

TURKS' PREJUDICE AGAINST KURDS AND SYRIANS:  
THE ROLE OF CONTACT, IDENTIFICATION, AND THREAT



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THE ROLE OF CONTACT, IDENTIFICATION, AND THREAT

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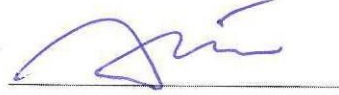
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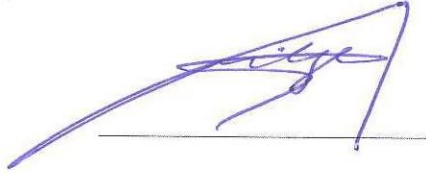
Turks' Prejudice Against Kurds and Syrians:  
The Role of Contact, Identification, and Threat

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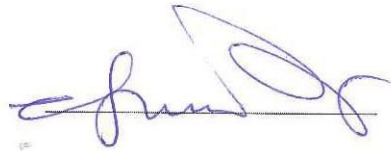
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May 2019

## DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Mustafa Fırat, certify that

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- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;
- this is a true copy of the thesis approved by my advisor and thesis committee at Boğaziçi University, including final revisions required by them.

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## ABSTRACT

### Turks' Prejudice Against Kurds and Syrians: The Role of Contact, Identification, and Threat

This study examined the effect of imagined contact on Turks' prejudice against Kurds and Syrians, with a focus on the moderating role of in-group identification and the mediating role of intergroup threat in the imagined contact-prejudice relationship. An experiment was conducted among 335 Turkish undergraduate students (154 males, 180 females;  $M_{age} = 20.30$ ,  $SD = 1.38$ ). Participants were presented with measures assessing their ethnic and national identification, realistic and symbolic threat, and explicit and implicit prejudice after the imagined contact manipulation. The results showed that imagined contact did not have a prejudice-reducing effect. Accordingly, there was neither a moderating role of in-group identification nor a mediating role of intergroup threat. However, identification and threat significantly predicted prejudice. Ethnic identification was positively related to prejudice against Kurds and Syrians, while national identification was negatively related to prejudice against only Kurds. Realistic and symbolic threat were positively associated with prejudice against both groups. The results were discussed in relation to social identity theory, common in-group identity model, and intergroup threat theory. Theoretical refinement to the imagined contact hypothesis was also discussed.

## ÖZET

### Türklerin Kürtlere ve Suriyelilere Karşı Önyargısı:

#### Temas, Özdeşleşme ve Tehdidin Rolü

Bu çalışmada, iç-grupla özdeşleşmenin ılımlayıcı rolüne ve gruplar arası tehdidin aracı rolüne odaklanılarak, kurgulu temasın Türklerin Kürtlere ve Suriyelilere karşı önyargısı üzerindeki etkisi incelenmiştir. Kendini Türk olarak tanımlayan 335 lisans öğrencisiyle (154 erkek, 180 kadın;  $Ort_{yaş} = 20.30$ ,  $S = 1.38$ ) bir deney yapılmıştır. Kurgulu temas manipülasyonunun ardından katılımcılara onların etnik ve ulusal özdeşleşmelerini, gerçekçi ve sembolik tehditlerini, açık ve örtük önyargılarını değerlendiren ölçekler uygulanmıştır. Bulgular kurgulu temasın önyargıyı azaltıcı etkisi olmadığını göstermiştir. Dolayısıyla, ne iç-grupla özdeşleşmenin ılımlayıcı rolüne ne de gruplar arası tehdidin aracı rolüne rastlanmıştır. Ancak, özdeşleşme ve tehdit önyargıyı anlamlı bir şekilde yordamıştır. Etnik özdeşleşme Kürtlere ve Suriyelilere karşı önyargı ile olumlu ilişkide iken, ulusal özdeşleşmenin sadece Kürtlere karşı önyargı ile olumsuz ilişkide olduğu görülmüştür. Gerçekçi ve sembolik tehdidin ise her iki gruba karşı önyargı ile olumlu ilişkide olduğu bulunmuştur. Bulgular sosyal kimlik kuramı, ortak iç-grup kimliği modeli ve gruplar arası tehdit kuramı çerçevesinde tartışılmıştır. Kurgulu temasa kuramsal bir düzenleme getirilmesi gerekliliği de vurgulanmıştır.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

Intergroup conflict exists in most societies. However, it is more likely to be destructive in those countries that have experienced long years of armed interethnic conflict and those developing or developed countries that increasingly attract migrants from less developed countries (Deutsch, Coleman, & Marcus, 2006; Tropp, 2012). Being a developing country with a long history of armed conflict between Kurds and Turks and a recent history of refugee influx from Syria, Turkey provides a unique context to study intergroup conflict.

### 1.1 The Kurdish-Turkish context

Being the largest ethnic minority in Turkey that constitutes nearly 15-20% of the population (Konda, 2006, 2011), Kurds are a highly stigmatized group (Bora, 2006; Çelik, 2010). In fact, they have been found to report the highest perceived discrimination among the other ethnic minorities in Turkey (Duman, 2013; Duman & Alacahan, 2011). Fostered by the war between the Kurdistan Workers' Party and the Turkish Armed Forces, which resulted in the loss of thousands of lives since the late 1980s (Baysu, Coşkan, & Duman, 2018; Çelik & Kantowitz, 2009), the Kurdish-Turkish conflict has been one of the most intractable socio-political problems in Turkey (Uluğ & Cohrs, 2016, 2019).

Social psychological research indicated that both Kurds and Turks had low out-group trust (Çelebi, Verkuyten, Köse, & Maliepaard, 2014) and held negative out-group attitudes and stereotypes (Bilali, Çelik, & Ok, 2014). They displayed prejudice (Yılmaz, Cesur, & Bayad, 2018) and blamed each other for the conflict

(Bağcı & Çelebi, 2017a). They also showed low support for reconciliation (Baysu & Coşkan, 2018). However, being informed about the prevalence of discrimination against Kurds improved Turks' attitudes towards intergroup contact (Bağcı, Çelebi, & Karaköse, 2017), which was found to be effective in improving relations between them. For example, cross-group friendship facilitated positive attitudes towards Kurds (Bağcı & Çelebi, 2017b) and increased support for Kurdish language rights (Çelebi, Verkuyten, & Smyrnioti, 2016). Higher contact quantity related to better evaluations of Kurds (Bağcı & Çelebi, 2017c; Çakal, Hewstone, Güler, & Heath, 2016) and higher contact quality predicted greater support for reconciliation of the Kurdish conflict (Uluğ & Cohrs, 2017). Positive contact ameliorated negative feelings (Bağcı & Türnüklü, 2019) and imagined contact reduced prejudice against Kurds (Bağcı, Piyale, & Ebcim, 2018; Bağcı, Stathi, & Piyale, 2019a).

## 1.2 The Syrian-Turkish context

The Syrian civil war has produced an unprecedented number of displaced persons. Nearly six million people have fled Syria, mostly taken refuge in neighboring countries such as Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2019). Endorsing an open-door policy and providing temporary protection for a vast majority of Syrians, Turkey is the world's leading refugee hosting country. There are almost four million Syrians in Turkey, which make up 4.5% of the Turkish population and 64% of the total number of Syrians fleeing their country (UNHCR, 2019).

Surveys indicated that Turks are negative towards Syrians (Erdoğan, 2014; Güçtürk, 2014; Kavaklı-Birdal et al., 2017; Koca, 2016; Özden, 2013; Tunç, 2015). For example, Erdoğan (2014) found that although people evaluated the crisis in terms

of a humanitarian concern, they did not support the idea that Syrians should be granted Turkish citizenship. Kavaklı-Birdal et al. (2017) found that people expressed discomfort with the presence of Syrians in Turkey and thought that they should be sent back to Syria when the war ended.

Consistent with the surveys, social psychological research also showed negative attitudes and behavioral intentions of Turks towards Syrians (Aktaş, Tepe, & Persson, 2019; Bağcı & Birinci, 2017; Yitmen & Verkuyten, 2018a, 2018b). Turks also perceived Syrians as a realistic and cultural threat (Taşdemir, 2018). Studies among Syrians corroborated these findings, indicating that they experienced inequality, social exclusion, prejudice, and discrimination (Akçapar & Şimşek, 2018; Demir & Özgül, 2019; Deniz, Ekinçi, & Hülür, 2016; Kaya & Kırarç, 2016; Mirici, 2018), which were found to be associated with poor physical and psychological well-being (Çelebi, Verkuyten, & Bağcı, 2017). However, engaging in contact with Syrians improved Turks' anti-Syrian attitudes. For example, higher contact quality reduced prejudice (Özkeçeci, 2017) and imagined contact ameliorated negative attitudes towards Syrians (Bağcı, Piyale, Birçek, & Ebcim, 2018).

Given that intergroup contact is one of the principal ways of reducing intergroup conflict across various contexts (Hewstone & Greenland, 2000; Ramiah & Hewstone, 2013), including the Kurdish-Turkish and Syrian-Turkish contexts in Turkey, this study examined the effect of imagined contact on Turks' prejudice against Kurds and Syrians. Specifically, the moderator role of in-group identification and the mediator role of intergroup threat in the relationship between imagined contact and explicit as well as implicit prejudice were tested.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

Allport's (1954) intergroup contact theory argued that contact reduces prejudice under certain conditions such as equal status, common goals, cooperation, and institutional support (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Hewstone & Swart, 2011; Pettigrew, 1998). Subsequent research over the years has supported this argument, indicating that contact reduced prejudice even if these conditions were not satisfied (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, 2008; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005). In fact, contact has been found to be effective even if it is indirect (Lemmer & Wagner, 2015). For example, extended contact – knowing that an in-group member has positive contact with an out-group member – improved one's attitudes towards the out-group (Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997), which is an effect that has been indicated across different settings and samples (Zhou, Page-Gould, Aron, Moyer, & Hewstone, 2019).

Although effective in reducing prejudice regardless of contexts, both direct and extended contact require individuals to have actual contact with the out-group. However, in highly segregated societies or where actual intergroup contact is limited, even extended contact can be very scarce and meaningful contact is not likely to exist. A recent account of intergroup contact theory known as the imagined contact hypothesis (Crisp & Turner, 2009, 2012, 2013) argued that in such situations mentally simulating positive contact with out-group members could reduce prejudice because it is likely to activate social concepts related to positive interactions with the out-group, which was supported by research (Miles & Crisp, 2014).

## 2.1 Imagined contact

Research has shown that direct contact is more effective than extended contact in improving negative attitudes (Christ et al., 2010; Dhont & Van Hiel, 2011; Gómez, Tropp, & Fernández, 2011; Wölfer et al., 2017; see Turner, Hewstone, Voci, Paolini, & Christ, 2007). Being more indirect than extended contact, imagined contact presumably has a weaker effect than direct contact. However, imagined contact proved to be comparable to direct contact (Giacobbe, Stukas, & Farhall, 2013; Vezzali, Stathi, Crisp, & Capozza, 2015). Similar to direct contact, it promoted positivity among adults as well as children (Skinner & Meltzoff, 2019) towards various out-groups, including ethnic minorities (Bağcı et al., 2019a; Bağcı, Piyale, & Ebcim, 2018; Stathi, Cameron, Hartley, & Bradford, 2014), religious minorities (LaBouff & Ledoux, 2016; Pagotto, Visintin, de Iorio, & Voci, 2012; Stathi, Crisp, & Hogg, 2011; Visintin, Birtel, & Crisp, 2017), sexual minorities (LaCrosse & Plant, 2019; Lau, Lau, & Loper, 2014; Miller, Markman, Wagner, & Hunt, 2013; Moss-Racusin & Rabasco, 2018; West, Hotchin, & Wood, 2017; West, Husnu, & Lipps, 2015), immigrants (Harwood, Paolini, Joyce, Rubin, & Arroyo, 2011; Igartua, Wojcieszak, & Kim, 2019; Shamloo, Carnaghi, Piccoli, Grassi, & Bianchi, 2018; Vezzali, Capozza, Giovannini, & Stathi, 2012), refugees (Bağcı, Piyale, Birçek, & Ebcim, 2018; Turner, West, & Christie, 2013), elderly persons (Chen, Joyce, Harwood, & Xiang, 2017; Harwood et al., 2017; Husnu & Crisp, 2010a, 2011; Prior & Sargent-Cox, 2014; Turner & Crisp, 2010), homeless people (Falvo, Capozza, Di Bernardo, & Pagani, 2015; Hodson, Dube, & Choma, 2015), and individuals with mental and psychological disabilities (Birtel et al., 2019; Carvalho-Freitas & Stathi, 2017; Falvo, Capozza, Hichy, & Di Sipio, 2014; Schuhl, Lambert, & Chatard, 2019; West & Bruckmüller, 2013; West, Holmes, & Hewstone, 2011). It was effective in

improving attitudes (Husnu & Crisp, 2015; Igartua et al., 2019; Ioannou, Hewstone, & Ramiah, 2017; Shamloo et al., 2018; Stathi et al., 2014), emotions (Asbrock, Gutenbrunner, & Wagner, 2013; Birtel & Crisp, 2012a; Falvo et al., 2014), stereotypes (Chen et al., 2017; Brambilla, Ravenna, & Hewstone, 2012; Stathi, Tsantila, & Crisp, 2012; Vezzali, Stathi, Crisp, & Capozza, 2015; Visintin et al., 2017), prejudices (Schuhl et al., 2019; Turner & Crisp, 2010; Vezzali, Capozza et al., 2012), intentions (Birtel et al., 2019; Birtel & Crisp, 2012a; Harwood et al., 2017; Husnu & Crisp, 2010a, 2010b; Igartua et al., 2019; Vezzali, Stathi, Crisp, & Capozza, 2015), and behaviors (Birtel et al., 2019; Meleady & Seger, 2017; Turner & West, 2012; Vezzali, Crisp, Stathi, & Giovannini, 2015) towards these out-groups. Moreover, its effect was not transient but endured over time (Falvo et al., 2014; Schuhl et al., 2019; Vezzali, Crisp et al., 2015), and extended to secondary groups not involved in the mental interaction (Harwood et al., 2011).

