat and conflict rise and as the intergroup threat and conflict extend, the hostility that has been showed toward to other group increases.

Also, the theory states that proximity and contact cause to an increase in intergroup hostility instead of a decrease when there is a competition for resources (Esses et al. 2005; LeVine and Campbell 1972). The competition that described in the RGCT does not need to be an actual competition for tangible sources. The important aspect is the perception of the groups. Intergroup hostility occurs if groups perceive that there is an intergroup threat or competition over real or symbolic resources (Esses et al. 2005). Several situations such as real or imagined safety threats, economic interests, social status or military considerations lead to occurrence of a realistic threat perception by parties and these threats create conflicts and hostility between groups (Jackson 1993). However, RGCT also supports that superordinate goals can be used to decrease intergroup hostility (Jackson 1993). This shows that the negative effect of intergroup threat even if the threat is realistic, is not immutable.

3.2. Contact Theory

Contact theory, firstly proposed by Allport (1954), declares that the contact between members of different groups decreases existing prejudice of these members toward each other, and then toward outgroup.

Allport (1954, 9) defines prejudice as “an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization”. Also, he states that prejudice “may be felt or expressed” and “may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group” (Allport, 1954, 9).

According to Allport (1954, 324) no one born with prejudice, but they become prejudiced through things (such as concepts and observations) they learn from the social system they born in. Also, having less or wrong information about a group and growing up in an environment with existed stereotypes make people prejudiced against that group. He states that knowing each other and so changing stereotypes and missing information with directly observed information may help to decrease prejudice (Allport 1954).

Allport (1954) inferred this hypothesis from the field studies which existed in that time. He examined several studies and made inferences about group distinctions, intergroup prejudice, and intergroup contact. He benefited from 24 different studies just to explain the effect of contact between groups. Allport

summarized the effect of contact between majority and minority groups. He stated that “equal status contact” may reduce the prejudice “in the pursuit of common goals” and this effect increases if the contact is approved by “institutional supports” such as “law, custom, or local atmosphere” (Allport 1954, 281). Thus, Allport’s contact hypothesis supports that to reduce prejudice and to see positive effect of the contact between groups, some conditions should be met. The four critical conditions of contact theory are equal status among groups, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and support from authority figures including laws or customs (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006).

Equal status means that establishment of equal conditions between different groups for a specific situation. Equal status can be established from several aspects. However, it is important that both groups perceive that they are under equal conditions (Tropp and Pettigrew 2005). Also, having equal opportunities in reaching to resources and in decision making are exposed as elements that met the equal status condition (Pettigrew et al. 2011).

Common goals between groups are needed to reduce the prejudice. Through common goals, groups have to trust on other group or specifically to its members even if they do not want and work together to achieve the common goal (Tropp and Pettigrew 2005).

Intergroup cooperation states the cooperation between different groups in a specific work or in a general situation. To establish this condition, the relationship among groups should be based on cooperation rather than competition (Küçükkömürlü and Sakallı-Uğurlu 2017).

Common goals and cooperation also stated as factors that decrease negative attitudes toward another group in Robert Cave experiment (Sherif et al. 1961) which is the experiment leads to formation of RGCT.

Support of authority is another condition for a positive contact between groups. This support should be provided for the outgroup or minority group by an authority figure (Pettigrew 1997). The stated authority can be politicians, managers, law, rules, institutions, customs (Tropp and Pettigrew 2005).

Contact theory argues that contact decreases wrong, missing, or stereotyped information about other group and so decreases prejudice (Allport 1954). The

assumption of that contact decreases prejudice tested several times. The meta-analysis (Pettigrew and Tropp 2006) of 696 samples from 515 studies shows that extend intergroup contact is related with lower prejudiced. As intergroup contact increase, the level of prejudice decreases in the 94% of the studies. The effect of the contact on lowering prejudice is higher in the experiments. Moreover, it is found that in the study, not only the attitudes toward contacted people become positive with contact, but also attitudes toward the other outgroup members and entire outgroup become positive.

Another meta-analysis study (Pettigrew and Tropp 2008) investigated the most studied mediator variables for contact and prejudice relations. Research indicates that intergroup contact can reduce prejudice by increasing knowledge about other groups, reducing anxiety, and fostering empathy.

Nevertheless, correlational studies do not allow us to confidently determine the direction of causality between contact and intergroup attitudes. It is possible that varying amounts of contact may influence attitudes, or that people with different preexisting attitudes may selectively engage in contact with outgroup members. It is likely that both processes occur in some contexts, and that causality may be circular. However, in certain cases, the use of longitudinal designs or advanced modeling techniques can provide support for the idea that contact, under certain circumstances, can lead to changes in generalized attitudes (Brown and Hewstone 2005).

Stephan and Rosenfield (1979) observed attitudes of children in two multiethnic elementary schools in USA. Observations from study shows minority groups contact with whites more than that white people contact with minorities since the number of whites in schools are higher than the number of minorities. Also, minorities have more positive attitudes toward whites compared with the attitudes of whites toward minorities. Stephan and Rosenfield (1979) state that due to availability of contact, minorities had more contact with whites, and this might be decreased their negative attitudes.

Some other longitudinal studies (Brown et al. 2007; Eller and Abrams 2003; 2004) also found that contact with outgroups members can help to increase positive attitudes. Studies of Hewstone (2009), and Ortiz and Harwood (2007) reveal that

there is a significant adverse relationship between contact and intergroup prejudice. Moreover, Ortiz and Harwood (2007) show that even observing an intergroup contact leads to positive attitudes toward an outgroup.

However, existed prejudice determines the quality of the contact (Güler 2013). Also, prejudiced people avoid contact with another group and even if they have contact, it happens in an artificial level and so the positive outcomes of the contact do not occur, and people stay prejudiced (Allport 1954). Therefore, to prevent the negative effect of existed prejudice, establishment of contact conditions before and during the contact seems crucial as Allport (1954) proposed.

3.3. Contact, Threat and Intergroup Attitudes

Intergroup attitudes are one of the main topics of social psychology. However, relations between groups are not only a subject of social psychology but also an important subject of migration, sociology, economics, and political science. Therefore, it is important to understand and to be able to explain the dynamics of attitudes and interactions among groups from different aspects.

With the Robbers Cave experiment (Sherif et al. 1954), intergroup hostility, intergroup threat, and intergroup contact became an important research topic. Robbers Cave experiment showed that competition for scarce resources causes to threat between different groups. Therefore, contact among groups during the competition leads to hostility.

Allport (1954) says that intergroup contact indeed may reduce the prejudice to outgroup and so reduce the hostility between groups. However, four conditions which are equal status, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and authority support has to be present to reveal the positive effect of the contact.

Some of the studies actually reveal that intergroup contact has positive outcomes and decreases negative feelings and attitudes by reducing prejudices to outgroup (Bruneau et al. 2020; Erişen 2018; Gu et al. 2016; Güler 2013; Pettigrew and Tropp 2006; Pettigrew et al. 2011; Turner et al. 2007).

Nevertheless, an optimal intergroup contact which leads positive outcomes not always possible. Existent anxiety and hostility between group may cause that contact may be resulted with a negative outcome rather than a positive one (Ortiz

and Harwood 2010; Stephan and Stephan 1985). If the contact is negative, then it deepens negative attitudes instead of decreasing prejudice (Graf et al. 2014; Meleady and Forder 2019; Paolini et al. 2010).

Below, after the general concepts related to threat perception in the literature are given, whether realistic threats (especially job competition) affect attitudes of local people or not will be tried to understand through related studies. Afterwards, the relationship between the threat perception of local people and pro-integration policies will be examined.

3.3.a. Threat Perception

It is known that in most countries, host communities have mostly negative attitudes toward migrants. Host communities perceive people who came to their country as a threat in terms of culture, economy, or security (Ipsos 2017). Even if they do not see migrants themselves as a threat, they perceive that migrants may cause some situations which constitute threat for them or their country. To understand these perceptions, the understanding of the threat concept is needed.

In the intergroup threat theory (Stephan and Stephan 2000), threats classified into firstly four groups which are realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotypes and then into two groups as realistic and symbolic threats (Renfro and Stephan 2002).

Realistic threats are tangible or measurable threats on resources, power, health, security, and welfare. Symbolic threats are intangible or unmeasurable threats on values, beliefs, religion, ideology, philosophy, culture, morality, identity, and worldview. These threats can be in group based or individual based (Stephan et al. 2016).

Also, it is possible to classify threats perceived by host communities in two main categories as personal (individual, egocentric) threats and sociotropic threats. These threats can be realistic or symbolic. Individual threats contain the threats perceived in the individual level such as concerning personal security, health, loss of job (realistic) or loss of self-identity (symbolic). Sociotropic threats are the threats which support migrants may have potential negative effects on the nation in terms of economy or culture (Solodoch 2021, 1010).

3.3.b. Realistic Threat and Attitudes of Local People

According to contact hypothesis (Allport 1954), contact between different groups decreases the prejudice and produces positive outcomes in terms of attitudes as discussed previously. Although contact hypothesis suggests that intergroup contact can reduce prejudice, it is important to note that not all contact will have this effect. In some cases, contact that involves existing prejudices or perceived threats can actually increase prejudice between groups (Pettigrew et al. 2011). According to realistic group conflict theory (Jackson 1993), when there is a real competition for jobs, money, social status, etc., a realistic threat is perceived by groups and this perception causes to occurrence of prejudice and negative attitudes in result. In this case, contact between groups may deepen the existing negative attitudes.

In daily life, competition between immigrants/refugees and local communities mostly and visibly occurs for jobs. Local people think immigrants or refugees steal their jobs (Erdoğan 2019; 2022). Therefore, it can be expected that personal economic concerns of local people due to the existence of immigrants can diminish the positive effect of contact between groups by increasing the realistic threat perception and so can affect adversely the attitudes of local people.

When studies related to individual economic concerns and attitudes of local groups examined, some argue labor market competition has an impact on negative attitudes of local people (Mayda 2006; Pardos-Prado and Xena 2019; Scheve and Slaughter 2001). Basic neoclassical theory for labor market competition says that when immigrant and native workers are substitutable, wages of native workers decline and some native workers may lose their jobs (Bansak et al. 2015, 175). This sets an example for scarce resources and perception of competition as stated in realistic group conflict theory (Jackson 1993). Therefore, it might be expected that attitudes of local people to immigrants or refugees will be negative in the countries where they are substitutable. Also, some argued that natives, particularly those living in areas or working in industries with high levels of immigration, may be more worried about competition with immigrants in the labor market compared to

those in other areas or industries (Dancygier and Donnelly, 2013; Malhotra et al., 2013).

In Turkey example, there is a similar picture due to the substitutability of local people and Syrians in informal sector (Alca, 2019), and so wage declines and job losses of local people (Alca, 2019). Accordingly, this situation can create a perception of realistic threat for local people and cause to negative attitudes. Also, it can be expected that these negative attitudes may be higher for local people who work in the industries where Syrians work mostly.

Lazarev and Sharma (2015) investigated the influence of economic and religious factors on attitudes toward Syrian refugees in Turkey. They found that religious cues increased the likelihood of charitable behavior toward the refugees, while economic cost cues, which could be seen as a form of realistic threat, decreased the intention to provide assistance.

According to the survey studies of Erdoğan (2014; 2019; 2022), it is clear that Turkish people see Syrians as an economic threat and they do not think they share similar culture even though the geographic proximity, common religion, and some ethnic similarities. Also, the data on assistance to Syrian refugees (Erdoğan, 2022) supports the findings of Lazarev and Sharma (2015). 68,3% of Turkish people in 2014, 63,17% in 2019, 54,7% in 2020 said that they did not provide any in cash or in-kind assistance to Syrians (Erdoğan, 2022). Özkeçeci-Taner (2017) interprets this situation as that Islam may create a sense of connection between Turkish citizens and Syrian refugees, however the potential economic threat can negate the effect of religious solidarity on the desire to help with reference to Lazarev and Sharma (2015) and Erdoğan's findings (2014). However, it should be kept in mind that Turkish people do not see Syrians only as an economic threat but also see themselves as culturally distant from Syrians even if they share same religion (Erdoğan, 2014; 2019; 2022). This perception of cultural distance may be one of the important factors determining helping behaviors instead of economic threat.

Using data from the European Social Survey, Ortega and Polavieja (2012) found that the type of work someone does (manual or communicational) has a significant impact on their views on immigration, with manual work leading to less

pro-immigration views and communicational work leading to more pro-immigration views. The results suggest that competition in the labor market based on skills plays a significant role in shaping individual attitudes toward immigration. Considering that Syrians are mostly working in manual jobs, it is possible to think that a similar result may occur in Turkey. However, the results also show that individuals who have negative views toward immigrants tend to work in low-immigration occupations (Ortega and Polavieja, 2012). This indicates that the main determinant of negative attitudes toward immigrants may not be realistic threats but other indicators such as cultural threats, lack of contact, etc.

Hainmueller et al. (2015) conducted a survey study of U.S. employees in 12 industries, which indicated that concerns about labor market competition do not significantly affect voter attitudes toward immigration. The study found that workers at all skill levels were more supportive of high-skilled immigration than low-skilled immigration, and that individuals were not more likely to oppose immigration of workers with similar skills. As stated in the study (Hainmueller et al., 2015), the findings appear to align with the idea that non-economic factors, such as ethnocentrism or concerns about the overall impact of immigration on the country (sociotropic threats), are more influential in determining voter attitudes toward immigration.

Similar findings presented in the study of Valentino et al. (2017). By manipulating the skin tone, national origin, and occupational status of immigrants in brief vignettes, the study used a comparative experimental design to examine how economic and cultural factors influence attitudes toward immigrants in advanced democracies. It involved over 18,000 interviews in 11 countries across 4 continents. Regardless of the socioeconomic standing of the native respondents, it is discovered that higher-skilled immigrants are favoured over lower-skilled immigrants. While respondents do not demonstrate greater hostility toward immigrants in their own socioeconomic class, the data do not support labor market competition. The study finds that although skin color has little effect on attitudes, immigrants from predominantly Muslim countries are exposed to more negative attitudes. These results show us that sociotropic concerns due to preference for high-skilled immigrants and cultural concerns have more impact on attitudes of natives.

Another study in the subject (Pardos-Prado and Xena, 2019) claims that labor market competition has impact on attitudes but not in the classical understanding. The study shows that education is a significant factor in determining attitudes toward immigration, even when taking into account factors such as income and social class and the classical labor market competition theory is not a reliable predictor of attitudes toward immigration. However, the study indicates that attitudes toward immigration are more strongly influenced by an individual's position in the labor market, specifically factors such as the transferability of their skills and the availability of jobs. If there are scarce jobs and the individual does not have transferable skills for another type of job, the individual tends to have anti-immigrant attitudes. As the study shows, these effects are present across all levels of education, income, and exposure to immigrants, and remain consistent. Therefore, even highly educated individuals may hold anti-immigrant attitudes when they feel threatened by competition in the labor market (Pardos-Prado and Xena, 2019). These findings constitute support for the RGCT but with some conditions. Accordingly, anti-immigrant attitudes of individuals may be explained with RGCT if they are in sectors where there is less labor demand and they do not have transferable skills for other jobs.

However, a study (Alrababa'h et al., 2021) from Jordan, demonstrates the importance of the culture's influence on attitudes instead of individual or sociotropic economic concerns. The hypothesis of the study is that labor market theory is significant and self-interested economic considerations have a greater influence on attitudes in less developed host countries, which often have weak welfare systems, limited economic opportunities, and a higher percentage of immigrants (Syrians) who speak the same language and have similar skills as the native population. It is also expected that sociotropic economic concerns are significant in these countries, which tend to have weak public services, crowded housing markets, rudimentary education systems, and labor markets with high unemployment and limited economic opportunities. However, the results do not support these hypotheses.

Alrababa'h et al.'s (2021) findings support current theories on how perceptions of cultural threat can influence attitudes toward immigrant populations.

The findings show that even small cultural differences with immigrants can lead to negative attitudes among the host population. The findings also indicate that when immigration occurs from countries with fewer pronounced cultural differences, there is less likelihood of strong public opposition to migrants even though these immigrants have more probability to be substitutable in terms of jobs. Furthermore, the study discovered that Jordanians who have personally or communally suffered greater negative economic repercussions from the crisis do not always exhibit more hostile opinions against Syrians than those who have suffered less. On the other hand, Jordanians who are more exposed to the difficult living situations of Syrians and who are less sensitive to cultural differences tend to have more positive sentiments toward Syrians (Arababa'h et al., 2021).

As seen from the studies so far, even though some studies stated that egocentric and sociotropic economic concerns have an impact on attitudes, the main determinant of negative attitudes seems like perceived cultural threats since this dimension is found in most studies. Moreover, the apparent impact of individual and sociotropic economic concerns diminishes when the culture of immigrants does not seem as a threat by natives. This seems still valid even in the situations where negative attitudes due to individual and sociotropic economic threats are expected to be the most (Arababa'h et al., 2021).

3.3.c. Integration Policies, Threat Perception, and Attitudes of Local People

This chapter focuses on the relationship between threat perception and integration policies, specifically how the integration process can shape the way in which natives perceive and respond to immigrants. Through a review of relevant literature and analysis of relevant case studies, this chapter aims to understand how integration policies influence the threat perception and attitudes of natives toward immigrants.

Penninx and Garcés-Mascreñas (2016) define the integration as “the process of becoming an accepted part of society”. The authors categorize the various aspects of integration into three dimensions: the legal-political dimension, the socio-economic dimension, and the cultural-religious dimension. Independent from their national citizenship, immigrants’ or refugees’ social and economic

standing is referred to as the socio-economic dimension (Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016). Since this thesis tries to understand the impact of legal participation of Syrians to employment in Turkey, examining the impact of socio-economic integration on attitudes of local people is also important besides the impact of integration policies in general.

There are two common views for the impact of integration policies on attitudes of local people as Schlueter et al. (2013) discussed and tested. First view (Schlueter et al., 2013) argues that more inclusive integration policies cause to more intergroup competition and so increased intergroup threat inferring from the group conflict model (Meuleman et al., 2009). This view is also compatible with RGCT (Jackson, 1993). The opposing view (Schlueter et al., 2013), which is inferred from some intergroup contact literature (Chong, 1994; Pettigrew, 1991), supports that inclusive integration policies decrease the intergroup threat by fostering social norms which are needed for successful intergroup relations. Clearly, this view has the basic reasoning with Contact Hypothesis (Allport, 1954).

These views are tested with two different studies examining 27 Western and Eastern European Countries (Schlueter et al., 2013). In result of multilevel regression models, both studies show that more inclusive integration policies are related to low levels of group threat which perceived by local people from immigrants.

Also, Meuleman and Reeskens (2008) presented that economic and cultural threat perception among local people are higher in the countries where exclusive integration policies are implemented. For example, the perceived ethnic threat is in the lowest levels in countries which have more inclusive integration policies such as Norway and Sweden. On the other hand, the levels are higher in the countries, which implement more exclusive integration policies, such as Greece, Slovenia, Poland, and Hungary. Also, in countries, which adapt inclusive labor market integration policies, the anti-immigration sentiment and economic threat perception seem less than other countries (Meuleman and Reeskens, 2008).

Callens and Meuleman (2017) conducted multilevel analysis on a sample of 29,844 native citizens from 27 different countries utilizing the Migration Integration Policy Index from 2007 and The European Values Study from 2008. The study

found that people living in nations with more liberal integration policies were less worried about the threat to the economy. This finding is more visible for the policies which promote political and labor market participation.

Moreover, a recent and extensive study of Kende et al. (2022) revealed that inclusive integration policies are crucial for low levels of anti-immigrant attitudes in high-immigration countries. They argue that policies that promote inclusiveness lead to a decrease in prejudice, especially in areas with a high immigrant population, by empowering them and reducing their disadvantages. The study (Kende et al., 2022) analyzed the data of 143,752 participants from 66 countries, 20 local (subnational) regions, and 64 institutions, utilizing 6 datasets in 8 sub-studies. The analysis confirms that anti-immigrant prejudice is lower among natives when there is a high presence of immigrants and inclusive policies, compared to exclusive ones in each of eight studies. Also, questions measuring realistic threat are asked in the three of the datasets. Results related to these questions show that more inclusive integration policies lead to less realistic threat perception (Kende et al., 2022).

