A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF TURKISH EMPLOYEES'
PERCEPTION OF SYRIAN WORKERS IN IZMIR

by

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ABSTRACT

A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF TURKISH EMPLOYEES' PERCEPTION OF SYRIAN WORKERS IN IZMIR

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Keywords: Syrian immigration, host perception, Turkish employee, social psychology, descriptive method

This study aims to make a contribution to the narrowly-studied dimension of the Syrian immigration in Turkey. It examines the perception of the natives towards Syrians from a social-psychological perspective. In order to analyze Turkish employee perception of Syrians, descriptive research methodology is applied. Data of the study are obtained by semi-structured, face to face, in-depth interviews with 20 Turkish employees currently working along with Syrians in their workplaces in Basmane, Izmir. Basmane, a region that has received Syrians at an unprecedented rate over the past five years, is the context of the study. Findings of the study suggest that, Turkish employees' perceptions about Syrians vary and depend mostly upon their in-group and out-group identifications; deep-rooted causes of anxiety, fear and threat; group boundaries (permeable or not); their assessments regarding the social, political and economic rights offered to Syrians by the Turkish state. Among these factors, degree of importance attributed to national identity of the respondents and their position in their workplaces are found to be heavily influential in the expression of negative attitudes towards Syrians. Perceptions of the Turks are found to be shaped independently by their age, gender, education level and the time spent in face to face contact with Syrians.

ÖZET

İZMİR'DE TÜRK ÇALIŞANLARIN SURİYELİ ÇALIŞAN ALGISININ SOSYAL PSİKOLOJİK ANALİZİ

BEYZA ÖZEN

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Bu çalışma, üzerinde geniş bir literatür bulunmayan Suriyelilerin Türkiye'ye göçü boyutuna katkı yapmayı amaçlamaktadır. Araştırma, yerlilerin Suriyeliler algısını sosyal-psikolojik perspektiften incelemektedir. Türk çalışanların Suriyeli algısını analiz etmek için betimsel araştırma metodolojisi uygulanmaktadır. Araştırmanın verileri, Izmir Basmane'de Suriyeli işçiler ile aynı işyerinde olan Türk çalışanlar ile yarı-yapılandırılmış, yüz yüze ve derinlemesine görüşme ile elde edilmiştir. Çalışmanın bağlamı, son beş yılda Suriyelilerin yoğun bir şekilde göç ettiği Basmane bölgesidir. Çalışmanın bulguları, algı oluşumu sürecinde, Türk çalışanların Suriyeliler hakkındaki algılarının değişkenlik gösterdiğini ve çoğunlukla Türklerin iç-grup ve dış-grup özdeşleştirmesine; anksiyete, korku ve tehditin köklü nedenlerine, grup sınırlarının geçişkenliğine ve Suriyelilere sunulan sosyal, politik ve ekonomik hakların değerlendirilmesine bağlı olduğunu ileri sürmektedir. Bu faktörler arasında, katılımcıların milli kimliklerine atfettikleri önem derecesinin ve işyerlerindeki iş pozisyonlarının Suriyelilere karşı olumsuz tutumların segilenmesinde ciddi ölçüde etkili olduğu bulunmuştur. Türklerin algılarının yaş, cinsiyet, eğitim seviyesi ve Suriyeliler ile yüz yüze temasta geçirdikleri zaman diliminden bağımsız olarak şekillendiği bulunmuştur.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim and Significance of the Study

"Turkey has been deeply impacted by the Syrian displacement crisis economically, politically and socially" (Kirişci & Ferris, 2015, p.14) Considering the increasingly protracted refugee situation and influx of Syrians located in Turkey, an academic study on the relationship between immigrants and host society is of vital importance. "The Syrian issue in Turkey is a far-reaching topic with many complications, which makes it impossible to be assessed through only one of the involved dimensions" (İçduygu, 2015, p.1). By taking into account the urgent need, this study aims to provide a good illustration of the current situation and the perspectives of the Turkish employees regarding Syrians. Both the Syrians and the host population in Turkey constitute a mixture of different communities with different needs. "The existence of multiple voices and viewpoints is neither surprising nor inherently negative. Efforts to improve communications and relations should consider this diversity as much as possible in order to ensure all needs and expectations are taken into account and addressed" (Safeworld, Podem, Baytna Syria, & Orsam, 2016, p. 2)

This study takes a new look at this question 'how are Syrians perceived by the Turkish society" by taking the Turkish employees working with Syrian workers as unit of analysis. "The way in which individuals from the native population perceive the effect of immigration on the labour market is likely to be one prime candidate for influencing preferences over further migration" (Dustmann & Preston, 2004, p.1). Thus, the perspectives of the Turkish employees are of vital importance. It is not only valuable but also essential to foster serious awareness on this issue (Erdoğan & Ünver, 2015, p.10). For that reason, another contribution of this research can be considered as to create awareness that might have impact upon at both societal, political and economic level.

A unique contribution of this present research is that it is the first to pioneer model and analyze the impacts of Syrians on Turkey from a social-psychological perspective. For

that reason, this study will make a great contribution to the growing literature of social psychology and conflict resolution by focusing on the issue from a social psychological perspective which has not been approached before. Put differently, while the aim of the study is to uncover the Turkish employees' perception regarding the Syrians, specific attention is also given to the factors affecting the perspectives of Turkish people. For that reason, instead of relying only on economic aspects; social, political and cultural aspects are also examined throughout the analysis (Erdoğan & Ünver, 2015).

Additionally, this research makes a contribution to the recent literature on host perception with its particular emphasis on the local employee perception. Besides, studies analyzing the consequences of immigration on part of the host society exist; however, these are mainly quantitative. By adapting qualitative descriptive methodology and studying particular cases in depth, this research makes a beneficial contribution to the body of knowledge on host communities' perception regarding the immigrants. Exploring the different experiences, understandings and perceptions of Turkish employees is helpful in analysis of the 'how' and 'why' attitudes and perceptions of individuals towards Syrians are formed.

As noted above, this study does not intend to make an economic analysis or financial analysis of the Syrian inflow. Rather, it tries to depict the overall perceptions of the Turkish employees working with Syrians in the labor market. More specifically, the primary objective of the study is to shed light on the perspectives and meaning-making mechanisms and expectations of Turkish employees placed in the labor market. In-depth qualitative account of significant aspects of the host perception is limited. Thus, the author of this study intentionally broadened the scope of approach beyond economics to be able to attain a comprehensive picture of Syrians' perception from the point of view of Turkish employees.

Another contribution of this present study is its sample of participants and sampling method. It should be noted that findings of the present study reflect the perceptions of the Turkish employees currently working in Basmane. As in the case of any study in social sciences, the results of the research do not pretend to present 'ultimate view of Turkish employees in Turkey' instead, this research aims to shed light on the perspectives of the small-scale population, Turkish employees in Basmane. The rationale for choosing particular

groups stems from the fact that impacts of the immigration flows were considered to vary across regions and segments of the society (Navruz & Çukurçayır, 2015). Therefore, regional analysis of that issue needed to be obtained in order to give voice to particular segments of the Turkish population: Turkish employees in Basmane. Nevertheless, the perceptions of this particular group can also be an indicator of the common attitude by uncovering the issues related to the Syrians in general.

Apart from theoretical and methodological importance, this present study has also policy-related significance. As it is reflected earlier, when applied to peace and conflict studies, understanding the deep-rooted causes of the conflict is as essential as the needs of the parties: These are of vital importance in the analysis of conditions conducive to long-term peace and conflict prevention. Thus, by shedding light into the perceptions of Turkish employees in Basmane, this study will uncover the needs of the small scale population as well as the processes through which individuals make meaning out of their experiences in their lives. Therefore, the findings of the study will be useful both to the civil society organizations and local policy makers by creating awareness about the relational aspects of inter-group contact between Syrians and Turkish employees. Local policy makers can develop helpful strategies in regional refugee response plans to avoid escalation of the possible conflict between the two groups so that the peaceful coexistence can be achieved.

All in all, this present study applies to both academic and practical area.

1.2. Outline of the Study

This study analyzes the consequences of the Syrian immigration from a social-psychological perspective and aims to investigate how Turkish employees working with Syrian workers in the same workplace perceive Syrians.

The thesis consists of 6 chapters. In chapter 2, the literature review will be introduced to the reader. This chapter includes 3 sub-sections: (1) Impacts of Immigration on Host Communities (2) Relationship Between Immigrants and Host Community Members: Macro-Level Variables (3) Psycho-social Explanations of Inter-Group Relations and Conflicts: Micro-Level Variables. Under the section of 'impacts of immigration on host communities, overall effects of immigration with particular emphasis on the economic impacts will be

described. The second section will basically discuss the macro level variables in the examination of the relationship between the two groups with an emphasis on the acculturation processes. Following section briefly introduces key insights from a divergent approach to study inter-group relations in the social psychology literature. More precisely, in this section micro-level variables that play a crucial role in the analysis of the inter-group relations and conflict will be examined in detail.

In chapter 3, 'case of Turkey', social, political and economic impacts of the Syrian immigration on Turkey will be briefly introduced. Chapter 4 is the methodology chapter where I will introduce the method of the data collection, sampling procedure, significance of Izmir and Basmane. Data analysis, the strengths and weaknesses of the methodological design of the study will also be presented.

In the fifth chapter, data analysis of the study will be introduced with five sub-sections: (1) In-Group & Out-Group Formation & Identification, (2) Permeability of Group Boundaries, (3) Causes of Anxiety, Fear and Threat; (4) Evaluation of the Societal Support and Political Rights and, (5) General Discussions of the Findings. In each section, basic themes that are found prominent throuhout the interviews will be analyzed, explained and discussed with reference to the relevant literature. In the last section, general discussion of the findings will be summarized. In chapter 6, significance of the findings, theoretical and practical implications, and areas for further research will highlightened.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Individual's perception of another person is heavily affected by his/her interests, opinions, prejudices, thoughts, feelings and previous experiences (Sharma & Sharma, 1997). Secord and Backman (1964) put emphasis on the underlying mechanisms in the formation of certain perceptions. They argue that "person perception focuses on the process by which impressions, opinions or feelings about other persons are formed" (Sharma & Sharma, 1997, p. 199). Expectedly, there has been a large number of arguments from various perspectives trying to explain inter-group relationships and inter-group conflict taking place between immigrants and host populations.

Social psychology is devoted to the examination of the dynamics within and between groups. And, it provides burgeoning theoretical models designed to understand and explain inter-group relations and the underlying reasons for inter-group conflicts. How people think and evaluate the members of the in-groups and out-groups is crucial and plays a major role in the exhibition of certain attributions and behaviors. This chapter attempts to cover the basic theoretical models on the formation of attitudes and perceptions towards out-groups. More specifically, the factors that influence the changes in host populations' perceptions of the immigrants will be analyzed in detail.

Proper understanding and assessment of the perceptions of the host society members regarding immigrants necessitate the knowledge of the impacts of the immigration on the host society. For that reason, prior to giving an explanation of the theoretical models on inter-group relations, I will focus on the impacts of immigration on host societies by paying special attention to economic aspects. Thus, this chapter will start with the impacts of migration on host communities. The second part of the chapter addresses the macro-level variables in the explanation of relationships between immigrants and receiving society members. In the third and the main part; micro-level variables in the analysis of inter-group relations will be analyzed in detail. For each chapter, review of the particular literature will be introduced.

5

All in all, this chapter will present the theoretical background by reviewing the literature on immigration with an emphasis on the social-psychological theories of inter-group relations.

2.1. Impacts of Immigration on Host Communities

Immigration may often lead societies to make radical changes at the political, economic and societal level (Annemarie & Claudia, 2011). Literature on massive migratory waves attempts to account the advantages and disadvantages of immigration. Reports on immigration have shown that immigration can bring about both positive and negative consequences within different countries (IOM Report: 2015).

In examining the effects of immigration on host societies, it is argued that immigrants may have an impact upon three key concepts: national identity, integration and cohesion. Its impact upon national identity refers to any changes in the perception of locals regarding their national identity and, integration stands for "understanding the trajectories of first (second) generation immigrant performance in a range of economic and social spheres (employment, housing, health, social interaction, marriage and so on)", and finally, cohesion reflects host members' perceptions of "how people get along with each other in their local area or neighborhood" (Saggar , Somerville, Ford & Sobolewska, 2012, p. 2).

Studies reveal that immigration leads to an increase in population density (House of Lords, 2008). An increase in the immigrant population directs immigrants to concentrate on particular places based on their social networks. Their residential concentration in certain spaces poses a challenge to their social adaptation in the host country (Smith & Edmonston, 1997). It is stated that immigrant receiving societies are generally confronted with a population effect: Increase in the population size has an impact upon the social cohesion of the host community and integration of the two groups at the societal level (Brenner & Fertig, 2006). In the formation of social cohesion between the two groups, acculturation strategies play a crucial role. And, preferred acculturation strategies of both immigrants and host society members basically depend upon cultural differences including languages, norms, customs and traditions (Brüß, 2005). In other words, effects of immigration "are not only the

outcomes of immigrants' own values, skills, and motivations, but also reflect the reactions of the resident population" (Smith & Edmonston, 1997).

In this section, pertaining to the topic of the present study, priority will be given to the effects of immigration on the economical realm. Thus, economic impacts of immigration on some of the host countries across the world will be examined in detail.

2.1.1. Economic Impacts of Immigration

Literature on the economic impact of immigration on the host country is still a point of discussion. Considering the complexity of the consequences of immigration on the economic realm, researchers reveal that effects of immigration on the economy depend significantly upon both the economic condition of the host country and the characteristics of the immigrants (House of Lords, 2008). At this juncture, while some studies consider immigrants as the biggest beneficiaries of the immigration especially in a host country with high income, others describe immigrants and their impact on economy as devastating (House of Lords, 2008).

Current literature is more likely to focus on the labor market while examining the impacts of immigration (Kerr & Kerr, 2011). Additionally, researchers put emphasis on the differences and variation between short term and long term effects of immigration on the economy of the receiving countries. In the UK, short term immigrants are considered to be those who have moved to the UK less than five years ago; the immigrants who have been living in the UK over five years are categorized as long-term immigrants. The non-EU immigrants who are located in the UK over five years can apply for a residence permit. For that reason, considering the residence permit for the immigrants, five year period plays a curial role in the UK (Migration Advisory Committee, 2012). Several studies have indicated that in the short term, "immigration lowers the wages of local workers who are "substitutes" and who compete with immigrants for jobs; and increases the wages of locals whose skills complement those of immigrants" (House of Lords, 2008, p. 23). Considering the short term effects of immigrations, it is also argued that due to increased supply of labor, immigration maximizes profits on part of the owners of the capital in the sector. Hence, immigration has positive impact upon the employers offering cheap labor (House of Lords, 2008).

After analyzing the short term effects of immigration on the labor market, it is important to touch upon its long term effects. It is stated that immigration poses a challenge to the job opportunities of the resident workers in the long run, but its effect is considered to be pretty small (House of Lords, 2008). In an analysis of the impacts of the immigrations to the United Kingdom; Migration Advisory Committee (2012) proposed that displacement of British workers in the labor market is related only to the immigrants who have been located in the United Kingdom in five years or less: Those who have been located in the United Kingdom over five years are not considered to have an impact on the displacement of the British workers at the labor market. The underlying reasons behind this condition is attributed to the fact "inflow of migrants in a given year are associated with a reduction in native employment in the same year, but not associated with changes in native employment in the subsequent five years" (Migration Advisory Committee, 2012, p. 117). Thus, the issue of labor market considerations is placed as a controversial issue in the literature. Even if some studies have provided consistent support for the short term and long term impact of immigration on the displacement of native workers at the labor market, others has founded no significant relationship between them.

In addition to the complexity of transitory or permanent effects of the immigration on any labor market outcome, any changes in the wages of the resident population are considered to be key in analyzing the impact of immigration on economy. Borjas (2003) discovered the significant impact of immigration on the wages of the natives in the USA: He claimed that host populations' wages decreased by 3 to 4% with the influx of immigrants that are worth 10% of the labor force (as cited in Jean & Jimenez, 2007, p. 6). In addition to that, in Germany, Bonin (2005) has explored the disruptive impacts of the immigrants on the wages of the resident workers (as cited in Jean & Jimenez, 2007, p. 6). Decreases on the wages of the native born employees are considered to stem from the influx of immigrants in the similar skill categories with natives: increasing supply of cheap labor through immigrants is regarded as main reason in the explanation of the decrease in the wages of local employees.

Although large scale studies have substantiated the negative impact of the immigration inflows on the wages of local workers, results of some empirical studies confirm the opposite. In their study with Austrians, Winter- Ebmer and Zweimuller (1996) have

8

discovered that immigration had positively contributed to the wages of Austrians (as cited in Dustmann, Glitz & Frattini, 2008, p. 487). In line with these findings, Friedberg has also found positive effects of immigration on the wages of Israelis' (Dustmann, Glitz & Frattini, 2008). Herein, in the explanations of this positive effect, education level and skill distribution of immigrants and natives come into question. It is stated that "positive effect arises from a relatively large positive effect on wages of more highly educated native workers and a slight negative effect on wages of native high-school drop-outs. From both lines of these arguments, it can be inferred that impacts of immigration can vary across countries and depend on which element of the resident population is taken into account (Dustmann, Glitz & Frattini, 2008).

After analyzing the impact of the immigration on the wages of the native workers, it is important to touch upon the other factors that impact the economy of the receiving country. Considering the share of immigrants in the labor market, it is argued that immigrants decrease the labor costs, which indeed influences employers' decision in favor of immigrants in the recruitment phase (House of Lords, 2008). Considering the decision making mechanisms of the employers and cheap labor supplied by immigrants, native workers face the risk of being unemployed. And, the fears of unemployment are prevalent (Blanchflower & Shadforth, 2009). Studies find support for the argument delineated above. In a survey conducted by Dustmann and Glitz (2006) in Europe, they have discovered the fears of the resident population regarding the immigrants. According to the results of the study, the belief that "immigrants would take jobs away from the native workers" was found to be common among the host population (Jean &Jimenez, 2007, p. 5). Subsequent empirical research has provided support for the fear of losing jobs on part of the resident populations. According to the data obtained from 32 countries by the European Working Conditions Survey, fear of unemployment caused by influx of immigrants is observed to be common among resident workers: Most of the workers strongly believe that "they might lose their job in the next six months" (Blanchflower & Shadforth, 2009, p. 166).

Drawing on the recent work on the effect of economic competition and displacement of natives in the labor market, consequences of the displacement were profoundly linked with the negative attitudes towards immigrants. In the report of economic impact of immigration, it is pointed out that employers are more likely to hire immigrants illegally at lower wages

than those of the resident workers (House of Lords, 2008). That's perhaps why unemployed resident workers are more likely to exhibit negative perception of immigrants. Another study conducted in the USA revealed that "33 percent of African-Americans believe that Latin Americans steal the American jobs" and the increase in the hate crime rates was in accordance with the individuals' perception regarding the labor market (Özpınar, Cilingir & Düşündere, 2016, p. 5). Hence, perceived effects of the economic competition on the labor market is considered to be of vital importance in the emergence of social conflicts and hate crimes between groups.

Although substantial amount of research has revealed a significant relationship between labor market competition and the host community member's attitudes towards immigrants, other studies obtained the opposite result. Examining the effects of labor market competition on host society members' attitudes towards immigration, Dustmann and Preston (2004) conducted a study in 22 European countries, and found out that the primary elements of anti-immigrant sentiments are considered to be efficiency considerations and fears about public burden caused by immigrants. According to the study, immigrants are considered to burden welfare system. For that reason, results reveal that labor market competition does not have a significant effect on host society members' attitudes towards immigrants. However, it is stated that there is a strong connection between the public burden and the labor market competition. Researchers concluded that other economic factors like skill-distribution of the immigrants have an influence in the attitude formation rather than the labor market competition. In other words, rather than affecting the competition itself, immigration affects the attitudes of the local workers, thus, the relations between the immigrants and locals.

It is said that impacts of the immigration depend on the skill distribution of immigrants and host society themselves (House of Lords, 2008). According to the researchers, countries plunge into a quest for high-skilled immigrants in order for the receiving countries to get unskilled immigration under control (Brenner & Fertig, 2006). As an expected consequence of the demographic change, countries tend to accept and compete for more skilled immigrants (Brenner & Fertig, 2006). Large scale studies have concluded that unskilled immigrants deteriorate the host country's economy, which significantly

increases the growing need for skilled immigrants in order to balance the public finances (Migration Advisory Committee, 2012).