## 2.2 Moderation of imagined contact

Although several alternative reasons behind the positive effect of imagined contact on prejudice have been successfully addressed in earlier studies (see also Bigler & Hughes, 2010), a subsequent replication project has found weak support for this effect (Klein et al., 2014; see also Monin et al., 2014). In fact, imagined contact has sometimes been shown to have no effect (Dermody, Jones, & Cumming, 2013; Hoffarth & Hodson, 2016; Lai et al., 2014; McDonald, Donnellan, Lang, & Nikolajuk, 2014) or to produce an opposite effect when, for example, the instructions were neutral (West et al., 2011) and the simulated task was difficult for participants (West & Bruckmüller, 2013).



Crisp and colleagues (Crisp & Birtel, 2014; Crisp, Miles, & Husnu, 2014) suggested that such findings resulted from the untested moderators, underlying the importance of when imagined contact works. Previous studies have indicated that imagined contact did not work when the instructions lacked mental simulation (Turner, Crisp, & Lambert, 2007) or positive tone (Stathi & Crisp, 2008), which are the two basic elements of the imagined contact paradigm (Crisp, Stathi, Turner, & Husnu, 2009). However, making the contact scenario more elaborated (Choma, Charlesford, & Hodson, 2014; Hodson et al., 2015; Husnu & Crisp, 2010a, 2011), group-focused (Stathi et al., 2011), identity-salient (Pagotto et al., 2012), and cooperative (Kuchenbrandt, Eyssel, & Seidel, 2013) made imagined contact work better. Emphasizing intergroup similarities and differences in the scenario (Ioannou et al., 2017) and adding friendship potential to it (Bağcı, Piyale, Birçek, & Ebcim, 2018) also helped imagined contact work better. In addition to these factors, perceptual fluency (West & Bruckmüller, 2013), group status (Bağcı et al., 2019a; Bağcı, Stathi, & Piyale, 2019b; Stathi & Crisp, 2008), prior contact (Husnu & Crisp, 2010a; Hoffarth & Hodson, 2016; Lau et al., 2014), initial prejudice (West et al., 2017), in-group identity (Bağcı, Piyale, & Ebcim, 2018; Stathi & Crisp, 2008), and common in-group identity (Vezzali, Stathi, Crisp, Giovannini et al., 2015) also moderated the imagined contact effect.

However, the moderating role of in-group identity in the relationship between imagined contact and out-group attitudes has been inconsistent. Stathi and Crisp (2008) indicated that imagined contact was more effective for participants with low identification, whereas Bağcı, Piyale, and Ebcim (2018) showed that it was effective only for participants with high identification. This inconsistency can result from two factors. First, Bağcı, Piyale, and Ebcim (2018) examined the moderating role of in-

group identity in the Kurdish-Turkish context, where there is high conflict and intergroup relations are more salient, whereas Stathi and Crisp (2008) examined the moderating role of in-group identity in the English-French context, where there is much less conflict and intergroup relations are less salient. Second, while Bağcı, Piyale, and Ebcim (2018) focused on the role of ethnic identity, Stathi and Crisp (2008) focused on the role of national identity. It can be speculated that ethnic and national identities play different moderating roles in the relationship between imagined contact and out-group attitudes.

In order to resolve this inconsistency, this study simultaneously examined the moderating role of ethnic and national identity in the imagined contact effect across two contexts with high and low levels of conflict. It was hypothesized that both ethnic and national identification would moderate the effect of imagined contact on prejudice against Kurds and Syrians, but with divergent effects. Research on direct contact suggested that high in-group identifiers benefited more from contact (Hodson, Harry, & Mitchell, 2009; Kteily, Hodson, Dhont, & Ho, 2019; Voci, Hewstone, Swart, & Veneziani, 2015), which is consistent with the broader research indicating that contact is more effective among prejudice-prone individuals (Hodson, Turner, & Choma, 2017). Research on imagined contact corroborated this line of findings, indicating that the negative association between imagined contact and out-group attitudes was stronger for people with higher intergroup anxiety (Birtel & Crisp, 2012b), right-wing authoritarianism (Asbrock et al., 2013), intergroup disgust sensitivity (Hodson et al., 2015), and social dominance orientation (Visintin, Berent, Green, & Falomir-Pichastor, 2019), which are established indices of prejudice-proneness (Hodson & Dhont, 2015). Given that in-group identification is positively related to intergroup anxiety (Bizman & Yinon, 2001; Tausch, Tam et al., 2007),

right-wing authoritarianism (Hodson et al., 2009; Radkiewicz, 2016; Roccas, Schwartz, & Amit, 2010), intergroup disgust sensitivity (Choma, Haji, Hodson, & Hoffarth, 2016), and social dominance orientation (Hindriks, Verkuyten, & Coenders, 2014; Kanas, Scheepers, & Sterkens, 2016; Morrison & Ybarra, 2008), it was predicted that the negative relationship between imagined contact and prejudice would be stronger among high ethnic and national identifiers in the Syrian-Turkish context. In the Kurdish-Turkish context, it was similarly predicted that high ethnic identifiers were more likely to benefit more from imagined contact. However, given that Turkish national identity was a common in-group identity (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000, 2009, 2012) between Turks and Kurds (Bağcı & Çelebi, 2018; Baysu & Duman, 2016; Bilali, 2014), which, in turn, reduced intergroup prejudice, and that the perception and salience of commonality between the in-group and out-group was effective at improving attitudes only among low identifiers (Crisp & Beck, 2005; Hall, Crisp, & Suen, 2009; Vezzali, Capozza, Mari, & Hichy, 2007), it was predicted that low national identifiers would benefit more from imagined contact with Kurds.

### 2.3 Mediation of imagined contact

In addition to examining when imagined contact works, researchers have also examined how it works. The imagined contact effect is mediated by intergroup anxiety (Birtel & Crisp, 2012a; Husnu & Crisp, 2010a; Schuhl et al., 2019; Stathi et al., 2012; Turner et al., 2013; Turner, Crisp, & Lambert, 2007; Vezzali, Stathi, Crisp, Giovannini et al., 2015; West et al., 2011), out-group trust (Hodson et al., 2015; Meleady & Seger, 2017; Pagotto et al., 2012; Turner et al., 2013), out-group attitudes (Birtel et al., 2019; Stathi et al., 2014; Turner et al., 2013; West et al., 2015), perspective-taking (Crisp & Husnu, 2011; Husnu & Crisp, 2015), perceived

discrimination (Bağcı et al., 2019a), in-group identification (Bağcı et al., 2019a; Igartua et al., 2019), self-disclosure (Vezzali, Capozza et al., 2012), social acceptance (Bağcı et al., 2019b), as well as distinctiveness threat, intergroup similarity, and self-efficacy (Ioannou et al., 2017). This supports the argument that imagined contact works through the same mechanisms as direct contact (Crisp, Husnu, Meleady, Stathi, & Turner, 2010; Crisp & Turner, 2013) because these factors also mediate the direct contact effect (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Hodson, Hewstone, & Swart, 2013; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008, 2011).

Although past research has established intergroup threat as a mediator between direct contact and prejudice (Aberson, 2019), no research has yet tested if it mediates the imagined contact effect. In order to fill this gap in the literature, this study examined the mediating role of intergroup threat in the imagined contact-prejudice relation.

Intergroup threat theory (ITT; Stephan & Stephan, 2000; Stephan, Ybarra, & Morrison, 2009) argued that there are two distinct types of threat that predict prejudice against out-group members, namely realistic and symbolic threat. Realistic threat referred to feelings of threat from the out-group to the political and economic power or physical well-being of the in-group; symbolic threat referred to feelings of threat arising from intergroup differences in beliefs, morals, norms, and values.

ITT specified contact as an antecedent of threat, arguing that threat mediates the contact effect. Although Stephan and colleagues indicated that both realistic and symbolic threat mediated the role of contact in prejudice (Corenblum & Stephan, 2001; Stephan et al., 2002), subsequent research has yielded mixed results. Some studies showed that the contact effect was mediated by realistic but not symbolic threat (Aberson & Gaffney, 2009), while others showed that it was mediated by

symbolic but not realistic threat (Tausch, Tam, Hewstone, Kenworthy, & Cairns, 2007). Furthermore, researchers have increasingly noted that neither realistic nor symbolic threat mediated the contact effect (González, Verkuyten, Weesie, & Poppe, 2008; Hutchison, Chihade, & Puiu, 2018; Ridge & Montoya, 2013; Tausch, Hewstone, Kenworthy, Cairns, & Christ, 2007; Tausch, Hewstone, & Roy, 2009).

In order to resolve this inconsistency, this study simultaneously examined the mediating role of realistic and symbolic threat in the imagined contact-prejudice relation. Based on ITT and consistent with research showing that imagined contact reduced intergroup threat (Bağcı, Piyale, & Ebcim, 2018; Yetkili, Abrams, Travaglino, & Giner-Sorolla, 2018) and that threat was positively related to prejudice (Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006), it was hypothesized that both realistic and symbolic threat would mediate the imagined contact-prejudice relationship in such a way that imagined contact would reduce threat, which, in turn, would reduce prejudice. Consistent with a recent meta-analysis which indicated that the target of prejudice moderated the mediator role of threat in the contact effect, such that the indirect effect of threat was significant for ethnic groups but not for migrant groups (Aberson, 2019), it was predicted that realistic and symbolic threat would mediate the imagined contact effect only for the Kurdish out-group.

#### 2.4 The moderated and unmediated effect of imagined contact on implicit prejudice

Explicit measures of prejudice may not adequately reveal the true out-group attitudes because the expression of prejudice has changed over the years such that blatant or overt expressions have declined, while subtle or covert expressions have remained (Devine, Plant, & Buswell, 2000; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986, 1991, 1998, 2000, 2004; Nosek, Banaji, & Greenwald, 2002). As a solution to this problem, researchers

have developed various implicit measures of prejudice (Gawronski & Hahn, 2019), implicit association test (IAT; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998) being the most frequently used (see Greenwald, Poehlman, Uhlmann, & Banaji, 2009; Hofmann, Gawronski, Gschwendner, Le, & Schmitt, 2005; Kurdi et al., 2019; Oswald, Mitchell, Blanton, Jaccard, & Tetlock, 2013).