While some studies have proved the benefits of policies that promote inclusive integration, others have revealed negative impacts or no discernible association. Koopmans (2010) studied how welfare states and integration strategies affected immigrants' ability to integrate economically in eight different European nations. The research found that multicultural policies combined with generous support systems led to poor labor market participation, excessive segregation, and a disproportionately high number of immigrant criminal convictions.

Moreover, Kauff et al. (2013) found that inclusive integration strategies, as judged by MIPEX, can exacerbate the link between authoritarian ideologies and anti-immigration attitudes. This finding was based on the study of ESS Round 4 data from 23 countries. In surroundings with inclusive integration policies that run counter to their ideology, the study indicated that people who accept authoritarian principles feel threatened. Therefore, having perception of being threatened intensifies their opposition to immigration.

However, there are large number of studies which show the positive effect of inclusive integration policies as discussed in this section. In general, these measures are linked to fewer anti-immigrant feelings, increased tolerance, and

diminished threat perceptions, according to a number of correlational studies (Hooghe and De Vroome, 2015; Weldon, 2006; Kauff et al., 2013; Schlueter et al., 2013). Supporting these studies, Green et al. (2020) found that more tolerant policies in general are associated with more daily contact and less symbolic threat, and more daily contact is associated with less symbolic and realistic threat. Moreover, people exhibit lower threat perceptions and less anti-immigrant emotions in nations with more inclusive labor market regulations (Careja and Andreß, 2013; Nagayoshi and Hjerm, 2015).

These studies present that inclusive integration policies which can be considered as an institutional support (Green et al., 2020) or authority support may help to decrease threat perception and so negative attitudes of local people as Contact Hypothesis (Allport, 1954) argues.

In this section, the theoretical framework and related literature review used in the study have been presented. In the next section, hypotheses to be tested in the study will be explained within the scope of the presented theoretical framework and literature review.

3.4. Hypotheses

In Turkey, Syrians mostly work informally in industrial regions. They are substitutable with local people in these regions. Since Syrians have similar skills with locals in these regions and work cheaper and without insurance, they create this substitution effect in the regions (Ceritoglu, et al., 2017; Del Carpio, Wagner, 2015; Tümen, 2016). This situation yields some wage decreases and job losses for local people in these regions. Also, there is common negative attitudes toward Syrians in the country (Erdoğan, 2019; 2022). When these negative attitudes addressed together with the situation in the industrial regions, it might be predicted that locals in these regions may have more negative attitudes since there is a competition between groups in terms of jobs. Competition between jobs creates a realistic threat as RGCT states and causes hostility among groups.

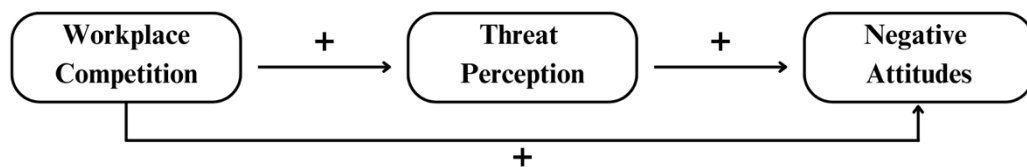
However, Allport (1954) also states that four conditions which are equal status, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and support of authorities, law or customs must be met for contact to reduce prejudices. Therefore, while looking at

the effect of contact on attitudes, it is also necessary to look at whether these conditions occur.

This study mainly investigates the following statement: The legal participation of Syrians to employment increases the threat perception from Syrians and negatively affects the attitudes toward them in the workplaces when competition is high. However, if the contact conditions are fully met, positive contact occurs and so threat perception declines and then attitudes are positively affected.

Nevertheless, the impact of the competition cannot be denied. As RGCT declares, the perception of competition creates realistic threat and realistic threat generates hostility and so affects attitudes negatively. This argument intuitively seems prevailing for Turkey example. There is already a perception that Syrians are stealing their jobs among the local people (Syrians Barometer, 2019; 2022). In line with all these, the following assumption will be made in this study for workplaces where competition is particularly visible:

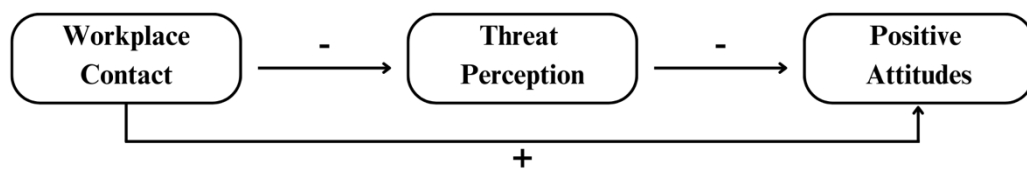
- H1. It is expected that the presence of workplace competition will be associated with more negative attitudes toward Syrians with the mediation of the higher levels of threat perception.
 - H1A. It is expected that the presence of workplace competition will be associated with the higher levels of threat perception.
 - H1B. It is expected that the presence of workplace competition will be associated with more negative attitudes toward Syrians.



It has been demonstrated in many studies that the presence of contact affects attitudes positively. It also has been stated that negative effects of contact can also be seen in cases where there is an existing threat perception (Allport, 1954; Güler, 2013). However, Allport (1954) stated that the positive effects of contact can be seen by ensuring contact conditions. From this point of view, the following

hypotheses will be tested in cases where there is a contact that includes cooperation and common goals, which are two of the contact conditions stated by Allport:

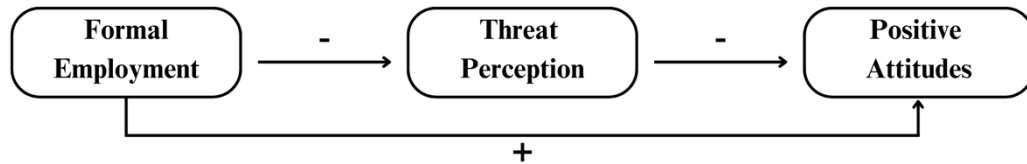
- H2. It is expected that the presence of workplace contact will be associated with more positive attitudes toward Syrians with the mediation of the lower levels of threat perception.
 - H2A. It is expected that the presence of workplace contact will be associated with the lower levels of threat perception.
 - H2B. It is expected that the presence of workplace contact will be associated with more positive attitudes toward Syrians.



Also, authority support and equal status which are other contact conditions for creating positive results of the contact specified by Allport (1954), can be ensured with inclusive integration policies. It is expected that both authority support and equal status conditions as well as inclusive integration policies will reduce the perceived threat perception from the opposing group and will positively affect attitudes. As an example of an inclusive integration policy, the legal participation of Syrians to employment is examined in this study. With this policy, authority support and equal status conditions can be ensured by law even though only in terms of employment status. Accordingly, it will be tested how the legal participation of Syrians in working life will affect local workers' attitudes toward them. Based on the positive effects of the contact theory and inclusive integration policies which seen in various studies, the following hypotheses are created. However, it should be kept in mind that the current negative attitudes toward Syrians and the competition in the market may also strengthen the threat perception and negative attitudes in line with the RGCT. If the hypotheses are wrong, it can be said that RGCT plays a more prominent role in influencing attitudes.

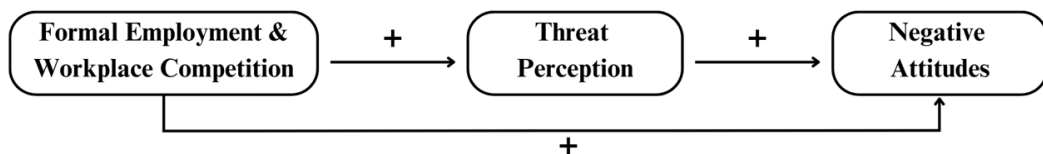
- H3. It is expected that the presence of formal employment of Syrians will be associated with more positive attitudes toward Syrians with the mediation of the lower levels of threat perception.

- H3A. It is expected that the presence of formal employment of Syrians will be associated with the lower levels of threat perception.
- H3B. It is expected that the presence of formal employment of Syrians will be associated with more positive attitudes toward Syrians.



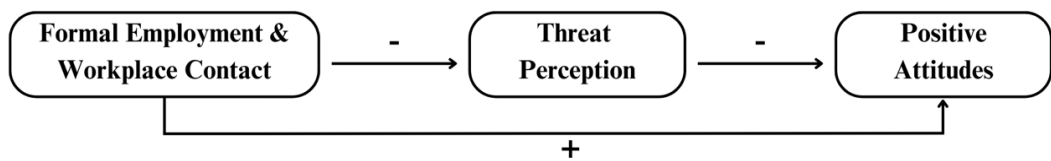
It is thought that the RGCT will play an active role especially in cases where competition visibly exists in the situations Syrians work legally. It is expected that this situation will increase the perceived threat and negatively affect attitudes toward Syrians. The following hypothesis will be used to test this argument:

- H4. It is expected that formal employment of Syrians will be associated with more negative attitudes toward Syrians in the presence of workplace competition, with the mediation of the higher levels of threat perception.
 - H4A. It is expected that formal employment of Syrians will be associated with the higher levels of threat perception in the presence of workplace competition.
 - H4B. It is expected that formal employment of Syrians will be associated with more negative attitudes toward Syrians in the presence of workplace competition.



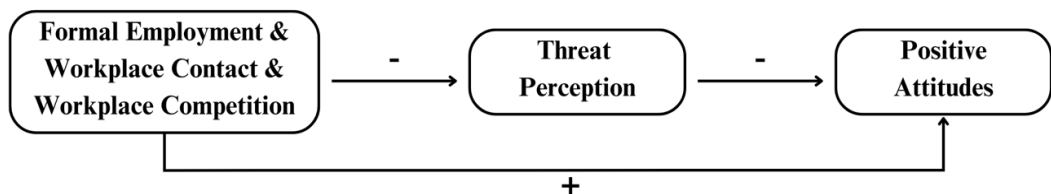
In cases where contact is visible instead of competition, it is thought that the positive impact of contact hypothesis and inclusive policies on attitudes will be greater than in cases where contact does not exist. The following hypotheses will be used to test this assumption:

- H5. It is expected that formal employment of Syrians will be associated with more positive attitudes toward Syrians in the presence of workplace contact, with the mediation of the lower levels of threat perception.
 - H5A. It is expected that formal employment of Syrians will be associated with the lower levels of threat perception in the presence of workplace contact.
 - H5B. It is expected that formal employment of Syrians will be associated with more positive attitudes toward Syrians in the presence of workplace contact.



Moreover, it is expected that even if the competition is visible, the presence of contact may eliminate the negative effects of competition on attitudes based on the contact hypothesis. The following hypotheses will be used to test this assumption:

- H6. It is expected that formal employment of Syrians will be associated with more positive attitudes toward Syrians in the presence of both workplace contact and workplace competition, with the mediation of the lower levels of threat perception.
 - H6A. It is expected that formal employment of Syrians will be associated with the lower levels of threat perception in the presence of both workplace contact and workplace competition.
 - H6B. It is expected that formal employment of Syrians will be associated with more positive attitudes toward Syrians in the presence of both workplace contact and workplace competition.



As stated before, RGCT assumes that when there are limited sources competition occurs and groups perceive a realistic threat which leads to hostility between groups. However, some studies show the reason of the negative attitudes is not merely competition and even if so, it cannot be generalized. Pardos-Prado and Xena (2019) say that labor market competition occurs only in some specific situations such as when workers cannot transfer their skills to other positions. Alrababa'h et al. (2021) show realistic threat did not determine the attitudes toward refugees even though conditions were quite convenient for it. The study reveals that cultural considerations overcomes realistic considerations. Therefore, it will be examined whether the main determinant of negative attitudes is cultural threat or realistic threat. The following hypotheses will be used to test this:

- H7. It is expected that cultural threat will have higher effect than realistic threat on negative attitudes toward Syrians.

CHAPTER IV

METHOD

The research aims to find out how legal participation of Syrians in the workforce affects the attitudes of the local population toward them. In the study, workplace competition, intergroup contact, and the legal or illegal working status of Syrians are determined as independent variables, while threat perception is a mediator variable, and the presence of existing social contact is a control variable. Attitudes toward Syrians are measured in terms of positive and negative emotions toward the person mentioned in the scenario, positive and negative emotions toward all Syrians living in Turkey, and social distance toward Syrians in general.

To measure the impact of independent variables on attitudes, the experimental vignette method is used. Eight (2x2x2) different vignettes were prepared for three independent variables with two levels each. The study was designed as between-subjects so that each participant would only see one scenario. After reading the scenarios, all participants were asked the same questions.

4.1. Research Context

The number of Syrians under Temporary Protection in Ankara is 90.829, as of 23.03.2023 according to the statement of the Presidency of Migration Management (2023). According to same data, this number represents 1.56% of the total population residing in Ankara.

According to Savran and Sat's study (2019), 2017 data showed that approximately 55% of the registered Syrian population in Ankara lives in Altındağ district. The proportion of Syrians in the total population of Altındağ district is around 12%. In addition, it was observed that after Altındağ, the districts with the highest Syrian population were Yenimahalle, Mamak, Polatlı, Beypazarı, and Keçiören.

According to the results of Turkish Red Crescent Association's survey (2019), 77.9% of Syrian workers in Ankara were found to be employed in blue-

collar jobs. The report (Turkish Red Crescent Association, 2019) states that the furniture industry stands out as the most prominent sector for Syrian employment. The Siteler Furniture Industrial Site, the most significant furniture production area in Ankara, is located in Altındağ district. Thus, Siteler is a crucial location for Syrians seeking employment. While there is no official record of the number of Syrians employed in Siteler, trade unions estimate that an average of 7,500 Syrians work there (Turkish Red Crescent Association, 2019). Furthermore, the same report highlights that the manufacturing sector is the top sector in Ankara in terms of providing employment, having the highest number of job vacancies, and facing the most significant challenges in recruiting workers. The manufacturing industry in Ankara is primarily concentrated in the organized industrial zones, which are the subject of this study.

Organized Industrial Zones (OIZs) are places designated by the governments that are specifically created and built to support industrial operations. These zones are established with the intention of fostering economic development and expansion by offering the tools, resources, and facilities required to support industrial operations (Ministry of Industry and Technology).

The concept of Organized Industrial Zones was developed in England in the late 19th century when it became clear how crucial it was to strategically locate and expand industry. OIZ implementation continued in developed nations like the United States of America at the start of the 20th century (Ministry of Industry and Technology).

In Turkey, in the planned development period that commenced in 1960, industry was identified as the "locomotive" sector, and long-term objectives were established to attain economic equilibrium and advance economic and social development in tandem, with emphasis placed on industrialization and growth at a measured pace. The inception of Organized Industrial Zones in Turkey was launched in congruence with these objectives, with the first OIZ in Bursa established in 1962 as one among numerous incentive measures adopted to cultivate industry in the country.

As stated in the report (Bayülken 2017) of the The Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (TMMOB), OIZs are areas that are specifically

designed and developed for the placement of small and/or medium-sized manufacturing units that produce various sectoral products in a compatible and complementary manner, and which are not heavy industry or integrated facilities. Such units are located within comprehensive areas with clearly defined boundaries, and are equipped with the necessary infrastructure, social and technical services, and common structures to facilitate their operation (Bayülken 2017).

Law No. 4562 (Resmi Gazete 2000), which came into effect on April 15, 2000, forms part of the regulatory framework that governs the establishment of Organized Industrial Zones. The law outlines OIZs as areas designed for production that are planned and operated in accordance with its provisions. The primary goal of OIZs is to promote organized industrial activities in specific regions while preventing unplanned industrialization and environmental issues. OIZs also aim to direct urbanization, optimize resource utilization, employ information and communication technologies, allocate specific areas for industrial types based on a specific plan, and provide necessary common-use areas, service and support facilities, and technology development zones, all in compliance with the ratios specified in the zoning plans. The ultimate objective of OIZs is to achieve resource efficiency and enhance the production of goods and services.

OIZs serve as a crucial mechanism for fostering industrial development in Turkey. Currently, there are 374 OIZs including OIZs established for agricultural industry in Turkey (Gökkoyun 2022). In Ankara, there are 12 actively working and 1 in ongoing establishment OIZs according to Ministry of Industry and Technology.

Also, there are industrial estates which are smaller areas than OIZs. The typical purpose of industrial estates, or small-scale industrial clusters, is to provide a common working area for workshops and small factory units engaged in the manufacture of a variety of goods and services along the same production line. These clusters are typically structured around shared infrastructure and necessary social and technical services and can be thought of as small-scale industrial clusters where craftsmen and trademen gather to sell their products. The defining feature of these clusters is that they contain small-scale workshops with a limited range of production, sales volume, and employment structure (Bayülken 2017).

The study is conducted in the OIZs and smaller industrial areas which are in relatively more central locations in Ankara. Also, these industrial areas are that where there is a higher probability for working of Syrians comparing other industrial areas. Selected areas for conducting surveys are given below:

Name	Type	Specialization
OSTIM OSB	OIZ	General
IVEDIK OSB	OIZ	General
ASO 1. OSB	OIZ	General
ASO 2. – 3. OSB	OIZ	General
Şaşmaz Oto Sanayi Sitesi	Small scale industrial area	Automobile
İskitler Oto Sanayi Sitesi	Small scale industrial area	Automobile
Siteler Mobilya Sanayi Sitesi	Small scale industrial area	Furniture

Table 4.1. The Places that Surveys are Applied

The main reason for selecting industrial zones as the survey areas is that these areas are more likely to experience intergroup encounters. According to a study (ILO, 2017) conducted in 2017, 813,000 out of 930,000 working Syrians work illegally. Syrians mostly work in low-paid occupations such as ready-made garment, manufacturing, trade and accommodation, construction, and agriculture. Industrial zones are favorable areas for Syrians to work informally in most of these sectors. Employers can employ Syrians informally at low costs. This results in a higher number of Syrian workers in industrial zones compared to other workplaces and increases the likelihood of local people having contact with Syrians. Moreover, these areas are places where both formally and informally employed individuals coexist. Therefore, the effects of the variables examined in the study can be more clearly seen in these areas.

Another reason for selecting these areas for conducting the surveys is that the competition between the local population and Syrian workers is more visible in industrial zones. The substitution effect created by Syrians, particularly in the informal economy, leads to the loss of jobs for the local population working illegally. This situation creates a suitable environment for the effective presence of

realistic threat. If the realistic threat has a stronger impact than the cultural threat, it is expected to be observed in these areas.

4.2. Participants

To determine the sample size, a power analysis was conducted, and a sample size of 196 was calculated for a power coefficient of .80, effect size of .25, and alpha value of .05. However, a sample size of 240 was ultimately chosen. Therefore, each scenario was administered to 30 (240/8) different individuals.

The study was conducted on industrial workers employed in industrial zones located in Ankara. To ensure the validity of the study, participants were selected as heterogeneously as possible. Furthermore, to increase the validity of the study, each scenario was randomly assigned to participants.

4.3. Measures

In this study, the independent variables are determined as legal employment, contact, and competition, and their effects are measured by manipulating them in the prepared vignettes.

To measure the dependent variables, the Negative Out-group Affect Scale adapted to Turkish by Balaban (2013) and the Social Distance Scale, adapted to Turkish by Bikmen (1999), are used. Questions prepared by the researcher were used to measure the perceived threat, which is hypothesized as a mediating variable.

Additionally, the positive relationship between contact and attitudes, which is commonly found in the literature, suggested the need for controlling for existing contact. Therefore, participants' current contact experiences with Syrians are expected to affect their attitudes toward them, and the Social Contact Scale (Akbaş, 2010) was used to measure this effect.

4.3.a. Vignettes

In the study, eight different scenarios were used to manipulate two levels of three independent variables. Participants were first asked to read these scenarios and

then answer other questions later. The manipulations are shown below, with the number 1 indicating the presence of manipulation and the number 0 indicating its absence. The cases where formal employment is absent indicates informal employment.

- Formal Employment: 0 – Workplace Contact: 0 – Workplace Competition: 0
- Formal Employment: 0 – Workplace Contact: 1 – Workplace Competition: 0
- Formal Employment: 0 – Workplace Contact: 0 – Workplace Competition: 1
- Formal Employment: 0 – Workplace Contact: 1 – Workplace Competition: 1
- Formal Employment: 1 – Workplace Contact: 0 – Workplace Competition: 0
- Formal Employment: 1 – Workplace Contact: 1 – Workplace Competition: 0
- Formal Employment: 1 – Workplace Contact: 0 – Workplace Competition: 1
- Formal Employment: 1 – Workplace Contact: 1 – Workplace Competition: 1

Below are the scenario pieces used for each manipulation. The eight different scenarios mentioned above were created by combining these scenario pieces according to the manipulation types. Knowing these scenario pieces is sufficient to understand the scenarios used in the surveys. Additionally, the original versions of all scenarios are available in Appendix A.