Furthermore, studies also analyze the impact of the skill structure of the immigrants on the wages of local workers. One study found out that "the wage effects of immigration to depend on the skill distributions of native and foreign workers" (Brenner & Fertig, 2006, p. 5). Another study reported that immigration has a positive income effect for the host society only if immigrants' skills are not similar to those of the natives in the receiving society (House of Lords, 2008, p. 23). And, in the analysis of the relationship between the skill distribution of the immigrants and the attitudes adopted by the host society members, key findings of these studies indicate that "low skilled or less educated individuals have stronger anti-immigration sentiments, which can be explained by the fact that most immigrants to these countries are low skilled as well." (Brenner & Fertig, 2006, p. 5). Thus, competition in the labor market is considered to have a negative impact on the wages of low skilled native workers, which leads to an increase in the unemployment rate of the natives.

In addition to the skill distributions of the resident employees and immigrants, studies place emphasis on the differences between occupation groups by differentiating manual and non-manual groups. It was indicated that manual workers displayed more hostile attitudes and had more restrictionist migration policies towards immigrants than non-manual workers (Dustmann & Preston, 2004). The underlying cause of this explained as "potential immigrants are in fact mostly unskilled, selecting themselves into manual jobs, may well be unfounded anyway" (Dustmann & Preston, 2004, p. 30). Hence, due to the unemployment rates, low skilled and manual workers display more negative attitudes towards immigrants.

On the contrary, another study that analyzed the impact of immigration on the rate of unemployment in the OECD (Organization for economic co-operation and development) countries has revealed that in the long-term, native workers whose skills are similar to that of immigrants are not significantly affected by the increase in the unemployment rate (Jean & Jimenez, 2007). That is, the influx of immigrants into host country was not found to be a problem for native's unemployment in the long run (Jean & Jimenez, 2007). To sum up, researchers argue that resident workers' perception regarding immigration is affected

differently by the difference in their skill levels and sectors and, the type of immigration they are faced with (Dustmann & Preston, 2004).

Given these differences, researchers argue that there are no particular job displacement rates of the countries. Due to the specific and unique characteristics of each country, displacement rates of the countries are suggested to be calculated case by case (Migration Advisory Committee, 2012). Although a substantial amount of research has confirmed the general impacts of the immigration on receiving countries, in their findings of the study across 20 European countries, Brenner and Fertig (2006) concluded that respondents' attitudes towards immigrants might vary across countries. They discovered a specific pattern between the country's characteristics and the attitudes towards immigrants. To give a more concrete example, results of the study revealed that while unemployed respondents in Germany and Italy were more likely to exhibit negative perception of immigrants, there was no significant relationship between the labor market status and the attitudes towards immigrants in rest of the countries (Brenner & Fertig, 2006).

All in all, it can be confidently inferred that economic impacts of immigration on the host society are evident. However, impacts of the immigration vary from country to country and across different immigrant groups (House of Lords, 2008). Moreover, it is reported that "immigration has variable impacts depending on which element of the resident population is under consideration" (Migration Advisory Committee, 2012, p. 3). For that reason, in order to implement appropriate immigration policies, it is of vital importance that an analysis of the economic impacts of immigration should be carried out by considering the unique characteristics of the country and resident population.

2.2. Relationship Between Immigrants and Host Community Members: Macro-Level Variables

Literature on the outcomes of the migratory flows puts emphasis on three groups of people in particular: residents in the home country of migrants, residents in the host country and migrants themselves (House of Lords, 2008). Previous studies mostly have concentrated on adaptation, psychosocial and health outcomes of the immigrants (Zagefka et al., 2007). Studies concerning inter-group relations are relatively few. In this section, I will analyze

macro-level variables that occupy an important place in the analysis of the relationship between immigrants and indigenous population. Analyzing the macro-level variables is of vital importance as they also shape the indigenous population's beliefs, attitudes and feelings about immigration and immigrants.

In the explanation of the relationship between host society and the immigrants; John Berry (1997) lays emphasis on the macro-level variables; as discussed throughout the chapter and these variables can be listed as: the history of the migration, social hierarchy in the host society, economic situation in the host society, immigrants' country of origin and, political relations between host society and immigrants' society of origin (as cited in Brüß, 2005).

History of immigration emphasizes the underlying causes of immigration and characteristics of particular immigration processes such as temporary, labor, forced, war refugees, asylum seekers, and so on (Brüß, 2005). Secondly, social hierarchy in the host society includes social mobility and opportunities provided by the host society like social supports, jobs, political participation, and, degree of tolerance by the receiving society for religious and cultural differences (Brüß, 2005). Thirdly, economic situation in the host society refers to the abundance and scarcity of employment and career opportunities offered by the host society (Brüß, 2005). Fourthly, immigrants' society of origin is considered to be a key factor in the analysis of the relationship of immigrants with receiving country members: "migrants' origin is related to their destinies" (Pedreza, 1996, p. 11). Finally, political relations and tensions between host society and immigrants' society of origin are considered as key factors that influences the relationship of these two groups (Berry, 1997).

In addition to the factors stated above, as a macro-level variable, acculturation occupies an important place in the analysis of inter-group relations. The term, 'acculturation' was brought to the literature by Redfield (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936). Acculturation is described as a process that "comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups" (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936, p. 149). Particularly, literature referring to acculturation suggests that acculturation strategies are associated with inter-group relations and attitudes either positively or negatively (Florack et al, 2003). Thus, conceptualization of the

13

acculturation and emphasizing its connection with inter-group relations variables are essential in order to have a good grasp of acculturation processes (Brown & Zagefka, 2011).

Growing number of studies have analyzed and attached great importance to the immigrants' acculturation strategies. However, it is considered that "there has been a growing realization that members of the host society also will have preferences for which acculturation strategy they would like immigrants to adopt and, moreover, that these preferences, and especially concordance between them and the immigrants' preferences, could be an important determinant of the nature of the subsequent inter-group relationship between two groups" (Matera et al., 2011, p. 777). Thus, not only immigrant's preferred acculturation strategy but also host populations' favored acculturation strategy is considered as one of the main factors in the explanation of inter-group relations (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault & Senecal, 1997).

Studies on acculturation strategies are mostly dominated by Berry's two dimensional framework (Matera, Stefanile, & Brown, 2011). It is supposed that immigrants' desire for intercultural contact and cultural maintenance, end up with four possible acculturation strategies called as; 1) assimilation, 2) separation, 3) integration, 4) marginalization (Matera, Stefanile, & Brown, 2011).

Assimilation refers to the level of immigrants' involvement in the culture of the host society including its norms, language, customs and values (Brüß, 2005). Recent studies on social exclusion and inclusion of immigrants have recurrently demonstrated that conflicts between immigrants and members of host society are more likely to arise during the process of assimilation and integration (Brüß, 2005). Thus, preferred acculturation strategies of both groups occupy a significant position in the analysis of inter-group relations.

Separation can be described as the process in which immigrants aim to preserve their cultural heritage by abstaining from making contact with the host society (Matera et al., 2011). Furthermore, integration refers to a multicultural approach in which immigrants desire both to conserve their cultural heritage and come into contact with host society members (Matera et al., 2011). Hans Joachim Hoffman- Nowotny (1990) describes that integration is "participation in the structure of the society with equal competence (jobs, political rights, status, etc.) wheras assimilation refers to participation in the culture of the society (language,

customs, values, norms, etc.)" (as cited in Brüß, 2005, p. 4). In their study, Pfafferott and Brown (2006) found that that German host members' preferences for integration were linked with positive attitudes towards and associated with the perceived preferences of Turkish immigrants (as cited in Matera et al., 2011).

Lastly, marginalization describes the process in which immigrants reject maintaining their own culture as well as interacting with host members (Matera et al., 2011). Van Qudenhoven et al. (1998) have found that among the immigrants' perceived acculturation strategies, marginalization and separation are considered less favorable by the host society members (as cited in Matera et al., 2011). Similarly, Kosic & Mannetti & Sam (2005) conducted a study with Italians and Moroccan immigrants and, found that host society members were more likely to show unfavorable approach to strategies of separation and marginalization (as cited in Matera, Stefanile, & Brown, 2011). Thus, integration and assimilation are more positively evaluated by host society members (Matera, Stefanile, & Brown, 2011).

Cross sectional studies have analyzed the connection between acculturation preferences and their impact on inter-group relations. One study conducted on the Iranian refugees in Netherlands revealed that acculturation choices are directly linked with perceived discrimination (Zagefka & Brown, 2002). Additionally; in their study, Zick, Wagner, van Dick, and Petzel (2001) have discovered a correlation between acculturation preferences and prejudice against minority group members in Germany. Their study stated that host society members who prefer integration as an acculturation strategy are less likely to have prejudice against immigrants. Moreover, another study carried out in Portugal asserted that there is a significant relationship between acculturation preferences and perceived discrimination (Zagefka & Brown, 2002).

In addition to the Berry's two dimensional model, it is important to consider alternative arguments embedded in the acculturation literature. Many scholars assert that host community members' preference for the acculturation strategies may change over time and across different contexts (Matera et al., 2011).

2.3. Psycho-social Explanations of Inter-Group Relations and Conflicts:

Micro-Level Variables

This section includes an explanation of the theoretical developments that have shed light onto the analysis of inter-group relations and arguments from psychological perspectives. There is a growing body of research on the psychosocial analysis of inter-group relations and conflicts. In this regard, social psychology attaches great importance to 'perception,' which plays a crucial role in the formation of certain attitudes and behavior. In the social psychology literature, definition and analysis of one's perception has been disputed over the years. However, mainstream psychologists define perception as "the process of forming and interacting with mental representations of people, such as categorizing or stereotyping" (Phillips, Weisbuch, & Ambady, 2014, p. 103). In order to understand host society members' perceptions and attitudes towards immigrants, researchers try to analyze the underlying mechanisms that might have an impact on the members of receiving society.

2.3.1. Social Identity Theory

Literature referring particularly to the inter-group relations and conflicts puts emphasis on the social identity theory. This theory explores intergroup behavior on the basis of group identification (Tajfel, 1982). Herein, a group is described in terms of internal and external criteria: in order to exist, a group has to have internal criteria, and outside consensus that confirms the existence of that group. Tajfel and Turner (1979, 1986) have proposed that people identify themselves in relation to their membership to social group that becomes part of the one's social identity: individuals' self-concept is not independent of their belongings to any social group (Trepte, 2006). Besides, it is claimed that individuals make categorizations between themselves and others, and evaluate these categorizations constantly. As a result of their comparison with the other groups and to strengthen their self-esteem; individuals tend to prefer a positive social identity that is more favorable (Trepte, 2006). Hence, there is no doubt about the fact that human beings are prone to making in-group and out-group distinctions.

Crucial in this regard are the findings of the studies on categorization. It is proposed that, in addition to distinguishing groups, individuals also tend to favor their own group

which, indeed, causes the emergence of in-group favoritism (Trepte, 2006). In the explanation of in-group favoritism Tajfel (1979) introduced the concept, 'minimal group paradigm,' by claiming that "mere group categorization to one group or another makes people to be discriminative against the out-group and favor their in-group" (as cited in Trepte, 2006, p. 256).

In line with these arguments stated above, Tajfel puts emphasis on four underlying factors of the social identity theory which can be listed as "social comparison, social identity, self-esteem and social categorization" (Trepte, 2006:256). To begin with, social comparison basically stands for the evaluation of one's own opinion and abilities compared with those of the others (Trepte, 2006). Social comparison generally takes place with groups similar to one's own group: "the 'closer' the other groups are to ourselves in terms of the dimension which we compete, the more relevant the social comparison gets and the more we 'need' positive outcome" (Trepte, 2006, p.258). And, the outcome of social comparisons largely determines one's social identity and self-esteem. With respect to the social identity, Tajfel defines social identity as "the part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (1978, p. 63 as cited in Trepte, 2006). Additionally, self-esteem is considered to play a fundamental role in the social identity. It refers to a motivation underlying inter-group behavior. A need for positive self-esteem is satisfied by a positive evaluation of one's own group (Turner, Brown & Tajfel, 1979). It is stated that threatened self-esteem motivates increased out-group discrimination (Trepte, 2006). Thus, in the emergence of inter-group discrimination, these factors occupy an important position.

Similarly, past studies also demonstrated that individuals' social identification plays a crucial role in the emergence of prejudice and inter-group perception (Hong, et al., 2004). However, a growing body of literature shows remarkable points in the process of group categorization that in group favoritism is not always accompanied with out-group discrimination or rejection (Brüß, 2005). In their study, Steve Hinkle & Rupert Brown (1990) explored that a group might not show rejection for a particular out-group: rejection depends upon the context (as cited in Brüß, 2005). It is asserted that rejection of the out-group is

attached to several factors like status: lower status groups are less likely to reject out-groups with higher status (Brüß, 2005). In the explanation of this, social dominance theory comes into existence by asserting that groups which consider themselves as having equal or higher status as compared to out-group members which are lower in social status, are more likely to reveal in-group favoritism. On the other hand, out-group favoritism emerges when out-group has higher status. (Brüß, 2005).

Previous researches provided consistent support for the social identity theory in the analysis of immigrants' experiences. Following the lead of Tajfer and Turner, other social identity theorist Burke (1980, 1991) described identities as varying from context to context and being under continuous construction (as cited in Hardwick & Mansfield, 2009). In their study Hogg & Terry & White have examined the United States and Australian immigrants' identity formation processes by contending that immediate changes in the contextual factors have an impact upon the Australian identity (1995). Thus, significance of the context should not be ignored in the identity analysis.

2.3.2 Integrated Threat Theory

By bringing an alternative explanation to inter-group relations, integrated threat theory is introduced to the literature by Walter G. Stephan. This theory puts an emphasis on the conditions that cause perception of threat (Stephan, Martin, & Esses, 2000). It is widely known that, individuals tend to avoid threat and threatening circumstances (Florack et al., 2003). According to Tajfel and Turner's view, adhering to this approach; any kind of threat to one's groups' distinctiveness or status results in empowering group status (1986).

Countering this plethora of studies on underlining threat; Stephan, Martin, and Esses (2000) stated that intergroup attitudes are influenced differently by realistic and symbolic threat. At this juncture, symbolic threat should be differentiated from realistic threat: while the former refers to perceived group distinctiveness and threat to the worldview of in-group including values, morality, customs, life styles; the latter indicates any kinds of threats to material interest involving the existence of the in-group, such as job opportunities and so on (Matera, Stefanile, & Brown, 2011). On the differences between symbolic threat and realistic threat, previous studies indicated that contact refusal is linked to symbolic threat rather than

realistic threat (Matera, Stefanile, & Brown, 2011). Given these differences, realistic threat is considered as subordinate to symbolic threat in the evaluation of immigrants' perceived contact discordance.

It is also supposed that when people perceive themselves in a situation that poses a threat to their identity, their need for safety and security arises. Threats posed by immigrants pave the way for prejudice (Stephan et al., 2005). Based upon these assumptions, in the analysis of host community members' attitudes, it is argued that if cultural minority groups are considered as a threat to the majority groups themselves, majority groups' needs for safety and security are fulfilled by emphasizing their own cultural identity and values (Florack et al., 2003). At this point, it is widely known that individual's sense of safety and security can be threatened in many ways. In the examination of the formation of attitudes towards new immigrant groups, Maio, Esses, and Bell (1994) proposed that individuals tend to display more negative feelings towards an 'unknown' or 'fictitious' group especially if they obtain unfavorable information regarding that group. In other words, even in cases where the immigrant group is not known, it can still be perceived as a threat by the host community members if the majority group has received unfavorable information about them. An experimental study on the salience of economic threat from fictitious group demonstrates that participants who perceive fictitious immigrant group members as competing for Canadian jobs, are more likely to express negative feelings and attribute unfavorable characteristics to new immigrants and, have negative thoughts regarding immigrants in general (Florack et al., 2003).

Complimentary to this, recent study on the relationship between perceived threat and host society attitudes towards immigrants demonstrated that the fear directed to disruption of the internal cohesion of the country has an essential role in the formation of the attitudes of the host country (Cohen, 1997a). Groups having diverse cultural traditions are more likely to be perceived as a threat to host community members' material well-being and way of life: those kinds of perceived threats are generally manifested as expression of anti-immigrant sentiments (Matera, Stefanile & Brown, 2011). Correspondingly, any effort made by immigrants to reject the host culture is considered as disrespectful and a threat to host culture's traditions, and customs by the host society members. At this point, it is important

to note that perceived rejection is more likely to be identified as aggressive and results in displaying negative attitudes against immigrants (Matera, Stefanile, & Brown, 2011). From both lines of these arguments, it is obvious that host community members' perceived threat regarding other group plays a significant role in the determination of attitudes they would like to maintain regarding immigrants.

Taking into account the growing number of immigrants and inter-group conflicts in host countries, predictors of the majority group's attitudes towards immigrants become a central issue in migration studies. As an alternative explanation to the inter-group relations and disputes, realistic group conflict theory was pioneered by Muzaffer Sherif and contributed to literature by D. T. Campbell (1965). Realistic group conflict theory basically asserts that "intergroup attitudes can be predicted from the convergence or divergence of groups' economic and other material interests" (Zagefka, Brown, Broguard & Leventoglu Martin, 2007, p. 154). Stated in other words, conflicts over scarce resources, power, status, values and rights pose a threat to the opponents which indeed lead to attribution of negative characteristics to the threatening group (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005).

In the analysis of inter-group competition over scarce resources, findings of the studies should be taken into account. Researchers claim that threat, only when perceived generally, results in deterioration of inter-group relations and prejudice against members of the out-group: here the role of 'perception' is crucial (Zagefka & Brown, 2002). At this juncture, the degree of perceived threat is influenced both by inter-group and intra-group factors. While status and relative power of the groups are considered to be some of the factors affecting inter-group relations; group characteristics, solidarity and homogeneity are regarded as intra-group determinants of one's belonging to own group (Grant, 1991). Additionally, in the emergence of perceived threat, inter-group social comparison has great importance. Uniqueness of particular in-group characteristics in relation to the out-group is more likely to be highlighted (Grant, 1991). However, despite the importance of perceived threat, empirical studies on realistic inter-group conflict mostly center upon real threat.

2.3.2.1. Power hierarchy and status

In the examination of the realistic conflict theory, Sherif's classic summer camp studies play a central role. His study findings presented evidence that competition for material resources can pave the way for escalation of severe conflicts (Brown, Maras, Masser, Vivian, & Hewstone, 2001). At this juncture, in case of economic competition, analysis of the power hierarchy between groups is worth considering. Cartwright argued that "it is simply not possible to deal adequately with data which are clearly social psychological without getting involved with matter of power" (1959, p. 2). For that reason, in the analysis of the inter-group relations, it is important to take into account the power as a variable.

Previous studies asserted that high-power groups are more likely to be discriminatory as compared to low-power groups, and, low-power groups are considered to be less ethnocentric than the high-power groups (Grant, 1991). Two experimental studies have shown support for the argument that "members of a group that has a secure power advantage will discriminate against out-group members to ensure that their group will win in an upcoming competition" (Grant, 1991, p. 22).

However, Peter Grant (1991) examined the power asymmetry in sixty groups of Canadian female undergraduates under inter-group competition, and found that out-group discrimination and ethnocentrism are not moderated by power differences between groups. Rather, in line with the major assumptions of the realistic conflict theory, conflict over interest plays the key role in the expression of ethnocentric statements (Campbell, 1965).

In line with the arguments stated above, researchers argued that economic strain leads respondents to have more prejudice and negative attitudes towards immigrants (Gang, Rivera-Batiz & Yun, 2002 as cited in Brenner & Fertig, 2006).On the contrary, the study conducted by Fertig and Schmidt in Germany (2001) revealed that there is no significant relationship between labor market status and respondents' perception regarding foreigners: Whether the respondents are employed or not does not have an impact upon respondents' belief that "foreigners are a burden for the social security systems in Germany" (Brenner & Fertig, 2006, p. 3). Additionally, Fertig and Schmidt (2002) found out that unemployment does not have a significant effect on Germans' attitude towards Jews and foreigners (as cited

in Brenner & Fertig, 2006). Rather, the education level is identified as the main determinant of attitude formation and change. The higher education level the natives have, the less negative attitudes they attribute to immigrants. In their study, Bauer, Lofstrom and Zimmermann (2001) revealed the same result: As the education levels increase, people tend to have lower level of hostility to immigrants (as cited in Dustmann & Preston, 2004). Thus, some studies reveal that labor market status do not necessarily affect the attitudes towards foreigners.