#### 2.4.1 The moderated effect of imagined contact on implicit prejudice

Although IAT has made important contributions to our understanding of intergroup relations, limited research has examined the effect of imagined contact on implicit prejudice, sometimes with inconsistent results. For example, examining attitudes towards elderly persons and religious minorities, Turner and Crisp (2010) showed that imagined contact led to positive implicit attitudes towards both groups. Similarly, Vezzali, Capozza et al. (2012) indicated that imagined contact reduced children's implicit prejudice against immigrants. Although recent research has corroborated these findings (Schuhl et al., 2019; Shamloo et al., 2018), Dermody et al. (2013) failed to obtain the imagined contact effect on implicit prejudice against homosexuals, which is in line with a comparative study of several interventions showing that imagined contact did not reduce implicit racial preferences (Lai et al., 2014). Testing the moderating role of initial prejudice in the imagined contact effect, West et al. (2017) found that imagined contact was not effective on reducing implicit bias without the moderator. When the moderator was included in the model, however, participants with higher initial prejudice exhibited less implicit bias against transgender women.

In order to resolve this inconsistency, this study examined the effect of imagined contact on implicit in addition to explicit prejudice, with ethnic and

national identification as moderators. The moderation effect was expected to exist on both explicit and implicit prejudice because the imagined contact effect has been shown on both types of prejudice (Schuhl et al., 2019; Shamloo et al., 2018; Turner & Crisp, 2010; Vezzali, Capozza et al., 2012; West et al., 2017).

#### 2.4.2 The unmediated effect of imagined contact on implicit prejudice

Research suggested that contact – both direct (Aberson, Shoemaker, & Tomolillo, 2004; Henry & Hardin, 2006; Mähönen, Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Finell, 2011; Phelan et al., 2017; Prestwich, Kenworthy, Wilson, & Kwan-Tat, 2008; Pruett & Chan, 2006; Qian, Heyman, Quinn, Fu, & Lee, 2017; Tam, Hewstone, Harwood, Voci, & Kenworthy, 2006; Vezzali & Capozza, 2011) and indirect (Castelli, Carraro, Pavan, Murelli, & Carraro, 2012; Schuhl et al., 2019; Shamloo et al., 2018; Turner & Crisp, 2010; Vezzali, Capozza et al., 2012; Vezzali, Giovannini, & Capozza, 2012; Weisbuch, Pauker, & Ambady, 2009; West et al., 2017) – reduced implicit as well as explicit prejudice, but in different ways. Examining self-disclosure and intergroup anxiety as mediators of the direct and extended contact effects on explicit and implicit prejudice, Turner, Hewstone, and Voci (2007) found that contact had an indirect effect on explicit prejudice but a direct effect on implicit prejudice.

Subsequent studies corroborated this finding, indicating an unmediated relationship between direct contact and implicit prejudice (Aberson & Haag, 2007; Vezzali & Giovannini, 2011; see also Prestwich et al., 2008). This discrepancy is explained with the dual-attitude accounts of attitude change (Fazio & Olson, 2003; Wilson, Lindsey, & Schooler, 2000), arguing that the mediation of the contact effect is a conscious process, and hence, affects the contact-explicit prejudice relation, which is a controlled and deliberative route. However, it does not affect the contact-implicit

prejudice relation, which is an automatic and unconscious route (Turner & Crisp, 2010; Turner, Hewstone, & Voci, 2007).

In line with the direct contact literature, research has revealed similar results for the imagined contact effect. Testing the effect of imagined contact on explicit and implicit attitudes of Italian children towards immigrants, Vezzali, Capozza et al. (2012) – the only published study examining the mediated effect of imagined contact on implicit prejudice – showed that although imagined contact had an indirect effect on explicit prejudice through self-disclosure and behavioral intentions, it had a direct effect on implicit prejudice.

Extending the prior research by investigating this effect among adults, this study examined the mediating role of realistic and symbolic threat in the relationship between imagined contact and implicit in addition to explicit prejudice. The mediation effect was expected to exist on explicit but not implicit prejudice, as shown by previous research (Vezzali, Capozza et al., 2012).

## 2.5 The present study

This study aimed to examine the effect of imagined contact on Turks' prejudice against Kurds and Syrians, with a particular interest in the moderating role of ethnic and national identification and the mediating role of realistic and symbolic threat in the relationship between imagined contact and explicit as well as implicit prejudice.

Based on previous theorizing and research, it was expected that:

- The negative relation between imagined contact and prejudice against Syrians will be stronger among high ethnic and high national identifiers, whereas the negative relation between imagined contact and prejudice against Kurds will be stronger among high ethnic but low national identifiers (see Figure 1).



- Realistic and symbolic threat will mediate the effect of imagined contact on prejudice against Kurds but not Syrians (see Figure 2).
- Moderation effects will be obtained on both explicit and implicit prejudice, while mediation effects will be obtained only on explicit prejudice.

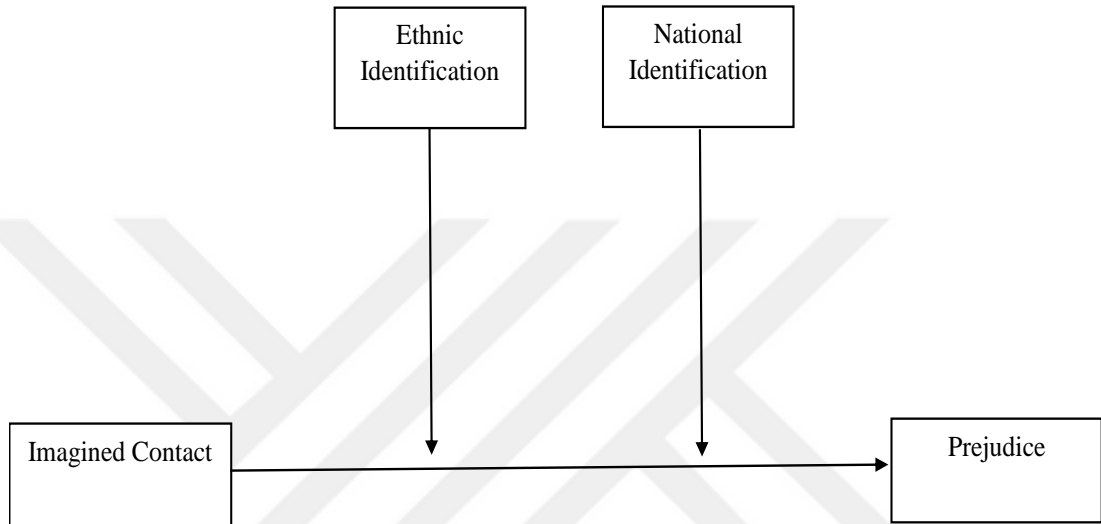


Figure 1 The proposed moderation model

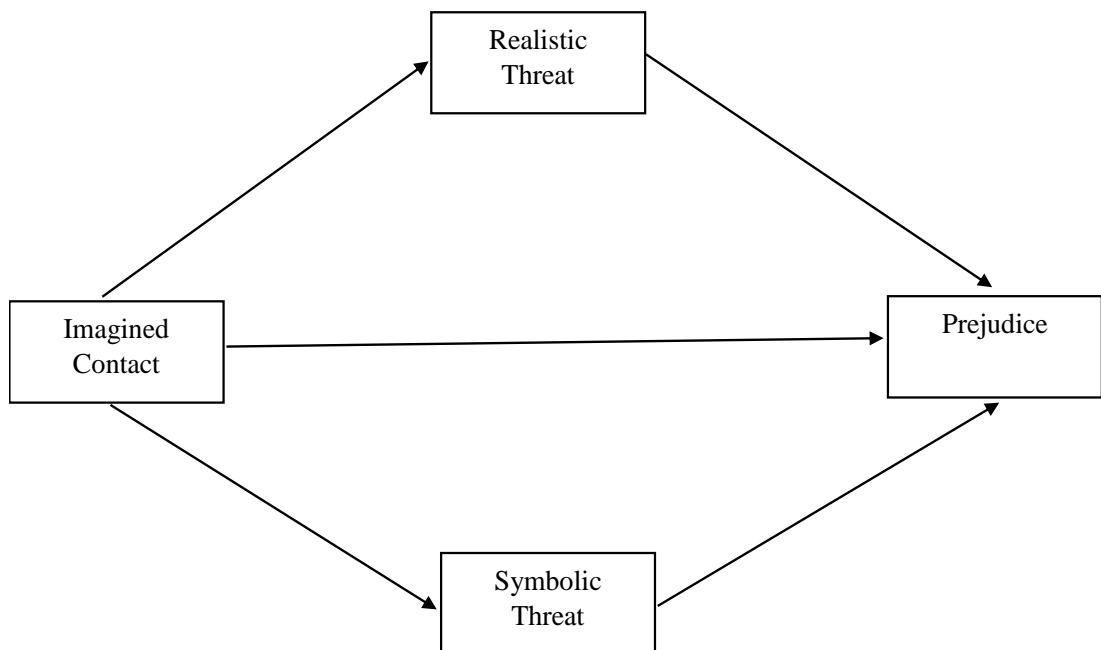


Figure 2 The proposed mediation model

## CHAPTER 3

### METHOD

#### 3.1 Participants

A total of 381 undergraduate students (177 males, 201 females;  $M_{age} = 20.33$ ,  $SD_{age} = 1.59$ ) taking introductory psychology courses at Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, Turkey were recruited as participants. The sample comprised largely of Turks (87.93%) but also included people from other ethnicities (12.07%). Since this study was interested in Turks' prejudice against Kurds and Syrians, 46 non-Turkish participants were excluded. The final sample consisted of 335 Turks (154 males, 180 females) aged between 18-28 years ( $M = 20.30$ ,  $SD = 1.38$ ).

The study had a 2 x 2 between-subjects experimental design. Therefore, participants were randomly assigned to either the Kurdish or Syrian out-groups, and were further allocated to either the imagined contact or control conditions. There were 86 participants (35 males, 51 females;  $M_{age} = 20.42$ ,  $SD_{age} = 1.58$ ) in the Kurdish-imagined contact condition, 82 participants (43 males, 38 females;  $M_{age} = 20.13$ ,  $SD_{age} = 1.09$ ) in the Kurdish-control condition, 86 participants (45 males, 41 females;  $M_{age} = 20.20$ ,  $SD_{age} = 1.24$ ) in the Syrian-imagined contact condition, and 81 participants (31 males, 50 females;  $M_{age} = 20.43$ ,  $SD_{age} = 1.53$ ) in the Syrian-control condition.

A post-hoc sensitivity power analysis for between-groups analysis of variance was performed using G\*Power (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007). With  $\alpha = .05$ ,  $n = 335$ , and  $1 - \beta = .80$ , the results showed that the sample size was sufficient to detect an effect size of  $f = .18$ , which equals to the overall meta-analytic effect

size of imagined contact ( $d = .35$ ; Miles & Crisp, 2014). Thus, the sample size was considered appropriate.

### 3.2 Procedure

The data were collected in April 2018 after obtaining approval from Boğaziçi University's Ethics Sub-Committee of the Institutional Review Board for Research with Human Subjects (see Appendix A). Participants provided their informed consent before they participated in the experiment (see Appendix B). Each participant was tested individually in a cubicle with a computer at the Social Psychology Laboratory of Boğaziçi University. The experiment took approximately 30 minutes. Participants were thanked and debriefed when they were finished. They were further compensated with partial course credit for their participation.

Participants in the imagined contact condition were given the following scenario obtained from Bağcı, Piyale, Birçek, and Ebcim (2018):

Imagine that you are at the campus canteen. It is a weekday. The canteen is full of people. After buying your lunch, you sit at one of the tables in the corner. A young Kurdish/Syrian individual approaches you and asks whether he/she can sit next to you. You have a conversation for 15-20 minutes. After the Kurdish/Syrian individual leaves, you think how pleasant and interesting the conversation was. Your conversation went so well that you think you could be close friends with this person.

Participants in the control condition were given the following scenario obtained from previous studies (Bağcı, Piyale, Birçek, & Ebcim, 2018; Bağcı, Piyale, & Ebcim, 2018):

Imagine that you are walking outdoors. Try to imagine the details of where you are. Who are you with? Which colors are dominant on the background? Which season is it?

Participants in each condition were first given one to two minutes to imagine the scenarios, and then requested to write down a short paragraph describing what they have imagined. Following this task, they were presented with measures assessing their in-group identification, intergroup threat, and prejudice. The imagined contact manipulation was immediately followed by the implicit prejudice measure, and explicit prejudice measures were always given as a set at the end of the experiment before the demographic information form. In-group identification and intergroup threat measures were given in a counterbalanced order, with each aspect of identification and threat as a fixed set.

### 3.3 Measures

Unless otherwise stated, all measures were rated on seven-point Likert scales ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*), and items were averaged so that higher scores indicated stronger endorsement of the relevant construct. The English and Turkish versions of all measures used in this study are presented in Appendix C and Appendix D, respectively.