- Formal Employment: 0 – Imagine that you have a job where you work as an insured employee. You have a Syrian colleague at your workplace who works without registration and insurance.
- Workplace Contact: 0 – Although you occasionally see this person at work, you do not have much communication or interaction with him/her.

Workplace Competition: 0 – During a meeting, your boss announces that they will be hiring new staff and increasing the salaries of current employees because business is going well.

- Formal Employment: 1 – Imagine that you have a job where you are employed as an insured employee. You have a Syrian colleague at your workplace who is also working as an insured employee under the same conditions as you.
- Workplace Contact: 1 – You work in the same environment, talk about work-related or daily issues during the day, and sometimes eat together. At times, you also work together on tasks assigned by your employer.
- Workplace Competition: 1 – During a meeting, your boss announces that some salaries may be reduced, and some employees may be laid off due to a market crisis.

4.3.b. Attitudes: Negative Out-group Affect Scale

As an indicator of attitudes, the Negative Out-group Affect Scale (Stephan et al., 1998) will be used as the dependent variable in this study. As Perloff (2020) stated, attitudes express a natural mental and emotional existence in a person, and since emotions are an inseparable part of attitudes, it was decided to use this scale to measure attitudes.

The items of the scale (see Appendix B and C) were taken from the Turkish adaptation study by Balaban (2013). The Cronbach's alpha coefficient indicating the reliability of the scale was found to be .90 in Balaban's study (2013). The 12-item scale consists of 6 positive and 6 negative emotions. The scale, prepared as a 5-point Likert type, ranges from 1, indicating that the person did not feel the emotion at all, to 5, indicating that they felt it very strongly.

4.3.c. Attitudes: Social Distance Scale

As another indicator of attitudes, the Social Distance Scale developed by Bogardus (1947) for the first time has been adapted to Turkish by Bikmen (1999).

In this study, the scale will be applied using the questions prepared by Taşdemir (2018), based on Bikmen's adaptation study. The scale consists of 7 items and will be applied to participants as a 5-point Likert type (see Appendix D).

The questions measure participants' attitudes towards Syrians in the context of various categories, such as marriage, neighborliness, friendship, working together, and citizenship. Participants are asked to what extent they are willing to establish relationships with Syrians under these categories. The number 1 in the rating indicates that the participant strongly disagrees with the statement given, while the number 5 indicates that they strongly agree. Five of the items in the scale were prepared as reversed items. The Cronbach's alpha coefficient, indicating the reliability of the scale, was found to be .92.

4.3.d. Social Contact Scale

To measure the current level of social contact, which will be used as a control variable in the study, the Social Contact Scale developed by Islam and Hewstone (1993) and adapted to Turkish by Akbaş (2010) is utilized (see Appendix E). The scale consists of two subscales, Social Contact Frequency and Social Contact Quality, each with five items. The scale was prepared as a 5-point Likert type, and the Cronbach's alpha coefficient for each subscale was found to be .83.

Quantitative contact measures how frequently people interact with members of other groups in both informal contexts like friendships and neighborhoods and formal settings like school and the workplace. More frequency of contact is indicated by a higher score on the scale. The qualitative component, on the other hand, examines a variety of contact-related factors, such as equality, volition, sincerity, positivity, and cooperation. A higher rating on this scale denotes more positive interactions with members of the outgroup.

The items of the scale, adapted to measure social contact between Alevis and Sunnis, are modified for this study to measure social contact with Syrians.

4.3.e. Demographic Questions

After applying the scales to gather information about the participants' demographic characteristics and to control for them in the analyses, they were asked various questions (see Appendix F). These questions includes gender, age, monthly income, student status, education level, sector of employment, position in the workplace, approximate number of employees in the workplace, the proportion of insured employees in the workplace, whether the participant was insured in their workplace, whether there were any Syrian individuals employed in their workplace, and if so, whether they were insured or uninsured.

Participants were asked about their current work status and whether they worked with Syrians, with the consideration that these questions could potentially have an impact on their attitudes. If a participant works with a Syrian colleague, they are already in contact with Syrians. Since one of the variables measured in the study was contact, it was deemed necessary to ask this question. Additionally, whether a participant works formally or informally and whether the Syrian colleagues they work with are formally or informally employed are factors that can affect competition and threat perception. Therefore, these questions were included in the study to control for existing contact and competition. The reason for asking participants about their insurance status instead of formal employment is that the concept of working as an insured employee is more commonly used than formal employment for indicating legal work in Turkey.

Furthermore, it is anticipated that questions about education and income status could also influence attitudes towards Syrians. Hainmueller and Hiscox (2007) found that individuals with higher education levels have more positive attitudes toward immigrants. The impact of income, however, is not as clear-cut as the impact of education. It varies depending on the country's current economic situation, economic policies, and the situation of immigrants. Facchini and Mayda (2009) found that income has a negative effect on attitudes towards immigrants in countries where immigrants have low skill levels. Given that Syrians in Turkey do not work jobs needed high skill levels, a similar result can be expected in this case.

4.4. Procedure

The study was approved by the TOBB ETU Ethical Committee. A 65-item questionnaire was administered to participants either face-to-face or online, according to their preference. Participants were informed about the study and it was emphasized that participation was voluntary. Additionally, it was stated that five participants would receive a BIM gift card worth 300 liras to increase their motivation to participate. Participants who wanted to receive the gift card were required to answer all the questions. Participants were informed that they could choose not to answer the questions, but in that case, they would not receive the gift card. The data collection process continued until 240 completed surveys were obtained, with all questions answered, to ensure the validity of the data.

After obtaining the participants' consent, they were asked to read the scenarios and then answer the questions prepared by the researcher to measure perceived threat (see Appendix G and H)) and the Negative Out-group Affect Scale (Balaban 2013; Stephan et al., 1998). Afterwards, the same questions were asked again, but this time it was asked from participants to consider all Syrians living in Turkey. Subsequently, participants were asked to answer the Social Distance Scale (Bogardus 1947; Bikmen 1999), the Social Contact Scale (Akbaş 2010; Islam and Hewstone 1993), and demographic questions.

After the completion of the data collection process, five participants were randomly selected and given the gift cards. The collected data was coded and transferred to an electronic environment, and the statistical software program JAMOVI, which is open-source and free, is used for data analysis.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

5.1. Measures and Variables

In this section, the scales and questions used in the survey are examined, and factor analyses are conducted to create dependent variables and control variables.

5.1.a. Analysis of Dependent Variables

5.1.a.i. Attitudes: Negative Out-group Affect Scale

After the manipulations, the questions that measure emotions were asked first about the Syrian person mentioned in the scenario and then about all Syrians living in Turkey.

The scale consists of a total of 12 questions, measuring 6 positive and 6 negative emotions, similar to Balaban's adaptation (2013). Questions with odd numbers in their names aim to measure negative emotions, while questions with even numbers aim to measure positive emotions.

High averages for questions measuring negative emotions indicate more negative emotions, while high averages for questions measuring positive emotions indicate more positive emotions.

Below is a table that provides descriptive information on the questions asked to participants about the Syrian person mentioned in the scenarios and their responses.

	N	Mean	SD
1. Hostility	240	2.36	1.11
2. Admiration	240	1.74	0.86
3. Dislike	240	2.73	1.16
4. Acceptance	240	2.25	1.03
5. Superiority	240	2.33	1.04
6. Affection	240	2.70	1.03
7. Disdain	240	2.11	0.96
8. Approval	240	2.68	0.97
9. Hatred	240	2.17	1.10
10. Sympathy	240	2.88	1.02
11. Rejection	240	2.21	1.05
12. Warmth	240	2.62	1.06

Table 5.1. Descriptives – Negative Out-group Affect Scale (toward the individual in the vignettes)³

Below is a table that provides descriptive information on the questions asked to participants about all Syrians residing in Turkey and their responses.

	N	Mean	SD
1. Hostility	240	2.40	1.12
2. Admiration	240	1.91	0.92
3. Dislike	240	2.67	1.14
4. Acceptance	240	2.25	0.97
5. Superiority	240	2.33	1.02
6. Affection	240	2.56	1.03
7. Disdain	240	2.15	0.96
8. Approval	240	2.34	1.00
9. Hatred	240	2.36	1.16
10. Sympathy	240	2.67	1.08
11. Rejection	240	2.34	1.09
12. Warmth	240	2.41	1.04

Table 5.2. Descriptives – Negative Out-group Affect Scale (toward Syrians in Turkey)⁴

When examining the two tables, it is noticeable that the questions aimed at measuring negative emotions have higher averages than the questions aimed at measuring positive emotions. Additionally, there are differences between the

³ Questions were originally asked in Turkish.

⁴ Questions were originally asked in Turkish.

responses given to the questions asked about the individual and the questions asked about the general Syrian population.

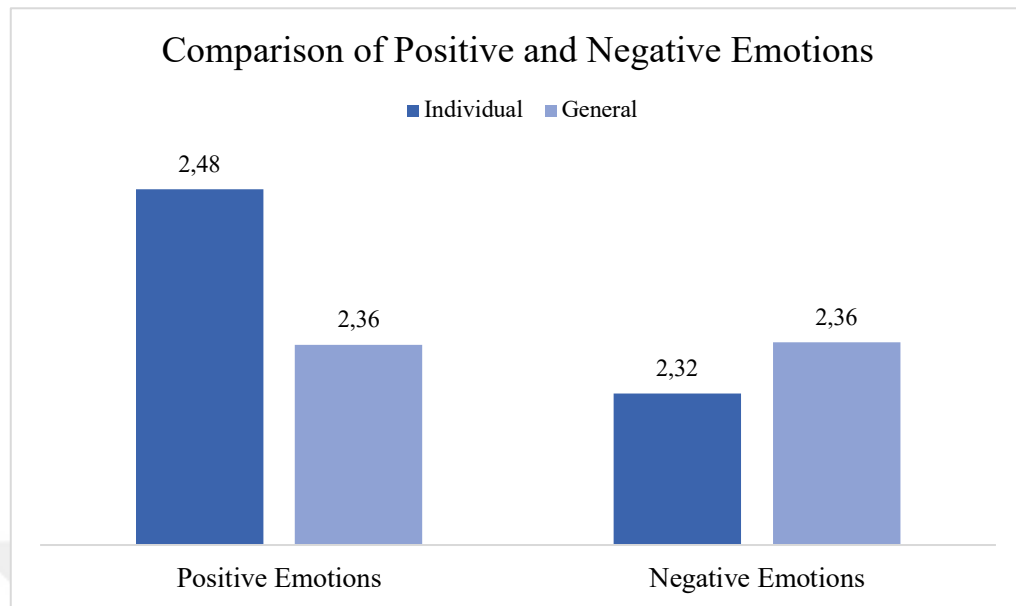
When negative emotions are examined individually and generally, it can be seen that negative emotions toward the individual are higher in two questions (Q3: dislike and Q5: superiority), while negative emotions toward all Syrians are generally higher in the other questions (Q1: hostility, Q7: disdain, Q9: hatred, and Q11: exclusion).

When examining positive emotions, it is noticeable that in four questions (Q6: affection, Q8: approval, Q10: sympathy, and Q12: warmth), positive emotions toward all Syrians are lower than the positive emotions toward the individual mentioned in the scenario. In one question (Q4: acceptance), there is no distinction between emotions toward the individual and general, while in one question (Q2: admiration), the average for individual-based responses is lower. Additionally, the average values for this question are lower compared to the other questions.

When the averages of responses to questions measuring positive and negative emotions are taken (see Figure 5.1.), it is observed that the positive emotions felt for the Syrian individual mentioned in the scenario are higher than those felt for Syrians living in Turkey. For negative emotions, however, the situation is quite the opposite. The negative emotions expressed toward the general level are higher than the negative emotions directed at the individual level. Furthermore, although the averages of general negative and positive emotions toward Syrians in Turkey are the same, the average of positive emotions directed at the individual is higher, while the average of negative emotions is lower. Additionally, when the averages at both the individual and general levels are considered together, the average of positive emotions ($\bar{x} = 2.42$) is higher than the average of negative emotions ($\bar{x} = 2.34$).

This information indicates that attitudes toward the individual in the scenario are more positive in terms of emotions than the general attitudes toward Syrians living in Turkey. This provides support for literature suggesting that people tend to have more positive attitudes toward the outgroup when they are in interpersonal relationships or have contact with them.

Figure 5.1. Comparison of Positive and Negative Emotions Means



To investigate the factor structure of the scale, an Exploratory Factor Analysis was carried out using Principal Axis Extraction and Oblimin Rotation methods, which included all questions related to both the Syrian person in the scenarios and Syrians living in Turkey.

The suitability of the items for factor analysis was assessed through KMO and Bartlett tests, which revealed a Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy of .90 and a statistically significant Bartlett's Test of Sphericity ($\chi^2 (276) = 4437, p < .001$).

The analysis resulted in a two-factor structure, with eigenvalues of 9.56 and 3.48 for the two factors that were above 1. The first factor explains 28.6% of the variance, and the two factors cumulatively account for 55.8% of the variance.

	Factor	
	Positive Emotions	Negative Emotions
Warmth – General	0.857	
Acceptance – General	0.823	
Affection – General	0.819	
Approval – General	0.785	
Sympathy – General	0.757	
Admiration – General	0.749	
Warmth – Individual	0.696	
Approval – Individual	0.689	
Sympathy – Individual	0.681	
Acceptance – Individual	0.656	
Admiration – Individual	0.655	
Affection – Individual	0.633	
Hatred – General		0.835
Disdain – General		0.783
Hostility – General		0.777
Rejection – General		0.777
Hatred – Individual		0.772
Superiority – General		0.735
Rejection – Individual		0.733
Superiority – Individual		0.720
Hostility – Individual		0.651
Disdain – Individual		0.646
Dislike – General		0.576
Dislike – Individual		0.509

Table 5.3. Factor Loadings – Negative Out-group Affect Scale⁵

Upon analyzing the factor structure in the provided table, it becomes evident that the questions grouped under the first factor intend to gauge positive emotions, whereas those grouped under the second factor intend to measure negative emotions. The factors were evaluated for their reliability through a Cronbach's α test, which found the first factor to have a score of .93 and the second factor to have

⁵ Items were originally asked in Turkish.

a score of .92. The factors were then given the names “positive emotions” and “negative emotions”, and their corresponding factor scores were saved as separate variables to be utilized as dependent variables in upcoming analyses.

5.1.a.ii. Attitudes: Social Distance Scale

The questions posed concerning Syrians residing in Turkey were answered in the table below, which provides descriptive information. Participants who have a high level of social distance from Syrians are likely to obtain high scores on the first and seventh questions on the scale. Participants appear to perceive social distance more strongly based on their average replies to these questions, which are close to 5. Also, the averages for the other questions are close to 1, which suggests that people have a high social distance.

	N	Mean	SD
1. I would be willing to accept Syrians only to visit Turkey.	240	3.63	1.23
2. I would be willing to marry a Syrian.	240	1.85	1.04
3. I would be willing to accept Syrians as a neighbor on the same street.	240	2.63	1.19
4. I would be willing to accept Syrians as a close personal friend.	240	2.62	1.19
5. I would be willing to work with a Syrian in the same workplace.	240	2.84	1.17
6. I would be willing to accept Syrians as a citizen in Turkey.	240	1.73	0.94
7. Syrians should be kept away from Turkey.	240	3.63	1.28

Table 5.4. Descriptives – Social Distance Scale (toward Syrians in Turkey)⁶

Using Principal Axis Extraction and Oblimin rotation techniques, an exploratory factor analysis was carried out to look at the scale's factor structure. The questions were reverse-coded, with the exception of the first and seventh questions.

With a Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin score of sample adequacy of .84 and a Bartlett's Test of Sphericity finding of statistical significance ($\chi^2(21) = 878, p < .001$), the items were determined to be eligible for factor analysis.

⁶ Questions were originally asked in Turkish.

The analysis revealed a one-factor structure, with an eigenvalue of 3.44 accounting for 49.3% of the factor variance. However, the first question did not load onto a factor, and its uniqueness value was 0.963. Therefore, this question was removed, and the analysis was repeated.

	Factor
	1
I would be willing to accept Syrians as a close personal friend. – Reversed	0.887
I would be willing to accept Syrians as a neighbor on the same street. – Reversed	0.848
I would be willing to work with a Syrian in the same workplace. – Reversed	0.811
I would be willing to accept Syrians as a citizen in Turkey. – Reversed	0.697
I would be willing to marry a Syrian. – Reversed	0.626
Syrians should be kept away from Turkey.	0.608
I would be willing to accept Syrians only to visit Turkey.	

Table 5.5. Factor Loadings – Social Distance Scale⁷

In the repeated analysis, a one-factor structure was again found with an eigenvalue of 3.41. After removing the first question, the factor explained 57% of the variance.

	Factor
	1
I would be willing to accept Syrians as a close personal friend. – Reversed	0.901
I would be willing to accept Syrians as a neighbor on the same street. – Reversed	0.858
I would be willing to work with a Syrian in the same workplace. – Reversed	0.816
I would be willing to accept Syrians as a citizen in Turkey. – Reversed	0.688
I would be willing to marry a Syrian. – Reversed	0.614
Syrians should be kept away from Turkey.	0.595

Table 5.6. Factor Loadings – Social Distance Scale

⁷ Items were originally asked in Turkish.

After removing the question, a reliability analysis was conducted for the scale, and the Cronbach's α was found to be 0.88, indicating that the scale is reliable. The factor scores were recorded as a variable to be used as a dependent variable.

5.1.b. Analysis of Control Variables

5.1.b.i. Threat Perception

After the application of manipulation, the questions measuring participants' threat perception were asked first targeting the Syrian individual mentioned in the scenario, and then targeting all Syrians in Turkey. The questions were prepared by making distinctions between realistic and cultural threats. The categories that the questions aimed to measure are provided below, and the same categorization was used in both measurements.

The first 5 questions in the survey were asked directly to measure participants' threat perception, while the 6th question was asked in a reverse manner. Therefore, receiving high scores from the first 5 questions and low scores from the 6th question indicate that the participant's threat perception is high.

The table below provides descriptive information about the questions asked to participants regarding the Syrian individual mentioned in the vignettes and the questions asked about Syrians living in Turkey. When examining the tables, it can be seen that the averages for the first 5 questions are above 3 in both tables, while the averages for the 6th question are below 3. This indicates that participants' threat perceptions are high.

	N	Mean	SD
1. Do you think this person ⁸ is harming the Turkish economy?	240	3.30	1.28
2. Do you think this person has a negative impact on your individual economic situation?	240	3.18	1.31
3. Do you think this person poses a threat to your individual work life?	240	3.31	1.32
4. Do you think this person is damaging Turkish society's culture?	240	3.57	1.30
5. Do you think this person is negatively affecting your individual cultural life?	240	3.28	1.31
6. Do you think this person contributes to the Turkish economy by working?	240	2.80	1.22

Table 5.7. Descriptives – Threat (toward the individual in the vignettes)

	N	Mean	SD
1. Do you think Syrians are harming the Turkish economy?	240	3.72	1.18
2. Do you think Syrians have a negative impact on your individual economic situation?	240	3.64	1.19
3. Do you think Syrians pose a threat to your individual work life?	240	3.56	1.20
4. Do you think Syrians are damaging Turkish society's culture?	240	3.80	1.15
5. Do you think Syrians are negatively affecting your individual cultural life?	240	3.60	1.22
6. Do you think Syrians contribute to the Turkish economy by working?	240	2.62	1.20

Table 5.8. Descriptives – Threat (toward Syrians in Turkey)

Furthermore, when the averages are examined question by question in both tables, it can be seen that the averages for the first 5 questions are higher in the table showing the threat perception toward Syrians living in Turkey, and lower for the 6th question. This indicates that the perceived threat toward Syrians living in Turkey is higher than the perceived threat toward the Syrian individual presented in the vignettes.