On the other hand, studies on inter-group relations in the workplace put emphasis on the importance of organizational settings (Gsir, 2014). Schaafsma (2008) argues that work position and distance between immigrant workers and native workers are considered as determinants in the formation of inter-group relations (as cited in Gsir, 2014). It is reported that ethnic boundaries are more apparent in the low-skill settings: that's why the position of immigrant workers and native employees in the workplace settings occupy an important place (Gsir, 2014). In addition to that, studies on immigrant entrepreneurs concluded that in the face of difficulty in the labor market, immigrants tend to set up their own business and gain their income from self-employment (Kloosterman & Rath, 2001 cited in Gsir, 2014). Due to the fact that immigrant workers have lower earnings than the native employees in the host country, self-employment is considered as the main motivation on part of the immigrants. It is reported that, between the years of 1980- 2010, immigrants' share of self-employment increased from 6.9 % to 18.4% in the U.S (Lofstrom, 2014). At this juncture, increase in self-employment experience of immigrants has significant influence on natives located in labor market: perception of unfair competition leads locals to display negative attitudes towards immigrants. Hence, native employees' and immigrant workers' position at the workplace is significant (Hashim et al, 2012). As indicated, there is a controversy in the literature with respect to the impacts of power hierarchy and status on the attitudes towards other groups.

In the literature, there are considerable critics of the realistic group conflict theory. One of the criticism about the theory is that the theory does not take into consideration individual group members and their own needs. Major assumption of the realistic group conflict theory is that inter-group conflicts are 'rational' in the sense that groups find

themselves in a competition and strive for scarce resources. However, researchers who evaluate the theory as 'economic theory' argue that "people are selfish and will try to maximize their own rewards" (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1987, p. 34). For that reason, it is assumed that instead of maximizing in-group's rewards, individuals might prefer to maximize their own rewards: "what is best for the group is not always best for the individual group member" (Bornstein, 2003, p. 129). Thus, inherent tension between individual interest and collective interest of the group is essential in the analysis of inter group disputes.

After taking into account the studies and criticism related to the realistic conflict theory, it is important to highlight the outcomes of the economic competition in the context of migration. Drawing on this literature, Esses et al. (1998) posited that perceived competition is generally considered to be a zero-sum game by opponent groups. That is to say, one group's loss is counterbalanced to other group's gain which leads to the emergence of negative attitudes towards the other group. Furthermore, a recent study has tested the effects of economic competition in novel settings by taking into account the host society members in Belgium and Turkey. Results of the study provided that economic competition has an indirect impact upon negative attitudes (Zagefka et al., 2007).

2.3.3 Intergroup Contact Theory

The majority of the empirical work on inter-group relations has focused on the consequences of contact for fostering inter-group relations and providing peaceful coexistence of diverse groups. Many researchers showed that the most influential factor that enhances inter-group relations is 'contact'. Particular is the literature referring to contact coined by Gordon Allport (1954): the contact hypothesis. In the hypothesis, Gordon Allport (1954) basically asserted that under right circumstances, contact between opposed groups will decrease inter-group disputes and induce favorable inter-group attitudes. The four prerequisites for contact to be successful are described as follows:

1) Equal status within the contact situation
2) Intergroup cooperation
3) Common goals
4) Support of authorities, law or customs

23

Considering the popularity of contact theory in the analysis of inter-group relations and prejudice reduction, it is significant to review the relevant literature and criticisms of the Allport's contact hypothesis. For example, the subsequent research has provided consistent support for the inter-group contact theory. Total of 515 meta-analysis of studies approved and showed evidence that inter group contact basically decreases inter-group prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). However, despite the fact that under these optimal conditions groups display maximum prejudice reduction; numerous studies revealed that these four circumstances are not imperative in prejudice reduction (Forbes, 1997 cited in Pettrigew & Tropp, 2006). Instead, they are considered as facilitating conditions. (Pettrigew & Tropp, A Meta-Analytic Test of Intergroup Contact Theory, 2006). As an example to it, in his study, Lett (1945) argued that interracial experiences result in mutual understanding, and conflict emerges when groups are separated from each other (as cited in Pettrigew & Tropp, 2006).

Supporters of the 'mere exposure' to contact perspectives also propose that the more groups get in contact, the more they become familiar with one another and, the less they dislike members of the other group (Pettrigew & Tropp, 2006). Large scale studies found a substantial support for this argument: the relationship between liking and mere exposure are considered to be significant for fostering improved inter-group relations. Two experimental studies conducted by Crain and Weismann (1972) on African Americans and Whites provide that African Americans who get in close contact with Whites express less anti-White sentiments (as cited in Pettrigew & Tropp, 2006). As it can be seen, by emphasizing the effects of mere exposure, researchers do not regard Allport's optimal conditions as indispensable factors which will reveal positive outcomes. Thus, 'mere exposure' received wide acceptance from many scholars.

As opposed to the arguments stated above, many scholars also point out the generalizability problem of the inter-group contact effect. They conclude that inter-group contact generally leads to prejudice reduction at the 'individual level' rather than the 'group level': contact basically has impact on the individual level conflict instead of the group conflict; making generalizations is difficult (Forbes, 1997 cited in Pettrigew & Tropp, 2006). Critics also question the generalizability of the improved attitudes into new situations and settings, even for the groups which are not involved in the contact. To shed light on the

generalizability problem, studies found that the more salient group membership an individual has, the more effect of the contact can be generalizable (Pettrigew & Tropp, 2006). All in all, conflicting arguments about the impact of contact indicate that different aspects of the nature of contact is crucial and should be taken into account.

Given these differences and limitations in approaching contact, it is significant to touch upon the types of contact in the literature. Interestingly, studies assert that in the process of prejudice reduction, 'actual contact' does not seem to be necessary: "the mere knowledge that other members of one's in-group have outgroup acquaintances may be sufficient—the so-called extended contact effect" (Zagefka & Brown, 2002, p. 141). According to the extended contact hypothesis, contact can be made from vicarious experiences by knowing that the people around us have positive relations with the members of out-group (Crisp & Turner, 2009). Studies adduce evident to extended contact effect. In their study Wright et al. have observed less prejudice against the particular group from White respondents whose in-group members have friends with an out group member than the respondents who have no extended out group friends (Crisp & Turner, 2009). Hence, being knowledgeable with the different types of contact initiated to the literature is essential. This considerable literature testifies and clarifies the matter that in order to obtain positive effect of contact upon intergroup relation, groups do not have to have 'actual' experience of contact.

In addition to the type of contact, types of the context of social interaction between immigrants and receiving society members are many and varied (Gsir, 2014). It is asserted that contact between members of the host country and immigrants takes places in both public and private spaces. In the literature on that topic, private spaces mainly refer to 'marriage' and 'friendship' and, public spaces basically stand for the 'workplaces' and the 'neighborhood' (Gsir, 2014). A great research on immigration has been addressing the intermarriages between two groups. It is reported that among the factors that have an impact upon the intermarriages, 'group norms' becomes significant: for the sake of preserving cultural norms and values, intermarriage might be dissuaded (Muttarak, 2013). At this point questions of how are intermarriages perceived by the members of host society is important. With regards to the interethnic friendship, it is claimed that interethnic relationship offers an opportunity to have intimate social relations and plays a vital role in the reduction of

25

prejudice by favorably influencing mutual perceptions (Gsir, 2014). In respect of workplaces, it is defined as "the sites for coming to terms with ethnic difference are the 'micro-publics' where dialogue and 'prosaic negotiations' are compulsory" (Gsir, 2014: 10). Studies on interethnic relationships on workplaces point out the difficulties in engaging positive relations between groups. In her study in Netherlands, Schaafsma (2008) point outs the three key factors shaping interethnic relations at work: "the sense of achievement" (threatening work process of goals), "the sense of belonging" like the unity of the group and the "sense equality" such as unequal norms and preferential treatment" (as cited in Gsir, 2014, p. 11). Finally, with reference to the neighborhood, it is proposed that immigrants are more likely to be considered as social or territorial 'threat' and be discriminated against (Gsir, 2014).

As far as the types of contacts are analyzed. In considering the effect of indirect contact, Esses & Jackson & Nolan & Armstrong (1999) propose that people are sensitive to information that they obtain from their social surroundings. Considering the avoidance or lack of direct contact of host society members with immigrants, printed and visual media are regarded as significant in the perception management. Representation of favorable sides of the immigrants play a crucial role and lead to decrease negative stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination against immigrants (Florack et al., 2003).

Despite the burgeoning literature on contact hypothesis and its favorable impact upon group relations, studies also have pointed out the factors that play a crucial role in the avoidance of contact with out-group. As it is stated above; in line with the assumptions of integrated threat theory, symbolic threat mediates the main effect of contact on intergroup relations. An experiment on African immigrants and native Italians attenders proposed that Italians who perceived African immigrants as ethnically exclusive and as a threat to their own cultural identity, produced less favorable inter group attitudes (Zagefka & Brown, 2002). Another result of the study is also noteworthy. In their study; Florack et al. have analyzed the attitudes of Germans towards Turkish immigrants and founded that the more threat that the Germans perceive from the Turkish immigrants, the more they are likely to adopt ethnocentric acculturation strategies (Florack et al., 2003). At this juncture, studies have investigated the negative correlation between 'prior contact' and 'symbolic threat'

(Zagefka & Brown, 2002). Thus, the effect of contact is dependent on how groups perceive each other in the first place.

In addition to argument related to contact avoidance stated above, researchers also claim that close proximity of groups to one another is not sufficient to obtain meaningful interaction (Crisp & Turner, 2009). Thus, having a physical proximity is not enough to get in contact with members of out groups. In line with the major assumptions of the social identity theory, individuals are more likely to get in contact with similar others in terms of ethnicity, race and sex and gender (Cohen, 1997a). Therefore, although living close to each other increases the possibility of mere exposure effect, it does not necessarily constitute meaningful relationship with each other: people are more likely to communicate with others similar to themselves. For that reason, it can be claimed that residential segregation might not be shown as a valid reason in the deterioration of inter group relations. Here, the findings of the recent studies become significant for the arguments stated above, it is shown that when group salience is high, 'anxiety' plays a mediating role in the relationship between prejudice and contact (Pettrigew & Tropp, 2006).

In migration literature, many studies demonstrate adequate evidence about the impact of contact on majority groups' attitudes towards immigrants: contact dimension is regarded as primary determinant in intergroup relations (Matera, Stefanile, & Brown, 2011).

CHAPTER 3

CASE OF TURKEY

The world has witnessed a variety of migration throughout the history. As a result of the civil conflict that emerged in Syria in 2011, Syrians had to immigrate from their own country to different places in the world including the U.S, Europe, Lebanon and Turkey. Of the number of the Syrians reported by the UNHCR on June 8, 2016- 4,843,344- Turkey hosts approximately 50% of them on its own (Syria Regional Refugee Response, 2016). "Turkey is followed by Lebanon at 25% (1,048, 275), Jordan at 12% (655,217), Iraq at 5% (246, 589) and lastly Egypt at 3% (120,491)" (Erdoğan & Ünver, 2015, p. 19). The numbers increased dramatically with indiscriminative attacks of Assad regime on civilians who have been, at the same time, treated brutally by the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) (Kirişci & Ferris, 2015). After touching upon the theoretical backgrounds and analyzing the impacts of immigration on the host communities, in this chapter I will particularly look at the immigration flow from Syria to Turkey. More specifically, I will focus on the background of immigration and the impact of the influx of Syrians into Turkey. While examining the impact of immigration, I will lay stress on the societal, political and economic realms.

3.1. Background

On April 29, 2011 first groups of Syrians entered Turkey in order to run away from the war in Syria: "252 people came from the Cilvegözü Border Checkpoint into the Yayladağı Distric of Hatay Province, and it has continued ceaselessly over the past 4.5 years" (Erdoğan & Ünver, 2015, p. 15). Due to its long border with Syria-911 km, Turkey has become a center of attention. With the influx of Syrians, Turkey has experienced dramatic increase in the numbers of Syrians crossing the borders. According to the data obtained from the website of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR); as of June 2016 there are 4,843,344 registered Syrian Refugees in the world and 2.7 million Syrians officially residing in Turkey (Syria Regional Refugee Response, 2016). This number is estimated to be higher with the non-registered Syrians living outside of the camps. While some of them consider Turkey as a permanent place by deciding to continue their own lives, others try to move to

the European Union countries by risking their lives on their journey to Europe through the Aegean and Mediterranean Sea (Kirişci & Ferris, 2015). Thus, Turkey is reported to be one of the biggest recipients of Syrians in the world: "In 2016, 154. 000 people arrived at Greece by sea" (Echo Factsheet, 2016, p.1). And, although Turkey is considered as a transition zone in to reach Europe, the number of Syrians staying in Turkey continues to increase day by day.

In October 2011, 'open-door policy' is implemented by Turkey and 'temporary protection' of the 'guests' is extended (Dinçer, et al., 2013, p. 2). Protection, aid and social services are given to Syrians under the status of temporary protection (Orsam & Tesev, 2015). By the 2012, Turkey restricted and limited the entrance of the Syrians in Turkey, which indeed resulted in the emergence of non-official crossing points around the border. In 2014, new identity cards were given to Syrians in order from them to access services such as education, aid, job opportunities and health (Carpio & Wagner, 2015). However, according to the 'temporary protection legislation' Syrians with identity cards are not regarded as 'Syrian refugees' in Turkey: in order to take the 'refugee' status most of them has been trying to reach the Europe (Saferworld, Podem, Baytna Syria, Orsam, 2016).

Influx of Syrians into Turkey has changed the demographic distributions of the cities throughout the five years. Officially, accommodation centers are offered to Syrians by the Turkish government: These are the camps (total of 26) located in 10 provinces including Hatay, Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, Kilis, Mardin, Osmaniye, Adıyaman, Adana, and Malatya (Directorate General of Migration Management, 2016). However, 90% of the Syrians are reported to stay outside of the camps in Turkey (Echo Factsheet, 2016). According to the data from the Directorate General of Migration Management, the number of Syrians under temporary protection staying in accommodation centers is 257.713 and those who are staying outside of the camps are reported to be 2.481.613 (2016). Here, it should be taken into account that, the official numbers are not assumed to reflect the actual numbers of the Syrians staying in Turkey.

Table 1: Figures reflect the number of refugees as of June 23 (Directorate General of Migration Management, 2016) .

ŞANLIURFA	398.333
ISTANBUL	390.842
HATAY	381.157
GAZİANTEP	322.231
ADANA	150.507
MERSİN	138.884
KİLİS	127.254
BURSA	97.020
MARDİN	96.615
IZMİR	91.381

As it can be inferred form the table, Şanlıurfa has the highest numbers of Syrians followed by Hatay and Istanbul. Izmir is the 10th city in the rankings. Again, these numbers only indicate the official numbers of Syrians. These numbers will be higher if the unregistered Syrians are taken into account.

Given the fact that Syrians have been residing in Turkey for five years, their settlement in Turkey is regarded as 'permanent' instead of 'temporary'. Syrians are considered to stay in the Turkish territory for an extended period of time (Orsam & Tesev, 2015). However, persistence of the Syrians in Turkey is reported to be perceived as 'overstaying guests' and cause conflict between the two communities (Saferworld, Podem, Baytna, Syria, & Orsam, 2016). Thus, the widespread recognition of Syrians' persistence in Turkey inherently creates many problems at the economic, political and societal level.

3.2. Political and Social Impacts of the Syrians

Increased number of Syrians in Turkey is accompanied with political and social problems. A study on the Syrians in Turkey reveals that although perception towards Syrians has been relatively positive at the beginning of the Syrian inflows, with the dramatic increase in their number, social tensions and xenophobic reactions towards Syrians have emerged

(İçduygu, 2015). Hence, while the Turks' approach to newly coming Syrians stemmed from the cultural values of 'hospitality' at first, protracted displacements of Syrians led to hostility and anti-immigrant sentiments towards Syrians: locals' desire to stop the new arrivals or return immigrants has increased (Kirişci & Ferris, 2015). At this point, it is stated that Turks' attitudes towards Syrians is affected deeply by both economic and sociological factors (İçduygu, 2015).

Given the fact that the number of Syrians has overwhelmingly increased, the sudden upsurge of Syrians resulted in ethnic and religious diversity: Syrian flowing into Turkey are not homogenous. According to a study conducted in 2015, majority of them comprise of Arab Sunni Syrians and rest of them consist of Alawites and Turcoman, Kurds, Yazidis and Christians (Kirişci & Ferris, 2015). And, it is reported that by reason of the cultural differences, Turks tend to perceive Syrians as 'dirty' and 'uncouth' (Chatty, 2015). Difference and variety in the culture, ethnicity and religion creates a tension on part of the Turkish society.

Cultural, ethnic and religious diversity among the Syrians and the Turkish population ultimately pose a challenge to the integration processes of the Syrians. Language barrier, differences in the customs, traditions, way of dressing and presence of Syrian beggars on the streets lead locals to bear resentment particularly in the cities of Western Turkey (Kirişci & Ferris, 2015). In addition to that, child marriage, rise in the rate of polygamy and divorce are regarded as factors that negatively affect the local people and strike a tension and negative stereotypes on part of the host society (Kirişci, 2014).

In addition to the cultural differences, in the process of Turkish society's reception of Syrians, 'security' concerns play crucial role. A recent study found that "70 percent of the host population localities of the Southeast Turkey with high percentage of Syrians believed the Syrians constituted a security threat, while more than three-fifths of Turkey's overall population thought they committed crimes and were detrimental to public order and peace wherever they were settled" (İçduygu, 2015, p. 11). Another survey research revealed the same result as "62 percent of the Turkish public believes that Syrian asylum-seekers are disrupting the public morality and peace in places they are located in by being involved in crimes such as violence, theft, smuggling and prostitution" (Özpınar & Çilingir &

31

Düşündere, 2016, p. 5). Thus, these factors direct host members to perceive Syrians as 'criminals' and 'unsafe'.

On the other hand, a study conducted by ORSAM & TESEV found out that integration of Syrians into Turkey has already begun: inter-ethnic marriages between two societies, increase in the number of Syrians speaking Turkish reflect the successful integration process (Kirişci & Ferris, 2015). Also, more than 35,000 Syrian babies are reported to have been born in Turkey which is considered as a facilitating factor in the acceptance of Syrians by the host society (Kirişci & Ferris, 2015). Additionally, it is reported that 54%of Syrians in Turkey are under the age of 18 and need to be educated in Arabic and in conjunction with the Syrian curriculum (Erdoğan & Ünver, 2015). Despite the problems in their access to education, some pilot schools in particular cities give free education to Syrians. Hence, some scholars pointed out the factors that give rise to the integration processes of Syrians into Turkey.

3.3. Economic Impacts of Syrian Immigration

Apart from the political and social impacts of the Syrians in Turkey, consequences of the Syrians flow on the economy are also remarkable in the analysis of the inter-group relations. Considering Syrians' impact upon on the Turkish economy, a study which analyzed the economic growth in Turkey across years, concluded that, between the years of 2011-2014, Turkish economy was slowing down (Kirişci & Ferris, 2015). While the percentage of economic growth was approximately 9% in 2011, it was reported as 3% in 2014 (Kirişci & Ferris, 2015). Thus, with the influx of Syrians into Turkey, the economic growth has slowed down in Turkey.