#### 3.3.1 In-group identification

Ethnic and national identification were each measured by three-item scales adapted from Leach et al. (2008). The Turkish version of items were taken from Balaban (2013). Items focused on centrality, satisfaction, and solidarity components of identification. For ethnic identity, participants first indicated which ethnic group they

felt they belonged to, and then indicated how strongly they identified with this group (i.e., “I feel committed to [in-group],” “I am proud of being [in-group],” and “The fact that I am [in-group] is an important part of my identity”). For national identity, they indicated how strongly they identified with the Turkish national citizenship (i.e., “I feel committed to Turkey,” “I am proud of being a citizen of Turkey,” and “The fact that I am a citizen of Turkey is an important part of my identity”).

### 3.3.2 Intergroup threat

Realistic and symbolic threat were each measured by nine-item scales modified from Stephan, Ybarra, and Bachman (1999). The Turkish version of items were obtained from previous studies (Balaban, 2013; Karaoğlu, 2015; Özkeçeci, 2017). Some items on the realistic threat scale assessed different factors for each out-group. Items measuring realistic threat from Kurds focused on such issues as national unity (e.g., “Kurds harm the national unity of Turkey by conserving their Kurdish identity”) and political power (e.g., “Political strengthening of Kurds harms the integrity of the state”), but items measuring realistic threat from Syrians focused on such issues as access to education (e.g., “Syrians should not be allowed to enter college without taking an exam”) and health (e.g., “Access to health services became more difficult with the arrival of Syrians”). However, some other items assessed the same factors – mainly related to economic issues – for both out-groups, such as “Kurds/Syrians are decreasing social welfare in Turkey” and “The population growth rate of Kurds/Syrians is a threat for Turkey’s order.” Different from realistic threat, items on the symbolic threat scale were the same for both out-groups, which included five items related to cultural differences (e.g., “Kurds/Syrians are different from Turks in terms of their family relations and child-rearing practices”) and four items related to

threat perceptions (e.g., “It would be harmful to Turkey if Kurds/Syrians try to maintain their customs and traditions”).

### 3.3.3 Prejudice

Explicit prejudice was measured by two scales, the Turkish versions of which were taken from previous studies (Balaban, 2013; Karaoğlu, 2015; Özkeçeci, 2017). The first was the single-item feeling thermometer (Haddock, Zanna, & Esses, 1993), on which participants rated how they felt about Kurds/Syrians on an 11-point scale ranging from 0° (*cold or very negative*) to 100° (*warm or very positive*). Ratings were reverse-coded so that higher scores indicated higher negative feeling. The second was Bogardus’ (1925, 1933, 1967) social distance scale, which consisted of six items assessing the desire to enter into a social relationship with out-group members. Participants rated the extent of discomfort they would feel if, for example, they “were married to a Kurd/Syrian,” “had a Kurd/Syrian neighbor,” or “worked in the same place with a Kurd/Syrian” on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*extremely*), with higher scores indicating greater social distance.

Implicit prejudice was measured with word-based IATs using the Inquisit software (Millisecond, 2017). The IAT for the Kurdish out-group used eight typical Turkish names (four female names such as “Öykü” and “Çağla,” four male names such as “Kaan” and “Alparslan”), eight typical Kurdish names (four female names such as “Berfin” and “Rojda,” four male names such as “Baran” and “Rojhat”), eight positive nouns (e.g., “love” and “miracle”), and eight negative nouns (e.g. “death” and “poison”) as stimuli. The names and nouns were obtained from a previous study (Alparslan, 2017). Participants engaged in four categorization tasks, where they sorted a stimulus (a name or a noun) into one of two categories (i.e., “Turk” or

“Kurd” and “Good” or “Bad”) using the “I” and “E” keys on the keyboard. Two of the tasks were practice trials, which required participants to categorize a noun as good or bad and to categorize a name as typical of Turks or Kurds. The other two tasks were the test trials, consisting of two tasks where participants were randomly presented with a series of names and nouns. The first task (noncompatible block) required participants to categorize the presented stimuli as either “Turk or bad” or “Kurd or good,” while the second task (compatible block) required them to categorize names or nouns as either “Turk or good” and “Kurd or bad.” The order of the two blocks and the location of categories on the left and right sides of the computer screen were counterbalanced. The content and procedure of the IAT for the Syrian out-group was the same as the IAT for the Kurdish out-group, except that eight Syrian names (four female names such as “Feyruz” and “Sabin,” four male names such as “Yasser” and “Ammar”) were replaced with the Kurdish names. Using the improved scoring algorithm (Greenwald, Nosek, & Banaji, 2003), the IAT scores (D-measure) were obtained by the standardized mean difference in response times for the noncompatible and compatible trials, where positive scores indicated pro-Turkish bias and, thus, stronger implicit prejudice.

#### 3.3.4 Demographics and covariates

Participants reported their age, gender, political ideology, socio-economic status, and actual contact with Kurds or Syrians. Political ideology was measured by a single-item scale ranging from 1 (*very left*) to 7 (*very right*). Socio-economic status was assessed with a single-item scale ranging from 1 (*extremely low*) to 7 (*extremely high*). Actual contact was evaluated by two items. The first item assessed the number of Kurds or Syrians participants knew on a seven-point scale ranging from 1 (*none*)

to 7 (*more than 15*). The second item assessed the frequency with which participants had contact with Kurds or Syrians they knew on a seven-point scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 7 (*everyday*). The items were averaged so that higher scores indicated greater contact quantity.





## CHAPTER 4

### RESULTS

#### 4.1 Preliminary analyses

Analyses conducted after data screening and outlier detection indicated that the assumptions of normality, linearity, multicollinearity, and homoscedasticity were satisfied for both Kurdish and Syrian out-groups. Alpha reliabilities, means, standard deviations, and zero-order correlations of the study variables for Kurdish and Syrian out-groups are summarized in Table 1 and Table 2, respectively.

Table 1. Alpha Reliabilities, Means, Standard Deviations, and Zero-order Correlations of the Variables for the Kurdish Out-group

Variables	$\alpha$	Mean	SD	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. Ethnic identification	.89	4.28	1.69	-						
2. National identification	.91	4.45	1.75	.76**	-					
3. Realistic threat	.89	3.01	1.32	.34**	.15	-				
4. Symbolic threat	.87	2.70	1.06	.29**	.14	.66**	-			
5. Negative feeling	-	47.80	20.16	.21**	.02	.56**	.53**	-		
6. Social distance	.88	1.87	1.06	.34**	.13	.60**	.56**	.64**	-	
7. Implicit prejudice	-	.65	.34	.18*	.04	.19*	.17*	.09	.19*	-

Note: \* $p < .05$  \*\* $p < .01$

Table 2. Alpha Reliabilities, Means, Standard Deviations, and Zero-order Correlations of the Variables for the Syrian Out-group

Variables	$\alpha$	Mean	SD	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. Ethnic identification	.91	4.25	1.90	.21**	-					
2. National identification	.88	4.37	1.79	.10	.86**	-				
3. Realistic threat	.89	4.30	1.30	.08	.17*	.05	-			
4. Symbolic threat	.91	3.42	1.20	.12	.32**	.21**	.65**	-		
5. Negative feeling	-	56.83	19.27	.06	.13	.04	.74**	.55**	-	
6. Social distance	.87	2.27	1.21	.07	.35**	.23**	.48**	.59**	.46**	-
7. Implicit prejudice	-	.57	.33	.10	.07	.05	.23**	.19*	.21**	.08

Note: \* $p < .05$  \*\* $p < .01$

Separate multiple regression analyses for Kurdish and Syrian out-groups were performed to see if age, gender, political ideology, socio-economic status, and actual contact should be included as control variables. The results showed that gender and actual contact were significant predictors of prejudice against Kurds, while only actual contact was a significant predictor of prejudice against Syrians. Therefore, these variables were added as covariates in the relevant moderation, mediation, and further analyses.

#### 4.2 Analyses of variance

A two-way multivariate analysis of variance on demographic and control variables revealed that there was a difference between groups only in terms of actual contact, such that participants had more actual contact with Kurds compared to Syrians.

Following this preliminary analysis, a two-way multivariate analysis of covariance was run to test the effects of imagined contact and out-group on realistic threat, symbolic threat, negative feeling, social distance, and implicit prejudice after controlling for actual contact. The results demonstrated that there was neither a statistically significant main effect of imagined contact,  $F(5, 318) = 1.14, p > .05$ , Wilks'  $\Lambda = .98, \eta_p^2 = .02$ , nor a statistically significant interaction effect between imagined contact and out-group,  $F(5, 318) = .34, p > .05$ , Wilks'  $\Lambda = .99, \eta_p^2 = .01$ , on the combined dependent variables. However, there was a statistically significant main effect of out-group,  $F(5, 318) = 10.76, p < .001$ , Wilks'  $\Lambda = .86, \eta_p^2 = .15$ . Univariate analyses showed that although out-group had no significant effect on symbolic threat,  $F(1, 322) = 2.82, p > .05, \eta_p^2 = .01$ , negative feeling,  $F(1, 322) = 2.22, p > .05, \eta_p^2 = .01$ , and social distance,  $F(1, 322) = 3.27, p > .05, \eta_p^2 = .01$ , it had significant effects on realistic threat,  $F(1, 322) = 12.46, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .04$ , and implicit prejudice,  $F(1, 322) = 4.68, p < .05, \eta_p^2 = .01$ . Post-hoc tests with Bonferroni correction revealed that participants in the Syrian out-group reported higher realistic threat ( $M_{\text{Syrian}} = 4.30, SD = 1.30; M_{\text{Kurdish}} = 3.01, SD = 1.32$ ), whereas those in the Kurdish out-group reported stronger implicit prejudice ( $M_{\text{Kurdish}} = .65, SD = .34; M_{\text{Syrian}} = .57, SD = .33$ ) compared to each other (see Figure 3).

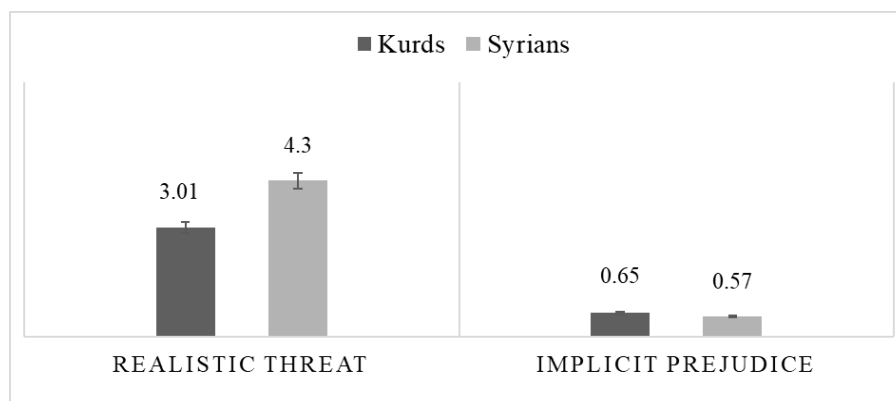


Figure 3 Group differences in realistic threat and implicit prejudice

### 4.3 Moderation analyses

Moderation analyses were separately conducted for each out-group using Model 2 of the PROCESS macro for SPSS (Hayes, 2018) with 5,000 bootstrapped samples and 95% bias-corrected confidence intervals. Models included imagined contact (coded as 0 = control, 1 = contact) as the predictor, ethnic and national identifications as double moderators, and negative feeling, social distance, and implicit prejudice as outcome variables.

#### 4.3.1 Kurdish out-group

For negative feeling, a significant overall model was found,  $F(8, 159) = 7.06, p < .001$ , explaining 26% of the variance. The main effect of imagined contact was not significant,  $B = -3.09, SE = 2.77, t = -1.12, p > .05, 95\% CI [-8.56, 2.38]$ . Ethnic identification was positively,  $B = 4.48, SE = 1.32, t = 3.39, p < .01, 95\% CI [1.87, 7.09]$ , but national identification was negatively,  $B = -3.65, SE = 1.26, t = -2.89, p < .01, 95\% CI [-6.15, -1.15]$ , associated with negative feeling. The interaction effects of neither imagined contact and ethnic identification,  $B = 2.38, SE = 2.53, t = .94, p > .05, 95\% CI [-2.62, 7.38]$ , nor imagined contact and national identification,  $B = -4.06, SE = 2.42, t = -1.68, p > .05, 95\% CI [-8.85, .73]$ , was significant.