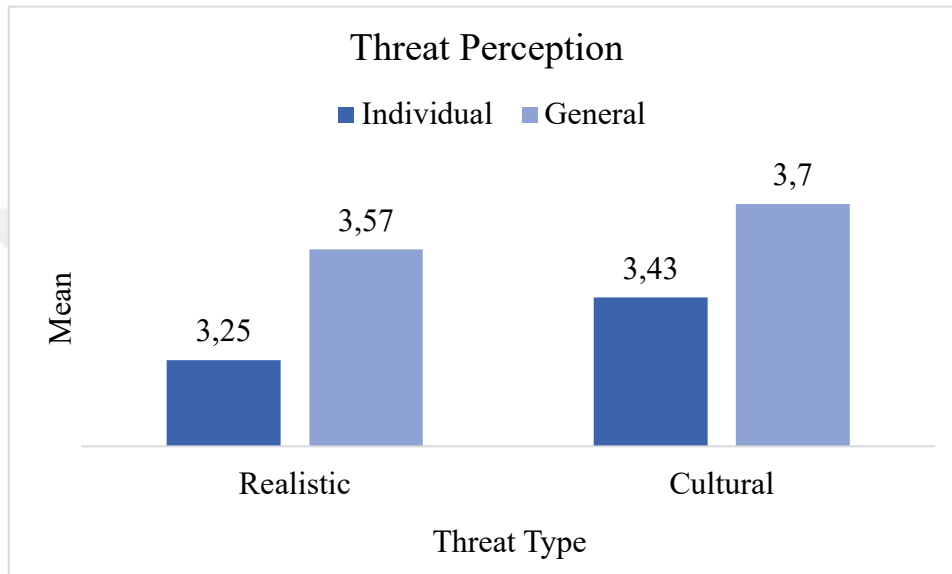
Figure 5.2. shows the averages calculated by making a distinction between realistic and cultural threats. When examining this figure, it can be seen that cultural

⁸ In threat perception questions, “this person” indicates Syrian person mentioned in the vignettes.

threat perception perceived by participants is higher than realistic threat perception, both at individual and general levels. This finding supports H7.

Additionally, similar to the previous patterns, the general threat perception toward Syrians is higher for both cultural and realistic threat types, compared to the threat perception toward the Syrian individual mentioned in the scenarios.

Figure 5.2. Comparison of Realistic and Cultural Threat Means



To examine the factor structure of the scale, an Exploratory Factor Analysis was performed using Principal Axis Extraction and Oblimin rotation methods. Both questions asked about the Syrian individual mentioned in the vignettes and questions asked about Syrians living in Turkey were included in the factor analysis. The 6th questions were reverse-coded.

According to the KMO and Bartlett test, the items were found to be suitable for factor analysis, with a Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy of .89, and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity was found to be statistically significant ($\chi^2(66) = 2609, p < .001$).

As a result of the analysis, a one-factor structure was found. The eigenvalue is 7.12, explaining 59.3% of the factor variance. Reliability analysis was conducted and the Cronbach's α value was found to be .94. Factor scores of questions were recorded as a separate variable named threat perception.

	Factor
	1
Do you think this person ⁹ is harming the Turkish economy? – Individual	0.838
Do you think this person has a negative impact on your individual economic situation? – Individual	0.838
Do you think this person poses a threat to your individual work life? – Individual	0.833
Do you think Syrians pose a threat to your individual work life? – General	0.826
Do you think Syrians have a negative impact on your individual economic situation? – General	0.823
Do you think this person is damaging Turkish society's culture? – Individual	0.816
Do you think this person is negatively affecting your individual cultural life? – Individual	0.816
Do you think Syrians are harming the Turkish economy? – General	0.814
Do you think Syrians are negatively affecting your individual cultural life? – General	0.776
Do you think Syrians are damaging Turkish society's culture? – General	0.764
Do you think Syrians contribute to the Turkish economy by working? – General	0.492
Do you think this person contributes to the Turkish economy by working? – Individual	0.490

Table 5.9. Factor Loadings – Threat Perception¹⁰

5.1.b.ii. Social Contact Scale

Descriptive information regarding the questions used to measure participants' current level and quality of contact with Syrians is presented in the table below. The first 5 questions were asked to measure the frequency of contact with Syrians, while the other 5 questions were asked to measure the quality of this contact. High averages for the first 5 questions indicate more frequent contact. High averages for the other questions indicate that certain characteristics of the contact are perceived more strongly. These characteristics, in order of the questions, include

⁹ In threat perception questions, “this person” indicates Syrian person mentioned in the vignettes.

¹⁰ Items were originally asked in Turkish.

perceiving both sides as equal, voluntarily maintaining the relationship, a sincere/intimate relationship, experiencing pleasure/satisfaction from the relationship, and the relationship being based on collaboration (as opposed to competition). Low averages indicate the opposite of these characteristics. In the table below, it can be seen that the averages for all questions except the 10th question are below 3, and the 10th question is only slightly above 3 at .04 points. This indicates that participants have infrequent contact with Syrians and that the existing relationships do not possess the contact quality characteristics.

	N	Mean	SD
1. How often do you communicate with Syrians living in our country in official places such as school/work?	240	2.27	1.20
2. How often do you communicate with the Syrians living in our country as neighbors?	240	1.90	1.10
3. How often do you communicate with Syrians living in our country as close friends?	240	1.54	0.92
4. How often do you have unofficial/private conversations with Syrians living in our country?	240	1.53	0.90
5. How often do you visit the homes of Syrians living in our country who are acquaintances of yours?	240	1.19	0.53
6. Do you feel that both sides are equal in your relationships with Syrians?	240	2.24	1.23
7. Do you maintain your relationships with Syrians voluntarily or involuntarily/obligatorily?	240	2.36	1.19
8. Is your relationship with Syrians superficial or completely sincere?	240	2.18	1.23
9. Do you enjoy/have satisfaction from your relationship with Syrians?	240	2.29	1.13
10. Does your relationship with Syrians rely on competition or collaboration?	240	3.04	1.14

Table 5.10. Descriptives – Social Contact Scale (toward Syrians in Turkey)

An Exploratory Factor Analysis was carried out utilizing Principal Axis Extraction and Oblimin rotation techniques to look at the scale's factor structure.

The items met the criteria for factor analysis according to the KMO and Bartlett tests, with a Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy of .89 and a Bartlett's Test of Sphericity that was statistically significant ($\chi^2 (45) = 1352, p .001$).

As a result of the analysis, a two-factor structure was found. The eigenvalues of the two factors that have values above 1 are 1.33 and 4.21, respectively. The first factor explains 32.2% of the variance, and the two factors together explain 59.4% of the variance. The reliability analysis conducted for the scale resulted in Cronbach's α coefficients of .88 and .84 for the first and second factors, respectively.

	Factor	
	Contact Quality	Contact Frequency
Do you enjoy/have satisfaction from your relationship with Syrians?	0.938	
Do you maintain your relationships with Syrians voluntarily or involuntarily/obligatorily?	0.876	
Is your relationship with Syrians superficial or completely sincere?	0.736	
Do you feel that both sides are equal in your relationships with Syrians?	0.734	
Does your relationship with Syrians rely on competition or collaboration?	0.573	
How often do you communicate with the Syrians living in our country as neighbors?		0.856
How often do you have unofficial/private conversations with Syrians living in our country?		0.752
How often do you communicate with Syrians living in our country as close friends?		0.727
How often do you communicate with Syrians living in our country in official places such as school/work?		0.725
How often do you visit the homes of Syrians living in our country who are acquaintances of yours?		0.524

Table 5.11. Factor Loadings – Social Contact Scale (toward Syrians in Turkey)¹¹

When examining the factor structure in the table above, it can be seen that the questions gathered under the first factor aim to measure contact quality, while the questions gathered under the second factor aim to measure contact frequency. The factors are named as contact quality and contact frequency in line with Akbaş's

¹¹ Items were originally asked in Turkish.

study (2010), and the factor scores are recorded as two separate variables to be used as control variables.

5.2. Manipulations

In this section, the extent to which attitudes toward Syrians are affected by the manipulations on workplace contact, workplace competition, and legal employment of Syrians is examined. To make the effects clearer and more understandable, distinctions are shown on charts. The charts are prepared with the means of previously calculated factor scores.

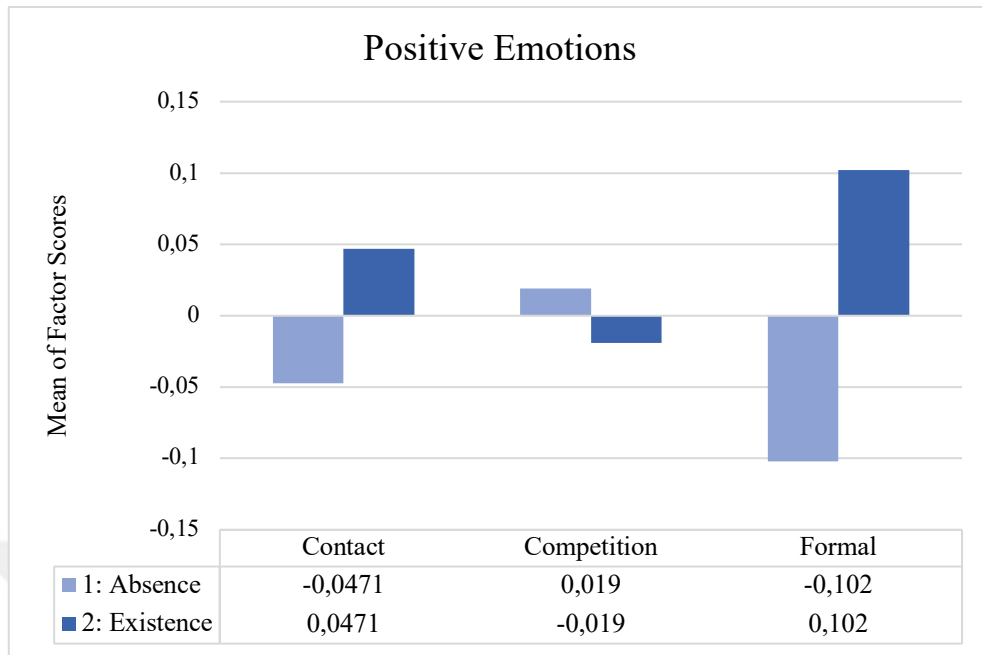
5.2.a. Attitudes: Positive and Negative Emotions

In the following parts, the effects of the contact, competition, and formal employment manipulations are examined separately, followed by an attempt to understand their joint effects in line with the hypotheses.

Since the previous factor analysis did not result in a distinction between the items asked about the Syrian person mentioned in the vignettes and Syrians living in Turkey, no distinction was made when examining the effects of the manipulations.

Figure 5.3. displays the effects of contact, competition, and formal employment on positive emotions based on the mean factor scores. According to this table, the presence of formal employment and contact positively affect positive emotions, while the presence of competition has a negative effect. Upon examining the mean values, it can be inferred that formal employment has the strongest effect on positive emotions, while the effect of competition is the weakest.

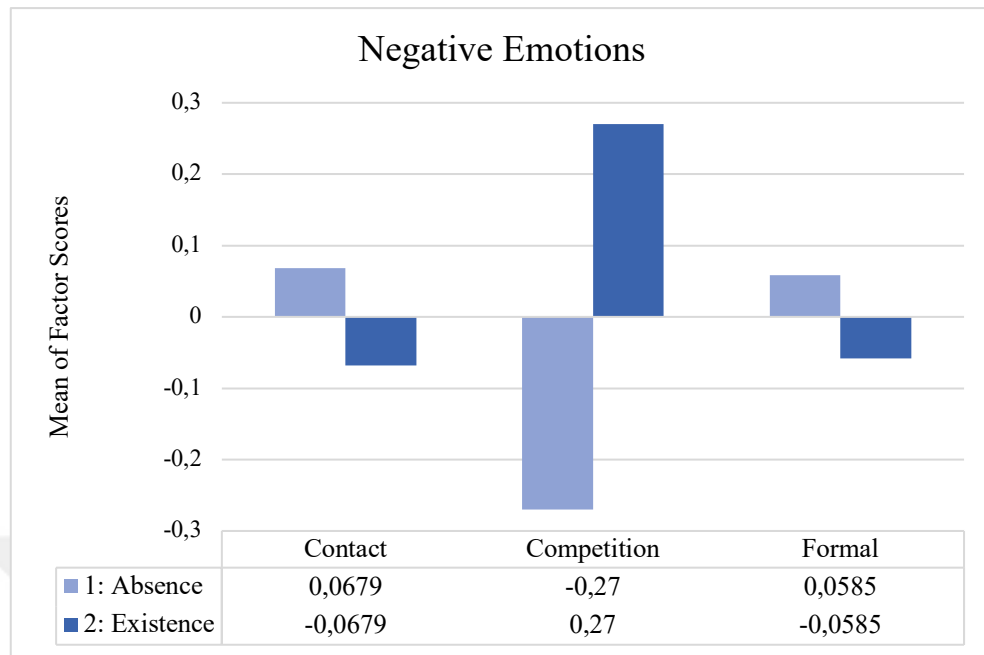
Figure 5.3. Factor Score Means of Positive Emotions (Contact, Competition, and Formal Effects)



The effects of the manipulations applied in the scenarios on negative emotions based on the mean factor scores are displayed in Figure 5.4. According to the table, the presence of contact and formal employment reduces negative emotions, while the presence of competition increases them. Upon examining the means, it is evident that the impact of competition on negative emotions outweighs that of the other manipulations. The effects of formal employment and contact are quite similar, with the effect of formal employment being slightly weaker.

These results provide support for hypotheses H1B, H2B, and H3B in the context of positive and negative emotions as dependent variables.

Figure 5.4. Factor Score Means of Negative Emotions (Contact, Competition, and Formal Effects)



The following analysis examines how legal employment affects emotions when the manipulations are present together. Figure 5.5. displays the effects of formal and informal employment on positive emotions in situations where competition is present and contact is absent, where contact is present and competition is absent, and where both competition and contact are present. Mean factor scores are used for comparison.

Upon examining the table, it can be seen that in all three situations, legal employment of the person mentioned in the scenario positively affects positive emotions. When competition is present alone, the mean of positive emotions is as expected lower. However, even in this case, the mean of positive emotions in situations where formal employment is present is higher than in situations where informal employment is present.

Figure 5.5. Factor Score Means of Positive Emotions (Formal's Effects Including Other Effects)

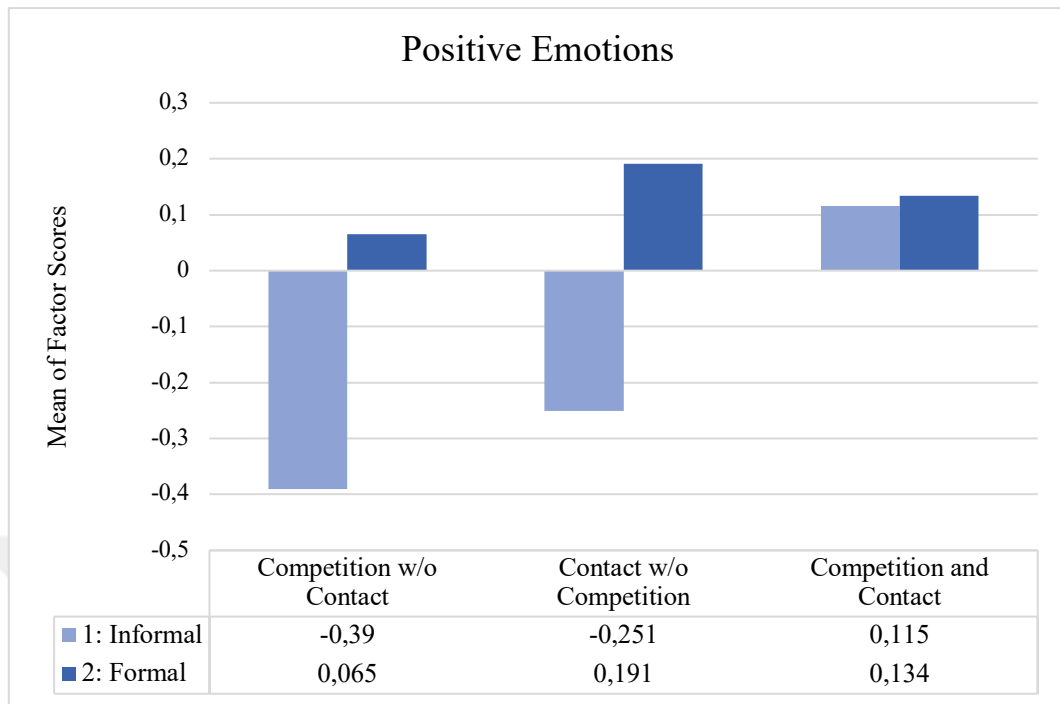
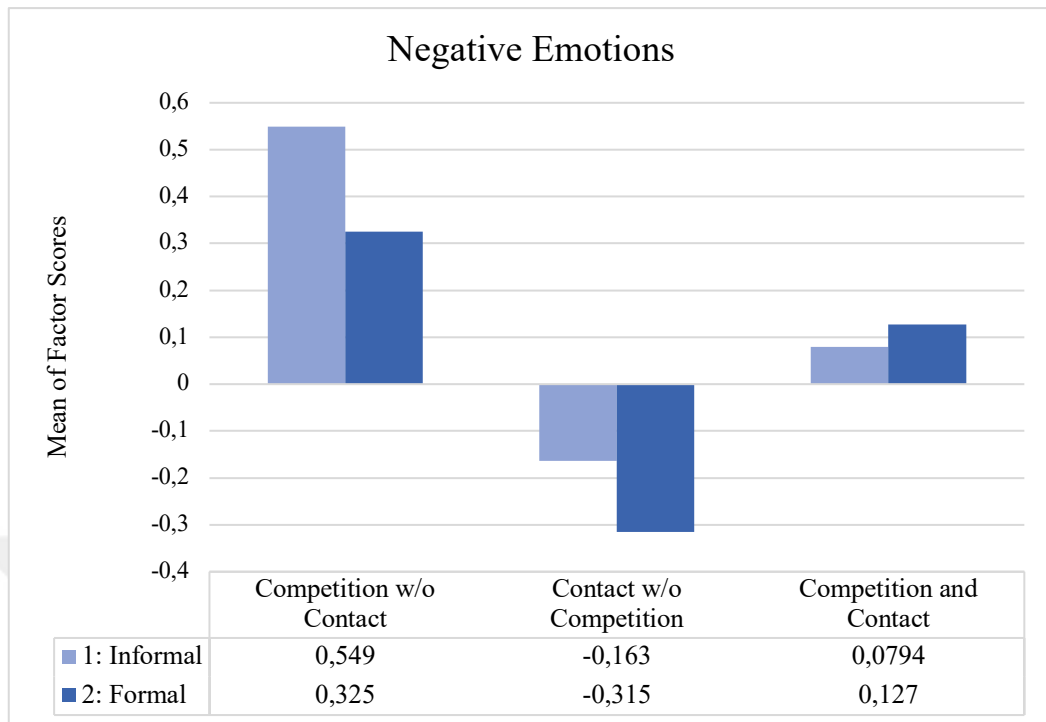


Figure 5.6. presents the effects of formal and informal employment on negative emotions in scenarios where competition is present and contact is absent, where contact is present and competition is absent, and where both competition and contact are present. Mean factor scores are used for comparison. As expected, the mean of negative emotions is higher in situations where only competition is present, regardless of whether formal or informal employment is present. Conversely, the mean of negative emotions in situations where only contact is present is lower. The mean score of negative emotions is lower when formal employment and competition are present compared to when informal employment and competition are present. Similarly, the mean score of negative emotions in situations where formal employment and contact are present is lower than when informal employment and contact are present. In other words, the presence of formal employment reduces negative emotions when competition and contact are present alone. However, this effect is not observed when competition and contact are present together. On the contrary, in such cases, the presence of formal employment increases negative emotions.

Figure 5.6. Factor Score Means of Negative Emotions (Formal’s Effects Including Other Effects)



When all these findings are considered together, the legal employment of the Syrian person mentioned in the scenarios has a positive effect on attitudes toward emotions in all situations except for when competition and contact are present together. The results support hypotheses H4B, H5B, and H6B in the context of the dependent variable of positive emotions. In terms of the dependent variable of negative emotions, the results support hypothesis H5B, but provide contradictory results for hypotheses H4B and H6B.