Among the impacts of Syrians on the Turkish economy; unemployment, informal economy and employment are considered as the primary issues to be analyzed within the framework of this topic. It is argued that the issue of work permit is evaluated differently and is a highly delicate issue, not only financially and economically but also socially (Erdoğan & Ünver, 2015). In March 2013, in line with the "Law on Foreigners' Work Permit", Syrians who obtain their residence permit gain right to work within the scope of Ministry of Labor and Social Security's project: Syrians 'under temporary protection' are not allowed to get

work permit (Erdoğan & Ünver, 2015). However; by 15 January 2016, Turkey granted work permit for the ones who are 'under temporary protection' too. In the official Journal No. 2016/8375, it is declared that Syrians can obtain work permit under the following particular conditions:

> Foreigners under temporary protection can apply to Labor Ministry for work permit after 6 month from the date they registered as "under temporary protection status". Work permit applications will be made online by the employer who wants to employ Syrians, through e-devlet. Independent work permit applications can be made by the foreigners under temporary protections by themselves. At the workplace for which work permit is requested, number of working refugees under temporary protection cannot exceed %10 of the employed Turkish citizens. In case it is proven by the employer that there is no qualified Turkish citizen in the province who can perform the same job as the foreign worker do, this employment quota may not be applied (Turkish Laborlaw, 19 January 2016).

Considering the Law on Foreigners Work Permit, number of Syrians with work permits are reported as 3.856 in 2015 (Erdoğan & Ünver, 2015). By 2016, the number of working-age Syrians who have right to apply for work permit and participate in the labor market are estimated to be approximately 1 million (Özpınar & Çilingir & Düşündere, 2016). However, the implementation of the new legislation on the labour market has not been clearly observed yet: it is supposed to take time (Saferworld et al., 2016). At this juncture, the distribution of Syrians by type of occupation varies. Among the other occupational sectors, service sector is identified to be the most favored sector by hiring increased number of Syrians: it is followed by construction, industry and agriculture respectively (Erdoğan & Ünver, 2015). In addition to the Syrians with work permits, there are also Syrians who are working illegally in the workforce. It is estimated that the number of Syrians who are working illegally in the labor market is more than 2.2 million in Turkey. According to the result of the recent study, agriculture sector is in great demand for those who work illegally (Erdoğan & Ünver, 2015).

Increased number of illegal Syrian workers and Syrians with work permits changes the dynamics of the labor market by providing cheap labor, decreasing the wages and

increasing the unemployment rates of locals. According to the report of World Bank, "the inflow of informally employed Syrian refugees leads to large-scale displacement of Turkish workers from the informal sector, around 6 natives for every 10 refugees" (Carpio & Wagner, 2015, p. 4). While Syrians in the work force cause displacement of locals and decrease in the wages of the resident workers; local employers gain favor by recruiting 'low-cost labor'. 'Profiting over the Syrians' is accompanied with the discussion of 'child labor' and 'unfair competition' among firms and is considered to damage the economy due to the nonpayment of taxes (Erdoğan, 2015).

It is stated that the changes in the dynamics of the labor market lead to anxiety about becoming unemployed or encountering the unfair competition on part of the resident population (Erdoğan & Ünver, 2015). A study, which analyzed the change in the labor market between 2011 and 2014 in the five borders, revealed that the unemployment rate of the locals is higher in the regions, where the Syrian population is dense and that this issue causes conflict between Syrians and the locals (Erdoğan & Ünver, 2015). Moreover, findings of the another survey study reflect that the perception that 'Syrians are bereaving jobs from the natives' is prevalent among the local populations: 56.1 % of the Turkish public support this belief and, the percentage climbed to 68.9 % in the cities near to border like Gaziantep, Hatay, Mardin and Urfa (Özpınar & Çilingir & Düşündere, 2016).

Considering the large-scale displacements of natives in the labor market, studies put emphasis on the occupational distribution. It is reported that the net displacement rates of the Turkish workers change in accordance with the sector they are involved in. Interestingly, while the employment of the Turks in the 'informal' sector decreases, their employment in the 'formal' sector is reported to be higher: "as increase in the supply of informal labor increases the demand for formal jobs for Turkish workers" (Carpio & Wagner, 2015, p. 21). Differences in the wages and unemployment rates of formal and informal sectors are basically attributed to skill distributions of Syrians and natives. According to the findings of the recent study on Syrians in Turkey, it is stated that due to the language barrier and having low levels of education; Syrians are more likely to look for jobs with low-level socio-economic aspects (Özpınar & Çilingir & Düşündere, 2016). It is also reported that since Syrians are entirely involved in the informal sectors, natives are more likely to compete with

34

Syrians in informal, part-time jobs in irregular workplaces (Carpio & Wagner, 2015). For that reason, native employees who hold formal, full-time jobs in regular workplaces are less likely to be displaced. At this juncture, informal sectors such as the manufacturing sector including textiles, clothes, leather, food and wood and agriculture industries are more vulnerable to the displacement effects (Carpio & Wagner, 2015). Hence, dramatic increase in the number of Syrians leads to large-scale displacement of Turks from informal jobs or irregular workplaces. However, on the other hand, some studies argue that regardless of skill-distribution, Syrians without work permit have reduced wages in all spheres: cheap labor is also supplied by the ones who are middle class educated Syrians like engineers, orthodontists, academicians, nurses and so on (Kirişci & Ferris, 2015).

At this point, 'gender differences' regarding the dimension of the unemployment is considered as another issue to be analyzed within the framework of impacts of the Syrians in the labor market. According to report on the effects of Syrian inflow on Turkish economy, it is revealed that "women with low levels of education experience net displacement from the labor market and, together with those in the informal sector, declining earning opportunities" (Carpio & Wagner, 2015, p. 29). In the explanation of gender differences, it is found that women tend to be employed in highly informal industries as compared to men: men are more likely to be employed with highly formal sectors. Given the differences in each sector, 'agriculture', 'manufacturing', 'household' are considered to be highly 'informal' and female dominated sectors (Carpio & Wagner, 2015). Thus, while decrease in informal-irregular employment has an adverse impact upon the 'women', increase in the formal-regular employment is considered to have a positive effect on 'men'. Women are regarded to gain nothing from the regular employment: "the net displacement effects are very large, 7 women for every 10 refugees" (Carpio &Wagner, 2015, p. 19). In similar vein, another study conducted by TEPAV supports the arguments stated above, it is reported that employment of Syrians is accompanied with the rise in unemployment of the locals which is "prominent mostly on the less advantaged segments of society such as women, youth and less educated" (Özpınar, Çilingir & Düşündere, 2016, p. 3).

Syrians' participation into the labor market and displacements of the resident population pave the way for the emergence of conflict between two groups. In addition to the

cheap labor and decreases in the wages of the natives, emergence of Syrian entrepreneurs in Turkish economy creates another discussion. It is reported that, according to the Ministry of Economy's List of Firms Working with Foreign Capital in Turkey, "as of June 2015, the number of Syrian firms is 2,827" (Erdoğan, 2015, p. 52). According to the study done by Economic Research Foundation of Turkey (TEPAV), effects of Syrian firms are highest among the provinces near Syria: In Gaziantep, "the number of new Syrian firms rose from three in 2010 to 222 in 2014 which is about 17 percent of the total" (Karasapan, March 16, 2016) For that reason, it is reflected that locals complain about emergence of 'informal economy'. Besides, they perceive themselves in an unfair competition where Syrians do not pay any taxes to country or contribute to the social security (Kirişci & Ferris, 2015). In 2014, in order to make their voices heard, many people remonstrate against Syrians and attack them in Gaziantep, Kahramanmaraş and Adana (Erdoğan &Ünver, 2015).

Finally, Turkey's total expenses for Syrians from the capital budget is another issue at that topic. According to the data obtained from AFAD, Turkey has spent 7,158,250,458 US dollars between the years of 2011-2015 (Erdoğan & Ünver, 2015). The cost of total expenses affects the host community's perception. According the findings of recent research on this issue, the majority of the respondents (70%) believe that Syrians cause losses to the Turkish economy and, most of the participants protest the aid given to Syrian when there are Turks living in worse conditions than the Syrians (İçduygu, 2015).

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will explain the methodology of my study. First of all, I will describe the main research question and sub-questions directing this research. Secondly, I will clarify my method of data collection. The main methodology used in this research is semi-structured interviews. The underlying reason for the use of this specific methodology and its advantages and disadvantages including limitations will also be discussed in detail here. Additionally, I will touch upon the ethical considerations of my research. The chapter will end with a discussion of the strategy used in the analysis of the data.

4.2. Research Question

The main research question of this study is: "How do Turkish employees in Basmane perceive Syrians?" In order to answer the main question, I will also examine the following questions that guided the study's data collection:

- Do Turks working in Basmane engage in contact with Syrians, if so, to what extent?

- How do they perceive this contact? What are their thoughts and feelings about this contact? Why?

- What are the factors that explain Turkish people's perceptions regarding the Syrians?

- How do the Turkish employees define the situation and root causes of the tension between Turks and Syrians in Izmir?

4.3. Descriptive Research

In order to answer the questions listed above, descriptive research method is applied in this thesis. Descriptive research "presents a picture of the specific details of a situation, social setting or relationship" (Neuman, 2014, p. 39). More specifically, "a descriptive study presents a picture of types of people or of social activities and focuses on "how" and "who" questions" (Neuman, 2014, p. 39). Contrary to the explanatory research, the aim of the study is not to establish causal relationships between different variables.

Type of the research question ultimately determines the certain approach required for the proper assessment of the subject (Knupfer & McLellan, 2001). And, in the analysis of the residents' perception regarding newcomers, the question of 'how' do Turkish employees in Basmane perceive Syrians is difficult to measure directly with an objective scale. Therefore, the research question necessitates the use of descriptive research (Brenner & Fertig, 2006).

"Qualitative research seeks to unpack how people construct the world around them, what they are doing or what is happening to them in terms that are meaningful and that offer rich insight" (Kvale, 2008: 4). It gives a chance to the researcher to directly participate in small scale social settings and observe units of analysis in detail. It includes face-to-face social interaction with 'real people' in natural social settings (Neuman, 2014). Thus, considering the foci and goals of the qualitative research, my thesis topic and research question are appropriate for carrying out a qualitative research.

4.4. Collecting Empirical Data

4.4.1. Izmir as a Case

It is widely known that Turkey is not considered only as the 'destination country' for the immigrants, but also as the main departure point for immigrants trying to reach Europe (Düveli, 2013). This research sets an example of a case study by concentrating on the 3rd largest city of Turkey, namely, Izmir. It is a province of Turkey located in the West-Anatolian part of the country and is surrounded by the Aegean Sea.

Due to its geographical condition, Izmir is used as a transition city and is one of the main points of departure from Turkey (Düveli, 2013). Close proximity to Greece (2 hours of journey by boat) makes Izmir the main departure point of the several Syrians who wish to go to Europe. For that reason, Syrians are more likely to cross to the Greek Islands of Samos, Chios and Lesvos, and later to Athens and other countries in Europe from Çeşme, Küçükkuyu, Didim, and so on (Düveli, 2013).

As of November 2014, 13.000 Syrians are reported to be living in Izmir (Erdoğan, 2014, p. 14). This number climbed to 73.653 in the beginning of 2015 (Erdoğan & Ünver, 2015). However, according to reports, non-registered Syrians located in Izmir are estimated to be approximately 100.000 living under poor conditions (Davis & Alchukr, 2014). According to the information acquired from the Governorship of Izmir, the official number increased to 80.485 as of December 2015 and to 91.381 as of June 2016: but unofficial numbers were estimated to be over than 100.000 (Governorship of Izmir, 2016).

Despite the fact that there are not any official immigrant camps settled by the state in Izmir, Syrians living in Izmir are concentrated in certain neighborhoods such as Mersinli, Çamdibi, Pınarbaşı, Basmane, Altındağ, Naldöken, Doğanlar, Çiğli and Konak (Karadağ, 2015).

Along with all these characteristics of Izmir, it has also unique characteristics too. In his study on middle-class perceptions of Kurdish migrants in Izmir, Saraçoğlu (2010) puts emphasis on the particular characteristics of the western cities in the examination of hostility towards migrants. It is reflected that middle-class Izmirlis perceive the Kurdish migrants as a distinct 'ethnic group' and legitimize their use of exclusionary discourse by reference to their encounters with the migrants in specific urban social settings (Saraçoğlu, 2010). Thus, 'ethnicization of anti-migrant sentiments' is considered to have originated in the urban social life of Izmir and come into existence with exclusionary and elitist discourses: it is not considered to be an already constructed ideology imposed by the state or any other ultra-nationalist organizations (2010). According to Saraçoğlu "the construction of the Kurds as people who disrupt life in the city should be seen in the context of the specific class relationship between Kurdish migrants and middle-class İzmirlis" (2010, p. 257). For that reason, it is important to analyze the construction of the certain perception regarding migrants

in the context of the specific class relationship. As it can be seen, Izmirlis are founded to be socially discriminative against the people who are non-Izmirli and from different ethnic background.

Besides, Izmir also has unique characteristics as being one of the most important destinations for migrants since 1950: with the rapid industrializations and increase in informal sectors, Izmir ranked the third regarding the scale of its manufacturing, chemical, food and textile industry by offering informal employment opportunities to newcomer migrants (Saraçoğlu, 2010). Hence, in the examination of the local perception and anti-immigrant sentiments unique characteristics of Izmir should be taken into account.

4.4.2. Basmane as a Case

Studies reveal that immigrant density is an important factor that affects the relationship between host community and immigrants; more specifically, the receiving country members' attitudes towards immigrants themselves (Ward, Masgoret, Vauclair, 2011). While some studies report that high concentration of immigrants leads to an increased level of anti- immigrant sentiments in Germany (Dustmann et al, 2010); others find the reverse or no significant relationship between the immigrant density and public attitudes in New Zealand (Dustman & Preston, 2005). In the analysis of the impacts of immigration, researchers agree that elements of the resident population are significant in the analysis of any issues regarding immigration (Migration Advisory Committee, 2012). Given the differences in the case-specific outcomes, it is hard to make generalizations or establish a clear pattern across countries (Brenner & Fertig, 2006. That is, there is a need for case analyses: Almost in every region, the economic circumstances and living conditions of the immigrant and host populations are quite different from each other (Mazlumder, 2013). Thus, it is important to make neighborhood-level analysis.

Instead of analyzing different groups of resident workers in Turkey, this study particularly analyzes the resident Turkish workers in Basmane. The primary rationale for choosing Basmane for the data collection is that Basmane is the region that has received Syrians at an unprecedented rate over the past five years. It is reported that Basmane is generally referred as the 'Little Syria' by the locals (Duong, 2015).

A large number of Syrians living in Izmir are mostly located in Basmane because of its certain characteristics. The primary reason for Syrians to choose Basmane as a living area is that it is located around the bus stations and is close to the downtown, Konak (Düveli, 2013). According to one study, Basmane is a stepping stone for several Syrians on their journey to Europe: It is reported that half a million Syrians reached Greece through Izmir so far (Videmsek, 2015). And, from the Basmane bus terminal, Syrians can easily take the bus to Çeşme and Bodrum, port cities mostly used by Syrians as departure points to reach Greek islands. At this juncture, another factor increasing the popularity of Basmane is that living conditions are relatively easier in Basmane compared to Çeşme: It is pretty difficult for Syrians to meet their basic needs in Çeşme (Duong, 2015). For that reason, majority of the Syrians tend to stay in Basmane for an undetermined period of time until they are called by smugglers who help them to reach Greece.

Everyday interactions between the Syrians and the native people working in Basmane within key public contexts such as markets, shops, workplaces, neighborhoods and streets are evident. It is stated that streets around Basmane are surrounded by Arabic banners and signs: Money exchanges, cafes, bakeries, barber shops, restaurants are all publicized in Arabic (Duong, 2015).

With the influx of Syrians, Basmane has become a place where many Syrians live on the sidewalks, mosque courtyards and squares (Mire & Winograd, 2015). Hotels located in Basmane are overbooked and some Syrians have to stay in the corridors (Videmsek, 2015). Due to the increased number of Syrians in need of accommodation, Syrians are charged higher rent prices than the natives. Therefore, the overall rent prices have dramatically increased within the region in five years (Amnesty International, 2014). At this juncture, presence of the Syrians in Basmane not only affects the rental prices but also the economic and social life around Basmane.

According to a study conducted by the Turkish Association for International Refugee Rights, the larger portion of the Syrian population entering Turkey are in their working age; between the ages of 19 and 65. That's why most of the employees take advantage of the desperate conditions of the Syrians by acquiring cheap labor (Duong, 2015). Thus, unstable, insecure and informal jobs are endemic among the Syrians. A study on the Syrians in Izmir

reveals that most of the Syrians in Basmane are employed in the manufacturing and construction sectors (Ertorer, 2015).

All in all, considering the uniqueness and differences in every region in terms of the backgrounds, situations and conditions of the Syrians and the host society; concentrating on one specific district, in this case Basmane, is appropriate.

4.5. Participants

The study sample consists of 20 Turkish people currently working along with Syrians in their workplace in Basmane. In qualitative studies, interviewee sample does not have to rely on representativeness. Instead, it highly emphasizes the type of data analysis to be applied; and the accuracy and relevancy of the obtained data (Neuman, 2006). For that reason, it is argued that "a large sample size alone does not guarantee a representative sample" (Neuman, 2014, p. 269). Additionally, the purpose of the qualitative studies is to generate productive relationships with participants in order to move beyond the manifest meanings. Generating productive relationships is considered as the only way to increase the validity of the in-depth analysis in naturalistic settings (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006). Therefore, working with a small sample of participants is necessary to facilitate a deep connection with the participants during the interviews while conducting qualitative research. Considering the type of data analysis and data gathering methods of the present study, it seems suitable to collect the data from a small sample: 20 Turks working in Basmane.

4.6. Sampling

In this qualitative study, in the selection of participants, impracticability of randomness in the selection process led me to use a more appropriate strategy: intentional use of observations (King, Keohane &Verba, 1994). Researchers also state that random selection of observations generally results in biases when researchers are working with small samples (King, Keohane &Verba, 1994). Snowball sampling is mostly used in explanatory or field research in order to reach a specific population and to gain a deeper understanding about the unique cases (Neuman, 2014). With this strategy, researchers' initial contact with a few people who are relevant to the study spreads out and gives researcher a chance to get

in contact with further cases (Bryman, 2004 cited in Kvale, 2008). It is called snowball because it "begins small but becomes larger as we roll it on wet snow and it picks up additional snow" (Neuman, 2014, p. 275). I decided to adopt the snowball sampling strategy due to the difficulties of establishing close relationships with a particular sample, in this study- Turks working with Syrians in the same workplace. I initially contacted four employers who work in different sectors including, service, manufacturing and textile in Basmane. Through the snowball sampling strategy, I was able to reach 20 Turks currently working along with Syrians in Basmane.

Snowball sampling is relevant and applicable in the exploration of the sample who are difficult-to-reach (Neuman, 2006). However, despite its suitability in reaching particular populations, it has a limitation: Small circle of connections originating from this technique might restrict the researchers to become acquainted with the undetected new perspectives. (Neuman, 2006). At this point, in order to catch the possible diverse responses, and increase the quality of the research; I have selected the participants of the study from a various kinds of groups including age, sex, education and occupation. The participants ranged between the ages of 23 and 56, and are from different occupational groups including people working in the garment industry, baking sector, shoe store, and the service sector. In addition to that, I tried to keep the sex differences in balance: interviewed participants composed of seven women and 13 men. Sectoral distributions and level of educations of the participants are described as follows:

Table 2: Sectoral distributions of interviewed people

Manufacture (Textile, Clothing, Shoe store industry)	8
Service (Food, Coffee shops, Baking industry, Repair)	12

Table 3: Education levels of the participants

Less than Primary School	3
Primary School	5
Secondary School	4
High School	5
University	3

4.7. Semi-Structured Interviews

In this kind of qualitative research, interviews are the most preferred method of data collection because they allow researchers to engage in dialogue with individuals and comb through significant areas that arise (Smith & Osborn, 2007). "A semi-structured interview attempts to understand themes of the lived daily world from the subjects' own perspectives" (Kvale, 2008, p. 11). Herein, flexibility of the semi-structured interviews makes it possible to enter the social and psychological world of the participants (Smith & Osborn, 2007). Hence, it paves the way for gathering richer data by entering into novel areas and covering answers in detail. That's why intentional use of observation, specifically interviewing the Turkish people working in Basmane was considered as the best strategy for this study. At this juncture, asking descriptive, critical questions and being sensitive to the issue is important (Neuman, 2014). When formulating the questions, I tried to prompt and guide participants and keep my neutrality without including any jargons or assumptions (Smith & Osborn, 2007). Funneling technique was used in the formation of the questions: participants were asked from more general to specific issues (Smith & Osborn, 2007). In this study, semi-structured, in-depth interviews comprise of 22 open-ended questions attached to the appendix. The questions are designed to evaluate the participants':

- Emotional states
- Behavioral patterns
- Sources of anxieties
- Perceptions on security and economy
- Acculturation preferences

- In-group / out-group identification

All the interviews were conducted in March 2016. The interviews were conducted in the participants' home environments, specifically, in their workspaces, tape-recorded and were later transcribed (Neuman, 2014). All of the interviews were recorded in the workplaces of the participants in Basmane and face to face interviews lasted one hour. At the beginning of the interviews, participants were told that should they not accept their voices to be recorded, researcher can take notes during the interview. All participants gave consent for tape recording and saw the tape recorder during the interviews. According to Bryman (2004, p. 317), ''tape recording is important for detailed analysis required in qualitative research and to ensure that the interviewees' answers are captured in their own terms'': what people say is not enough to make appropriate analysis, in addition to that, the way of speaking and expressing the beliefs are regarded as significant by qualitative researchers. Hence, tape-recording is considered to be crucial in order to gain a deeper and more thorough analysis (Kvale, 2008). ''The words, their tone, pauses, and the like are recorded in a permanent form that it is possible to return again and again for re-listening'' (Kvale, 2008, p. 93). During the interviews, participants' use of speech, gestures and non-verbal communication cues were also noted.