A significant overall model was found for social distance,  $F(8, 159) = 6.60, p < .001$ , explaining 25% of the variance. The main effect of imagined contact was not significant,  $B = .02, SE = .15, t = .13, p > .05, 95\% CI [-.27, .31]$ . Ethnic identification was positively related to social distance,  $B = .26, SE = .07, t = 3.68, p < .001, 95\% CI [.12, .40]$ , but national identification was not significantly related to it,  $B = -.11, SE = .07, t = -1.61, p > .05, 95\% CI [-.24, .02]$ . The interaction effects of

neither imagined contact and ethnic identification,  $B = .12$ ,  $SE = .13$ ,  $t = .89$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.15, .38], nor imagined contact and national identification,  $B = -.05$ ,  $SE = .13$ ,  $t = -.35$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.30, .21], was significant.

The overall model predicting implicit prejudice was not significant,  $F(8, 158) = 1.57$ ,  $p > .05$  ( $R^2 = .07$ ). The main effect of imagined contact was not significant,  $B = .04$ ,  $SE = .05$ ,  $t = .73$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.07, .14]. While ethnic identification positively predicted implicit prejudice,  $B = .06$ ,  $SE = .03$ ,  $t = 2.46$ ,  $p < .05$ , 95% CI [.01, .11], national identification had no significant effect,  $B = -.04$ ,  $SE = .02$ ,  $t = -1.68$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.09, .01]. The interaction effects of neither imagined contact and ethnic identification,  $B = -.04$ ,  $SE = .05$ ,  $t = -.82$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.14, .06], nor imagined contact and national identification,  $B = .00$ ,  $SE = .05$ ,  $t = .02$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.09, .09], was significant.

#### 4.3.2 Syrian out-group

The overall model predicting negative feeling was not significant,  $F(8, 158) = 1.52$ ,  $p > .05$  ( $R^2 = .07$ ). The main effect of imagined contact was not significant,  $B = .29$ ,  $SE = 3.06$ ,  $t = .09$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-5.75, 6.32]. Ethnic identification was positively associated with negative feeling,  $B = 3.21$ ,  $SE = 1.62$ ,  $t = 1.98$ ,  $p < .05$ , 95% CI [.01, 6.40], while national identification was not significantly associated with it,  $B = -1.87$ ,  $SE = 1.77$ ,  $t = -1.05$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-5.37, 1.63]. The interaction effects of neither imagined contact and ethnic identification,  $B = -1.04$ ,  $SE = 3.25$ ,  $t = -.32$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-7.46, 5.38], nor imagined contact and national identification,  $B = -.92$ ,  $SE = 3.44$ ,  $t = -.27$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-7.71, 5.87], was significant.

A significant overall model was found for social distance,  $F(8, 158) = 4.29$ ,  $p < .001$ , explaining 18% of the variance. The main effect of imagined contact was not

significant,  $B = -.07$ ,  $SE = .18$ ,  $t = -.40$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.43, .28]. Ethnic identification was positively related to social distance,  $B = .35$ ,  $SE = .10$ ,  $t = 3.68$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI [.16, .54], but national identification was not significantly related to it,  $B = -.14$ ,  $SE = .11$ ,  $t = -1.31$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.34, .07]. The interaction effects of neither imagined contact and ethnic identification,  $B = .21$ ,  $SE = .19$ ,  $t = 1.11$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.17, .59], nor imagined contact and national identification,  $B = -.09$ ,  $SE = .20$ ,  $t = -.42$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.49, .32], was significant.

The overall model predicting implicit prejudice was not significant,  $F(8, 153) = .65$ ,  $p > .05$  ( $R^2 = .03$ ). The main effect of imagined contact was not significant,  $B = .06$ ,  $SE = .05$ ,  $t = 1.08$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.05, .16]. Neither ethnic identification,  $B = .01$ ,  $SE = .03$ ,  $t = .39$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.05, .07], nor national identification,  $B = .01$ ,  $SE = .03$ ,  $t = .14$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.06, .07], significantly predicted implicit prejudice. The interaction effects of neither imagined contact and ethnic identification,  $B = -.08$ ,  $SE = .06$ ,  $t = -1.31$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.19, .04], nor imagined contact and national identification,  $B = .08$ ,  $SE = .06$ ,  $t = 1.24$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.05, .20], was significant.

#### 4.4 Mediation analyses

Mediation analyses were separately conducted for each out-group using Model 4 of the PROCESS macro for SPSS (Hayes, 2018) with 5,000 bootstrapped samples and 95% bias-corrected confidence intervals. Models included imagined contact (coded as 0 = control, 1 = contact) as the predictor, realistic and symbolic threats as parallel mediators, and negative feeling, social distance, and implicit prejudice as outcome variables.

#### 4.4.1 Kurdish out-group

The first model tested the mediating roles of realistic and symbolic threats in the relationship between imagined contact and negative feeling. Imagined contact reduced neither realistic threat,  $B = .06$ ,  $SE = .20$ ,  $t = .29$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.33, .44], nor symbolic threat,  $B = .08$ ,  $SE = .16$ ,  $t = .49$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.24, .39], but both realistic threat,  $B = 5.33$ ,  $SE = 1.24$ ,  $t = 4.31$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI [2.88, 7.77], and symbolic threat,  $B = 4.54$ ,  $SE = 1.53$ ,  $t = 2.98$ ,  $p < .01$ , 95% CI [1.53, 7.56], positively predicted negative feeling. The direct effect of imagined contact on negative feeling was not significant,  $B = -3.17$ ,  $SE = 2.37$ ,  $t = -1.34$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-7.84, 1.51]. The indirect effect of imagined contact on negative feeling through realistic threat,  $B = .30$ ,  $SE = 1.08$ , 95% CI [-1.79, 2.55], or symbolic threat,  $B = .35$ ,  $SE = .78$ , 95% CI [-1.21, 2.01], was not significant, either.

The second model predicting social distance yielded the same findings. Imagined contact was not significantly related to either realistic threat,  $B = .06$ ,  $SE = .20$ ,  $t = .29$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.33, .44], or symbolic threat,  $B = .08$ ,  $SE = .16$ ,  $t = .49$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.24, .39], while both realistic threat,  $B = .30$ ,  $SE = .06$ ,  $t = 4.76$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI [.18, .43], and symbolic threat,  $B = .25$ ,  $SE = .08$ ,  $t = 3.11$ ,  $p < .01$ , 95% CI [.09, .40], were associated with greater social distance. The direct effect of imagined contact on social distance was not significant,  $B = .05$ ,  $SE = .12$ ,  $t = .38$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.20, .29]. Furthermore, neither realistic threat,  $B = .02$ ,  $SE = .06$ , 95% CI [-.10, .14], nor symbolic threat,  $B = .02$ ,  $SE = .04$ , 95% CI [-.10, .10], mediated the relationship between imagined contact and social distance.

The third model examining implicit prejudice indicated that none of the paths was significant. Imagined contact predicted neither realistic threat,  $B = .06$ ,  $SE = .20$ ,  $t = .28$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.33, .44], nor symbolic threat,  $B = .09$ ,  $SE = .16$ ,  $t = .55$ ,  $p$

> .05, 95% CI [-.23, .40], which in turn did not predict implicit prejudice,  $B = .04$ ,  $SE = .03$ ,  $t = 1.27$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.02, .09],  $B = .02$ ,  $SE = .03$ ,  $t = .43$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.05, .08], respectively. Finally, imagined contact was not related to implicit prejudice either directly,  $B = .05$ ,  $SE = .05$ ,  $t = .87$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.06, .15], or indirectly through realistic threat,  $B = .00$ ,  $SE = .01$ , 95% CI [-.02, .02], and symbolic threat,  $B = .00$ ,  $SE = .01$ , 95% CI [-.01, .02].

#### 4.4.2 Syrian out-group

The first model predicting negative feeling through the indirect of imagined contact showed that imagined contact was related to neither realistic threat,  $B = .22$ ,  $SE = .20$ ,  $t = 1.07$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.18, .61], nor symbolic threat,  $B = .29$ ,  $SE = .19$ ,  $t = 1.55$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.08, .66]. Although realistic threat was positively associated with negative feeling,  $B = 9.67$ ,  $SE = 1.06$ ,  $t = 9.12$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI [7.57, 11.76], symbolic threat was not,  $B = 2.03$ ,  $SE = 1.14$ ,  $t = 1.77$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.23, 4.28]. Imagined contact did not have a direct effect on negative feeling,  $B = -.73$ ,  $SE = 2.05$ ,  $t = -.36$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-4.78, 3.32], nor did it have an indirect effect through realistic threat,  $B = 2.08$ ,  $SE = 1.93$ , 95% CI [-1.85, 5.81], or symbolic threat,  $B = .58$ ,  $SE = .54$ , 95% CI [-.26, 1.84].

The second model investigating social distance produced similar results. Imagined contact did not reduce either realistic threat,  $B = .22$ ,  $SE = .20$ ,  $t = 1.07$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.18, .61], or symbolic threat,  $B = .29$ ,  $SE = .19$ ,  $t = 1.55$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.08, .66], but both realistic threat,  $B = .15$ ,  $SE = .08$ ,  $t = 1.97$ ,  $p = .05$ , 95% CI [-.00, .31], and symbolic threat,  $B = .48$ ,  $SE = .09$ ,  $t = 5.65$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI [.31, .65], increased social distance. The direct effect of imagined contact on social distance was not significant,  $B = -.05$ ,  $SE = .16$ ,  $t = -.30$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.35, .26].



Moreover, neither realistic threat,  $B = .03$ ,  $SE = .04$ , 95% CI [-.03, .12], nor symbolic threat,  $B = .14$ ,  $SE = .09$ , 95% CI [-.03, .34], mediated the effect of imagined contact on social distance.

The third model examined the mediation effects of realistic and symbolic threats on the imagined contact-implicit prejudice relation. Imagined contact was not associated with either realistic threat,  $B = .22$ ,  $SE = .20$ ,  $t = 1.08$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.18, .62], or symbolic threat,  $B = .29$ ,  $SE = .19$ ,  $t = 1.52$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.09, .66]. Realistic threat was marginally significantly and positively related to implicit prejudice,  $B = .05$ ,  $SE = .03$ ,  $t = 1.92$ ,  $p = .06$ , 95% CI [-.00, .10], while symbolic threat was not,  $B = .02$ ,  $SE = .03$ ,  $t = .55$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.04, .07]. Finally, imagined contact did not predict implicit prejudice either directly,  $B = .05$ ,  $SE = .05$ ,  $t = .97$ ,  $p > .05$ , 95% CI [-.05, .15], or indirectly through realistic threat,  $B = .01$ ,  $SE = .01$ , 95% CI [-.01, .04], and symbolic threat,  $B = .00$ ,  $SE = .01$ , 95% CI [-.01, .03].

#### 4.5 Further regression analyses

Given that identification and threat were significantly related to prejudice in the moderation and mediation models, which tested their effects in isolation, exploratory further analyses using hierarchical multiple regression models were separately conducted for each out-group to simultaneously examine the independent roles of identification and threat in prejudice. Covariates were entered in the first step of each analysis, while ethnic identification, national identification, realistic threat, and symbolic threat (all mean-centered scores) were entered as predictors in the second step of each analysis.

#### 4.5.1 Kurdish out-group

A significant overall model was found for negative feeling,  $F(6, 161) = 23.35, p < .001$ , explaining 46% of the variance. As presented in Table 3, the model in Step 1 accounted for 20% of the variance. Controlling for the effects of gender and actual contact, the addition of identification and threat in Step 2 was a significant improvement in the model, explaining 26% of the variance. Although ethnic identification had no significant effect, national identification negatively predicted negative feeling. Moreover, both realistic threat and symbolic threat were positively related to negative feeling.

A significant overall model was found for social distance, too,  $F(6, 161) = 25.97, p < .001$ , explaining 49% of the variance. As shown in Table 3, the model in Step 1 explained 20% of the variance. Beyond the effects of gender and actual contact, identification and threat in Step 2 explained an additional 29% of the variance. Ethnic identification was positively associated with social distance, but national identification had no significant effect. Moreover, both realistic threat and symbolic threat positively predicted social distance.