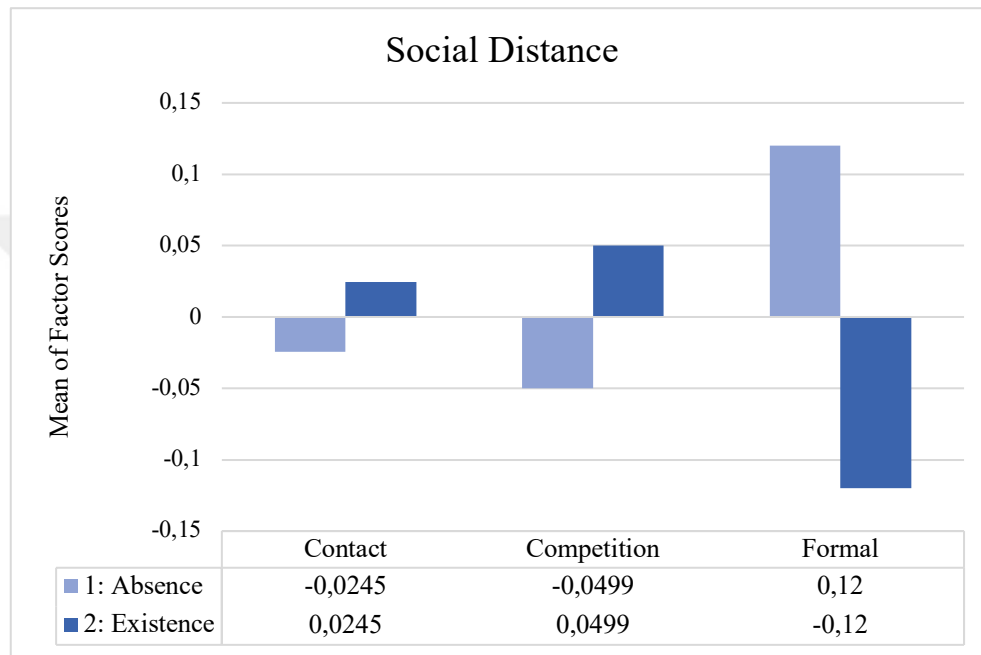
5.2.b. Attitudes: Social Distance

Initially, the effects of the contact, competition, and formal employment manipulations on social distance factor score averages are separately examined and then, common effects are attempted to be understood in line with the hypotheses.

The figure below shows how the average social distance factor scores change when there is and isn't contact. According to this figure, contrary to what was expected in the hypotheses, participants feel more social distance toward Syrians in situations where there is contact. However, expected results are found in

situations where competition and formal employment are present. Social distance is higher when competition is present, and lower when formal employment is present. These findings support hypotheses H1B and H3B in the context of the dependent variable of social distance. However, findings contradict the expected result in hypothesis H2B.

Figure 5.7. Factor Score Means of Social Distance (Contact, Competition, and Formal Effects)

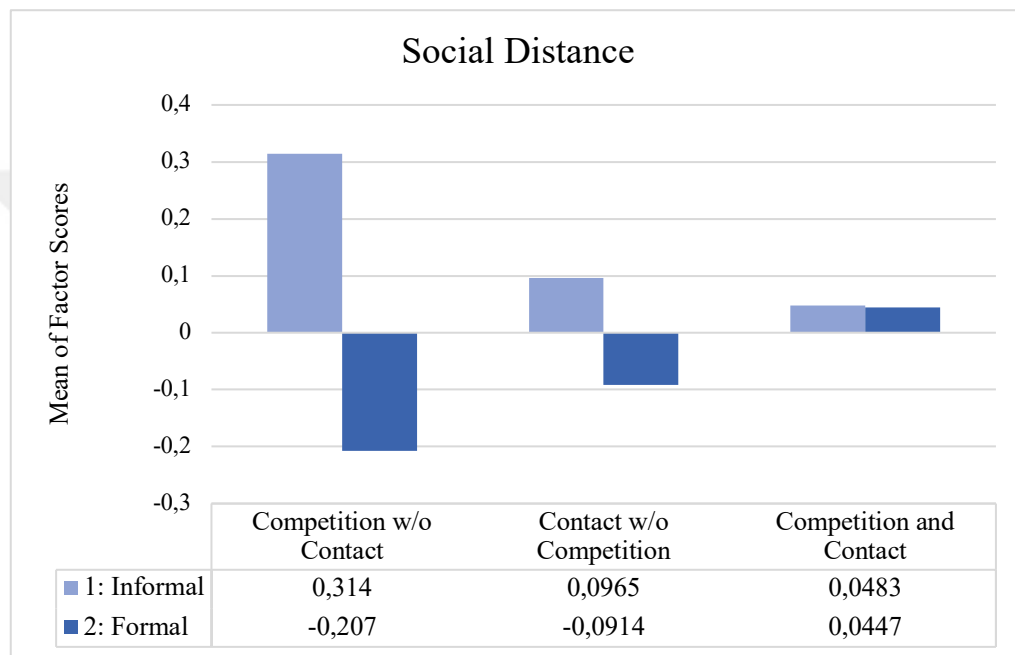


The following examines how legal employment affects social distance when manipulations are combined. Figure 5.8. shows the effects of formal and informal employment on social distance in scenarios where competition is present and contact is absent, where contact is present and competition is absent, and where both competition and contact are present.

Upon examining the figure, it can be observed that in situations where both contact and formal employment, as well as competition and formal employment are present, social distance averages are lower compared to situations where informal employment is present instead of formal employment. This suggests that formal employment has a positive effect on attitudes in the mentioned situations. Additionally, when examining the averages, it can be seen that the effect of legal employment is greater in situations where competition is present. Similarly, when

competition and contact are present together, the social distance average in situations where formal employment is present is lower than when informal employment is present. However, the difference between the two is only .0036, making it insufficient to draw a reliable conclusion. When all the averages are considered together, the findings provide supportive evidence for hypotheses H4B, H5B, and even H6B, albeit to a small extent.

Figure 5.8. Factor Score Means of Social Distance (Formal’s Effects Including Other Effects)



5.2.c. Threat Perception

In this section, the aim is to understand how the manipulated conditions in the vignettes affect the threat perception, which will be examined as a mediator variable in the following sections.

Since the previous factor analysis did not generate a distinction between the items related to the Syrian person mentioned in the vignettes and the Syrians living in Turkey, no distinction was made between individual and general levels when examining the effects of the manipulations.

Upon examining the averages in Figure 5.9, it can be seen that threat perception is high when there is contact and competition. While this is an expected result for competition, it is contrary to what was expected for contact. In situations

where formal employment is present, the average threat perception is lower than situations where informal employment is present as expected. Additionally, when examining the averages, it can be inferred that the effect of formal employment and competition on threat perception is greater than the effect of contact. The findings support hypotheses H1A and H3A but reveal a result that contradicts the expected result in hypothesis H2A.

Figure 5.9. Factor Score Means of Threat Perception (Contact, Competition, and Formal Effects)

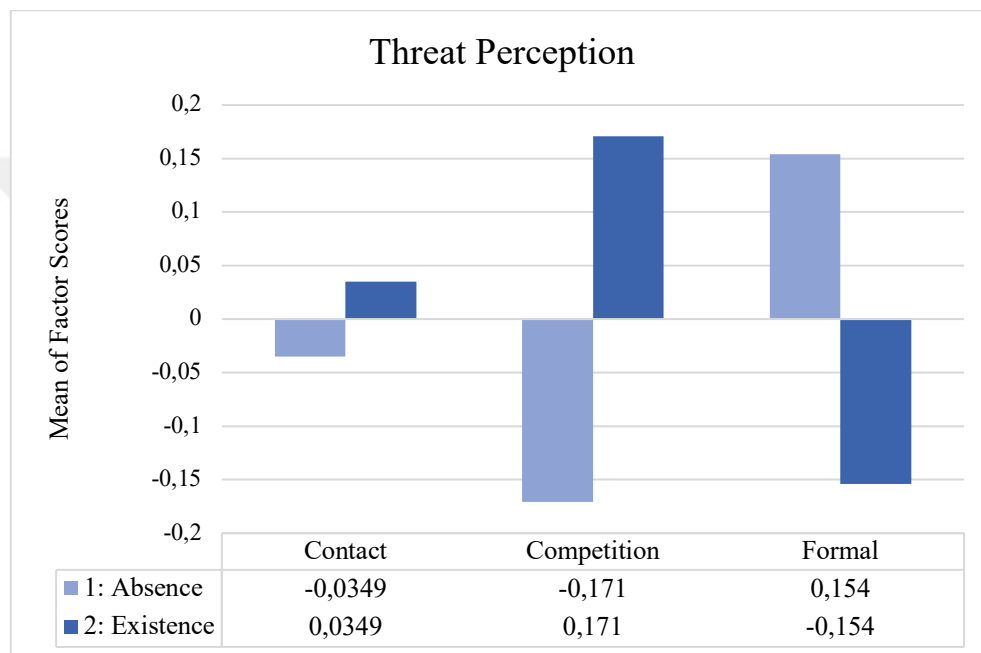
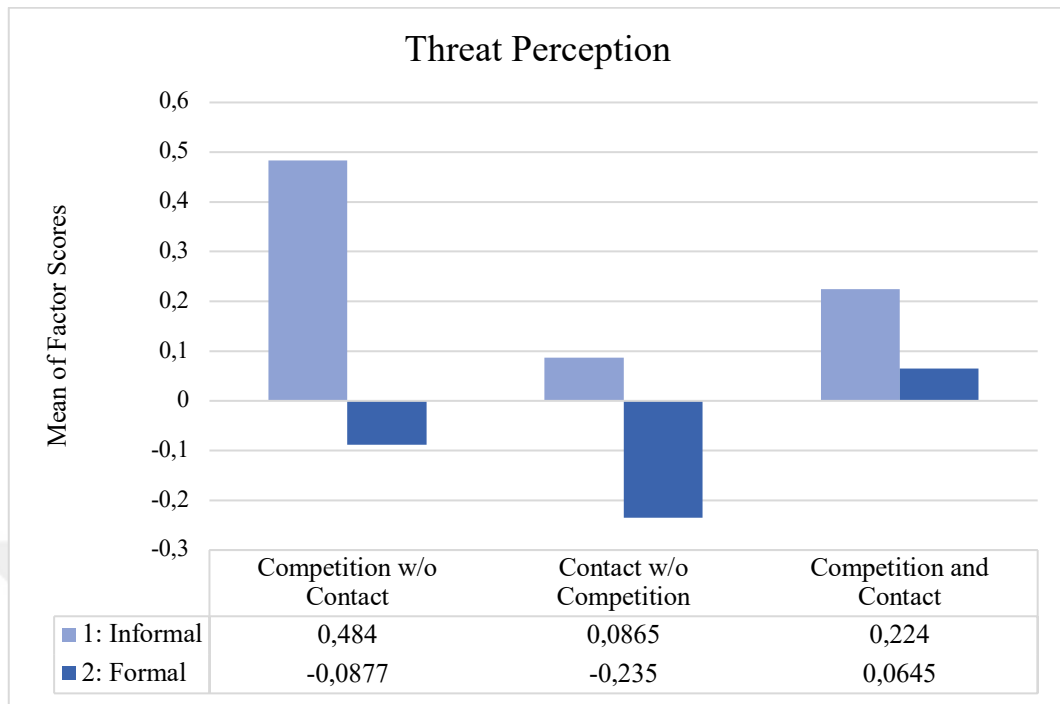


Figure 5.10. shows the effects of formal and informal employment on threat perception in scenarios where competition is present and contact is absent, where contact is present and competition is absent, and where both competition and contact are present.

Upon examining the factor score averages, it can be seen that formal employment has a consistent and notable reducing effect on threat perception in all situations. When looking at the average differences, it can be observed that the reducing effect of formal employment on threat perception is most prominent in situations where only competition is present. These findings support hypotheses H5A and H6A but reveal a result that contradicts the expected result in hypothesis H4A.

Figure 5.10. Factor Score Means of Threat Perception (Formal’s Effects Including Other Effects)



5.3. Statistical Analysis

In this section, statistical analyses are conducted to test the findings obtained from the factor score averages in the previous section. First, an Independent Samples T-Test analysis is applied to determine if each manipulation has a significant direct effect. The analyses are conducted based on the factor scores.

Table 5.12. presents the effects of the competition manipulation on the dependent variables and the assumed mediator variable, threat perception, along with the relevant descriptive information. When examining these tables, it can be seen that competition manipulation has a significant effect only on negative emotions and threat perception.

For negative emotions, the statistically significant difference between the Competition ($M = 0.2702$, $SD = 1.05$) and No Competition ($M = -0.2702$, $SD = 0.801$) groups supports hypothesis H2 ($t(238) = -4.485$, $p < .001$). For threat perception, the statistically significant difference between the Competition ($M = 0.171$, $SD = 0.902$) and No Competition ($M = -0.171$, $SD = 1.021$) groups supports hypothesis H1A ($t(238) = -2.75$, $p = 0.006$).

Although the effect of competition manipulation on positive emotions and social distance averages supports hypothesis H1B, there is no significant difference between the averages.

		Statistic	df	p		Effect Size
Positive Emotions	Student's t	0.302	238	0.763	Cohen's d	0.0390
Negative Emotions	Student's t	-4.485	238	< .001	Cohen's d	-0.5790
Social Distance	Student's t	-0.809	238	0.419	Cohen's d	-0.1044
Threat Perception	Student's t	-2.750	238	0.006	Cohen's d	-0.3550

Note. $H_a \mu_1 \neq \mu_2$

Table 5.12. Independent Samples T-Test (Competition)

	Group	N	Mean	Median	SD	SE
Positive Emotions	No Competition	120	0.0190	-0.0445	1.008	0.0920
	Competition	120	-0.0190	-0.10300	0.939	0.0857
Negative Emotions	No Competition	120	-0.2702	-0.3526	0.801	0.0731
	Competition	120	0.2702	-0.00424	1.050	0.0958
Social Distance	No Competition	120	-0.0499	0.0700	0.970	0.0886
	Competition	120	0.0499	0.08314	0.943	0.0861
Threat Perception	No Competition	120	-0.1710	-0.1389	1.021	0.0932
	Competition	120	0.1710	0.38887	0.902	0.0824

Table 5.13. Group Descriptives (Competition)

Although the differences between the Contact ($M = 0.0471$, $SD = 0.966$) and No Contact ($M = -0.0471$, $SD = 0.981$) groups for positive emotions and the differences between the Contact ($M = -0.0679$, $SD = 0.869$) and No Contact ($M = 0.0679$, $SD = 1.061$) groups for negative emotions support hypothesis H2B to some extent, these differences are not statistically significant.

On the other hand, for threat perception and social distance, the averages for situations with contact are higher than those without contact. However, these findings, which contradict hypotheses H2B and H2A, are also not statistically significant.

		Statistic	df	p		Effect Size
Positive Emotions	Student's t	-0.749	238	0.454	Cohen's d	-0.0968
Negative Emotions	Student's t	1.084	238	0.279	Cohen's d	0.1399
Social Distance	Student's t	-0.397	238	0.692	Cohen's d	-0.0512
Threat Perception	Student's t	-0.552	238	0.581	Cohen's d	-0.0713

Note. $H_a \mu_1 \neq \mu_2$

Table 5.14. Independent Samples T-Test (Contact)

	Group	N	Mean	Median	SD	SE
Positive Emotions	No Contact	120	-0.0471	-0.08207	0.981	0.0895
	Contact	120	0.0471	-0.0445	0.966	0.0882
Negative Emotions	No Contact	120	0.0679	-0.21199	1.061	0.0968
	Contact	120	-0.0679	-0.2262	0.869	0.0793
Social Distance	No Contact	120	-0.0245	-0.00435	0.936	0.0854
	Contact	120	0.0245	0.0987	0.979	0.0894
Threat Perception	No Contact	120	-0.0349	0.08935	1.007	0.0919
	Contact	120	0.0349	0.2808	0.948	0.0866

Table 5.15. Group Descriptives (Contact)

There is a significant difference between Formal Employment ($M = -0.1542$, $SD = 0.98$) and Informal Employment ($M = 0.1542$, $SD = 0.952$) groups for threat perception ($t(238) = 2.472$, $p = 0.014$). The lower threat perception in the formal employment condition compared to the informal employment condition supports hypothesis H3A.

For social distance, there is a significant difference at the 0.1 level between the Formal Employment ($M = -0.1197$, $SD = 0.94$) and Informal Employment ($M = 0.1197$, $SD = 0.96$) groups ($t(238) = 1.951$, $p = 0.052$). The lower social distance score in the formal employment condition compared to the informal employment condition supports hypothesis H3B.

Moreover, positive emotions are higher and negative emotions are lower in the formal employment condition compared to the informal employment condition. Although supporting hypothesis H3B by showing the positive effect of formal employment on attitudes, these findings are not statistically significant.

		Statistic	df	p		Effect Size
Positive Emotions	Student's t	-1.631	238	0.104	Cohen's d	-0.211
Negative Emotions	Student's t	0.934	238	0.351	Cohen's d	0.121
Social Distance	Student's t	1.951	238	0.052	Cohen's d	0.252
Threat Perception	Student's t	2.472	238	0.014	Cohen's d	0.319

Note. $H_a \mu_1 \neq \mu_2$

Table 5.16. Independent Samples T-Test (Formal Employment)

	Group	N	Mean	Median	SD	SE
Positive Emotions	Informal	120	-0.1020	-0.191	0.963	0.0879
	Formal	120	0.1020	0.0547	0.975	0.0890
Negative Emotions	Informal	120	0.0585	-0.188	0.994	0.0907
	Formal	120	-0.0585	-0.2466	0.946	0.0864
Social Distance	Informal	120	0.1197	0.267	0.960	0.0877
	Formal	120	-0.1197	-0.0754	0.940	0.0858
Threat Perception	Informal	120	0.1542	0.457	0.952	0.0869
	Formal	120	-0.1542	-0.0752	0.980	0.0895

Table 5.17. Group Descriptives (Formal Employment)

The effects of different conditions occurring together are statistically analyzed in the following analyses. The abbreviations used in group labeling denote the FR for formal employment, CN for contact, and CM for competition conditions. The 0 next to the abbreviations indicates that the condition is absent, while 1 indicates that it is present.

Table 5.18. shows the effects of formal and informal employment in situations where competition is present and contact is absent. There is a significant difference between the Formal Employment ($M = 0.2068$, $SD = 1.082$) and Informal Employment ($M = -0.39$, $SD = 1.021$) groups for social distance ($t(58) = 2.129$, $p = 0.038$). This finding indicates that even in situations where competition is present but contact is absent, if formal employment is present instead of informal employment, social distance is at lower levels. This result contradicts hypothesis H4B.

For positive emotions, there is a significant difference at the 0.1 level between the Formal Employment (M = 0.065, SD = 1.082) and Informal Employment (M = -0.39, SD = 0.906) groups ($t(58) = -1.765, p = 0.083$). Accordingly, in situations where competition is present, the presence of formal employment has a positive effect on positive emotions compared to situations where it is absent. This finding also contradicts the expected result in hypothesis H4B.

Moreover, it is observed that negative emotions are lower in situations where formal employment is present than in situations where it is absent. However, this finding, which contradicts hypothesis H4B, is not statistically significant.

Additionally, there is a significant difference between the Formal Employment (M = -0.0877, SD = 1) and Informal Employment (M = 0.484, SD = 0.977) groups for threat perception ($t(58) = 2.238, p = .029$). This indicates that participants perceive less threat in situations where formal employment is present compared to situations where informal employment is present. This finding contradicts hypothesis H4A.