In this kind of qualitative research, the interview process is followed by transcription (Bryman, 2004). Therefore, upon the completion of twenty interviews, all interviews were transcribed for analysis.

4.8. Ethical Considerations

To minimize risks or discomforts, at the beginning of the interviews, all participants were given information about the objectives of the research and asked to sign the informed consent, which indicates the voluntary participation of the participants. The informed consent states that any information regarding participants (names, demographic information, etc.) will not be shared with any persons or institutions: all the information about participants and data received from participants are private and not to be disclosed. At the beginning of the interviews, it was declared that should the participants not want to sign the informed consent, making a notch on the paper or writing the initials of their names or leaving voice messages on the tape recorder which indicates their voluntary participation would be acceptable.

Without any exception, all participants signed the informed consent. Additionally, they were informed regarding their right to withdraw from the interview at any time and their right not to answer questions that they are not comfortable with. All the participants gave consent at the beginning of the interviews. Additionally, this study was given the necessary ethical approval from Sabancı University Research Ethics Council (SUREC) and the approval form is attached to the appendix. Thus, ethical considerations not to harm the participants were described as indicated above.

4.9. Analysis

Interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) is used for data analysis of the study; namely, for the exploration of how individuals make sense of their interaction with Syrians, and how they perceive their personal and social world. This approach is phenomenological, that is, it lays emphasis on the 'insider's perspectives' and intends to analyze narrative of personal experiences and individuals' perceptions regarding subjects, objects or cases by way of the process of interpretive activity. It is opposed to providing objective statements of the events or subjects (Smith & Osborn, 2007). Building relationships between individuals' both emotional and cognitive states is essential in interpretive phenomenological analysis. Despite the mainstream social psychology is dedicated to use experimental and quantitative methodology, qualitative method and in-depth analysis are embraced by interpretive phenomenological analysis. At this juncture, IPA's adhesion to the discovery of the perceptions and meaning-making processes of the individuals is pretty relevant with and stemmed from the cognitive psychology (Smith & Osborn). Therefore, implementation of the interpretive phenomenological analysis is useful in the exploration of 'how people make sense and perceive a specific group?'

4.10. Limitations of the study

Considering the limitations of the study is important before proceeding to the data analysis section. There are some limitations of the study, which are inherited in the nature of qualitative analysis. By taking into account the data quality, with respect to the positivist approach, high quality data are regarded as to be reliable and valid and a source of 'objective' truth (Neuman, 2014). In opposition to this, Neuman claims that it is not necessary to reject subjective views in order to get richer data; indeed, high quality data inherently includes

subjective responses (2014). Furthermore, small sample size and limited units of analysis are regarded as factors that restrict the representability of the findings. Despite the generalizability problem, theoretical generalizability in place of the empirical one can be taken into consideration. The findings of the present research can serve an important purpose in making a comparison with relevant studies and of the arguments in the current literature (Smith & Osborn, 2007). In addition to this, detailed interpretative account of the individuals takes more time and decreases the control over the situation and is harder to analyze. However, sacrificing breadth for depth makes it possible to obtain richer data (2007). By its very nature in the qualitative analysis, researchers' main objective is to make a subjective sense of empathy, analytical interpretations and detailed examination of the issue. Thus, it is more appropriate than the quantitative analysis for the explanation of 'why' and 'how' things occur (Neuman, 2014).

Another limitation of the study stems from its scope of analysis which heavily relies on micro level variables rather than macro level ones. Thus, this study is limited to only offering one part of the variables in the examination of the local perceptions about Syrians. Finally, it is important to touch upon the difficulty of the research on this topic that is derived from the problem of the accuracy of the data obtained from both official and non-official reports. To be more precise, in this study, statistical terms and numbers regarding Syrians are based on the reports obtained from both official and non-official institutions and researchers' studies. For that reason, accuracy of the numbers should be under considerations: that's why this study does not make a claim to reflect the numbers or statistical terms as 'facts' and to be 'true'; instead, these are represented as up-to-date information which is accessible to us.

CHAPTER 5

DATA ANALYSIS

In this chapter, I will try to shed light on to the main research question of the study: "How are Syrians perceived by Turks working in Basmane?".[1] In order to answer this main question, data obtained from the 20 interviews with the Turks working in Basmane were analyzed and presented in this section. This section consists of four parts; (1) In-Group and Out-Group Formation & Identification; (2) Permeability of Group Boundaries; (3) Causes of Anxieties & Fear and Threat (4) Evaluation of the Social Support and Political Rights. Each part reflects basic themes that are relevant to the frame of the main question.

To begin with, the part on "In-Group and Out-Group Formation & Identification" aims to explicate how Turks perceive Syrians as a group that has a different culture, language and ethnicity. In particular, the objective is to explore how Turks, who strongly identify themselves with their group identity (Turkishness), compare their group members to Syrians; and, how Turks' sense of self emerges in the presence of Syrians. One recurrent theme presented in this part was (1) the differences between Turks and Syrians. Secondly, I move on the theme on "Permeability of Group Boundaries," a section that reflects the perception of Turks regarding the exclusion and inclusion of Syrians into their group- the Turkish society. Put differently, I examine the factors that play an important role in the perception and attitude formation. Then, in the final part on "Causes of Anxieties & Fear and Threat", I try to reveal the underlying factors that give rise to hate speech, and cause anxiety, fear and threat on part of the Turks. More specifically, by reflecting the three main themes including; (1) need for safety and security; (2) durability of Syrians and, (3) changes in host society; comprehensive understanding of Turks' perception regarding Syrians was explained in detail. Finally, to understand the needs of the Turks, I include the evaluation of the societal support and political rights. Then, I discuss the general findings of the analysis.

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[1] I interviewed with the people who identify themselves as 'Turk' and associate themselves with 'Turkishness'. Here, it is important to emphasize that the notion of 'Turkishness', 'Turkish citizenship' and boundaries of 'Turkish national identity' is controversial: While some of them rely on the 'territoriality', others lay emphasis on the 'ethnicity' and state practices argued to be different (Kirişci, 2000).

5.1. In-Group and Out-Group Formation & Identification

This part examines whether Turks perceive Syrians as part of their in-group. Group identification is an important process in the examination of inter-group relations. It is stated that people are more likely to identify themselves with a certain group that becomes part of one's social identity (Trepte, 2006). And, social categorization is a significant process that determines how people perceive themselves and others. In this present study, perceptions of the Turks working in Basmane regarding Syrians were predominantly shaped through Turks' daily interactions with Syrians and observations in their social circles.

5.1.1. Differences between Turks and Syrians

Differences between Turks and Syrians were the most striking theme that emerged in the analysis, where the attribution of pejorative labels both to Syrian culture and Syrians were included in the participants' answers. Majority of the respondents revealed anti-immigrant sentiments and described the Syrians as having negative traits and characteristics. When the respondents were asked to reflect on the characteristics of Syrians, they mostly attributed negative qualities to the Syrians and described them as: "lazy", "disrespectable", "ungrateful", "ignorant", "dirty", "self-indulgent", "criminal", "separatist", "shameless", "impolite", "care-free" "insensitive", and "disloyal".

As one of the sub-categories of the social identity theory, social comparison comes into the picture where people evaluate their own group's ability in comparison with that of others. Tajfel claims that people feel the need of more positive outcomes as they compare their group with others in terms of the dimension they compete (1978). In this study, 'nationality', as one of the components of the social identity, played an essential role in respondents' group identification and comparison. Instead of 'gender', 'sex', 'age', 'religion' or other dimensions of the social identity, majority of the interviewees made social categorization between their in-group and out-group by taking into account their 'nationality'. This became evident in the answers of the respondent:

> Syrians, all of them are worthless. And, they are all impolite, if they are cultured like us there would not be war in Syria. They are all useless, if they are hard-working like Turks, they do not have to migrate. If you are lazy and do not

want to work, then your state is doomed to fail and collapse. They could not keep their countries safe, instead, they actually do nasty disservice to their country (a 46-years old man working in the textile sector, March 13, 2016, Basmane).

Here, as it can be inferred from the sentences of the participant who identified himself as 'nationalist', 'Turkishness' became prominent. The striking point is that regardless of whether participants identified themselves as 'nationalist' or not, most of the participants revealed similar answers by giving preference to their nationality over their religion, gender and age. Thus, which dimension of the social identity that one prioritizes is significant and became evident in the formation of interviewed participant's group identification in this study.

In this study in order to understand the gender dimension of the social identity and its impact upon the perceptions of Turks, almost half of the participants were targeted to be women. Remarkably, gender was not favored by participants; instead, most of the participants' nationality took precedence over gender. At this juncture; contrary to the widespread belief, participants were less likely to favor their similar gender group, and were even more distant to them. That is, participants who identified themselves with similar gender group in out-group expressed less favorable opinions about them. Here, contextuality of the in-group favoritism came into existence (Brüß, 2005). A respondent expressed her opinion about Syrians as follows:

All of the Syrians are self-indulgent. Syrian women attach great importance to being well dressed. They do not like our way of dressing. They do not like us. They wear a lot of make-up even in workplace. We do not have this much. We have more financial difficulties. (a 27-years old woman working in the manufacturing sector, March 15, 2016, Basmane)

As it can be seen, in the case of participants, who are attaching priority to their nationality over their gender; in-group favoritism serves for the former rather than the latter. Most of the participants tended to express their opinions by prioritizing their preferred dimension of identity- nationality, which was Turkishness, almost in every case.

In addition to the significance of 'nationality' in the formation of out-group and in-group categorizations, 'religion' as a theme has been found out to have the secondary importance intertwined in the answers of the participants. According to Ysseldyk & Matheson & Anisman, in the formation of social identity, "religious identification offers a

distinctive "sacred" worldview and "eternal" group membership, unmatched by identification with other social groups" (2010, p. 60). In the evaluation of the characteristics of Syrians, many respondents laid emphasis on the emotional closeness that arises out of the religious fellowship. To give a more concrete example, one of the participant described his opinion as follows:

> I do not have positive feelings or opinions regarding Syrians, I just feel sympathy to them because they are Muslim. As I said before, I do not feel anything about Syrians. Actually, compared to Syrians; as street vendors, African refugees seem to me more friendly and warm. However, we have the same religion with Syrians, all of us are Muslims. As required by the Islam, we have to support our religious fellows. For that reason, I should not speak ill of the Syrians. (a 26-years old man working as an electric technician in the service sector, March 23, 2016, Basmane)

As indicated, this participant gave priority to his religious identity, 'being Muslim,' in the explanation of his opinions regarding Syrians. Here, some other participants (less than half) also emphasized the same point in their responses. Thus, among the participants, 'national identity' was followed by the 'religious' identity in the process of in-group and out-group identification and favoritism.

After analyzing in-group and out-group identification of the Turks, it is crucial to examine the effects of 'geographical' and 'cultural proximity' on the participants' perception of Syrians. Culture as a theme became salient and recurrently manifested itself in participants' answers to questions. The majority of the participants considered the Turkish culture as being quite different from the Syrian culture. While expressing their beliefs, Turkish workers made comparisons between the two cultures in terms of 'language', 'social norms', 'way of life' and 'moral principles. Expectedly, in-group favoritism came to light in the comparison of two cultures. In general, 'cleanliness' and 'hygiene' were the most prominent issues mentioned by the participants. Most of them distinguished the Turkish culture from the Syrian culture by expressing their opinions as: "their language is different and they have a very rude way of speaking"(a 46-years old man working in the textile sector) "they do not know anything regarding general and personal hygiene, their clothes are caked with dirt" (a 27-years old woman working in the manufacturing sector), "they seem to be well-groomed but actually, they smell bad and they have a hygiene problem" (a 26-years old man working as an electric technician in the service sector) , "they do not give importance

to the cleanliness as Turks, they do not even wash their cups" (a 56-years old man working in the service sector), "they eat with their hands, we are very different" (a 25-years old woman working in the restaurant) (Basmane).

In addition to this, the majority of the respondents also put emphasis on the differences in marriage age and customs. They recounted "Turkish culture does not accept early marriage, but child marriage is quite common among Syrians" (a 36-years old man working in the textile sector) "Their 12 year-old girls elope with some people. All of them are shameless and vulgar" (a 25-years old woman working in the restaurant) "they are locked in a close embrace in public spaces like bus or parks, we do not share any similarities" (a 27-years old woman working in the textile sector) (Basmane). Thus, differences in the 'cultures' appeared as another determinant in the formation of perceptions and group polarization even though most of these differences are stereotypes and misbelieves about the Syrian culture.

Thus, Turkey's geographical proximity to Syrian appeared not to play a significant role in the emergence of cultural similarity on part of the participants. Here, in the examination of Turkish workers' perception regarding the Syrian culture; socially constructed myths, stereotypes and prejudices regarding the 'other' should also be also taken into account. Berry identifies 'country of origin' as a macro-level variable in the relationship between host community and immigrants (Brüß, 2005). Individuals who have left the Syrian Arab Republic are widely considered as 'Arab' by its very nature. For that reason, Turks' derogatory perceptions about Syrians might also be originated from their approach to Arabs in general. In his nation-wide survey conducted in 12 cities in Turkey; Küçükcan (2010) analyzed 'Arab Image in Turkey' and reported that 39.1% of Turkish respondents perceive Arabs as negative and, that perceptions of the Arab image in Turkey might be historically rooted rather than being recently constructed and, facilitated by the media (p. 14). In the following section on national identity versus religious identity, I analyzed the roots of the hostility towards Arabs in detail.

Apart from this, what is remarkable is the point that, even though some participants did not have any knowledge about the differences and similarities of the two cultures, they still identified the Turkish culture as superior than the Syrian culture. Some of them expressed that "I don't know the Syrian culture, actually; I do not now the similarities and differences

but we are better. Yes, actually our culture is better than the Syrian culture" (a 34-years old woman working in the baking industry), "I cannot make a comment, I do not really know the Syrian culture but our people are distinguished everywhere, we are always hardworking, honest and well-behaved" (a 32-years old man working as an electric technician in the service sector), "Turkish culture? And, Syrian culture? I think of course, Turkish culture; we are the best in the world" (a 50-years old man working in the food industry). This situation basically points out the 'minimal group paradigm' where mere group categorization itself directs individuals to favor their in-group and to have prejudice against the out-group (Tajfel, 1979).

5.2. Permeability of Group Boundaries

Permeability of group boundaries arose as another recurrent theme throughout the interviews. In this section, I aim to understand the permeability of the group boundaries and stability of the group status on part of the Turks: whether their group boundaries are permeable or not. More specifically, I explored the following questions: "What shapes the opinions and appraisals of the Turkish employees regarding their own group?" and "What are the interpretations of the Turkish employees of in-group and out-group identity?" In this study, three sub-themes emerged in the context of permeability and group boundaries. These sub-themes can be listed as: (1) National Identity versus Religious Identity; (2) Inclusion and Exclusion of the Syrians; (3) Perceived Acculturation Strategies of Syrians.

5.2.1. National Identity versus Religious Identity

In the analysis of the inter-group relations and conflict, it is important to examine the way individuals identify themselves. What is attributed to oneself and the 'other' becomes a key consideration in the analysis of inter-group relations. Apart from the section of 'differences between Turks and Syrians', in this part in the context of 'contact' and 'group boundaries' participants were more likely to categorize themselves by taking their 'social identity' into account. Throughout the interviews, it was quite evident that participants tended to categorize themselves in terms of their 'national' and 'religious identity'. Hence, their willingness to 'help', 'get in further contact with' out-group mostly depended on the importance they attach to their identity.

In this study, in order to understand the importance participants attached to their national identity, they were asked the questions of "what does it mean for you to be a Turk?" And, the majority of the participants with various educational backgrounds, ages and sectors identified themselves as 'ultranationalist'. They represented their 'patriotic discourse' as: "I am proud of being a Turk, I can sacrifice myself for the sake of my flag" (a 56-years old man working in the service sector), "If I were born again, I wish to be a Turk again" (a 50-years Oldman working in the catering sector), "We are superior than the other nations such as Kurds, Arabs, Syrians, is there anything better than being a Turk?" (a 46-years old man working in the textile sector), "I am proud of having our ancestors and our illustrious history!" (a 36-years old woman working in the textile sector) (Basmane).

At this juncture, those who identified themselves as 'ultranationalist' perceived the Syrians as 'traitors':

Being a Turk means sacrificing yourself for the sake of your country without any hesitation. If I were a Syrian, I would not escape from my own country. Now, I don't want to speak with them (a 46-years old man working in the textile sector), Instead of being a laughingstock, I would fight for my country and die in Syria (a 24-years old man working in the service sector), Turks are a warrior society, Arabs are not like that, they are coward. Throughout the history, they could not act bravely. Now, they migrated to our country but we don't want chicken people in our country (a 27-years old woman working in the coffee shop) (Basmane).

As it can be easily inferred from the sentences of the participants; in-group favoritism is accompanied with the out-group generalization and derogation: All Syrians were perceived to be inferior and coward. This is consistent with the findings of the report contributed by O'Rourke and Sinnott (2003), who argue that there is a positive correlation between 'patriotism' and 'chauvinism' and negative attitudes towards immigrants (as cited in Brenner & Fertig, 2006). And, as it can be inferred from the sentences of the participants, few of them labeled Syrians as 'Arabs'. Here, in line with the arguments of the previous study on Arab image in Turkey, participants' perceptions regarding Syrians might be dated back to history: In their memories, Turks' historical experiences with Arabs might direct them to attribute negative characteristics to Syrians (Küçükcan, 2010).

On the other hand, the participants who give precedence to their 'religious identity'- 'being Muslim' over their 'national identity', are more likely to 'help', 'get in further contact with' the Syrians. Few participants including (two men working in the textile sector and one woman and one man in the service sector and, one man working as an electric technician in the service sector with varying education levels ranging from undergraduate to less than primary school) reflected their opinion as: "No one is superior than the other in the eyes of Allah" (a 27-years old man working as an electric technician in the service sector), "Regardless of their race, language and religion, we have to help people in need" (a 23-years old man working in the restaurant), "They are our fellow brothers/sisters we shouldn't make discrimination between us and them" (a 37-years old man working in the manufacturing sector) (Basmane).

Here, the impact of the religious affiliation is obvious, where positive attitudes are attributed to immigrants regardless of their religious group (Brenner & Fertig, 2006, p. 3).

To summarize, 'social' identity appears to be an important component in terms of the relations between Turks and Syrians. In this study, participants who put too much importance to their national identity- 'being Turk' tended to have less permeable group boundaries by expressing in-group favoritism and out-group derogation. And, those who prioritized their 'religious identity' tended to have more permeable group boundaries. Thus, rather than national identity, religious identity appeared to make groups boundaries more permeable.