The overall model predicting implicit prejudice was marginally significant,  $F(6, 160) = 2.08, p < .07$ , explaining 8% of the variance. As indicated in Table 3, neither Step 1 ( $R^2_{\text{change}} = .03$ ) nor Step 2 ( $R^2_{\text{change}} = .05$ ) produced significant models even though ethnic identification was positively related to implicit prejudice.

Table 3. Hierarchical Multiple Regression Models Predicting Prejudice Against Kurds

Variables	Negative Feeling			Social Distance			Implicit Prejudice		
	B	SE	t	B	SE	t	B	SE	t
STEP 1									
Gender	-6.39	2.79	-2.29*	-.48	.15	-3.28**	-.03	.05	-.53
Actual contact	-5.70	.89	-6.41***	-.29	.05	-6.10***	-.03	.02	-2.03*
$\Delta R^2$		.20			.20			.03	
$\Delta F$		21.12***			20.94***			2.07	
STEP 2									
Ethnic identification	2.08	1.16	1.79	.13	.06	2.25*	.05	.03	1.96*
National identification	-2.84	1.08	-2.62*	-.08	.06	-1.49	-.03	.02	-1.41
Realistic threat	4.93	1.21	4.09***	.27	.06	4.45***	.02	.03	.81
Symbolic threat	4.18	1.50	2.78**	.21	.08	2.70**	.01	.03	.31
$\Delta R^2$		.26			.29			.05	
$\Delta F$		19.68***			22.92***			2.06	

Note: \* $p < .05$  \*\* $p < .01$  \*\*\* $p < .001$

#### 4.5.2 Syrian out-group

The overall model testing negative feeling was significant,  $F(5, 161) = 40.58, p < .001$ , explaining 56% of the variance. As given in Table 4, the model in Step 1 explained 3% of the variance. Controlling for actual contact, identification and threat in Step 2 additionally accounted for 53% of the variance. Neither ethnic identification nor national identification had a significant effect, whereas realistic threat had significant and symbolic threat had marginally significant positive relations to negative feeling.

The overall model predicting social distance was also significant,  $F(5, 161) = 22.19, p < .001$ , explaining 41% of the variance. As reported in Table 4, the model in Step 1 explained 3% of the variance. Accounting for the effect of actual contact, the addition of identification and threat in Step 2 explained a further 38% of the

variance. Ethnic identification marginally significantly and positively predicted social distance, but national identification had no significant effect. In addition, both realistic threat and symbolic threat were positively related to social distance, with the effect of realistic threat being marginally significant.

For implicit prejudice, the overall model was not significant,  $F(5, 156) = 2.00, p > .05 (R^2 = .06)$ . As described in Table 4, the model in Step 1 was not significant ( $R^2_{\text{change}} = .00$ ), but the addition of identification and threat in Step 2 was a significant improvement in the model, explaining 6% of the variance. Realistic threat had a marginally significant positive association with implicit prejudice, while none of the other predictors had significant effects.

Table 4. Hierarchical Multiple Regression Models Predicting Prejudice Against Syrians

Variables	Negative Feeling			Social Distance			Implicit Prejudice		
	B	SE	t	B	SE	t	B	SE	t
STEP 1									
Actual contact	-2.68	1.21	-2.21*	-.16	.08	-2.12*	.01	.02	.58
$\Delta R^2$		.03			.03			.00	
$\Delta F$		4.87***			4.50*			.34	
STEP 2									
Ethnic identification	-.82	1.12	-.73	.15	.08	1.87 <sup>§</sup>	-.00	.03	-.03
National identification	.62	1.16	.54	-.04	.08	-.46	.00	.03	.11
Realistic threat	9.60	1.04	9.22***	.14	.08	1.85 <sup>§</sup>	.05	.03	1.95 <sup>§</sup>
Symbolic threat	2.26	1.16	1.91 <sup>§</sup>	.43	.08	5.07***	.01	.03	.50
$\Delta R^2$		.53			.38			.06	
$\Delta F$		48.11***			25.93***			2.41*	

Note: <sup>§</sup> $p < .07$  \* $p < .05$  \*\* $p < .01$  \*\*\* $p < .001$

## CHAPTER 5

### DISCUSSION

This study aimed to examine the effect of imagined contact on Turks' prejudice against Kurds and Syrians. It was particularly interested in the moderating role of ethnic and national identification and the mediating role of realistic and symbolic threat in the relationship between imagined contact and implicit in addition to explicit prejudice. The results across both out-groups showed that neither ethnic nor national identification had a moderation effect. Similarly, neither realistic nor symbolic threat had a mediation effect. Although they did not moderate or mediate the imagined contact effect, both identification and threat predicted prejudice. For the Kurdish out-group, stronger ethnic identification was associated with higher prejudice, while stronger national identification was associated with lower prejudice. Furthermore, both realistic and symbolic threat were positively related to prejudice. For the Syrian out-group, even though national identification had no significant effect, ethnic identification, realistic threat, and symbolic threat were positively correlated with prejudice. The results also indicated that participants perceived higher realistic threat from Syrians than Kurds and displayed higher implicit prejudice against Kurds than Syrians.

The moderation hypotheses predicted that in the Syrian-Turkish context the negative relation between imagined contact and prejudice would be stronger among high ethnic and national identifiers. In the Kurdish-Turkish context, on the other hand, it was predicted that high ethnic but low national identifiers would benefit more from imagined contact. The mediation hypotheses anticipated that both realistic and symbolic threat would mediate the imagined contact effect only for the Kurdish

out-group, and that these mediated effects would be obtained only on explicit prejudice. However, neither the moderation nor mediation hypotheses were supported by the data, which basically arose from the fact that imagined contact did not lead to reduced prejudice and threat.

### 5.1 The failure of imagined contact

There can be several reasons why imagined contact was not successful in improving intergroup relations in this study. First, imagined contact is argued to be particularly effective in highly segregated societies or where opportunities for direct contact with the out-group are rare (Crisp & Turner, 2009, 2012, 2013). Given that Kurds make up almost one-fifth of Turkey's population (Konda, 2006, 2011), which increases opportunities for Turks to have direct contact with Kurds, it can be suggested that imagined contact did not work in the Kurdish out-group condition because participants had already sufficient actual contact with Kurds. In fact, the data supported this argument, showing that participants reported relatively high quantity of contact with Kurds.

Previous research demonstrated that imagined contact was more effective for people lacking prior contact with the out-group (Hoffarth & Hodson, 2016).

Considering that participants in the present study indicated substantially low actual contact with Syrians, they should have normally benefited from imagined contact, but they did not. Therefore, the above-given explanation for the failure of imagined contact might not seem relevant to the Syrian context even though it might sound plausible for the Kurdish context. However, the content of the imagined contact scenario can help explain why the manipulation was not strong enough to produce the expected outcomes in the Syrian context, which constitutes the second

explanation for the failure of imagined contact. This study used an imagined contact scenario with friendship potential that has been found to be more effective than a standard imagined contact scenario (Bağcı, Piyale, Birçek, & Ebcim, 2018). Even though it is less likely to be a problem in the Kurdish out-group condition, it is possible that participants in the Syrian out-group condition did not find the imagined interaction realistic enough. This can be due to many reasons. First, it could have been difficult for participants to imagine a Syrian at the university campus because Syrians in Turkey have very limited access to higher education (Hohberger, 2018; Kamyab, 2017; Yavcan & El-Ghali, 2017). Second, participants may have found it meaningless to think about having an intimate conversation and then becoming a close friend with a Syrian because of the language barrier as most of Syrians do not speak Turkish (Akçapar & Şimşek, 2018; Kaya & Kıracı, 2016; Mirici, 2018). Third, participants high in certain personality traits (e.g., openness to experience) might have considered the scenario as not adequately realistic, which, in turn, arguably dispelled the effectiveness of the contact manipulation (see Bağcı, Piyale, Birçek, & Ebcim, 2018, for a similar discussion).

The founding theorists of the imagined contact hypothesis argued that “the real potential in imagined contact is not as an intervention for attitude change, but as a means of promoting an interest and intention to engage in future actual contact” (Crisp et al., 2009, pp. 9-10). Subsequent empirical research reviewed in Miles and Crisp’s (2014) meta-analysis of over 70 studies corroborated this argument, demonstrating that imagined contact was stronger in improving intentions compared to attitudes. Given that the present investigation focused solely upon the impact of imagined contact on prejudicial attitudes, it can be speculated that this study went beyond “the real potential in imagined contact,” which, in turn, led to null effects.

Even though the same meta-analytic study showed that imagined contact also ameliorated negative out-group attitudes in addition to contact intentions, this third explanation could still contribute to accounting for the failure of imagined contact.

As a fourth explanation, it can be suggested that the failure of imagined contact resulted from the untested moderators, as put forward by Crisp and colleagues in response to unsuccessful replication attempts (Crisp & Birtel, 2014; Crisp et al., 2014). In addition to using a contact scenario with friendship potential, which is in a sense an elaborative element that increased the effectiveness of the manipulation (Bağcı, Piyale, Birçek, & Ebcim, 2018), this study also examined ethnic and national identification as moderators of imagined contact, which have been found to affect the direction and strength of the imagined contact effect (Bağcı, Piyale, Birçek, & Ebcim, 2018; Stathi & Crisp, 2008). Other than these moderators, there are also many unstudied moderating factors such as making the intergroup boundaries salient, increasing the typicality of the out-group members, and inducing both similarities and differences of the groups, which could have been influential on results, as shown by previous studies (Ioannou et al., 2017; Pagotto et al., 2012; Stathi et al., 2011).

Fifth, it is also likely that imagined contact did not work owing to the characteristics of the sample. This study was conducted among a sample that is young, well-educated, and residing in an industrialized metropolitan area, which have been found to be associated with lower prejudice (Herek, 1984; Lingardi et al., 2016; Simoni, 1996). Consistent with these findings, the current study indicated that participants had comparatively low levels of prejudice against both Kurds and Syrians. Thus, it can be speculated that participants initially held such a weak out-group prejudice that any further prejudice reduction was not possible. Based on



research demonstrating that individuals with initially stronger prejudice benefited more from imagined contact (West et al., 2017), it can also be suggested that the imagined contact intervention could be more effective for those people who need it the most (see Hoffarth & Hodson, 2016, for a similar discussion).

Finally, the findings of the present study are in line with prior studies demonstrating imagined contact to be not influential on prejudice reduction (Dermody et al., 2013; Hoffarth & Hodson, 2016; Klein et al., 2014; Lai et al., 2014; McDonald et al., 2014). However, these findings do not negate the value of the imagined contact hypothesis – even though there can be several reasons to suspect the effectiveness of imagined contact (see Bigler & Hughes, 2010) – because, as reviewed in the introduction, an extensive body of research has already indicated the efficacy of imagined contact in ameliorating intergroup relations. Rather, the findings call for theory refinement to the imagined contact hypothesis and warrant the need for more research – preferably replication and reproduction studies – examining the ideal experimental procedures for the imagined contact paradigm, which has already been acknowledged by the founders of the imagined contact hypothesis (see Crisp et al., 2014).

## 5.2 The role of identification and threat

Although imagined contact had no effect, identification and threat were influential on prejudice, even after accounting for the effect of actual contact. In terms of identification, the results revealed that stronger ethnic identification was associated with greater prejudice against both Kurds and Syrians, suggesting that it was a relatively consistent predictor of prejudice. This finding is in line with the large body of studies among Turks exhibiting that higher ethnic identification related to more

negative out-group attitudes (Bağcı & Çelebi, 2017a, 2018; Bağcı, Piyale, & Ebcim, 2018; Baysu & Duman, 2016; Çakal et al., 2016; Çelebi et al., 2014, 2016; Yılmaz et al., 2018) and supports social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, 1986) arguing that people form an in-group identity in order to increase and maintain positive self-esteem, which, in turn, leads to in-group favoritism and out-group derogation. Based on social identity theory and consistent with Hogg and Abrams' (1990) corollary that intergroup bias enhances self-esteem, it can be suggested that ethnic identity represents a group membership through which Turks, as the majority, form a positive view of themselves and maintain the positive standing of their group by derogating the minority groups.