		Statistic	df	p		Effect Size
Positive Emotions	Student's t	-1.765	58.0	0.083	Cohen's d	-0.456
Negative Emotions	Student's t	0.764	58.0	0.448	Cohen's d	0.197
Social Distance	Student's t	2.129	58.0	0.038	Cohen's d	0.550
Threat Perception	Student's t	2.238	58.0	0.029	Cohen's d	0.578

Note. $H_a: \mu_{FR0CN0CM1} \neq \mu_{FR1CN0CM1}$

Table 5.18. Independent Samples T-Test (Formal Employment – Competition w/o Contact)

	Group	N	Mean	Median	SD	SE
Positive Emotions	FR: 0 - CN: 0 - CM: 1	30	-0.390	-0.503	0.906	0.165
	FR: 1 - CN: 0 - CM: 1	30	0.0650	-0.00369	1.082	0.198
Negative Emotions	FR: 0 - CN: 0 - CM: 1	30	0.549	0.342	1.191	0.217
	FR: 1 - CN: 0 - CM: 1	30	0.3254	0.18381	1.077	0.197
Social Distance	FR: 0 - CN: 0 - CM: 1	30	0.314	0.567	1.021	0.186
	FR: 1 - CN: 0 - CM: 1	30	-0.2068	-0.20806	0.866	0.158
Threat Perception	FR: 0 - CN: 0 - CM: 1	30	0.484	0.769	0.977	0.178
	FR: 1 - CN: 0 - CM: 1	30	-0.0877	0.09938	1.000	0.183

Table 5.19. Group Descriptives (Formal Employment – Competition w/o Contact)

Table 5.20. shows the effects of formal and informal employment in situations where contact is present and competition is absent. It is observed that in situations where contact is present, positive emotions are higher, negative emotions and social distance are lower compared to situations where it is absent. Although these findings support hypothesis H5B, none of them are statistically significant.

Additionally, lower threat perception values are found in situations where the contact condition is met compared to situations where it is not met. This finding, which supports hypothesis H5A, is also not statistically significant.

		Statistic	df	p		Effect Size
Positive Emotions	Student's t	-1.610	58.0	0.113	Cohen's d	-0.416
Negative Emotions	Student's t	0.769	58.0	0.445	Cohen's d	0.199
Social Distance	Student's t	0.694	58.0	0.490	Cohen's d	0.179
Threat Perception	Student's t	1.144	58.0	0.257	Cohen's d	0.295

Note. $H_a \mu_{FR0CN1CM0} \neq \mu_{FR1CN1CM0}$

Table 5.20. Independent Samples T-Test (Formal Employment – Contact w/o Competition)

	Group	N	Mean	Median	SD	SE
Positive Emotions	FR: 0 - CN: 1 - CM: 0	30	-0.2513	-0.434	1.137	0.208
	FR: 1 - CN: 1 - CM: 0	30	0.1910	0.0585	0.986	0.180
Negative Emotions	FR: 0 - CN: 1 - CM: 0	30	-0.1629	-0.285	0.838	0.153
	FR: 1 - CN: 1 - CM: 0	30	-0.3146	-0.3525	0.681	0.124
Social Distance	FR: 0 - CN: 1 - CM: 0	30	0.0965	0.304	1.100	0.201
	FR: 1 - CN: 1 - CM: 0	30	-0.0914	0.0831	0.994	0.181
Threat Perception	FR: 0 - CN: 1 - CM: 0	30	0.0865	0.500	1.116	0.204
	FR: 1 - CN: 1 - CM: 0	30	-0.2352	-0.0813	1.062	0.194

Table 5.21. Group Descriptives (Formal Employment – Contact w/o Competition)

Table 5.22. shows the effects of formal and informal employment in situations where both competition and contact are present. Contradicting results are found for both positive and negative emotions, where the averages are higher for both in situations where formal employment is present compared to situations where informal employment is present. While the higher levels of positive emotions in the presence of formal employment support hypothesis H6B, the higher levels of

negative emotions contradict the hypothesis. However, these findings are not statistically significant. Additionally, it is observed that the average social distance is lower in situations where formal employment is present, which supports hypothesis H6B. However, the difference in the means is very low (0.0036) and not statistically significant.

When examining the effect of employment type on threat perception, it is observed that threat perception is lower in formal employment situations compared to informal employment situations. Although this finding supports hypothesis H6A, the difference between the groups is not statistically significant.

		Statistic	df	p		Effect Size
Positive Emotions	Student's t	-0.0880	58.0	0.930	Cohen's d	-0.02273
Negative Emotions	Student's t	-0.1930	58.0	0.848	Cohen's d	-0.04984
Social Distance	Student's t	0.0151	58.0	0.988	Cohen's d	0.00391
Threat Perception	Student's t	0.7960	58.0	0.429	Cohen's d	0.20553

Note. $H_a \mu_{FR0CN1CM1} \neq \mu_{FR1CN1CM1}$

Table 5.22. Independent Samples T-Test (Formal Employment – Competition and Contact)

	Group	N	Mean	Median	SD	SE
Positive Emotions	FR: 0 - CN: 1 - CM: 1	30	0.1147	0.0714	0.817	0.149
	FR: 1 - CN: 1 - CM: 1	30	0.1340	0.2980	0.877	0.160
Negative Emotions	FR: 0 - CN: 1 - CM: 1	30	0.0794	-0.1633	0.944	0.172
	FR: 1 - CN: 1 - CM: 1	30	0.1267	-0.0438	0.953	0.174
Social Distance	FR: 0 - CN: 1 - CM: 1	30	0.0483	0.0947	0.901	0.164
	FR: 1 - CN: 1 - CM: 1	30	0.0447	0.0119	0.950	0.173
Threat Perception	FR: 0 - CN: 1 - CM: 1	30	0.2237	0.4826	0.696	0.127
	FR: 1 - CN: 1 - CM: 1	30	0.0645	0.3889	0.846	0.155

Table 5.23. Group Descriptives (Formal Employment – Competition and Contact)

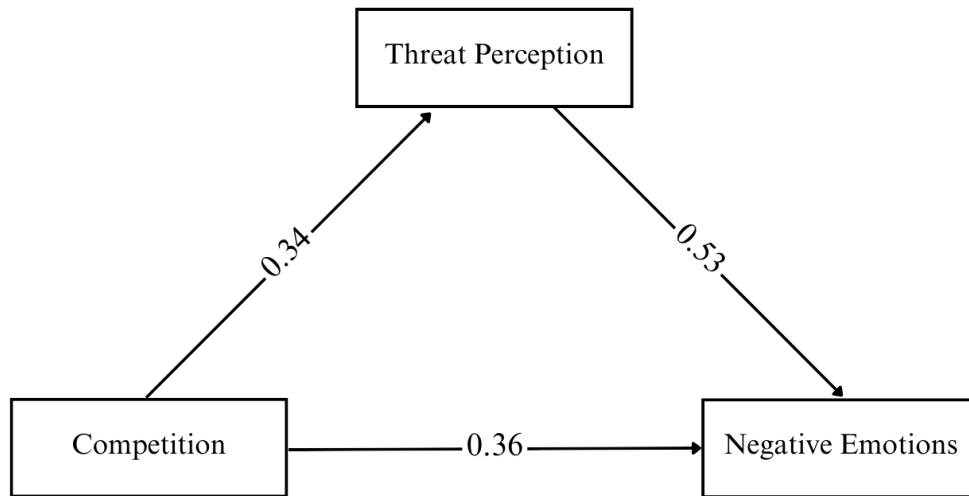
5.4. Mediation Effect of Threat Perception

To examine the mediating effect of threat perception, it must first be ensured that the independent variables have a significant effect on the dependent variable on their own. According to the analyses conducted previously, the independent variable of contact does not have a significant effect on the dependent variables alone. Therefore, hypothesis H2, which predicts the mediating effect of contact on threat perception and attitudes, cannot be tested.

There is a significant relationship between competition and negative emotions among the dependent variables ($t(238) = -4.485, p < .001$). Additionally, there is a significant relationship between threat perception and negative emotions (Pearson's $r = 0.570, p < 0.001$) and between competition and threat perception ($t(238) = -2.75, p = 0.006$), which makes it possible to examine the mediating effect of threat perception between competition and negative attitudes. The medmod module in the JAMOV program was used to examine this effect.

The analysis results show that threat perception partially mediates the relationship between the competition and negative emotions variables. According to the value calculated by dividing the indirect effect by the total effect, 33.8% of the effect of competition on negative emotions is mediated by threat perception. The remaining 66.2% explains the direct effect of competition on negative emotions. These findings support hypothesis H1.

Figure 5.11. Mediation Effect of Threat Perception between Competition and Negative Emotions



95% C.I. (a)								
Type	Effect	Estimate	SE	Lower	Upper	β	z	p
Indirect	C \Rightarrow T \Rightarrow N ¹²	0.183	0.0685	0.0484	0.317	0.0943	2.67	0.008
Component	C \Rightarrow T ¹³	0.342	0.1239	0.0993	0.585	0.1755	2.76	0.006
	T \Rightarrow N ¹⁴	0.534	0.0522	0.4314	0.636	0.5373	10.2 2	<.001
Direct	C \Rightarrow N ¹⁵	0.358	0.1017	0.1585	0.557	0.1849	3.52	<.001
Total	C \Rightarrow N ¹⁶	0.540	0.1203	0.3048	0.776	0.2792	4.49	<.001

Note. Categorical independent variables (factors) are represented by contrast indicators. Competition = 2 – 1

Table 5.24. Indirect and Total Effects (Competition – Threat Perception – Negative Emotions)

To measure the mediating effect of threat perception between formal employment and the dependent variables, there must first be a significant relationship between formal employment and the dependent variables. According to the analyses conducted in the previously, there is a significant relationship at the 0.1 level of significance between formal employment and social distance ($t(238) =$

¹² Competition \Rightarrow Threat Perception \Rightarrow Negative Emotions

¹³ Competition \Rightarrow Threat Perception

¹⁴ Threat Perception \Rightarrow Negative Emotions

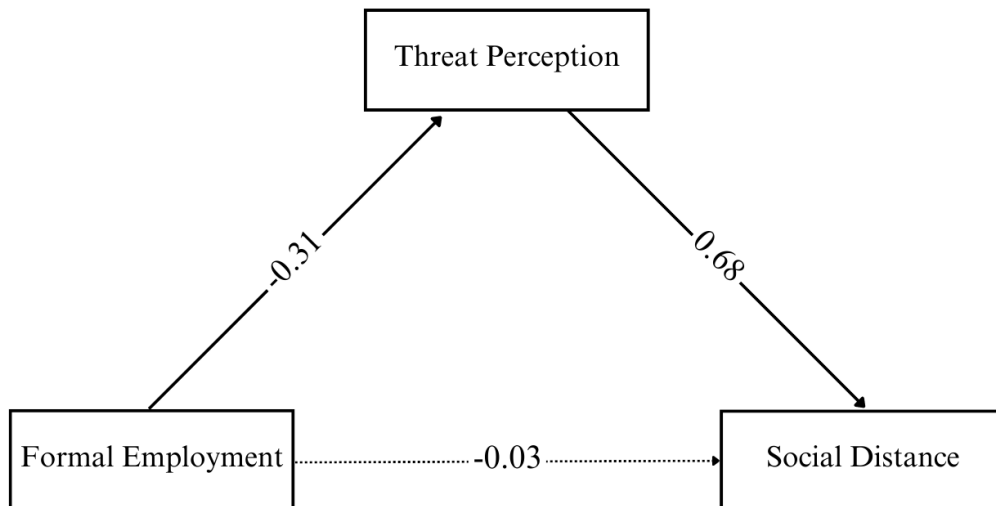
¹⁵ Competition \Rightarrow Negative Emotions

¹⁶ Competition \Rightarrow Negative Emotions

1.951, $p = 0.052$). Additionally, other relationships necessary for the mediating effect to be discussed were also checked. There is a significant relationship between formal employment and threat perception ($t(238) = 2.472$, $p = 0.014$), and between threat perception and social distance (Pearson's $r = 0.681$, $p < 0.001$), which are necessary for examining the mediating effect.

The analysis results show that threat perception fully mediates the relationship between formal employment and social distance. The direct effect of formal employment on social distance is eliminated by the mediating effect of threat perception. These findings support hypothesis H3.

Figure 5.12. Mediation Effect of Threat Perception between Formal Employment and Social Distance



Type	Effect	Estimate	SE	95% C.I. (a)		β	z	p
				Lower	Upper			
Indirect	F \Rightarrow T \Rightarrow S ¹⁷	-0.2093	0.0855	-0.377	-0.0417	-0.1097	-2.448	0.014
Component	F \Rightarrow T ¹⁸	-0.3084	0.1242	-0.552	-0.0649	-0.1582	-2.482	0.013
	T \Rightarrow S ¹⁹	0.6786	0.0459	0.589	0.7686	0.6933	14.771	<.001
Direct	F \Rightarrow S ²⁰	-0.0301	0.0895	-0.206	0.1454	-0.0158	-0.336	0.737
Total	F \Rightarrow S ²¹	-0.2394	0.1224	-0.479	5.35e-4	-0.1255	-1.956	0.051

Note. Categorical independent variables (factors) are represented by contrast indicators. Formal = 2 – 1

Table 5.25. Indirect and Total Effects (Formal Employment – Threat Perception – Social Distance)

At the beginning of the study, it was planned to examine the mediating effect of threat perception between formal employment and the dependent variables in situations where different manipulations are combined. However, since significant relationships were not found between formal employment and the dependent variables in situations where common effects are present, hypotheses H5 and H6 cannot be tested. Although a significant relationship was found at the 0.05 level of significance between formal employment and social distance ($t(58) = 2.129$, $p = 0.038$), and at the 0.1 level of significance between formal employment and positive emotions ($t(58) = -1.765$, $p = 0.083$) in situations where competition is present and contact is absent, these relationships are in the opposite direction to what is predicted in the relevant hypothesis. Therefore, hypothesis H4 cannot be tested.

¹⁷ Formal \Rightarrow Threat Perception \Rightarrow Social Distance

¹⁸ Formal \Rightarrow Threat Perception

¹⁹ Threat Perception \Rightarrow Social Distance

²⁰ Formal \Rightarrow Social Distance

²¹ Formal \Rightarrow Social Distance

5.5. Robustness Checks

Up until this point in the analysis, only the effects of variables specified in the hypotheses were examined, and demographic variables and other control variables were not included in the analyses. In this section, a MANCOVA analysis was conducted to evaluate the effects of all variables together. First, the independent variables, which included threat perception as a mediating effect and contact frequency and contact quality as control variables, were added to the analysis. Assumption checks were conducted using Box's Homogeneity of Covariance Matrices Test ($p = 0.021$) and Shapiro-Wilk Multivariate Normality Test ($p = 0.042$), but the test results were significant, indicating that the assumptions were not met. Therefore, Wilks' Lambda, a multivariate statistics method commonly used when assumptions are not met, is used.

According to the results, there is a significant association between formal employment and a linear combination of the scores on the dependent variables, which are positive emotions, negative emotions, and social distance ($F(3, 227) = 4.561, p = .004$). While no significant effect of contact on the dependent variables is observed, competition has a significant effect on the linear combination of the dependent variables ($F(3, 227) = 10.288, p < .001$). The interaction effects of the independent variables on the combination of the dependent variables are not significant. However, threat perception, which has a mediating effect on formal employment and social distance and competition and negative emotions, has a significant effect on the dependent variables ($F(3,227) = 156.619, p < .001$).

When examining the univariate test results, it is found that formal employment has a significant effect only on positive emotions ($F(1, 229) = 5.6, p = 0.019$) and social distance ($F(1, 229) = 10.85, p = 0.001$), but not on negative emotions. The direction of the relationship is determined by the previous t-test results. When the results of the MANCOVA and t-test are interpreted together, it is found that formal employment was significantly associated with higher levels of positive emotions and lower social distance. The effect of competition on the dependent variables is significant only for negative emotions ($F(1, 229) = 30.17, p < .001$), with a positive relationship as previously found by the t-test. Therefore,

when considering the variables of contact and threat perception, competition is associated with significantly higher levels of negative emotions.

When examining the effects of the independent variable interactions on the dependent variable combination, it is found that only the two-way effect of contact and competition and the three-way effect of formal employment, contact, and competition has a significant positive effect on positive emotions. However, both findings are significant at the 0.1 level. A correlation analysis is conducted to determine the direction of the two-way and three-way effects, and a positive relationship is found. The three-way effect supports Hypothesis 6B.

When examining the univariate test results for threat perception, it is found that all relationships are significant and highly effective. The direction of the relationships is determined by the correlation analysis. An inverse relationship is found between threat perception and positive emotions ($F(1, 229) = 178.61, p < .001$), a direct relationship is found between threat perception and negative emotions ($F(1,229) = 108.34, p < .001$), and a direct relationship is found between threat perception and social distance ($F(1, 229) = 324.08, p < .001$).

Significant relationships are observed between the combination of the dependent variables and contact frequency ($F(3, 227) = 4.550, p = 0.004$) and contact quality ($F(3, 227) = 51.011, p < .001$), which are control variables. It is observed that the effect of contact quality on the dependent variables is higher than that of contact frequency.

The direction of the relationship between contact frequency and contact quality and the dependent variables is determined by a correlation analysis. Furthermore, the relationships between these two variables and the mediating variable of threat perception are also examined. A direct relationship is found between contact frequency and positive emotions (Pearson's $r = 0.3, p < .001$), an inverse relationship is found between contact frequency and negative emotions (Pearson's $r = -0.17, p = 0.006$), an inverse relationship is found between contact frequency and social distance (Pearson's $r = -0.33, p < .001$), and an inverse relationship is found between contact frequency and threat perception (Pearson's $r = -0.32, p < .001$). Also, a direct relationship is found between contact quality and positive emotions (Pearson's $r = 0.68, p < .001$), an inverse relationship is found

between contact quality and negative emotions (Pearson's $r = -0.49$, $p < .001$), an inverse relationship is found between contact quality and social distance (Pearson's $r = -0.75$, $p < .001$), and an inverse relationship is found between contact quality and threat perception (Pearson's $r = -0.61$, $p < .001$).

When examining the univariate test results, it is found that all these relationships are significant except for the relationship between contact frequency and competition. These findings support Hypotheses 2A and 2B, which suggest that the presence of existing contact positively affects attitudes and inversely affects threat perception. Although the presence of existing contact is not one of the main independent variables examined in this study, the results suggest that it does have an impact on the dependent variables.

		value	F	df1	df2	p
Formal	Wilks' Lambda	0.943	4.561	3	227	0.004
Contact	Wilks' Lambda	0.982	1.402	3	227	0.243
Competition	Wilks' Lambda	0.880	10.288	3	227	< .001
Formal * Contact	Wilks' Lambda	0.984	1.235	3	227	0.298
Formal * Competition	Wilks' Lambda	0.998	0.116	3	227	0.951
Contact * Competition	Wilks' Lambda	0.979	1.636	3	227	0.182
Formal * Contact * Competition	Wilks' Lambda	0.986	1.092	3	227	0.353
Threat Perception	Wilks' Lambda	0.326	156.619	3	227	< .001
Contact Frequency	Wilks' Lambda	0.943	4.550	3	227	0.004
Contact Quality	Wilks' Lambda	0.597	51.011	3	227	< .001

Table 5.26. Multivariate Tests

	Dependent Variable	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
Formal	Positive Emotions	2.49737	1	2.49737	5.60028	0.019
	Negative Emotions	0.82182	1	0.82182	1.41473	0.236
	Social Distance	3.43876	1	3.43876	10.85388	0.001
Contact	Positive Emotions	0.53202	1	0.53202	1.19304	0.276
	Negative Emotions	1.10494	1	1.10494	1.90211	0.169
	Social Distance	0.14426	1	0.14426	0.45534	0.500
Competition	Positive Emotions	0.08645	1	0.08645	0.19386	0.660
	Negative Emotions	17.52657	1	17.52657	30.17129	< .001
	Social Distance	0.59859	1	0.59859	1.88936	0.171
Formal * Contact	Positive Emotions	0.17413	1	0.17413	0.39048	0.533
	Negative Emotions	0.08330	1	0.08330	0.14340	0.705
	Social Distance	0.74977	1	0.74977	2.36654	0.125
Formal * Competition	Positive Emotions	6.22e-4	1	6.22e-4	0.00140	0.970
	Negative Emotions	0.19005	1	0.19005	0.32716	0.568
	Social Distance	0.00776	1	0.00776	0.02450	0.876
Contact * Competition	Positive Emotions	1.29601	1	1.29601	2.90627	0.090
	Negative Emotions	1.03587	1	1.03587	1.78321	0.183
	Social Distance	0.00131	1	0.00131	0.00415	0.949
Formal * Contact * Competition	Positive Emotions	1.40315	1	1.40315	3.14652	0.077

	Dependent Variable	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
	Negative Emotions	0.00200	1	0.00200	0.00345	0.953
	Social Distance	0.00828	1	0.00828	0.02613	0.872
Threat Perception	Positive Emotions	79.65163	1	79.65163	178.61629	< .001
	Negative Emotions	62.93940	1	62.93940	108.34767	< .001
	Social Distance	102.67612	1	102.67612	324.08041	< .001
Contact Frequency	Positive Emotions	3.77769	1	3.77769	8.47136	0.004
	Negative Emotions	0.00328	1	0.00328	0.00564	0.940
	Social Distance	2.92157	1	2.92157	9.22144	0.003
Contact Quality	Positive Emotions	34.42841	1	34.42841	77.20464	< .001
	Negative Emotions	8.18061	1	8.18061	14.08259	< .001
	Social Distance	35.24340	1	35.24340	111.24005	< .001
Residuals	Positive Emotions	102.11959	229	0.44594		
	Negative Emotions	133.02660	229	0.58090		
	Social Distance	72.55246	229	0.31682		

Table 5.27. Univariate Tests

Table 5.28 and Table 5.29 examine how the effects change when all control variables are included in the analysis. When all control variables are included, the significant effect of formal employment and competition on the combination of dependent variables continue. However, when examining the univariate test results, it is observed that the significant effect of formal employment on positive emotions disappears. Additionally, an unseen significant effect of the interaction between contact and competition is found ($F(3, 74) = 3.53, p = 0.019$). To interpret the

direction of this relationship, a correlation analysis is conducted, but conflicting results are found. A positive relationship is found between the contact and competition interaction and all dependent variables, indicating that this interaction affects both positive and negative emotions positively. However, when examining the univariate tests, it is observed that the significant effect is only found on positive emotions ($F(1, 76) = 9.88, p = 0.002$), indicating that the interaction between contact and competition positively affects positive emotions.