5.2.2. Perceived Acculturation Strategies of Syrians

Acculturation strategies play a crucial role in the formation of relationships between two groups (Zagefka & Brown, 2002). Perceived acculturation strategy was another theme represented by the participants: It reflects participants' understanding of in-group boundaries. And, it is crucial in the analysis of the perceptions of in-group members regarding the question of whether the out-group can be part of the receiving society or not (Gsir, 2014). In general, participants reflected their in-group boundaries as impermeable and they perceived the out-group (Syrians) as distinct from the host society. Most of them believed that Syrians cannot adopt the Turkish culture, and the quotations below is a good representation of this opinion: "Syrians cannot adopt the Turkish culture; it is not possible. With the internal migration, even our citizens have difficulty in adapting to our culture. And, I have not seen

that they adopted our culture" (a 46-years old man working in the textile sector), "We are so different, we cannot get along with each other, they cannot accommodate to our culture" (a 27-years old woman working in the manufacturing sector) (Basmane).

At this juncture, perceived rejection of the host culture is considered as a 'threat' to the existence of cultural norms and traditions of host society which indeed resulted in increased negative attitudes towards immigrants, anti-immigrant sentiments (Matera & Stefanile & Brown, 2011).

Additionally, most of the participants perceived the Syrians as adopting 'separation' among the other acculturation strategies. Herein, in consistent with the arguments of previous studies, the host society members were less likely to favor 'separation' as a preferred acculturation strategy for the immigrants. Majority of the participants from different sectors and educational backgrounds expressed their opinions as follows: "They do not want to adopt our culture, they preserve their own language, customs and traditions" (a 32-years old man working as an electric technician in the service sector), "Syrians do not want to learn anything from us, they do not want to eat, dress as we do" (a 56 years-old man working in the service sector), "I think if they want to integrate into our culture, yes, they can; but I think they simply don't want to integrate into our culture. If they did, they would be modern like us" (a 34 –years old woman working in the baking industry), "If they want they will grow into manhood, but they don't have any desire, they don't even want to talk with us" (a 46-years old man working in the textile sector) (Basmane).

Moreover, it was found out that approximately half of the participants adopted the assimilation as an acculturation strategy. Here, studies also put emphasis on the same point by arguing that: host society members are more likely to favor 'assimilation' as an acculturation strategy (Matera et al., 2011). Respondents described their preferences for assimilation as follows: "Syrians have to speak Turkish, if you live in Turkey you have to obey the Turkish culture" (a 46-years old man working in the textile sector), "We don't want to hear any conversation that takes place in Arabic and don't want to see any signboards written in Arabic" (a 50 years old man working in the restaurant), "Syrians have to be as clean as Turks" (a 27-years old woman working in the coffee shops), "If they want to stay in Turkey, they have to learn our customs first" (a 36 years-old man working in the textile

sector), "They should change their way of dressing" (a 27-years old woman working in the manufacturing sector) (Basmane).

All in all, as it can be inferred from the replies of the participants that many Turks seem to prefer assimilation as an acculturation strategy, which is indeed linked with discrimination and negative attitudes towards Syrians (Matera & Stefanile & Brown, 2011).

5.2.3 Inclusion and Exclusion of the Syrians

Studies on social exclusion and inclusion of immigrants reveal that conflict between indigenous populations and immigrants arises in the process of assimilation and integration (Brüß, 2005). For that reason, the process of the inclusion or exclusion of the Syrians into Turkish society or culture is an important factor in the analysis of Turks' perception of Syrians. At this point, 'marriage' and 'inclusion to social circle' and 'being a Turk' became prominent issues in the analysis of the participants' understanding of inter-group boundaries.

In order to understand Turks' level of inclusion and exclusion, and underlying causes of it, I asked the following question "Would you allow your daughter/son to marry with a Syrian?" Unsurprisingly, 'intermarriages' are considered as the most sensitive issue by the participants. In the analysis of the social interaction between the members of the host society and the immigrants 'marriage' is considered as "one of the most commonly used indicators of social interaction between immigrant communities and the mainstream society" (Muttarak, 2013). And, in line with the discussion of the previous sections, 'social identity' was the main factor that determined the decision of the participants.

A 46-years-old male participant working in the textile sector with high level of national identity answered the questions as follows:

> Actually, I want Turks to marry Turks. Similarly, I want Kurds to marry Kurds. Otherwise, the Turkish nation will be threatened by extinction", "I would not allow it, if they marry Syrians, I will disinherit them. (March 13, 2016, Basmane).

Another participant who identified her level of nationalism as moderate expressed her belief as:

If they adopt the Turkish culture, language, traditions and customs then, it won't be a problem for me. But, they have to stop speaking Arabic first (a 27-years old woman working in a coffee shop, March 18, 2016, Basmane).

And, few participants who gave privilege to their religious identity reflected: "First of all, s/he has to be Muslim. If the person is Muslim, then it is not important whether the person is Kurdish or Syrian" (a 26-years old man working as an electric technician in the service sector, Basmane), "If the person believes in Islam, then it is not a problem for me" (a 34-years old woman working in the baking industry, Basmane).

As it can be inferred from the sentences of the participants, among the factors that affected the participant's perception on intermarriages, 'national identity' became prominent. Thus, participants might not lean towards intermarriages for the sake of preserving their national cohesion and cultural values (Muttarak, 2013).

In addition to the 'marriage', inter-ethnic friendship came to light as another determinant in the understandings of inclusion or exclusion of the Syrians. In this regard, interethnic friendship is considered as another type of 'contact' and 'social interaction' where members of host society have a desire to develop close ties and get in further relations outside of the workplace (Gsir, 2014). Participants were asked whether they met with Syrians outside the workplace or not. Few of them indicated that they rarely meet with their Syrian co-worker for dinner or lunch. Remarkably, most of the participants argued that the Syrians do not want to include Turks among themselves: "although we are working in the same workplace, my Syrian friend did not invite me to their wedding ceremony" (a 46-years old man working in the textile sector, Basmane), "Syrians do not include us among their groups. They get along only with each other" (a 24-years old man working in the service sector, Basmane).

Here, it is crucial to consider that inclusion or exclusion of the immigrants into host society is not only related with the host society itself, but also associated with immigrants' preferred orientation strategies, too (Zagefka & Brown, 2002). Thus, exclusion might have transpired by out-group itself. At this point, findings of the present study support the results of the previous studies which argue that host community members' attitudes towards immigrants mostly influenced by immigrants' desire for contact: immigrants who are perceived to desire 'contact' are more likely to reveal affirmative intergroup attitudes than

those who do not (Matera & Stefanile & Brown, 201). Likewise, the more immigrants are perceived to want further contact with host community, the less negative attitudes towards them are displayed (Zagefka, 2007).

Furthermore, inclusion to the Turkish identity- 'being a Turk' was another key point. It reflected the participants' perception with respect to the permeability of their in-group boundaries. In order to understand their perception regarding this issue, participants were asked "If a baby of a Syrian parent was born in Turkey, would you consider it as a Turk?" At this juncture, while some of the participants argue that "Turkishness is related to blood not related to place where you are born" (a 46-years old man working in the textile sector, Basmane), others pointed out that "we can consider them as Turk if five or six generation is passed" (a 26-years old man working as an electric technician in the service sector, Basmane). Only two of the participants indicated that they can consider the Syrian babies as Turks. Herein, attribution of the Turkishness to the 'blood' or 'place of birth' was significant in the examination of the orientation strategies of the Turks towards Syrians.

To sum up, it is important to understand the underlying causes of the exclusion and inclusion. Rohmann et al. (2006) claim that 'contact refusal' is associated with 'symbolic threat' rather than realistic threat. Thus, in this study, in the context of social interaction between Syrian workers and Turkish employees, participants' perceived threat to their social (national/ religious) identity constituted the critical point which might direct them to exclude members of out-group.

5.3. Causes of Anxiety, Fear and Threat

Anxiety, fear and threat arose as other constituent themes, which were well represented and reflected throughout all of the interviews. In the analysis of the perception formation of the groups, these factors played a fundamental role. In this section, I aim to scrutinize the causes of anxiety, fear and threat by looking at four sub-categories: (1) Need for safety and security; (2) Perceived acculturation strategies; (3) Durability of Syrians; (4) Changes in the Host Society. These conditions were found to be the common causes of fear, threat and anxiety for the participants in my study.

5.3.1. Need for Safety & Security

In the social psychology literature, it is claimed that people are more likely to avoid conditions that pose a threat to themselves or their social surroundings (Florack & Piontkowski & Rohmann & Balzer & Perzig, 2003). According to Maslow's hierarchy of needs; need for safety and security is considered as the lower level basic need, which comes after the physiological needs and is located in the second level in the process of self-actualization (Heylingen, 1992). Thus, if these basic needs are not fulfilled or met, they may cause individuals to feel unsatisfied.

In my study, almost all of the interviewees signified the particular point that the participants do not feel safe and secure about Syrians. Regardless of their age, education level and gender, all the participants expressed anxiety regarding safety and security in similar manner. One of the participant said,

> I do not feel secure in an environment filled with Syrians. Excuse me, but they are hungry. And, if one person is hungry, I expect them to do everything for the sake of his/her family. In that case, how can I feel safe and secure? (A 27-years old man working as an electric technician in the service sector, March, 13 2016, Basmane)

Another participant said:

> They are unregistered, and we do not know who they are: Who can assure (me) that they will not harm us? (A 56-years old man working in the service sector, March, 23 2016, Basmane).

Here, the anxiety basically arises from the 'uncertainty' caused by Syrians' not being registered and being unknown to Turks. These arguments support the findings of the immigration study conducted by Maio & Essess & Bell (1994) which states that people are more likely to exhibit negative feelings towards 'fictitious' and 'unknown' groups. That is, if the immigrants are 'unknown' by the members of the host society, they are more likely to be perceived negatively by the host members.

Furthermore, participants' anxiety also seems to stem from all threats that pose a challenge to their material being or interests. Stephen, Martin and Esses (2000) differentiate two kinds of threat: symbolic and realistic. Individuals who are working in textile and service sector recurrently mentioned their fears, respectively, such follows:

Most of them are thieves. To be able to survive, they can do anything. I know that every day, they steal food like bread from the grocery store in our street (a 46-years old man working in the textile sector), "Even the Syrian child threatened to stab me in order to take money (a 32-years old man working as an electric technician in the service sector), "They attacked my son. All Syrians huddled around my son. Because they are few in number, they are easily coming together (a 36-years old woman working in the manufacturing sector) (Basmane).

Here, anxiety and fear arising out of the material threat were obvious among most of the expressions presented by the participants of this study.

In the examination of material interest, it is important to take into account that any kind of threat to material interest not only includes loss of money or jobs, but also captures any threat to 'existence of one's in-group' (Stephen, Martin, & Esses, 2000). This situation is relevant to my case where more than half of the participants expressed their needs for safety and security within the scope of 'survival concerns". A 24 years-old waiter expressed his opinions as such:

All the bombers are identified as Syrians. After they came to Turkey, our country drifted into a state of chaos. In addition to the Kurdish issue, we are confronted by these kinds of problems. Under these conditions, I cannot predict whether I will wake up tomorrow or not. Syrian invasion of Turkey might take place. We are afraid that the situation is getting worse. (March 17, 2016, Basmane).

Another participant (a 34 years-old woman) working in the baking industry reflected her feelings as such:

Syrians began to rise against Turks, as in the case of Kurds, they might betray Turkey, who knows? With their entrance to Turkey, they bring trouble to Turks. In order to stay here, they might attempt to destroy Turks. (March 18, 2016, Basmane).

As seen in the quotes above, any threat to the survival of in-group (Turks) negatively affects the perceptions regarding the out-group (Syrians). Here, it is noteworthy to mention that societies, which face difficulties either economically or socially are more likely to put blame on foreigners (Saferworld et al., 2016). The sentences of the participants reflected the same point. Thus, fears directed to the group integrity have a significant effect on the formation of negative perceptions regarding the out-group.

After pointing out the conceptual differences between material and symbolic interests, it is noteworthy to consider that even the participants who did not directly 'experience' or 'witness' any harm, robbery or material/symbolic threat, shared similar perceptions and complaints on similar issues regarding Syrians. At this point, Esses et al. (1999) argue that individuals are aware of the information that they are exposed to in their social surrounding. Supportively, in my cases, 'direct exposure' or 'actual contact' to any event or situation does not seem to be necessary to have a similar perception towards Syrians. Although the stories did not directly happen to the participants of this present study, they reflected as if they had experienced the situation. Thus, 'extended contact effect' was observed in the participants of this study (Zagefka & Brown, 2002). For instance; remarkably, reports indicate that crime rates are more common among host population rather than Syrians (Erdoğan, 2014). Thus, participants' perception might be independently formed from the real life experiences, which supports the findings of previous studies on Syrians in Turkey that "social tensions are formed around perceptions rather than the realities" (Özpınar & Çilingir & Düşündere, 2016). In place of the 'experienced other', 'imagined other' is more influential in the creation of the certain image of Syrians. Like in the case of the previous study (Saraçoğlu, 2009).

Here, among the factors, media occupies a crucial impact on the participants' tendency to perceive Syrians as a homogenous out-group. Throughout the interviews, most of the participants displayed negative attitudes against Syrians by giving reference to the daily news they obtained through visual and printed media: Most of the Syrians were perceived as 'robbers' or 'suicide bombers' by the Turkish employees. One of the participants expressed his ideas as follows:

> We know that all of the suicide bombers are Syrians, we see it on television. With their arrival, Turkey slid into chaos. Now, we are afraid of them. Every day, we read a lot of bad news about them in the newspapers. Turkey will be ruined by Syrians. (a 36-years old man working in the textile sector, March 17, 2016, Basmane)

All in all; in this study, participants' cognitive world might be affected by secondary resources such as the media and so on.

5.3.2. Durability of the Syrians

'Durability' and 'temporariness' of Syrians in Turkey appeared as another theme and a key factor in the formation of Turks' perceptions of Syrians (Erdoğan, 2014). In this study, participants' perceptions can be categorized in three axes (1) welcoming the permanent duration of the Syrians in Turkey; (2) being extremely against the permanent (stay of) Syrians in Turkey and; (3) considering Turkey as a passage between Syria and Europe. Some of the participants welcomed the permanent duration of the Syrians in Turkey. The reason that participants in the first category welcome Syrians seems to stem from the importance attached to their religious identity- 'being Muslim'- as part of their social identity. Few participants gave preference to 'being Muslim' over 'being Turk'. Here, the religious characteristics of Syrians are highly likely to have impact upon Turks' basic approach to this issue. Six of the participants' argument dated back to Ottoman Empire's hospitality and glorious ancestors of the Turks by emphasizing the relationship between 'ensar and muhajir': muhajir stands for the 'immigrant' in Arabic and 'ensar' refers to people who helps the muhajirs in Medina by inviting them to their homes. One of the participant described his beliefs regarding the permanency of the Syrians in detail as follows:

> We are proud of fully opening our borders to Syrian brothers. Like our ancestors, we have to be hospitable. In time, our ancestors helped the Danes and the French. Why shouldn't we help our religious fellows? Our religion does not give place to racism or fascism. We have to cast one's bread upon the waters. Today, Palestenians are praying for Sultan Abdul Hamid. 200 years later, Syrians will be praying for us. We have to act as ensar and muhajir. (a 37-years old man working in the manufacturing sector, March, 8 2016, Basmane).

As it can be seen, prioritizing distinctive religious practices and roots of Ottoman Empire and ancestors played a crucial role in participants' perception formation. And, in order to legitimize their beliefs; others put emphasis on the relationship between the 'oppressor and victim'. Thus, in the admission of Syrians into Turkey, 'Muslim identity' plays a major role.

Furthermore, the majority of the participants who support the second approach generally put emphasis on their own 'nationality'- 'Turkishness'. At this point, 'perceived threat' and 'fear' of Syrians to Turkish community were the main legitimatizing issues in the 'exclusion' of Syrians from Turkey (Worchel & Coutant, 2008). At this point, participants

who identified themselves as 'nationalist' tended to express more discriminative sentences with chauvinist discourses regarding Syrians. One of the respondents said that:

> Turkey should definitely send all of the Syrians to Greece. In fact, our prime minister should set a ship and send them without demanding any money. (a 52-years old man working in the textile sector, March 13, 2016, Basmane).

Another participant stated:

> I am pretty nationalist. I do not want any other race in my own country. Only the Turks have right to live in Turkey. All Syrians have to shave off! Why did we sacrifice ourselves in the Çanakkale victory? (a 25-years old woman working in the restaurant, March 15, 2016, Basmane)

Again, participants' 'national' identity became prominent in the emergence of hostility towards Syrians.

Finally, support for durability of the Syrians was quite rare among all participants. Only two of the participants supported this approach. According to this view, Turkey should act as a 'passage' between Europe and Asia in order to send Syrians to Europe: Turkey should only play the role of passageway. These informants attributed the reason of the Syrian conflict mainly to external factors, more specifically to Europe. One of them expressed his idea as follow:

> Turkey should completely open its borders so that the Syrians can reach Europe. The war was started by reason of the external powers like England and so on. Now, it's time for Europe to pay the penalty by accepting the Syrians. (a 24-years old man working as an electric technician in the service sector March 8, 2016, Basmane).

To sum up, differences in participants' opinions regarding the permanency of the Syrians in Turkey originated from their preference on the components of their own identity: whether they value 'being Turk' above 'being Muslim' was found out to be crucial.

5.3.3 Changes in the Host Society

Migration has a dramatic impact upon the host country. With the influx of immigrants, societies go through changes at the economic, political and societal realms (Annemarie & Claudia, 2011). In this section, I aim to understand "How do the Turkish employees perceive the changes in Basmane? What are the Turkish employees' interpretation of these changes and how are they affected by these changes?" I examine the issue by

64

dividing it into two sub-themes: (1) relative job security; (2) sectoral distribution and labor skill comparison.

5.3.3.1. Relative job security

With respect to the changes in the society, economic competition was the most prominent theme emerging in the interviews. Due to the fact that participants of the study comprised of the Turks who are currently working in Basmane, their complaints regarding Syrians mostly were centered upon the issues of the changes in the 'unemployment rates, rental prices and wages of the workers'. According to the realistic group conflict theory, conflict over scarce resources mostly ends up with identification of threatening group with negative characteristics (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005). Researchers lay stress upon the role of 'perception': whether the members of host society 'perceive' the out-group as threatening or not is crucial (Zagefka & Brown, 2002). In my study, participants approached the issue from the two distinct perspectives. While some of them claimed that labor market sector was overcome by the influx of Syrians in Basmane, others asserted that Syrians had no adverse effects on the labor market.

Participants who can be considered as the proponents of the first approach legitimized their arguments by putting an emphasis on the 'unemployment rates of the Turks originating from cheap labor offered by Syrians' and 'decrease in their wages'. The majority of them (especially in the service and manufacturing sectors) said: "My salary has not changed for a long time" (a 36-years old man working in the textile sector), "Our boss does not want to increase our salary" (a 23-years old woman working in the baking industry), "My boss was giving me more money than he does now" (a 34-years old woman working in the textile sector), "My salary hasn't changed for two years" (a 24-years old man working in the restaurant), "Syrians have an adverse effect on us: if they were not in Turkey, we would gain more (a 25-years old woman working in the restaurant) (Basmane).

Participants' arguments were similar to the short-term effects of immigration in host countries: Immigration causes decline in the wages of local workers who get in competition with immigrants in the same labor market for job opportunities (House of Lords, 2008). Relevant to the findings of the previous studies, interviewed respondents pointed out the same factor- 'large supply of cheap labor', as a main cause for the decline in their wages

(Jean & Jimenez, 2007). Here, 'fear' of being dismissed from the workplace seems to remain at the forefront of the perceptions of the Turks. Fears of the host population regarding the displacement of their jobs are reported to be common among all resident populations (Dustmann & Glitz, 2006).

A 23-years-old woman working in the baking industry expressed her 'fear' as follows:

> Because Syrians can work for lower wages, many Turks have to be fired. Similarly, my boss might also dismiss me because of the Syrians. Previously, even if I lost my job, I could find another opportunity in a different place in advance. But now, I cannot find any job, everyone prefers to hire Syrians. (March 23, 2016, Basmane).

Thus, the risk of displacement of the Turks in the labor market sector can be considered as the crucial factor in the formation of the perceptions regarding Syrians. Furthermore, participants' perceptions were justified by the 'interest of their national group'. Interestingly, in their legitimization, participants recurrently emphasized the proverb "charity begins at home".