National identification did not predict prejudice as consistently as ethnic identification because it had no impact on prejudice against Syrians. Although this finding is consistent with research indicating no relationship between national identification and anti-refugee attitudes (Anderson, 2018; Koç & Anderson, 2018), it is inconsistent with studies in Turkey (Bağcı & Birinci, 2017; Yitmen & Verkuyten, 2018a) and elsewhere (Nickerson & Louis, 2008; Pedersen, Attwell, & Heveli, 2005) indicating national identification to be related to prejudice against refugees. However, none of these studies examined the role of ethnic identification. Given that the significant zero-order correlation between national identification and social distance was lost in the main regression analysis, it can be speculated that the present finding was due to the power of ethnic identification over national identification.

While it did not predict prejudice against Syrians, national identification was negatively related to prejudice against Kurds. This finding corroborates the extant research indicating the Turkish national identity to be a superordinate identity between Turks and Kurds (Bağcı & Çelebi, 2018; Baysu & Duman, 2016; Bilali,

2014) and reinforces the common in-group identity model (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000, 2009, 2012), which proposes that identification with a group including a shared identity of the in-group and out-group leads to improved attitudes through re-categorization of in-group and out-group boundaries into a larger superordinate identity. Based on the common in-group identity model and the present findings, it can be argued that Turks consider Kurds – but not Syrians – as part of an inclusive, overarching national group in spite of – or along with – their distinctive ethnic identities.

It should also be noted that there are different conceptions of national identity that have divergent effects on intergroup relations (Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014). For example, an ethnic conception of national identity, which relies upon ancestry, blood, and culture, predicts greater prejudice, while a civic conception of national identity, which refers to the sense of citizenship, respect for law, and commitment to institutions, predicts lower prejudice (Meeus, Duriez, Vanbeselaere, & Boen, 2010; Pehrson, Brown, & Zagefka, 2009; Pehrson, & Green, 2010; Pehrson, Vignoles, & Brown, 2009; Wright, 2011). Therefore, it can be argued that in the present study participants with higher national identification reported lower prejudice against Kurds because national identity was measured as Turkish citizenship, which was inclusive of all Turkish citizens regardless of their ethnicity.

In terms of threat, the results across both out-groups demonstrated that both realistic and symbolic threats were positively associated with prejudice, with comparatively high effect sizes, suggesting that threat was a consistent and strong predictor of prejudice. This finding is in accordance with studies displaying that Turks perceived intergroup threat from both Kurds (Bağcı & Çelebi, 2017c; Bağcı et al., 2017; Balaban, 2013; Çakal et al., 2016) and Syrians (Karaoğlu, 2015; Özkeçeci,

2017; Taşdemir, 2018; Yitmen & Verkuyten, 2018b), which is in line with the broader research showing that realistic and symbolic threat positively predicted negative attitudes towards minorities (Cowling, Anderson, & Ferguson, 2019; Riek et al., 2006). In this sense, the findings support ITT that argues the feelings of threat from out-group members increase in-group members' prejudice against them (Stephan & Stephan, 2000; Stephan et al., 2009). Relying upon ITT and consistent with the present findings, it can be speculated that Turks feel worried about losing their political and economic power, cultural distinctiveness and values, as well as social status against Kurds and Syrians, which, in turn, leads them to feel threatened by these minority groups that subsequently contribute to anti-Kurdish and anti-Syrian attitudes.

### 5.3 Differences in perceptions of Kurds and Syrians

Beyond the main objectives of the present study, group differences were examined to maximize the utilization of the data. The results demonstrated that there were differences in perceptions of Kurds and Syrians in terms of realistic threat and implicit prejudice, such that participants felt more realistic threat from Syrians than Kurds and held stronger implicit prejudice against Kurds than Syrians. There can be several reasons for these differences. As an example, the Kurdish-Turkish and Syrian-Turkish intergroup settings are different from each other. At both socio-political and interpersonal level, the Kurdish-Turkish relationship is a historical and long-term relationship, whereas the Syrian-Turkish relationship is a relatively recent and arguably short-term relationship, which basically results from the fact that Kurds are an ethnocultural group that is sedentary in Turkey, while Syrians are a refugee group that is migrant in Turkey (see Berry 1990, 2006). In tandem with a common

sense assumption that Kurds have a higher socio-economic status in the Turkish society than Syrians, these contextual differences might explain why the level of implicit prejudice was higher against Kurds. It can be argued that Turks avoid from explicitly displaying their true attitudes towards Kurds because, for example, they might face legal sanctions due to their prejudiced and discriminative behaviors towards Kurds on account of the fact that Kurds are equal to Turks under the Turkish law thanks to their Turkish citizenship. However, they still maintain their implicit negative attitudes as a way to derogate Kurds.

The group difference in realistic threat can be attributed to environmental factors. For example, it is possible that participants perceived higher realistic threat from Syrians than Kurds because of exposure to mass and social media representing Syrians as a threat to the military security, social integrity, and economic welfare of Turkey (Doğanay & Çoban-Keneş, 2016; Göktuna-Yaylacı & Karakuş, 2015; Özdemir & Öner-Özkan, 2016). On the other hand, even though there is an ongoing war between and the Kurdistan Workers' Party and the Turkish Armed Forces, political figures in Turkey do not attribute any responsibility to Turkish citizens of Kurdish origin in their media coverages, as best evidenced by the President Erdoğan's such remarks as "we have no problem with our Kurdish citizens" (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, 2018), which can also help explain why perceived realistic threat from Kurds was lower compared to Syrians. Alternatively, it can be argued that the group difference in realistic threat stemmed from the use of different in addition to the same items to measure realistic threat from Kurds and Syrians. However, two additional exploratory further analyses using independent samples t tests, one with a realistic threat scale created only with the same items for both groups and the other with a realistic threat scale created only with the different

items for each group, produced the same results as the present findings, which eliminates this alternative explanation.

#### 5.4 Limitations and future directions

This study had many strengths such as examining the roles of both individual and situational factors in prejudice, investigating different moderators and mediators of imagined contact in a simultaneous way, and testing the same hypotheses across two different contexts, all of which enabled to avoid the single factor fallacy in contact research (Pettigrew & Hewstone, 2017). However, it also had several limitations. First, participants were an undergraduate student sample that is presumably not representative of the Turkish population, which limited the generalizability of the obtained relationships. Since these findings may not reflect the attitudes of Turkish people as a whole, future studies might benefit from using a larger and representative community sample. Second, the perceived reality of the imagined contact scenario was not measured. This limitation prevented statistically checking whether the manipulation worked. Future research is suggested to overcome this critical missing element, which can help explain why the intervention was not successful if there was no effect and can also permit a statistical control over the results if the manipulation turned out to be effective. Third, there can be some factors that were not included in this study but might have been influential on results due to their association with the studied variables. Right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation are among such factors because they have been found to be closely related to both in-group identification (Hodson et al., 2009; Radkiewicz, 2016; Roccas et al., 2010) and intergroup threat (De Keersmaecker et al., 2017; Duckitt, 2006; Uenal, 2016). It can be argued that the obtained effects of identification and threat on prejudice were due,

at least partly, to their associations with these factors, which warrants examination in future research. Finally, the typicality of names used in the IAT task was not measured. It is likely that some of the names, especially the Syrian ones, were not perceived as typical of the out-group members. Given that this limitation might have affected participants' responses, future studies are suggested to assess in a pilot study the degree to which each name is perceived as typical.

## 5.5 Conclusion

The present research aimed to simultaneously test the moderating role of ethnic and national identification in the imagined contact-prejudice relationship across two contexts with high and low levels of intergroup conflict, so that it would contribute to resolving the inconsistent findings in the literature. In order to better understand the underlying mechanisms of the imagined contact effect, it also aimed at examining the mediating role of realistic and symbolic threat in the same relationship for the first time in the imagined contact literature. Even though it failed to realize its potential in making the proposed theoretical and empirical contributions, it has contributed to the ongoing debate on the efficacy of imagined contact in reducing prejudice. In conclusion, this study suggests a theoretical refinement to the imagined contact hypothesis and refers to the need for further research to advance our understanding of when and how imagined contact works.

APPENDIX A

ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL LETTER

T.C.  
BOĞAZIÇI ÜNİVERSİTESİ  
İnsan Araştırmaları Kurumsal Değerlendirme Alt Kurulu

Sayı: 2018-04

21 Şubat 2018

Mustafa Fırat  
Psikoloji

Sayın Araştırmacı,

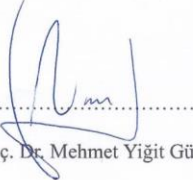
"Türkiye'deki Azınlık ve Göçmenlere Yönelik Tutumlar" başlıklı projeniz ile ilgili olarak yaptığımız SBB-EAK 2018/4 sayılı başvuru İNAREK/SBB Etik Alt Kurulu tarafından 21 Şubat 2018 tarihli toplantıda incelenmiş ve uygun bulunmuştur.



Doç. Dr. Ebru Kaya



Doç. Dr. Gül Sosay



Doç. Dr. Mehmet Yiğit Gürdal



Yrd. Doç. Dr. İnci Ayhan



Dr. Nur Yeniçeri



## APPENDIX B

### PARTICIPANT INFORMED CONSENT FORM

**Araştırmayı destekleyen kurum:** Boğaziçi Üniversitesi  
**Araştırmanın adı:** Türkiye'deki Azınlık ve Göçmenlere Yönelik Tutumlar  
**Proje yürütücüsü:** Prof. Dr. Bilge Ataca  
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**Araştırmacının adı:** Ar. Gör. Mustafa Fırat  
**Adresi:** Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Güney Kampüs Psikoloji Bölümü 34342  
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**Telefonu:** 0543 543 29 53

**Proje konusu:** Bu çalışma kapsamında Türkiye vatandaşlarının Türkiye'deki azınlık ve göçmenlere olan bakış açısı ve tutumları araştırılacaktır. Bu proje için 300 katılımcıya ihtiyaç vardır.

**Onam:** Türkiye vatandaşlarının azınlık ve göçmenlere yönelik tutumlarını ölçmek üzere hazırladığımız bu araştırmaya katılmaya sizi davet ediyoruz. Yüksek lisans tez araştırması kapsamında yürütülen bu çalışmada azınlık ve göçmen grupları hakkındaki algıları belirleyen bazı faktörlere ulaşmayı hedefliyoruz. Araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ettiğiniz takdirde sizlerden bu gruplar hakkında bazı soruları cevaplamanız istenecektir. Bu soruların doğru veya yanlış bir cevabı yoktur. Önemli olan sizin ne düşündüğünüzdür. Ayrıca, demografik bilgi formunda istenen bazı kişisel bilgileri de sağlamanızı rica ediyoruz. İsmi ve bu bilgiler tamamen gizli tutulacaktır. Verdiğiniz bilgiler ile yanıtlar ayrı yerlerde tutulacak, isminizle yanıtlarınız eşleşmeyecektir. Çalışmaya katılmanız tamamen isteğe bağlıdır. Sizden ücret talep etmiyoruz ve size herhangi bir ödeme yapmayacağız. Katılımınız karşılığında PSY 101 veya PSY 112 dersinden 0.5 kredi alacaksınız. İsteddiğiniz zaman çalışmaya katılmaktan vazgeçebilirsiniz. Bu durumda sizden almış olduğumuz yanıtlar ve bilgiler imha edilecektir. Yapmak istediğimiz araştırmanın size zarar getirmesi beklenmemektedir. Türkiye'deki azınlık ve göçmenlere yönelik algının ve bunu etkileyen faktörlerin tespit edilmesi topluma fayda sağlayacaktır. Bu formu imzalamadan önce, çalışmayla ilgili sorularınız varsa lütfen sorun. Daha sonra sorunuz olursa, Ar. Gör. Mustafa Fırat (Telefon: 0543 543 29 53) veya Prof. Dr. Bilge Ataca (Telefon: 0212 359 70 62) ile iletişime geçebilirsiniz. Araştırmayla ilgili haklarınız konusunda yerel etik kurullarına, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi İnsan Araştırmaları Kurumsal Değerlendirme Alt Kurulu'na (INAREK) veya INAREK/SBB Etik Alt Kurulu'na danışabilirsiniz.

Bana anlatılanları ve yukarıda yazılanları anladım. Bu formun bir kopyasını aldım. Çalışmaya katılmayı kabul ediyorum.

Adı-Soyadı:.....

İmzası:.....

Tarih (gün/ay/yıl):...../...../.....

Kredi Alacağı Ders: PSY .....

## APPENDIX C

### ENGLISH VERSION OF MEASURES

#### Imagined Contact

Please read the scenario below, and then imagine it for 1 to 2 minutes.