Threat perception, contact frequency, and contact quality variables continue to have a significant effect in the multivariate test results. However, when examining the univariate tests, the significant effect of contact frequency on negative emotions and social distance disappears.

In the multivariate test results, only the result indicating whether the participant is formally employed in their current workplace was significant among new added control variables ($F(3, 74) = 2.25, p = 0.089$). When examining the relevant univariate test results, it is found that this relationship is only significant for positive emotions ($F(1, 76) = 6.32, p = 0.014$).

In addition, although there is no significant effect in the multivariate test results, the univariate test results show that age ($F(1, 76) = 3.01, p = 0.086$) and gender ($F(1, 76) = 2.96, p = 0.089$) have a significant effect on positive emotions at a significance level of 0.1. The direction of these variables is checked with correlation analyses, which show that men have lower positive emotions than women and that age has an inverse relationship with positive emotions.

		value	F	df1	df2	p
Formal	Wilks' Lambda	0.890	3.062	3	74	0.033
Contact	Wilks' Lambda	0.943	1.485	3	74	0.226
Competition	Wilks' Lambda	0.840	4.705	3	74	0.005
Formal * Contact	Wilks' Lambda	0.982	0.457	3	74	0.713
Formal * Competition	Wilks' Lambda	0.992	0.198	3	74	0.898
Contact * Competition	Wilks' Lambda	0.875	3.531	3	74	0.019
Formal * Contact * Competition	Wilks' Lambda	0.953	1.213	3	74	0.311
Threat Perception	Wilks' Lambda	0.321	52.072	3	74	<.001
Contact Frequency	Wilks' Lambda	0.894	2.939	3	74	0.039
Contact Quality	Wilks' Lambda	0.759	7.815	3	74	<.001
Formal Employment Ratio ²²	Wilks' Lambda	0.985	0.386	3	74	0.764
Formal Employment of Participant ²³	Wilks' Lambda	0.916	2.257	3	74	0.089
Syrian Workers ²⁴	Wilks' Lambda	0.964	0.922	3	74	0.434
Formal Employed Syrian Workers ²⁵	Wilks' Lambda	0.992	0.201	3	74	0.895
Wage	Wilks' Lambda	0.987	0.313	3	74	0.816
Education	Wilks' Lambda	0.975	0.645	3	74	0.588
Age	Wilks' Lambda	0.955	1.164	3	74	0.329
Gender	Wilks' Lambda	0.942	1.514	3	74	0.218

Table 5.28. Multivariate Tests with All Control Variables

²² Formal employment ratio of workplaces where participant works

²³ Current formal employment status of participants

²⁴ Whether Syrians work in participants' workplaces

²⁵ Whether Syrians work formally if there are Syrian workers in participants' workplaces

	Dependent Variable	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
Formal	Positive Emotions	0.84959	1	0.84959	1.7303	0.192
	Negative Emotions	1.20946	1	1.20946	1.8378	0.179
	Social Distance	3.26515	1	3.26515	7.9036	0.006
Contact	Positive Emotions	0.01051	1	0.01051	0.0214	0.884
	Negative Emotions	0.13441	1	0.13441	0.2042	0.653
	Social Distance	1.56908	1	1.56908	3.7981	0.055
Competition	Positive Emotions	0.17318	1	0.17318	0.3527	0.554
	Negative Emotions	8.74942	1	8.74942	13.2950	< .001
	Social Distance	0.65638	1	0.65638	1.5888	0.211
Formal * Contact	Positive Emotions	0.00512	1	0.00512	0.0104	0.919
	Negative Emotions	4.86e-4	1	4.86e-4	7.38e-4	0.978
	Social Distance	0.51881	1	0.51881	1.2558	0.266
Formal * Competition	Positive Emotions	0.23602	1	0.23602	0.4807	0.490
	Negative Emotions	0.07886	1	0.07886	0.1198	0.730
	Social Distance	0.08434	1	0.08434	0.2042	0.653
Contact * Competition	Positive Emotions	4.85542	1	4.85542	9.8886	0.002
	Negative Emotions	0.21757	1	0.21757	0.3306	0.567
	Social Distance	0.09418	1	0.09418	0.2280	0.634
Formal * Contact * Competition	Positive Emotions	1.49845	1	1.49845	3.0518	0.085

	Dependent Variable	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
	Negative Emotions	0.51631	1	0.51631	0.7845	0.379
	Social Distance	0.12729	1	0.12729	0.3081	0.580
Threat Perception	Positive Emotions	37.94508	1	37.94508	77.2797	< .001
	Negative Emotions	23.01843	1	23.01843	34.9772	< .001
	Social Distance	44.45469	1	44.45469	107.6070	< .001
Contact Frequency	Positive Emotions	3.23524	1	3.23524	6.5890	0.012
	Negative Emotions	1.36094	1	1.36094	2.0680	0.155
	Social Distance	0.54857	1	0.54857	1.3279	0.253
Contact Quality	Positive Emotions	4.66778	1	4.66778	9.5065	0.003
	Negative Emotions	2.79922	1	2.79922	4.2535	0.043
	Social Distance	7.71627	1	7.71627	18.6780	< .001
Formal Employment Ratio ²⁶	Positive Emotions	0.07134	1	0.07134	0.1453	0.704
	Negative Emotions	0.42527	1	0.42527	0.6462	0.424
	Social Distance	0.07167	1	0.07167	0.1735	0.678
Formal Employment of Participant ²⁷	Positive Emotions	3.10558	1	3.10558	6.3249	0.014
	Negative Emotions	0.12673	1	0.12673	0.1926	0.662
	Social Distance	0.96472	1	0.96472	2.3352	0.131

²⁶ Formal employment ratio of workplaces where participant works

²⁷ Current formal employment status of participants

	Dependent Variable	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
Syrian Workers ²⁸	Positive Emotions	0.30162	1	0.30162	0.6143	0.436
	Negative Emotions	1.03248	1	1.03248	1.5689	0.214
	Social Distance	0.38843	1	0.38843	0.9402	0.335
Formal Employed Syrian Workers ²⁹	Positive Emotions	0.02531	1	0.02531	0.0515	0.821
	Negative Emotions	0.01325	1	0.01325	0.0201	0.888
	Social Distance	0.24020	1	0.24020	0.5814	0.448
Wage	Positive Emotions	0.41333	1	0.41333	0.8418	0.362
	Negative Emotions	0.04312	1	0.04312	0.0655	0.799
	Social Distance	0.01649	1	0.01649	0.0399	0.842
Education	Positive Emotions	0.35682	1	0.35682	0.7267	0.397
	Negative Emotions	0.74028	1	0.74028	1.1249	0.292
	Social Distance	0.00638	1	0.00638	0.0154	0.901
Age	Positive Emotions	1.48221	1	1.48221	3.0187	0.086
	Negative Emotions	3.13e-4	1	3.13e-4	4.76e-4	0.983
	Social Distance	3.06e-4	1	3.06e-4	7.42e-4	0.978
Gender	Positive Emotions	1.45431	1	1.45431	2.9619	0.089
	Negative Emotions	1.09528	1	1.09528	1.6643	0.201

²⁸ Whether Syrians work in participants' workplaces

²⁹ Whether Syrians work formally if there are Syrian workers in participants' workplaces

	Dependent Variable	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p
	Social Distance Scores Pasted	0.03422	1	0.03422	0.0828	0.774
Residuals	Positive Emotions	37.31674	76	0.49101		
	Negative Emotions	50.01542	76	0.65810		
	Social Distance	31.39718	76	0.41312		

Table 5.29. Univariate Tests with All Control Variables



CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

The study investigates how legal employment of Syrians, workplace contact and workplace competition affect the attitudes of local people. The study was conducted by administering survey forms with eight different manipulations to local people working in industrial zones. Through factor analysis, positive emotions, negative emotions, and social distance were identified as indicators of attitudes. The mediating effect of threat perception and the influence of control variables were also examined.

The structure of the variables was initially examined, and it was observed that the participants' attitudes were generally negative. Social distance and threat perception had averages above 3, with the results of social distance approaching 5. The average score for positive emotions was 0.08 points higher than the average score for negative emotions.

The impact of manipulations on the dependent variables and their mediation role on threat perception were examined by comparing factor scores. Lower positive emotion scores were found in scenarios with competition compared to scenarios without competition. Additionally, negative emotions, social distance, and threat perception scores were higher, indicating that the presence of competition negatively affected attitudes (H1B) and directly affected threat perception (H1A), as hypothesized. However, only the effects on negative emotions and threat perception were significant. Thus, partial significant support was found for H1B, while full significant support was found for H1A. Moreover, the MANCOVA analysis, including control variables, showed that competition had a significant effect on the combination of dependent variables. Univariate tests showed that the significant direct relationship between negative emotions and competition continued.

The results regarding the increase of threat perception and the negative impact on attitudes in the presence of competition support RGCT (Jackson, 1993; Sherif et al., 1954; 1963). Additionally, because the possibility of job loss was

mentioned in scenarios with competition, not only the effect of in-work competition, but also the effect of labor market competition was involved. As predicted by labor market competition, local people's attitudes are negatively affected when workers are substitutable (Mayda, 2006; Pardos-Prado and Xena, 2019; Scheve and Slaughter, 2001).

In situations where there was contact, higher positive emotion scores and lower negative emotion scores were found compared to situations without contact, supporting hypothesis H2B. However, social distance and threat perception scores were higher, contradicting hypotheses H2B and H2A. T-test scores showed that contact did not have a significant effect on these variables. Therefore, hypotheses H2A and H2B regarding the effect of contact manipulation were rejected. However, no significant result contradicting these hypotheses was found.

The reason why the expected effect of contact was not seen may be due to the local people's existing negative attitudes toward Syrians, which is well-established in previous studies (IPSOS, 2017; Erdoğan, 2021) and was also observed in this study. Some studies suggest that contact may exacerbate negative attitudes in situations where hostility exists between groups (Ortiz and Harwood, 2010; Stephan and Stephan, 1985). This may be the reason why contact did not have a significant positive effect on attitudes in this study.

However, the control variables included in the MANCOVA analysis, which aimed to measure the participants' current contact with Syrians, contact quality, and contact frequency, had significant effects that supported the hypotheses on attitudes. This indicates that Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis is relevant to this study.

When the effect of formal employment of the mentioned Syrian individual on attitudes was examined, the results were generally as expected. When comparing the means of factor scores, it was observed that positive emotion scores were higher, and negative emotions, social distance, and threat perception scores were lower in scenarios with formal employment compared to scenarios with informal employment. These observations support hypotheses H3B and H3A. T-test results showed that the effect of formal employment on social distance and threat perception was significant, but no significant effect was found for positive emotions and negative emotions. However, in the analyses where control variables were

included, the effect of formal employment was significant in multivariate tests. Univariate tests showed that formal employment had the expected effects on positive emotions and social distance. Thus, hypothesis H3A was significantly supported, and hypothesis H3B was significantly supported for social distance. Additionally, partial significant results were found for positive emotions regarding hypothesis H3B.

Moreover, the effect of formal employment persisted even in situations where there was competition. Scenarios with competition and formal employment, but without contact, were compared to scenarios with competition and informal employment, but without contact, based on the means of factor scores. It was expected that competition would increase threat perception and negatively affect attitudes, but the opposite result was found. In situations where there was competition and formal employment, positive emotion scores were higher, and negative emotions, social distance, and threat perception scores were lower. The significance of these effects was examined through t-tests, and all except for the relationship with negative emotions were found to be significant. These findings contradict hypotheses H4B and H4A.

It is known that there are high levels of negative attitudes toward Syrians among participants and that local people in Turkey believe that Syrians are taking their jobs (Erdoğan, 2019; 2022). Despite this, the positive effect of formal employment on attitudes, even in situations where competition is present, contradicts the effect of RGCT's competition perception on shaping attitudes. In the study, it is possible to assume that the participants who work informally in industrial zones do not perceive Syrians' formal employment as competition. However, most of the participants work formally. Therefore, it could be expected that the participants would perceive Syrians' formal employment as a threat and have negative attitudes toward them. However, in contrast, lower threat perception and more positive attitudes were found in situations where formal employment was present.

This can be explained both by Allport's (1954) contact conditions and the positive effects of inclusive policies on attitudes. Allport (1954) states that certain contact conditions must be met for the positive effects of contact to occur. The

effect of formal employment provides the equal status and authority support conditions in the employment context. Green et al. (2020) also noted that institutional support is a type of authority support. Therefore, the legal integration of Syrians into the labor force can be seen as an example of institutional support that provides the authority support condition mentioned by Allport.

In addition, studies examining the effect of inclusive policies on attitudes show that inclusive policies reduce perceived threat (Callens and Meuleman, 2017; Hooghe & De Vroome, 2015; Kauff et al., 2013; Meuleman and Reeskens, 2008; Schlueter et al., 2013; Weldon, 2006) and have a positive effect on attitudes (Careja and Andreß, 2013; Kende et al., 2022; Meuleman and Reeskens, 2008; Nagayoshi and Hjerm, 2015). Similar reasoning was found in this study. The mediating effect of perceived threat on the relationship between formal employment and attitudes was examined, and perceived threat was found to be a full mediator for the social distance variable. That is, formal employment does not directly affect attitudes but reduces perceived threat, and the reduced perception of threat positively affects social distance. This significant mediating effect supports hypothesis H3. However, the mediating effect of threat perception was not examined in situations where formal employment and competition coexist (H4), as there were contradictory findings with hypotheses H4A and H4B.

In situations where competition is present, it might be expected that formal employment would only have a positive effect on attitudes when both contact and formal employment are present, but competition is absent. While this effect was found when comparing mean factor scores, none of the t-tests yielded significant results. When compared to the situation where contact and informal employment coexist without competition, formal employment was observed to have a positive effect on positive emotions and a negative effect on negative emotions, social distance, and threat perception. While these observations support hypotheses H5B and H5A, the results were not significant. Therefore, hypothesis H5, which predicts the mediating effect of threat perception, could not be tested.

In situations where both competition and contact are present, the expected strong positive effect of formal employment was not as clear as its effect when considered alone. When comparing mean factor scores, it was found that positive

and negative emotions were higher when competition, contact, and formal employment coexisted compared to when competition, contact, and informal employment coexisted. As expected, perceived threat was lower, and social distance was slightly lower as well. The findings supported hypothesis H6B for positive emotions and social distance, but were contradictory for negative emotions. Hypothesis H6A was supported in the context of threat perception, but none of these relationships were significant. As the results were contradictory and not significant, the mediating relationship of threat perception could not be examined, and hypothesis H6 could not be tested.

The study also aimed to examine the effects of realistic and cultural threats, and questions were prepared accordingly to measure threat perception. However, no factor classification was formed regarding this distinction in the factor analysis. Therefore, hypothesis H7 could not be statistically tested. Nevertheless, the means were examined according to the categories that the questions aimed to measure. It was found that the mean of cultural threat was higher than the mean of realistic threat, which supports hypothesis H7.

This finding shows that even in industrial areas where Syrians create a substitution effect in the informal economy against the local population (Ceritoglu, et al., 2017; Del Carpio, Wagner, 2015; Tümen, 2016) and so where competition between groups is high, cultural concerns outweigh economic concerns. This result is consistent with studies that argue that sociotropic and cultural threats have a greater influence on attitudes than labor market competition (Hainmueller et al., 2015; Valentino et al., 2017) and studies that argue that the effect of labor market competition is highlighted in terms of skills rather than in general (Ortega and Polavieja, 2012; Pardos-Prado and Xena, 2019). Especially, the fact that cultural concerns stand out more even in an environment such as industrial areas where realistic threat is expected to be highest is similar to the findings of Alrababa'h et al. (2021).

Nevertheless, there are also some limitations that may affect the results of the study. The study was conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic period, making it difficult to conduct surveys. As the study was conducted in an industrial area, it was observed that people were reluctant to answer the surveys because they

were working intensively. However, the fact that gift cards would be given to those who completed the survey ensured that participants completed the surveys even if they were reluctant to do so. On the other hand, this may have caused participants to fill out the surveys just to complete them, without reflecting their true opinions.

The mixed results of contact in the study are a topic that needs to be examined in future studies. According to some viewpoints (Dancygier & Donnelly, 2013; Malhotra et al., 2013), locals, especially those residing in regions or employed in sectors with significant immigration, may have greater concerns regarding competition with immigrants in the job market compared to locals in other regions or sectors. While the presence of competition had such an effect in the study, formal employment had the opposite effect. However, results for contact were not clear. Also, it should not be forgotten that the contact in this study is an imaginary one and a real contact can produce different outcomes. Moreover, even though the regions in this study also the areas where contact between groups is mainly expected to be high, no distinction was made between the regions according to real contact potential among groups. To better understand the effect of contact, the study can be repeated by making a distinction between the areas where Syrians live in large numbers and those areas where they do not. In addition, such a study can provide more reliable results for determining the net effect of formal employment when contact and competition are seen together. Initially, the current study was also planned to be conducted in this way, but limitations such as the COVID-19 pandemic and difficulties in accessing these areas prevented this.

In addition, it is noteworthy that the average of positive emotions for Syrian individual in scenarios was higher than the average of negative emotions, but such a result was not found when questions asked toward all Syrians in Turkey. When the threat perception items were examined, it was also observed that the perceived threat from all Syrians was higher than the perceived threat from the individual Syrian in scenarios. This situation may be expected to reduce individuals' perception of threat through inclusive policies and contact, and this may positively affect general attitudes toward the outgroup over time.

Niteliksel göç çalışmaları incelendiğinde özellikle vaka çalışmalarında bulunan özel sonuçların genellendiği görülmektedir (Göçer and Şenyuva 2021). Bu tezde de benzer bir hataya düşmemek adına genelleme yapılmamaktadır. Bu çalışma sadece Ankara bölgesindeki sanayi bölgelerinde gerçekleştirilmiştir, bu yüzden çıkan sonuçların tüm nüfusa genellenmesi yanlış olacaktır (Göçer and Şenyuva 2021). Ayrıca tezde Turkey’de yaşayan yerel halkın tutumlarının ölçüldüğü belirtilmiştir. Ancak burada da yine çıkan sonuçların tüm nüfusa genellenmesi mümkün değildir (Göçer and Şenyuva 2021). Çünkü anket yapılan yerlerde yerel halkı meydana getiren tüm grupların bulunup bulunmadığı kontrol edilmemiştir. Sonraki çalışmalar, bu kısıtlılıkları aşacak şekilde dizayn edilerek Turkey genelinde uygulanabilirse güvenilirlik ve geçerlik kriterlerini daha iyi bir şekilde sağlayan sonuçlara ulaşılabilir. Ayrıca bu tezde Suriyelilerin formal çalışmalarının teşvik edilip kolaylaştırılması bir politika önerisi olarak sunulmaktadır. Ancak bu politika önerisi, hayata geçirilmesi durumunda milyonlarca insanın hayatını etkileyecek sonuçlar doğurabilir. Bu politika önerisinin sonuçlarının daha net anlaşılabilmesi için öncelikle bu tezdeki çalışmanın bir benzerinin genellenebilir sonuçlar üretebilecek şekilde tekrarlanması daha faydalı olacaktır.