In addition to the increase in the unemployment rates; most of the participants complained about the dramatic increase in rental prices in the places full of Syrians: They thought that they incur losses because of the entrance of the Syrians to Basmane. They expressed themselves by saying, "For example, rental prices rose from 300 to 600 Turkish Liras in our neighborhood" (a 50-years old man working in the catering sector), "the rental prices were not like that before" (a 36-years old man working in the textile sector, "after their inclusion, we began to pay more" (a 34-years old woman working in the textile sector) (Basmane).

In this respect, in line with the arguments of the realistic conflict theory, advocators of the first approach might justify their ideas by highlighting the 'competition' and 'relative job security' over scarce sources in terms of the 'job opportunities' and 'rental prices'.

In general, those who embraced the second approach drew attention to the 'lack of motivation of Turks' in the labor market. It was claimed that "Our people do not want to provide cheap labor, they want to earn money with less working hours. However, Syrians are not like that" (a 37-years old man working in the manufacturing sector), "I think, Turkish unemployment rate is not influenced by the arrival of Syrians. Especially in the textile sector,

66

bosses have always been searching for workers. If you want to find a job, it is enough to apply to their workplace. But, our people do not want to work, if they want, they can easily find a job" (a 32-years old man working as an electric technician in the service sector) (Basmane).

Hence, Turks' reluctance to work seems to be the underlying cause of the second approach.

Consequently, it is important to take into account that participants adhering to the second approach were different from Syrians in terms of their skill distribution. This might have an impact upon their perception which is discussed in the following section in detail.

5.3.3.2. Sectoral distribution & labor skill comparison

In the analysis of the perception of Turks who are currently working in Basmane, sectoral distribution occupied an important place. It was evident that, arrival of Syrians in Basmane has affected Turks differently in proportion to business sector they are involved in. To be more precise, participants who are working in the sectors including manufacturing and service displayed more negative attitudes and prejudice towards Syrians. On the other hand, people who are involved in the sectors requiring high-skill labor, qualifications and specialization like electric technicians have tended to have less negative attitudes towards Syrians.

The remarkable point is that skill-distribution of the immigrants appears to be a key factor in determining the approaches of host society towards immigrants (Brenner & Fertig, 2006). By taking into account the interviews, it can be inferred that participants of this study tend to compare themselves with Syrians in terms of their skill distribution. The closer the out-groups are to ourselves regarding the dimension which we enter into rivalry with them, the more we feel the need of positive outcomes (Tajfel, 1978). In this study, it was apparent that, within the compass of skill distribution, if participants 'perceive' the Syrians as being in competition with themselves in a similar context, they tend to identify themselves positively and attribute negative characteristics to Syrians. This situation basically represents the need for satisfaction of the positive self-identity. A 23-years-old woman working in a restaurant expressed her opinions as follows:

> I am working here for 3 years. Last year, our boss has taken three Syrians into service. Now, we are working together. But, they are not like me and, they cannot be like me, they are so lazy and careless. Actually, my boss is aware that I am more talented than the Syrians. However, because he gives them less money than us, he prefers to keep them. (March 23, 2016, Basmane)

At this point, she is working in the restaurant as a waiter. In line with the arguments stated above, due to the fact that she perceived herself in a higher position compared to the Syrian workers in the workplace, she tended to identify herself positively and attribute negative characteristics to Syrians.

Herein, another key factor revolved around the 'power hierarchy' and 'status'. In the inter-group relations, 'power' is considered as a significant variable (Cartwright, 1959). Some studies reveal that high-power groups tend to display more discriminatory and negative attitudes towards out-groups than low-power groups (Grant, 1991). Contrary to the findings of earlier studies, in this present study although majority of the interviewed Turks believed that they are in higher level positions than Syrians, they did not display discriminatory attitudes towards them. Most of the Turks perceived the Syrians located in Turkey as 'unqualified' or 'unskilled'. Majority of the participants believed that "skilled Syrians migrated to Europe, and Turkey opened its borders to unskilled ones" (a 46-years old man working in the textile sector). This basically reflects host country's desire for getting skilled immigrants. Here, in line with the assumptions of the realistic group conflict theory, due to the fact that the majority of Turks perceived Syrians as located in lower status groups, they did not feel threatened by them. This supports the argument made by a previous study on immigration: "The wage effects of immigration are depended upon the skill distributions of native and foreign workers" (Brenner & Fertig, 2006, p. 5). More specifically, "it will be those workers who are most similar to immigrants in their skill composition that may lose, but workers who possess different skill may gain" (Dustmann & Glitz & Frattini, 2008, p. 487). Thus, even for the Turks working in the same place, their position and status in the workplace seem to be the most crucial factors in the formation of their perception towards the Syrians. A respondent reflected on the situation as follows:

> I am not uncomfortable with the presence of the Syrians in Basmane and in our workplace. I do not think that they can take my job. Because they could not do my business, they do not have capacity, it requires specialization. Most of them are working as a runner in our workspace, but I am in a higher position than

the Syrians working in our workplace. We get along with each other but they have to do my commands. (a 32-years old man working as an electric technician in the service sector, March 11, 2016, Basmane).

Another participant working in the manufacturing sector said that

We are working in the same workplace but I am highly talented compared to them. Most of the Syrians are unskilled workers, but we are pretty qualified in the textile sector. I am working here as an intermediate presser. But two of them (Syrians) work as errand boys. For that reason, they could not fill the gap for the need of qualified employees. Now, we do not have any problem with them. (a 37-years old man working in the manufacturing sector, March 18, 2016, Basmane).

As it can be clearly inferred from both arguments, because of the fact that respondents perceived themselves as located in the higher position and as being highly skilled, they did not feel threatened. Most probably, they do not think that their job might be taken by Syrians. That's why they did not attribute negative characteristics to Syrian workers.

Additionally, immigrant entrepreneurs in variety of organizational settings and their impact on perceptions of native employees attracted the attention throughout the interviews. Particularly, a 50-years-old participant currently working in the catering industry reflected his opinion regarding the immigrant entrepreneurs as follows:

For the last five years, our sector is the one most affected by their arrival in Basmane. They are vigilant and they always want to earn more. For that reason, they opened their own Syrian restaurants, grocery stores, coffee houses and they do not hire any Turks in their own workplaces. Six weeks ago, I went to their restaurants and asked them whether they could take me into service. And they said that they did not hire a 'foreigner'. Did you see? They consider me as a 'foreigner' in my own country. How can I become a foreigner in Turkey as a Turk? (March 15, 2016, Basmane)

Consistent with the arguments of previous studies and as it can be clearly inferred from the sentences of the respondent, self-employment experience of the immigrants had a crucial impact upon the native workers' perceptions of the immigrants (Hashim et al., 2012). Thus, Syrians' share of self-employment leads to an increase in the Turkish employees' negative perceptions of them. Here, both symbolic and realistic threat to participants' social identity might occupy an important place in the disposition of negative attitudes towards the Syrians.

Thereby, as opposed to the results of some previous studies which analyzed the impact of power asymmetry upon inter-group relations; this study observed that inter-group competition is moderated by power differences between the Syrian and the Turkish workers (Grant, 1991). Turks who perceived themselves as being in higher positions than Syrians, were less likely to consider Syrians as 'rivals' compared to the Turks who perceived themselves in similar positions with the Syrian workers.

5.4. Evaluation of the Social Support and Political Rights

In the analysis of the perceptions of Turkish workers about Syrians, evaluation of the social support and political rights given to Syrians remained as the controversial issues among the participants. In order to understand the current situation from the point of view of the Turks, they were asked "What kinds of rights should be given to Syrians?" In general, participants put emphasis on the issue of 'residence permit' and 'work permit'.

Most of the participants from different sectors who are mostly located in the similar position with Syrian workers led stress on the importance of the 'work permit' by complaining that "Syrians should not obtain work permits, the state does not take into account its own citizens!" (a 27-years old woman working in the manufacturing sector), "if they obtain work permit, then we have to migrate somewhere else too" (a 46-years old man working in the textile sector), "even if they stay in Turkey, state should not offer work permits to Syrians" (a 27 years-old woman working in the coffee shops), "I am strongly against work permit, what will happen to our people? None of the policy makers worry about us!" (a 24-years old man working in the restaurant) (Basmane).

At this point, what should be taken into account is the point that, participants did not complain about the 'residence permit'. Underlying causes of it might stem from participants' 'perceived threat' regarding their material interests including 'loss of employment' (Zagefka & Brown, 2002). Again, in this respect, realistic threat seems to be more crucial than symbolic threat to participants' own national identity or their cultural identity as a Turk.

Few of them (two from textile sector and three from service sector) who considered themselves as being in the higher position than the Syrian workers expressed their opinions as:

I think Turkey should give them work permit. If they don't work than they begin to steal someone's money (a 26-years old man working as an electric technician in the service sector), I think we are not affected by their inclusion to labor market, why don't they work with us? (a 32-years old man working as an electric technician in the service sector), If they don't work then, what will they do? Turkey should give them work permit but it should be restricted with limited numbers (a 52-years old man working in the textile sector), they are human and they have families like us, of course they have to work with us (a 36-years old man working in the textile sector), why not? I think it cannot be considered as right instead they are our guest we have to help them and we wouldn't want to be in their shoes but may be in future we will in the same position, who knows? (a 50-years old man in the catering sector) (Basmane).

As it can be seen, they approached the issue of work permit positively. Here, power hierarchy between them and Syrians workers seems to play a crucial role in the formation of their perception of this issue. Depending on their work position, they might not consider Syrian workers as 'rival' thus, as a threat. Additionally, some put emphasis on the empathy-making: last two respondents might approach the issue from a humanistic perspective.

In addition to that, as it was mentioned in the previous chapters, the legislation on foreigners' work permit changed as of January 2016 which gives Syrians right to work in Turkey under specific conditions. However, none of the participants were knowledgeable on this issue: they never talked about it and did not know the new legislation and its practical implications. It might result from the fact that all the Syrian workers in the workplaces of participant have already been working illegally. Thus, the effects of the new legislation on the labor market have not been observed yet in the Basmane.

5.5. General Discussion of Findings

In the pages stated above, I analyzed the perceptions of Turks regarding Syrians from a social psychological point of view. In my analysis, as it is stated earlier four super-ordinate themes came into existence. In this section, I will briefly discuss the findings of each part mentioned above.

First of all, in this study as part of social identity, impact of 'national identity' and 'religious identity' on the perceptions and attitudes of the Turks was apparent: it was observed that participants of this study mostly gave priority to their national identity over their religious identity. Distinctive feature of the social identity in the formation of in-group

71

and out-group played a crucial role. Due to the fact that both Turks and Syrians are considered as 'Muslim'; in order to identify themselves as distinct from the 'out-group', participants might react to situation by reasserting their national identity.

Secondly, participants of this study generally expressed that the Syrians have a negative impact on the economy. At this juncture, as opposed to the findings of some studies which have revealed the positive impact of the immigration on the wages, this study has substantiated the opposite (Dustmann, Glitz & Frattini, 2008). Influx of the Syrian into Basmane was perceived to have resulted in increased unemployment rate and decreased wages of the local labors.

In this regard, significance of the sectoral and skill distribution on the wages and perceptions of the Turks was unavoidable. Thanks to its case specific characteristics, this study reflected the particular sectoral distributions and its impact on the perception of local workers. However, one needs to avoid generalizations in studies like this one with small number of participants. Participants who are involved in informal sectors in irregular workplaces like textile, clothing, food and shoe stores, and are occupy the same position with the Syrian workers were more likely to display negative attitudes towards Syrians. Yet, the ones who are in the formal sectors and regular workplaces as electric technicians and are in higher position than the Syrian workers tended to express more positive attitudes towards Syrians (Carpio & Wagner, 2015). Supportively, Turkish employees who are working manually specifically in the textile, food and clothing sector exhibited more hostile attitudes towards Syrians as compared to the non-manual Turkish employees. The rationale behind this situation is simple: by reason of the fact that Syrians entering Turkey are mostly unskilled and searching for manual jobs by offering ultra-cheap labor under same conditions with Turks (Dustmann &Preston, 2004).

Thirdly, in the analysis of the inclusion or exclusion of Syrians, it is important to take into account that physical proximity of Turks to Syrians was not always accompanied with the positive inter-group relations. 'Mere exposure' to out-group is not enough to achieve meaningful interaction or prejudice reduction (Crisp & Turner, 2009). This study reflects the limitations of 'mere exposure to contact' perspective. To give a more concrete example, participants of this study who are working with increased number of Syrian workers did not

express more positive attitudes than the Turks who are working with less Syrian workers: the reverse situation came into existence throughout the interviews. Here, the status and the position of the Turkish employees as compared to Syrian workers appeared to play a fundamental role: regardless of the number of Syrians working with Turkish employees, Turks' working position among the Syrian workers was more likely to affect their perception regarding and willingness to get in further contact with Syrians: the more they were in similar position with Syrians, the more threats of job loss come into picture and have impact upon the Turkish employees. Thus, this study verifies the arguments of Allport (1954); that is, four conditions including equal status within the contact situation, inter group cooperation, common goals and support of authorities, and laws and customs are required for prejudice reduction and for contact to be successful.

In a similar vein, increase in terms of employment with the Syrians is not accompanied with positive perceptions of the out-group: mere exposure is not influential on the attitude formation. In some cases of the present study, participants who spend less time with Syrians expressed more positive attitudes towards them than the ones who spend more time with Syrians in their workplace. At this point, remarkable is the point that even most of the participants expressed negative attitudes towards Syrians located in Turkey, few of them made distinction between the Syrians working in their workplace and the Syrians located in Turkey. Put differently, while some of the Turkish employees perceived the out-group (Syrians) as homogenous and attributed negative characteristics to all of them, others considered the out-group as heterogeneous by displaying positive attitudes towards their Syrian workmates and negative attitudes to Syrians in general. Here, generalizability problem of the inter-group contact comes into existence: inter-group contact is more likely to result in prejudice reduction at the 'individual level' rather than 'group level' (Forbes 1997, cited in Pettrigew & Tropp, 2006).

Approximately all of the respondents perceived the Syrians as having the same ethnicity and religion, thus as homogenous. Despite the fact that Syrians in the Turkey have different ethnic and religious origins, including Arab Sunnis, Alawites, Turcomans, Kurds, Yazidis and Christians only one of the participants mentioned the Syrian Kurds and

differentiated them by expressing more negative attitudes toward Syrian Kurds than the Arab Sunni ones.

This study also aimed to understand whether the participants' demographical characteristics had any impact on their perceptions about Syrians. At the beginning of the interviews, all of the participants' demographical information, including age and education level, was asked and their sex was noted. Upon the completion of the analysis, 'gender had no crucial impact upon the perceptions of the interviewed participants: there was no remarkable difference between women and men and their main approach to Syrians in general. While some women expressed more negative attitudes towards Syrians, others talked about them positively. Such was also the same for men. However, diversity was found when the issue was related to unemployment or job displacements. In line with the earlier research findings, with the participation of Syrians into labor market, women were more likely to perceive themselves in more disadvantaged conditions compared to men: as it was discussed earlier, this might stem from their conditions of employment which is highly informal and irregular compared to men (Carpio & Wagner, 2015). Women perceived themselves as having high probability of dismissal compared to men.

Furthermore, no association was found between the age of the participants and particular perception formation. In addition to age, level of education was analyzed. It is noteworthy to take into account that previous studies show consistent support for the relations between education level of the members of the host society and their attitude formation towards newly coming immigrants: it is argued that the more individuals are educated, the less they express negative attitudes towards immigrants (Brenner & Fertig, 2006). However, in this present study, no link was detected between participants' education level and their perceptions of Syrians. As it is discussed in the methodology chapter, level of education of the participants varied between less than primary school to undergraduate degree. At this juncture, contrary to the findings of the previous studies, from time to time, uneducated participants expressed more positive feelings and attitudes towards Syrians than the educated people did. Remarkably, rather than the education level of the respondents, any change in their approach to Syrians might have originated from their positions in their workplace. More specifically, in the sectors like textile or food, work positions of the participants do not

74

depend on their education level: one might be placed at higher positions even with a low level of education or the reverse. Hence, participants who can be considered as having high skills in terms of their capability to do particular work are more likely to express positive feelings towards Syrians regardless of their education level. Similar to the arguments discussed in the literature review, this might be explained by their approach to Syrians: whether they perceive Syrians as a rival and as competing for similar jobs under same conditions or not. At this juncture, it can be easily inferred that in the process of attitude formation, participants' perceptions are to a large extent shaped in relation to their position in labor force which might bring social conflict: in order to achieve social cohesion and end social disputes 'labor market' plays a vital role (Özpınar, Cilingir, & Düşündere, 2016).

To sum up, perceptions of the Turks who are currently working in Basmane were independently shaped by their age, gender and education level. Instead, their status, skill levels, work position and their preference for attaching importance to the dimension of their social identity (national, religious and so on) were more prominent in the process of attitude formation about Syrians in general.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

As a result of the war that emerged in Syria, a lot of Syrians had to flee from their own country to different parts of the world. Due to its geographical proximity to Syria, Turkey is the country with the highest number of Syrians entering the country at an unprecedented rate. The effects and consequences of the Syrian immigration to Turkey created issues related to social, political, historic and economic realms. Given the significance of this topic in many levels, both academic researchers and public authorities directed their attention to the issue of the management of Syrians. Thus, the Syrian immigration, its impact and management in Turkey has extensively been studied over the five years.

Considering the growing importance and plethora of studies on Syrians, this issue is mostly approached from a political, economic and cultural perspective. The concerns are mostly associated with the issues of health, education, citizenship, nationhood, welfare provision, social equality, neighborhood integration and adaptation processes of the immigrants themselves (Borkert, Pérez, Scott, & Tona, 2006). Thus, studies on the Syrian immigration issue from a social psychology perspective focusing on the analysis of perceptions of the host members are limited.

In order to address this issue and fill the gap in literature; the primary aim of this study was to make fruitful contribution to the narrowly studied dimension of the Syrian immigration issue in Turkey: 'Host members' perception' analyzed from a 'social psychological perspective'. More specifically, this present study aimed to explore how Turkish employees, located in the same labor markets with Syrian workers in Basmane, perceive Syrians in general. In light of this interdisciplinary approach to the issue of Syrians; it brought together different perspectives from social psychology, conflict resolution and economy.

76

To be able to analyze the Turkish employees' perception of Syrians, qualitative research methodology was applied in this study. The study analyzed particularly one segment of Turkish employees: the ones working in Basmane. Semi-structured face to face interviews were conducted with 20 Turkish employees currently working in Basmane, Izmir. The in-depth interviews consisted of 22 open-ended questions, which were designed to understand and analyze the Turkish employees' emotional states, behavioral patterns, sources of anxieties, acculturation preferences and group identification in the light of social-psychological theories. They were administered in March, 2016 in Basmane where an increased number of Syrians have been reported to stay over five years.

With reference to the findings, it is apparent that Turkish employees' perceptions about Syrians vary and depend mostly upon their (1) in-group and out-group identification; (2) deeply rooted causes of anxiety, fear and threat; (3) group boundaries (permeable or not), (4) assessment regarding the social, political, and economic rights offered to immigrants. According to the findings of this study, among the factors that play a fundamental role in the formation of the particular perception about Syrians are components of the identity (national & religious) given priority by the participants, in other words, their preferred identity; degree of importance attributed to this identity; and participants' status, position as well as skill distributions among the workmates.

The findings of this study are, to a certain extent, consistent with the studies related to in-group identity, out-group contact, competition and perception. Remarkably, subsequent amount of researchers have confirmed that the impact of demographical variables (education level, age, and gender) on prejudice reduction are evident. This study did not find meaningful relationships between level of education, age and gender, and their effects on the participants' perception. The same remains valid for the effect of the 'contact': as opposed to the arguments of the previous studies on the mere contact effect. That is; no association is detected between the amount of time spent with Syrians and prejudice reduction. More specifically, in this study, regardless of the time spent in face to face contact with Syrians, identity and relative job security are found to be more effective in the prejudice reduction. Here, in the context of group identification; providing accurate information regarding the Syrians is needed in order to correct the misbeliefs and break down the prejudices regarding

Syrians and Syrian culture. Increasing awareness on the similarities between two culture is also needed to prevent discrimination and promote understanding. With respect to the efficiency of contact in the prejudice reduction and competition, equal status groups should be encouraged to cooperation and common goals with the support of authorities. Thus, Turkish population should be accurately and routinely knowledgeable with this process.