When qualitative migration studies are examined, it is observed that the specific results found in case studies are often generalized (Göçer and Şenyuva 2021). To avoid making a similar mistake in this thesis, no generalizations are made. This study was only conducted in industrial zones in the Ankara region, so it would be incorrect to generalize the results to the entire population (Göçer and Şenyuva 2021). Additionally, it is stated that the attitudes of the local people living in Turkey were tried to be measured in several parts of this thesis. However, it should be kept in mind that it is not possible to generalize the results to the entire population since it was not checked whether all groups that make up the local population were present in the areas where the survey was conducted (Göçer and Şenyuva 2021). Further studies designed to overcome these limitations and conducted nationwide in Turkey can provide more reliable and valid results. Additionally, this thesis proposes a policy to encourage and facilitate the formal employment of Syrians. Nevertheless, if this policy is implemented, it could have

significant consequences for the lives of millions of people. To better understand the outcomes of this policy proposal, it would be more beneficial to first repeat a similar study to this one that could generate generalizable results in Turkey.



CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The main goal of this study is to investigate how the attitudes toward Syrian refugees will change if they are legally employed in Turkey. Despite the significant Syrian population in Turkey, the number of Syrians who are legally employed is very low. Legal employment of Syrians is crucial for the Turkish economy, preventing radicalization in society, and ensuring their right to work in terms of human rights. Considering the existing negative attitudes toward Syrian refugees in Turkey, it is important to explore how formal employment of Syrians will affect attitudes towards them.

The study is based on the Contact Theory and RGCT. Contact Theory (Allport 1954) suggests that negative attitudes between different groups arise from prejudice, but the negative effect of prejudice can be eliminated through contact between the groups, leading to positive attitudes. RGCT (Jackson 1993) suggests that the main determinant of intergroup attitudes is the perception of threat, and competition in environments with limited resources can negatively affect attitudes toward outgroups.

The study examines the effects of workplace contact, workplace competition, and formal employment of Syrians on attitudes through eight different vignettes implemented to local people who work in industrial areas in Ankara. It is predicted that competition would have a negative effect on attitudes, consistent with RGCT, while the presence of contact and formal employment would have a positive effect on attitudes, consistent with contact theory. Also, it is expected that when formal employment and competition are present together, the effect of competition would be observed, and when formal employment and contact are present together, the effect of contact would be observed. In situations where all three are present, the expected outcome was that formal employment and contact would positively affect attitudes by fulfilling all conditions of the contact hypothesis.

However, the study found that the significant effect of contact was not as clear as the significant effect of formal employment. The most distinctive results of the study were that competition alone had the expected outcomes of RGCT, and formal employment alone had the expected outcomes of the contact theory. Although some other manipulations showed support for contact theory rather than RGCT in situations where different manipulations were present together, these results were not significant. Additionally, the association between attitudes and the control variables of contact quality and contact frequency yielded significant findings that support the contact theory.

Furthermore, it is found that there is partial mediation of threat perception on the relationship between competition and attitudes, and full mediation on the relationship between formal employment and attitudes. This suggests that threat perception can be reduced through formal employment, leading to more positive attitudes toward Syrians over time.

Also, it should not be feared that formal employment will increase realistic threat perception and have more negative effects on the current negative attitudes toward Syrians in Turkey. Although the majority of participants were formally employed, negative effect of the labor market competition did not occur, and participants' perceived threat decreased, leading to more positive attitudes toward Syrians. Additionally, when threat averages were examined, it is found that cultural threat averages were higher than realistic threat averages.

The study suggests that the reducing effect of formal employment on threat perception should be considered in policy-making. As an inclusive policy example, facilitating and encouraging legal employment of Syrians in Turkey will not only positively impact the informal economy problem but also improve their living and working conditions, and contribute to their integration into society, leading to more positive attitudes toward them among the local population. However, since this study was carried out specifically in Ankara, it would not be correct to generalize the results. Similar studies need to be conducted nationwide in Turkey to examine the generalizable effect of the proposed policy.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A.

Vignettes

Formal Employment: 0 – Workplace Contact: 0 – Workplace Competition: 0

A. Lütfen aşağıda yer alan senaryoyu dikkatlice okuyunuz ve kendinizi bu senaryonun içinde hayal ediniz.

Sigortalı olarak çalıştığınız bir işiniz olduğunu düşünün. İş yerinizde kayıt dışı, sigortasız olarak çalışan Suriyeli bir meslektaşınız var.

Bu kişiyi iş yerinde ara sıra görseniz de kendisiyle fazla bir iletişim veya temas kurmuyorsunuz.

Bir toplantıda patronunuz, işler iyi gittiği için iş yerine yeni personel alınacağını ve mevcut çalışanların maaşlarına da zam yapılacağını söylüyor.

Formal Employment: 0 – Workplace Contact: 1 – Workplace Competition: 0

A. Lütfen aşağıda yer alan senaryoyu dikkatlice okuyunuz ve kendinizi bu senaryonun içinde hayal ediniz.

Sigortalı olarak çalıştığınız bir işiniz olduğunu düşünün. İş yerinizde kayıt dışı, sigortasız olarak çalışan Suriyeli bir meslektaşınız da var.

Bu kişiyle aynı ortamda çalışıyorsunuz. Gün içinde işle ilgili veya günlük konularda konuşuyor, zaman zaman birlikte yemek yiyorsunuz. Kimi zaman da patronunuzun verdiği görevleri ortak çalışarak tamamlamanız gerekiyor.

Bir toplantıda patronunuz, işler iyi gittiği için iş yerine yeni personel alınacağını ve mevcut çalışanların maaşlarına da zam yapılacağını söylüyor

Formal Employment: 0 – Workplace Contact: 0 – Workplace Competition: 1

A. Lütfen aşağıda yer alan senaryoyu dikkatlice okuyunuz ve kendinizi bu senaryonun içinde hayal ediniz.

Sigortalı olarak çalıştığınız bir işiniz olduğunu düşünün. İş yerinizde kayıt dışı, sigortasız olarak çalışan Suriyeli bir meslektaşınız da var.

Bu kişiyi iş yerinde ara sıra görmeniz de kendisiyle fazla bir iletişim veya temas kurmuyorsunuz.

Bir toplantıda patronunuz, piyasada kriz olduğu için gelecekte bazı maaşların bir miktar düşeceğini ve bazı çalışanların da işten çıkarılacağını söylüyor.

Formal Employment: 0 – Workplace Contact: 1 – Workplace Competition: 1

A. Lütfen aşağıda yer alan senaryoyu dikkatlice okuyunuz ve kendinizi bu senaryonun içinde hayal ediniz.

Sigortalı olarak çalıştığınız bir işiniz olduğunu düşünün. İş yerinizde kayıt dışı, sigortasız olarak çalışan Suriyeli bir meslektaşınız da var.

Bu kişiyle aynı ortamda çalışıyorsunuz. Gün içinde işle ilgili veya günlük konularda konuşuyor, zaman zaman birlikte yemek yiyorsunuz. Kimi zaman da patronunuzun verdiği görevleri ortak çalışarak tamamlamanız gerekiyor.

Bir toplantıda patronunuz, piyasada kriz olduğu için gelecekte bazı maaşların bir miktar düşeceğini ve bazı çalışanların da işten çıkarılacağını söylüyor.

Formal Employment: 1 – Workplace Contact: 0 – Workplace Competition: 0

A. Lütfen aşağıda yer alan senaryoyu dikkatlice okuyunuz ve kendinizi bu senaryonun içinde hayal ediniz.

Sigortalı olarak çalıştığınız bir işiniz olduğunu düşünün. İş yerinizde sizinle eşit şartlarda, sigortalı olarak çalışan Suriyeli bir meslektaşınız var.

Bu kişiyi iş yerinde ara sıra görseniz de kendisiyle fazla bir iletişim veya temas kurmuyorsunuz.

Bir toplantıda patronunuz, işler iyi gittiği için iş yerine yeni personel alınacağını ve mevcut çalışanların maaşlarına da zam yapılacağını söylüyor.

Formal Employment: 1 – Workplace Contact: 1 – Workplace Competition: 0

A. Lütfen aşağıda yer alan senaryoyu dikkatlice okuyunuz ve kendinizi bu senaryonun içinde hayal ediniz.

Sigortalı olarak çalıştığınız bir işiniz olduğunu düşünün. İş yerinizde sizinle eşit şartlarda, sigortalı olarak çalışan Suriyeli bir meslektaşınız var.

Bu kişiyle aynı ortamda çalışıyorsunuz. Gün içinde işle ilgili veya günlük konularda konuşuyor, zaman zaman birlikte yemek yiyorsunuz. Kimi zaman da patronunuzun verdiği görevleri ortak çalışarak tamamlamanız gerekiyor.

Bir toplantıda patronunuz, işler iyi gittiği için iş yerine yeni personel alınacağını ve mevcut çalışanların maaşlarına da zam yapılacağını söylüyor.

Formal Employment: 1 – Workplace Contact: 0 – Workplace Competition: 1

A. Lütfen aşağıda yer alan senaryoyu dikkatlice okuyunuz ve kendinizi bu senaryonun içinde hayal ediniz.

Sigortalı olarak çalıştığınız bir işiniz olduğunu düşünün. İş yerinizde sizinle eşit şartlarda, sigortalı olarak çalışan Suriyeli bir meslektaşınız da var.

Bu kişiyi iş yerinde ara sıra görseniz de kendisiyle fazla bir iletişim veya temas kurmuyorsunuz.

Bir toplantıda patronunuz, piyasada kriz olduğu için gelecekte bazı maaşların bir miktar düşeceğini ve bazı çalışanların da işten çıkarılacağını söylüyor.

Formal Employment: 1 – Workplace Contact: 1 – Workplace Competition: 1

A. Lütfen aşağıda yer alan senaryoyu dikkatlice okuyunuz ve kendinizi bu senaryonun içinde hayal ediniz.

Sigortalı olarak çalıştığınız bir işiniz olduğunu düşünün. İş yerinizde sizinle eşit şartlarda, sigortalı olarak çalışan Suriyeli bir meslektaşınız var.

Bu kişiyle aynı ortamda çalışıyorsunuz. Gün içinde işle ilgili veya günlük konularda konuşuyor, zaman zaman birlikte yemek yiyorsunuz. Kimi zaman da patronunuzun verdiği görevleri ortak çalışarak tamamlamanız gerekiyor.

Bir toplantıda patronunuz, piyasada kriz olduğu için gelecekte bazı maaşların bir miktar düşeceğini ve bazı çalışanların da işten çıkarılacağını söylüyor.

APPENDIX B.

Negative Out-group Affect Scale (toward Syrian person in the vignettes)

C.	Aşağıda bazı duygular sıralanmıştır. Lütfen okuduğunuz senaryoyu göz önünde bulundurarak, bahsedilen Suriyeli kişi hakkında bu duyguları ne ölçüde hissettiğinizi işaretleyiniz. Seçeneklerin doğru ya da yanlış cevapları yoktur. Önemli olan samimi bir şekilde kendi düşüncenizi belirtmenizdir.	Hiç hissetmem	Hissetmem	Kararsızım	Hissederim	Çok hissedirim
1.	Düşmanlık					
2.	Hayranlık					
3.	Antipati					
4.	Benimseme					
5.	Üstünlük					
6.	Sevgi					
7.	Hor görme					
8.	Onaylama					
9.	Nefret					
10.	Şefkat					
11.	Dışlama					
12.	Sıcaklık					

APPENDIX C.

Negative Out-group Affect Scale (toward Syrians living in Turkey)

E.	Aşağıda bazı duygular sıralanmıştır. Lütfen bu duyguları ne ölçüde hissettiğinizi Türkiye’de yaşayan Suriyelileri düşünerek belirtiniz. Seçeneklerin doğru ya da yanlış cevapları yoktur. Önemli olan samimi bir şekilde kendi düşüncenizi belirtmenizdir.	Hiç hissetmem	Hissetmem	Kararsızım	Hissederim	Çok hissederim
1.	Düşmanlık					
2.	Hayranlık					
3.	Antipati					
4.	Benimseme					
5.	Üstünlük					
6.	Sevgi					
7.	Hor görme					
8.	Onaylama					
9.	Nefret					
10.	Şefkat					
11.	Dışlama					
12.	Sıcaklık					

APPENDIX D.
Social Distance Scale

	Lütfen aşağıdaki maddelere ne ölçüde katıldığınızı Türkiye’de yaşayan Suriyelileri düşünerek belirtiniz. Soruların doğru ya da yanlış cevapları yoktur. Önemli olan samimi bir şekilde kendi düşüncenizi belirtmenizdir.	Kesinlikle katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle katılıyorum
1.	Suriyelilerin Türkiye’yi yalnızca ziyaret etmelerini kabul ederim.					
2.	Suriyeli olan biriyle evlenmeyi kabul ederim.					
3.	Suriyeli olan biriyle aynı apartmanda komşu olarak yaşamayı kabul ederim.					
4.	Suriyeli olan biriyle yakın arkadaş olmayı kabul ederim.					
5.	Suriyeli olan biriyle aynı iş yerinde çalışmayı kabul ederim.					
6.	Suriyelileri Türkiye’nin bir vatandaşı olarak kabul ederim.					
7.	Suriyeliler Türkiye’den uzak tutulmalıdır.					

APPENDIX E.
Social Contact Scale

G. Aşağıdaki sorular Suriyelilerle ne ölçüde temasta olduğunuzu ölçmektedir. Soruların doğru veya yanlış cevapları yoktur. Lütfen sorulara kendi tecrübelerinizi göz önüne alarak cevap veriniz.

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

1 – Hiç	2 – Az	3 – Orta	4 – Sık	5 – Çok sık
---------	--------	----------	---------	-------------

2. Ne sıklıkta ülkemizde yaşayan Suriyelilerle komşu olarak iletişim halindesiniz?

1 – Hiç	2 – Az	3 – Orta	4 – Sık	5 – Çok sık
---------	--------	----------	---------	-------------

3. Ne sıklıkta ülkemizde yaşayan Suriyelilerle yakın arkadaş/dost olarak iletişim halindesiniz?

1 – Hiç	2 – Az	3 – Orta	4 – Sık	5 – Çok sık
---------	--------	----------	---------	-------------

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

1 – Hiç	2 – Az	3 – Orta	4 – Sık	5 – Çok sık
---------	--------	----------	---------	-------------

5. Ne sıklıkta ülkemizde yaşayan Suriyelilerle tanıdıklarınıza ev ziyaretine gitmektesiniz?

1 – Hiç	2 – Az	3 – Orta	4 – Sık	5 – Çok sık
---------	--------	----------	---------	-------------

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

1 – Hiç	2 – Az	3 – Orta	4 – Sık	5 – Çok sık
---------	--------	----------	---------	-------------

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

1 – Hiç	2 – Az	3 – Orta	4 – Sık	5 – Çok sık
---------	--------	----------	---------	-------------

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

1 – Hiç	2 – Az	3 – Orta	4 – Sık	5 – Çok sık
---------	--------	----------	---------	-------------

9. Suriyelilerle olan ilişkinizden keyif/memnuniyet duyar mısınız?

1 – Hiç	2 – Az	3 – Orta	4 – Sık	5 – Çok sık
---------	--------	----------	---------	-------------

10. Suriyelilerle olan ilişkiniz rekabete mi yoksa iş birliğine mi dayanır?

1 – Hiç	2 – Az	3 – Orta	4 – Sık	5 – Çok sık
---------	--------	----------	---------	-------------



APPENDIX F.

Demographic Questions

H. Aşağıda sizin demografik durumunuza ilişkin bazı sorular yer almaktadır. Lütfen bu sorulara samimi bir şekilde cevap veriniz, cevaplarınız kesinlikle başka kişi veya kurumlarla paylaşılmayacaktır.

1. Cinsiyetiniz:

- Kadın
- Erkek
- Diğer

3. Yaklaşık aylık geliriniz:

- 1-3000 TL
- 3001-6000 TL
- 6001-9000 TL
- 9001 TL ve yukarısı

5. Eğitim seviyeniz:

- İlkokul mezunu
- Ortaokul mezunu
- Lise mezunu
- Üniversite mezunu
- Yüksek lisans mezunu
- Doktora mezunu

6. Mevcut olarak çalıştığınız sektör: _____

7. Çalıştığınız iş yerindeki göreviniz/pozisyonunuz: _____

8. Çalıştığınız iş yerinde yaklaşık kaç kişi çalışıyor? _____

9. Çalıştığınız iş yerindeki kişilerin ne kadarı sigortalı olarak çalışıyor?

- Yarıdan azı
- Yarıdan çoğu

11. İş yerinizde Suriyeli kişi ya da kişiler çalışıyor mu?

- Evet
- Hayır

2. Yaşınız: _____

4. Öğrenciyken devam ettiğiniz eğitim seviyesi:

- Öğrenci değilim
- İlkokul
- Ortaokul
- Lise
- Üniversite
- Yüksek lisans
- Doktora

10. Mevcut iş yerinizde sigortalı olarak mı çalışıyorsunuz?

- Evet
- Hayır

12. İş yerinizde çalışan Suriyeli kişi ya da kişiler sigortalı olarak mı çalışıyor? (İş yerinizde çalışan Suriyeli kimse yoksa lütfen boş bırakınız.)

- Evet
- Hayır

APPENDIX G.

Threat Perception Questions (toward Syrian person in the vignettes)

B.	Lütfen aşağıdaki sorular için okuduğunuz senaryoda bahsedilen Suriyeli kişiyi göz önünde bulundurun ve size en yakın gelen seçeneği işaretleyiniz. Soruların doğru ya da yanlış cevapları yoktur. Önemli olan samimi bir şekilde kendi düşüncenizi belirtmenizdir.	Kesinlikle düşünmem	Düşünmem	Kararsızım	Düşünürüm	Kesinlikle düşünürüm
1.	Bu kişinin Türkiye ekonomisine zarar verdiğini düşünür müsünüz?					
2.	Bu kişinin sizin bireysel ekonomik durumunuzu olumsuz anlamda etkilediğini düşünür müsünüz?					
3.	Bu kişinin sizin bireysel çalışma hayatınız için bir tehdit oluşturduğunu düşünür müsünüz?					
4.	Bu kişinin Türkiye toplumunun kültürüne zarar verdiğini düşünür müsünüz?					
5.	Bu kişinin sizin bireysel kültürel yaşantınızı olumsuz etkilediğini düşünür müsünüz?					
6.	Bu kişinin çalışarak Türkiye ekonomisine katkı sağladığını düşünür müsünüz?					

APPENDIX H.

Threat Perception Questions (toward Syrians living in Turkey)

D.	Lütfen aşağıdaki soruları Türkiye’de yaşayan Suriyelileri düşünerek cevaplayınız. Soruların doğru ya da yanlış cevapları yoktur. Önemli olan samimi bir şekilde kendi düşüncenizi belirtmenizdir.	Kesinlikle düşünmem	Düşünmem	Kararsızım	Düşünürüm	Kesinlikle düşünürüm
1.	Suriyelilerin Türkiye ekonomisine zarar verdiğini düşünür müsünüz?					
2.	Suriyelilerin sizin bireysel ekonomik durumunuzu olumsuz anlamda etkilediğini düşünür müsünüz?					
3.	Suriyelilerin sizin bireysel çalışma hayatınız için bir tehdit oluşturduğunu düşünür müsünüz?					
4.	Suriyelilerin Türkiye toplumunun kültürüne zarar verdiğini düşünür müsünüz?					
5.	Suriyelilerin sizin bireysel kültürel yaşantınızı olumsuz etkilediğini düşünür müsünüz?					
6.	Suriyelilerin çalışarak Türkiye ekonomisine katkı sağladığını düşünür müsünüz?					