At this juncture, limitation of the mere contact effects is relevant with the findings of the study conducted by Saraçoğlu in Izmir. In the disposition of the prejudice and negative attitudes towards migrants; ethnic identification and class relationships should be taken into account. Regardless of the amount of time spent with migrants in the urban social context, ethnic identification of the migrants by Izmirli employees is important in the expression of antagonistic attitudes (Saraçoğlu, 2010).

Another result of the study is noteworthy, this study does not aspire to find a significant relationship between the Turkish employees' sectoral and skill distribution (skilled or unskilled) and its impact upon the perception of participants. Nevertheless, by taking into account the participants' sectoral distributions and their positions in the workplaces, it can easily be inferred that participants who are currently working in the informal sectors, irregular workspaces with similar position to Syrians are more likely to exhibit negative attitudes towards Syrians. In a similar vein, the employees who are employed in formal, regular workplaces and who have higher positions than the Syrian workers tend to display more positive attitudes towards Syrians. Thus, even if the differences in their perceptions might stem from fear of job displacement, it is significant to be knowledgeable about the particular occupational sectors, to a large extent, local workers are faced with difficulty in obtaining job security which means that jobs are relatively difficult to find and keep. Therefore, this present study highlights the key sectors as manufacture and service that are shared by both immigrants and locals and have negative impact upon the perceptions of the locals. This result is also consistent with the existing literature on this issue.

Consequently, as it is discussed in the pages above, the findings of this study are relevant to the social psychological theories on inter group relations. The findings of the study are consistent with the arguments of the social identity theory in the sense that in order to improve their positive social identity, the participants of the study gave privilege to their

preferred dimension of social identity (national or religious) in the process of perception formation: This affected their approach to out-group, their level of in-group favoritism and out-group discrimination. In addition to that, the present study also finds consistent support for the arguments of integrated threat theory: Participants' perceptions were heavily impacted by both symbolic and realistic threat. At this juncture, it should be taken into account that previous studies indicated that contact refusal is linked to symbolic threat rather than realistic threat (Matera, Stefanile, & Brown, 2011). In contrast with earlier studies, the findings of the study did not reflect the same point. Apart from this, it is found that influence of realistic threat on contact discordance was prevalent. To be more precise, participants who perceive themselves under threat by reason of the relative job security, were more likely to have negative stereotypes towards and discriminate against the out-group. Lastly, as discussed earlier, findings of the study are also consistent with the intergroup contact theory except with the limitations of mere exposure effect.

The abovementioned findings describe and discuss the underlying (macro and micro) factors that play a major role in the attitude formation of Turkish employees and their explanations in relation to social psychological theories. From a general perspective, the findings of this study speak to more general discussion on the growing literature on immigration and host perception.

With respect to the theoretical implications of this study, most of the studies on immigration have concentrated on the consequences of immigration by focusing mostly on either the economy, politics, socio-political reflections, resilience or mental health of the immigrants. Studies concerning the social psychological dimensions of immigration are limited. Within this context, this study is the first to study this phenomenon from a social psychological perspective and makes a contribution to the current literature by analyzing Turks' perceptions of Syrians. More precisely, by giving voice to the native perspectives, this study aimed to understand the roots, dynamics and consequences of relations and conflicts between Syrians and the natives. Thus, this study not only enriches the burgeoning literature on the impacts of immigration, but also contributes to the literature on social psychology and conflict resolution by putting emphasis on the inter-group relations.

In addition to its theoretical implications, it also has practical significance. Considering the unit of analysis of this study, Turkish employees working in the Basmane; findings of the study might contribute to the implementation of relevant policies on the economic, politic and social realm. Put differently, the results of the study may help the local and regional policy makers understand and make sense of the needs of the natives. Therefore, this study contributes both theoretically and practically to the research field, especially to the public policy and advocacy efforts for the improvement of positive social identity, prejudice reduction and reduction of intergroup conflicts between the Syrians and the natives.

In respect of limitations of the study, having a small sample size and limited units of analysis restrict the generalizability of the findings. 20 Turkish employees working in Basmane does not represent the overall framework of Turkey. This study does not also include other economic sectors in Turkey. And, due to fact that it was conducted in a certain period of time, this present study does not understand the temporal dynamics related to this issue. Being aware of its limitations with regards to representativeness, this study nevertheless presents significant data that will give rise to further research in the realm of social- psychological analysis of Turks' perception of Syrians. The issue of host perception is not only of particular concern to the city of Izmir, its replication in different cities,regions, and replications with groups from different ethnicity, class and nationality will be an important vantage point for gaining insight into the general framework of the Turkish society.

All things considered, by taking into account the growing numbers of immigrants in different parts of the world, further research should be carried out to gain deeper knowledge on host perception. Studies examining host perception from the social psychological perspective are essential in understanding and gaining knowledge about the underlying causes of inter-group disputes and, in establishing a ground for mutual understanding and peaceful coexistence between different groups.

Last but not least, Sayad (1991) says that "to talk about immigration is to talk about the whole society, to talk about its diachronic dimension, that is to say, from a historical perspective, but also about its synchronic extension, that is to say, from the point of view of the present structures of the society and their functioning" (as cited in Borkert, Pérez, Scott,

& Tona, 2006, p. 1). Therefore, talking, researching and studying about 'immigration' are of capital importance.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Consent Form

SABANCI ÜNİVERSİTESİ SANAT VE SOSYAL BİLİMLER FAKÜLTESİ

UYUŞMAZLIK ANALİZİ VE ÇÖZÜMÜ MASTER PROGRAMI

Konu Başlığı: İzmir'de Türk çalışanların Suriyeli çalışan algısının sosyal psikolojik analizi

Prof. Ayşe Betül Çelik

Beyza Özen

Haziran 2016

Merhaba,

Benim adım Beyza Özen. Sabanci Universitesi Uyuşmazlık Analizi ve Çözümü
programında 2. Sınıf Master öğrencisiyim. Vaktiniz varsa, sizinle bir görüşme yapmak
istiyorum. Bu görüşme, benim master tezim için yaptığım araştırmanın bir parçası.
Görüşmenin amacı, Türklerin Suriyeli mültecilere karşı bakış açısını belirlemek olacaktır.

Eğer bana yardımcı olmayı kabul ederseniz, vereceğiniz cevaplar hiçbir şekilde herhangi
bir kurum ya da şahıs ile paylaşılmayacaktır. Adınız ya da adresiniz kesinlikle
kaydedilmeyecektir. Sadece görüşmede, araştırmam için gerekli bazı bilgiler
toplamak adına yaşınızı, eğitim durumunuzu soracağım bu bilgiler de
tamamen gizli tutulacaktır. İstemediğiniz taktirde görüşmeyi istediğiniz zaman
sonlandırabilirsiniz.

Yaklaşık 1 saatinizi alacak bu görüşmeye katılıp bilimsel bir çalışmanın parçası olmayı
kabul ederseniz çok memnun olurum.

Appendix B: Interview Questions

1) Kendinizi tanıtabilir misiniz? (Kaç yaşındasınız, eğitim seviyeniz nedir, kaç yıldır burada çalışıyorsunuz)

2) Biliyorsunuz son yıllarda Suriye iç savaşından kaçıp ülkemize gelen Suriyeliler oldu. Türkiye'ye göç etmek zorunda kalan Suriyelileri ne kadar tanıyorsunuz? Mesela sizce "onlar" kimler?

3) Bu kişilerin bir kısmı Türkiye'de bazı işyerlerinde çalışıyor. İş yerinizde bu insanlar da çalışıyor mu? (Kaç kişi , ne kadar süredir) Bu işyerine nasıl girdiklerini biliyor musunuz?

4) Onların bu işyerine girmesi sizi ve başka çalışanları maddi veya manevi etkiledi mi? Nasıl?

5) Bu kişilerle ne sıklıkta iletişime geçiyorsunuz?

6) Bu kişilerle birlikte çalışmaktan dolayı memnun musunuz?

7) İş konusundaki yeterliliklerini nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?

8) Suriyeli mültecilerin karakteristik özellikleri hakkında neler söyleyebilirsiniz? (ahlak, saygınlık, adalet, görgü, iş ahlakı, güvenilirlik vs.)

9) Bu kişilere her hangi bir şeyinizi ödünç verir misiniz?

10) Basmane deki yaşama ve çalışma koşulları 4 yıl öncesine göre değişikliğe uğradı mı? (değişti diyorsa nasıl değiştiğini düşünüyorsunuz?)

Bu insanların iş piyasasına olan avantaj ve dezavantajları hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz

11) Basmane civarında daha fazla Suriyeli mülteci yaşayacak olursa mesleki açıdan etkileneceğinizi düşünüyor musunuz? Nasıl?

95

12) Genel olarak bu kişilerin Türkiye'de bulunmalarının pozitif ve negatif yanlarını söyler misiniz? Türkiye'ye olumlu ya da olumsuz katkıları var mı?(zenginlik mi tehdit mi oluşturuyor?)

13) Sizce Suriye kültürü ile Türk kültürü arasında benzerlik ve farklılıklar neler?
14) Bu kişilerin Türk kültürüne uyum sağladıklarını düşünüyor musunuz?

15) Sosyal ve kültürel yaşam açısından, Suriyeliler ile problem yaşanıyor mu sizce? (evetse) ortaya çıkan temel problemlerin sebebi nedir sizce?

16) Suriyeli mültecilere ne tür hakların verilip ne tür hakların verilmemesi gerektiğini düşünüyorsunuz? (Yaşam ve çalışma koşulları nasıl olmalıdır?)

17) Gelecek yıllar içerisinde Suriyelilerin Türkiye'de kalmasını istiyor musunuz? Sizce kalıcılar mı?

18) Türk kimliği, kendinizi tanımlamada ne kadar önemli? (sizin için ne ifade ediyor?)

19) Suriyeli mültecileri içerisinde bulunduğunuz her hangi bir sosyal ağa (aile oturumu, vakıf, dernek, arkadaş grubu) dahil etmek ister misiniz?

20) Suriyeli mültecilerin Türkler ile evlenmesi hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? (Kendi kız ya da oğlunun Suriyeli bir kişi ile evlenmesine nasıl bakıyor?)

21) Başka kültürler ve kimliklerden arkadaşlarınız/dostlarınız var mı? Onlarla ne sıklıkta görüşüyorsunuz?
22) "Eğer bir Suriyeli Türkiyede doğmus ve Türk kültürü içinde yetişmiş ise o artık Türktür" düşüncesine katılıyor musunuz?

Appendix C: Approval form of Sabancı University Research Ethics Council (SUREC)
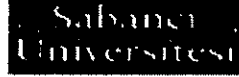
Sabancı University Research Ethics Council (SUREC)

Date: 06/04/2016

To: Beyza Özen
From: Prof. Dr. Cengiz Kaya, Chairman of the Ethics Committee

Protocol Number: FASS-16-06
Protocol Name: How are Syrian refugees percieved by Turkish Society

Subject: SUREC Approval
Official Approval Date: 06/04/2016

Sabancı University Research Ethics Council has approved the above named and numbered protocol through expedited review. You are responsible for promptly reporting to the SUREC:

- any severe adverse effects
- any unanticipated problems involving risks to subjects or others;
- any proposed changes in the research activity

Enclosed you can find the below noted approved documents.

☒ Protocol Application

☒ Informed Consent Form

If you have any questions please feel free to contact me via phone at 216-483 9666 or via e-mail at cengizkaya@sabanciuniv.edu.

Best Regards,

Prof. Dr. Cengiz Kaya
Chairman of the Ethics Committee

FRG-A410-01-03-V01

SABANCI UNIVERSITY RESEARCH ETHICS COUNCIL
APPLICATION FOR RESEARCH STUDY

1. Title: How are Syrian refugees percieved by Turkish Society

2. Principal Investigator(s) (The Principal Investigator must be a faculty member or equivalent)

Principal Investigator	E-mail	Phone
Beyza Özen	beyzaozen@sabanciuniv.edu	0555 680 99 15
Ayşe Betül Çelik, Faculty Member	bcelik@sabanciuniv.edu	0216 483 92 98

Note: This application must be submitted by the Principal Investigator, who assumes full responsibility for compliance with this research study.

3. Programme: Conflict Analysis and Resolution

Please answer all questions below:

4. Will this be funded by an external sponsor? ☐Yes ☒No

If yes, list sponsor/funding agency:
Proposal Number:

5. Proposed Start Date (actual date may not precede SUREC approval date)

(tentative, maybe later) September –June

6. Describe the purpose of the research

The objectives of the proposed research program can be outlined as follows:
The purpose of the research is to describe and analyze the perception of Turks towards Syrian refugees located in Turkey

7. Describe procedures to be used and any associated risks or discomforts.
Procedures should be specific and listed step by step.

In this research qualitative field research methodology is used to analyze Turkish people's perceptions regarding Syrian refugees. And, this research moves from bigger to small unit of analysis. It is decided to break up this large category of Turkish people by concentrating on the Turkish people working in Izmir (specifically in Basmane). The primary reason for choosing Basmane for the data collection is that Basmane is the region that has received Syrian refugees at an unprecedented rate over past five years.
The data of the research will be obtained through in-depth interviews with total of 20 Turkish people working in Basmane/ Izmir. Therefore, the target population planned to be the 20 Turkish people who are currently working in the labor market with Syrian refugees in Basmane.

In the selection of the members, impracticability of randomness in the selection processes necessitates to use more appropriate strategy: snowball sampling. This strategy is mostly used in explanatory or field research in order to reach specific population and to gain deeper understanding. With respect to interviews and the questions, semi-structured interviews are preferred as best way to obtain data which allow researcher to engage in dialogue with individuals and pave way for gathering richer data by entering into novel areas and covering answers in detail. The semi-structured,

FRG-A410-01-03-V01

in-depth interviews comprise of 24 open ended questions like " What do you think about the characteristics of the Syrian refugees in Turkey?", "Can you describe the differences and similarities between Turkish and Syrian culture?", " How the working and living conditions has been changed in Basmane over the five years?", "Do you think that Syrian refugees can adopt the Turkish culture?", "What are the advantages and disadvantages of Syrians in labor market?", "Are you enjoy working with Syrian refugees at the same workplace?", "How often do you come into contact with Syrian refugees?", "What kinds of rights do you think should be given to Syrian refugees?", "What does it mean to be a Turk for you?", "What do you think about the marriages between Turks and Syrians?", "Do you have any friends from other cultures and identities?", "Do you want to include Syrian refugees among your social circle?", "Do you want Syrians to stay in Turkey in the upcoming years?". In the formation of questions, it has been taken into account that questions were formed as suggestive instead of prescriptive: all questions were tried to be constructed not to prompt and guide participants and tried to be neutral without including any jargons or assumptions. Funneling technique was used in the formation of the questions: participants were asked from more general to specific issues.

With regards to interviews, the length of the interviews is planned to be as 45-60 minutes. At the beginning of the interviews, all participants will be received informed consent and their right to withdrawal will be announced in the beginning of the interviews. And, all interviews will be tape recorded, transcribed and conducted in the participant's home environments specifically, in their workspace. At the end of the interviews, participants will be thanked. No risks or discomforts were detected with respect to the research.

8. Describe in detail any safeguards to minimize risks or discomforts, including any measures to render the data anonymous (you will not know the identity of the research subject) or confidential (subjects' identity or personal identifying information will not be disclosed).
Please be reminded that anonymity and confidentiality are not synonymous terms.

With respect to the safeguards to minimize risks or discomforts, at the beginning of the interviews, all participants are planned to receive and sign the informed consent: it indicates the voluntary particpation of the participants. And, in the informed consent it is stated that any informations regarding subjects (demographic, personel etc.) will not be shared with any person or institutions: all the information about participants and data received from participants will be private and will not be disclosed. All participants are planned to sign the informed consent. But in case that they do not want to sign it, it will be accepted that they can make a notch on the informed consent or they can write the initials of their names or they can leave vocie messages to tape recorder which indicates their voluntary participation. Additionally, if participants feel discomfortable with any question, the question can be left unanswered and, they will be informed regarding their right to withdraw interview at any time. After their withdrawal, their section will be destroyed up to that time.

Moreover, if they do not accept their voices to be recorded, it is planned to take notes during the interview. Thus, safeguards to do not harm participants can be described like that.
I
9. Describe any financial compensation or other potential benefits to the subjects associated with this research activity.

There is no any financial compensation or other potential benefits to the subjects associated with this research activity.

10. Does the proposed human subject research pose a financial conflict of interest to the PI. ☐Yes ☒No If yes, please explain.

FRG-A410-01-03-V01

11. Is the consent form attached? ☒Yes ☐No If no, please justify the need to waive this requirement. (If subjects under the age of 18 are to participate in the study, a parental consent form will also be required.)

12. Benefits and Risks: Do the potential benefits to the subjects and/or the anticipated gain in research knowledge outweigh the risks to the subjects? Explain. (Be specific and succinct - do not "justify" the research.)

Yes, knowledge and analysis of the data obtained from the participants are significant in the sense that this research analyze the Turkish people's perception regarding Syrian refugees from a social psychological perspective. For that reason, this study will make a great contribution to the growing literature of social psychology and conflict resolution by concentrating on the issue from a social psychological perspective which has not been approached before. And, interviews can be beneficial for the participants by raising their awareness regarding the research topic. Thus, potential benefits outweigh the risks to the subjects.

13. If another institution(s) is involved in the proposed research, please list each institution , the protocol number, and SUREC approval date. ☐ Yes ☐☒No

There are not any institutions involved in the proposed research.

14. After reviewing the University Research Ethics Council Procedure
http://mysu.sabanciuniv.edu/surecharitasi/tr/yonerge/irg-a410-02

I believe this protocol to be:

☐ Exempt from further SUREC review ☒Expedited ☐ Full Council review required.

Applicants Signature
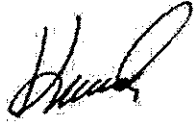
KEYDA   ÖZEN

Title: How are Syrian refugees percieved by Turkish Society
Principal Investigator(s): Beyza Özen

THIS SPACE FOR SUREC USE ONLY

☐ The protocol has been determined to be exempt from SUREC review in accordance with Sabancı University Research Ethics Council procedure.

☒ The protocol has been approved through expedited review in accordance with Sabancı University Research Ethics Council procedure.

☐ The Institutional Review Board has been approved the protocol through full review review in accordance with Sabancı University Research Ethics Council procedure.

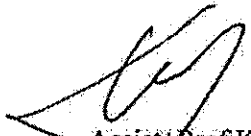**APPROVED BY THE SABANCI UNIVERSITY RESEARCH ETHICS COUNCIL**
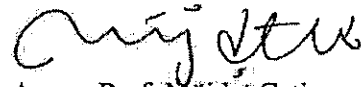
Prof. Dr. Cengiz Kaya
SUREC Chair

Prof. Dr. Alpay Filiztekin
SUREC Member

Assist. Prof. Çağla Aydın
SUREC Member

Assist.Prof.Kıvılcım Döğerlioğlu Demir
SUREC Member

Assoc. Prof. Müjdat Çetin
SUREC Member

Assist. Prof. Volkan Özgüz
SUREC Member

Prof. Dr. Zehra Sayers
SUREC Member

FRG-A410-01-03-V01

Principal Investigator: Beyza Özen

Interviewer: Beyza Özen / 2nd year Master Student in Conflict Analysis and Resolution Program, at Sabancı University

The purpose of this study:

To desribe and analyze the perception of the Turks regarding Syrian refugees in Turkey.

The specific objectives of the proposed research are summarized as follows:

-to analyze the issue from a social psychological perspective
-to shed light on the needs of the small scale population (Turks who are working in Basmane) as well as the processes individuals make meaning out of their experiences
-to understand the deeply rooted causes of the possible conflict and needs of the Turkish people

During the experiment you will be asked to
Answer 24 open ended questions

You may find the following risks or discomfort from participating in this Study:
All the participants' voices will be recorded

If you believe that your rights have been violated in any way, please contact contact Cengiz Kaya, Director of Research and Graduate Policy at Sabancı University at (216) 483-9666 or by email at cengizkaya@sabanciuniv.edu.

By signing this consent form, you are indicating your consent to participate in this study.

Signature _____   Date _____

FRG-A410-01-03-V01

102