Imagine that you are at the campus canteen. It is a weekday. The canteen is full of people. After buying your lunch, you sit at one of the tables in the corner. A young Kurdish/Syrian individual approaches you and asks whether he/she can sit next to you. You have a conversation for 15-20 minutes. After the Kurdish/Syrian individual leaves, you think how pleasant and interesting the conversation was. Your conversation went so well that you think you could be close friends with this person.

#### Control

Please read the scenario below, and then imagine it for 1 to 2 minutes.

Imagine that you are walking outdoors. Try to imagine the details of where you are. Who are you with? Which colors are dominant on the background? Which season is it?

#### Imagined Contact and Control

Now, write down into the empty box below what you have imagined.

## Ethnic Identification

Which of the identities given below do you feel yourself close to?

- a) Turkish
- b) Kurdish
- c) Arab
- d) Armenian
- e) Laz
- f) Circassian
- g) Rum
- h) Other: .....
- i) No answer

Now write down the above given identification to the blanks below. For example, if you answered as “Turkish” to the previous question, fill in the blanks with “Turkish.” Then, indicate how much you agree with the below given statements. Select the choice that best describes you.

	Strongly disagree						Strongly agree	No answer
1. I feel committed to ...	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
2. I am proud of being ...	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
3. The fact that I am ... is an important part of my identity.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

## National Identification

Please indicate how much you agree with the below given statements. Select the choice that best describes you.

	Strongly disagree						Strongly agree	No answer
1. I feel committed to Turkey.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
2. I am proud of being a citizen of Turkey.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
3. The fact that I am a citizen of Turkey is an important part of my identity.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

Realistic Threat (Kurdish out-group)

Please indicate your opinion on the statements about Kurds in Turkey. Select the choice that best describes you.

	Strongly disagree				Strongly agree		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Kurds are decreasing the social welfare in Turkey.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Kurds are displacing Turkish workers from their jobs.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Crime rates have increased in the places where Kurds inhabit.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Kurds constitute an economic burden on Turkey.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. The population growth rate of Kurds is a threat for Turkey's order.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Kurds harm the national unity of Turkey by conserving their Kurdish identity.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Political strengthening of Kurds harms the integrity of the state.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Kurds are threatening the established order in Turkey.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Providing minority rights for Kurds may lead to separation in the country.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Realistic Threat (Syrian out-group)

Please indicate your opinion on the statements about Syrians in Turkey. Select the choice that best describes you.

	Strongly disagree					Strongly agree	
1. Syrians are decreasing the social welfare in Turkey.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Syrians are displacing Turkish workers from their jobs.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Crime rates have increased in the places where Syrians inhabit.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Syrians constitute an economic burden on Turkey.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. The population growth rate of Syrians is a threat for Turkey's order.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Syrians should not be allowed to enter college without taking an exam.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Access to health services became more difficult with the arrival of Syrians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Illegal marriages have increased with the arrival of Syrians.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Syrian men are harassing young girls and women.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Symbolic Threat (Kurdish and Syrian out-groups)

Please indicate your opinion on the statements about Kurds/Syrians in Turkey. Select the choice that best describes you.

	Strongly disagree			Strongly agree			
1. Kurds/Syrians are different from Turks in terms of their family relations and child-rearing practices.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Traditions and customs of Kurds/Syrians are different from those of Turks.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Religious beliefs of Kurds/Syrians are different from those of Turks.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Kurds/Syrians are different from Turks in terms of their lifestyle.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Kurds/Syrians have different moral values from Turks.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Kurds/Syrians pose a threat to the cultural values of Turkey.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. It would be harmful to Turkey if Kurds/Syrians try to maintain their customs and traditions.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Family relations and child-rearing practices of Kurds/Syrians are harmful to our society.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Kurds'/Syrians' lifestyle poses a threat to our society.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

### Feeling Thermometer

Indicate how you feel about Kurds/Syrians in Turkey by using the feeling thermometer below. In this thermometer, 0° means cold, i.e., very negative; 100° means warm, i.e., very positive. Select the choice that best describes you.

COLD	WARM
0°C 10°C 20°C 30°C 40°C 50°C 60°C 70°C 80°C 90°C 100°C	
Very negative	Very positive

### Social Distance

Now we would like to measure your feelings towards Kurds/Syrians arising from various social interactions. Please indicate the effect of each social interaction would have on you. Select the choice that best describes you.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. If your boss is a Kurd/Syrian	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. If you work in the same place with a Kurd/Syrian	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. If you live in the same street with a Kurd/Syrian	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. If you have a neighbor who is a Kurd/Syrian	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. If you have a close friend who is a Kurd/Syrian	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. If you are married to a Kurd/Syrian	1	2	3	4	5	6	7



## Implicit Prejudice

### Names

Turkish		Kurdish		Syrian	
Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Ayça	Alparslan	Berfin	Baran	Bana	Ammar
Çağla	Hakan	Berivan	Jiyan	Feyruz	Beşar
Gizem	Kaan	Rojda	Rojhat	Haya	Nizar
Öykü	Oğuzhan	Zozan	Şiyar	Sabin	Yasser

### Nouns

Positive	Negative
Health	Agony
Love	Murder
Friend	Dirtiness
Happiness	Illness
Pleasure	Death
Sunshine	Accident
Rainbow	Poison
Miracle	Disaster

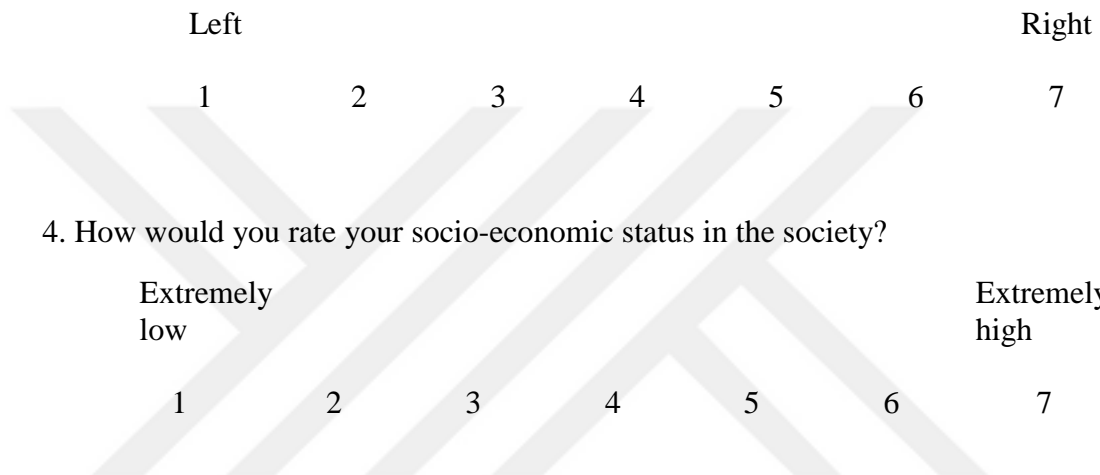
## Demographic Information

Now we request you to answer some questions about yourself.

1. Your gender: .....

2. Your age: .....

3. About politics, we hear "left" and "right" frequently in daily life. There is a left-right scale below. "1" represents leftmost while "7" represents rightmost political view. Where would your political view fall on this scale?



4. How would you rate your socio-economic status in the society?



5. a. How many Kurds/Syrians do you know personally? Please select the choice that best describes you.

None

1

2-4

5-7

8-10

11-14

More than 15

b. How often do you have contact with the Kurds/Syrians you know personally? Please select the choice that best describes you.

Never

Few times a year

Once a month

Few times a month

Once a week

Few times a week

Everyday

## APPENDIX D

### TURKISH VERSION OF MEASURES

#### Kurgulu Temas

Aşağıdaki senaryoyu okuyup 1-2 dakika boyunca hayal ediniz.

Üniversitedeki bir kantinde olduğunuzu hayal edin. Hafta içi bir gün ve kantin oldukça kalabalık. Yiyeceğinizi ve içeceğinizi aldıktan sonra boş bir masaya oturuyorsunuz. Ardından Kürt/Suriyeli bir birey size yaklaşip yanınıza oturmak için izin istiyor. Yanınıza oturuyor ve 15-20 dakika boyunca kendisiyle sohbet ediyorsunuz. Bu Kürt/Suriyeli birey kalkıp gittikten sonra, onunla yaptığımız sohbetin ne kadar güzel ve ilginç olduğunu düşünüyorsunuz. Sohbetiniz o kadar iyi geçti ki bu bireyle arkadaş olabileceğinizi düşünüyorsunuz.

#### Kontrol

Aşağıdaki senaryoyu okuyup 1-2 dakika boyunca hayal ediniz.

Dışarıda yürüyüş yaptığınızı hayal edin. Nerede olduğunuza dair detayları hayal etmeye çalışın. Kiminlesiniz? Arka planda hangi renkler yoğunlukta? Hava nasıl?

#### Kurgulu Temas ve Kontrol

Şimdi, neler hayal ettiğinizi aşağıdaki boş kutucuğa yazınız.

## Etnik Özdeşleşme

Kendinizi aşağıdaki etnik kimliklerden hangisine en yakın hissediyorsunuz?

- a) Türk
- b) Kürt
- c) Arap
- d) Ermeni
- e) Laz
- f) Çerkez
- g) Rum
- h) Diğer: .....
- ı) Cevap yok

Şimdi yukarıda belirttiğiniz etnik kimlik grubunu aşağıda boş bırakılan yerlere yazınız.

Örneğin, yukarıda “Türk” cevabını verdiyseniz aşağıdaki boşluklara “Türk” yazınız.

Sonra da verilen ifadelere ne kadar katıldığınızı belirtiniz. Size en uygun cevabı seçiniz.

	Kesinlikle katılmıyorum				Kesinlikle Cevap katılıyorum yok			
1. Kendimi ... lere/lara bağlı hissediyorum.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
2. ... olmaktan gurur duyuyorum.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
3. ... olmam kimliğimin önemli bir parçasıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

## Ulusal Özdeşleşme

Lütfen aşağıda verilen ifadelere ne kadar katıldığınızı belirtiniz. Size en uygun cevabı seçiniz.

	Kesinlikle katılmıyorum					Kesinlikle Cevap katılıyorum yok			
1. Kendimi Türkiye'ye bağlı hissediyorum.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
2. Türkiye vatandaşı olmaktan gurur duyuyorum.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
3. Türkiye vatandaşı olmam kimliğimin önemli bir parçasıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	

## Gerçekçi Tehdit (Kürt dış-grubu)

Lütfen Türkiye'deki Kürtlerle ilgili aşağıdaki ifadelere ne kadar katıldığınızı belirtiniz.

Size en uygun cevabı seçiniz.

	Kesinlikle katılmıyorum					Kesinlikle katılıyorum	
1. Kürtler, Türkiye'nin sosyal refah seviyesinin azalmasına neden oluyorlar.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Kürtler, iş olanaklarını Türklerin elinden alıyorlar.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Kürtlerin bulunduğu ortamlarda suç oranları artmıştır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Kürtler ekonomik olarak Türkiye'ye yarar sağlamaktan çok zarar veriyorlar.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Kürtlerin nüfus artış hızı Türkiye'nin düzenini tehdit etmektedir.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Kürtlerin kimliklerine sahip çıkmaları, Türkiye'nin birlik ve beraberliğine karşı oldukları gösterir.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Kürtlerin siyasi olarak güçlenmeleri devletin bütünlüğüne zarar vermektedir.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Kürtler, Türkiye'nin kurulu düzenini tehdit etmektedirler.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Kürtlere azınlık haklarının sağlanması ülkede bölünmelere yol açabilir.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

## Gerçekçi Tehdit (Suriyeli dış-grubu)

Lütfen Türkiye'deki Suriyelilerle ilgili aşağıdaki ifadelere ne kadar katıldığınızı belirtiniz. Size en uygun cevabı seçiniz.

	Kesinlikle katılmıyorum				Kesinlikle katılıyorum		
1. Suriyeliler, Türkiye'nin sosyal refah seviyesinin azalmasına neden oluyorlar.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Suriyeliler, iş olanaklarını Türklerin elinden alıyorlar.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Suriyelilerin bulunduğu ortamlarda suç oranları artmıştır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Suriyeliler ekonomik olarak Türkiye'ye yarar sağlamaktan çok zarar veriyorlar.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Suriyelilerin nüfus artış hızı Türkiye'nin düzenini tehdit etmektedir.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Suriyelilerin sınavsız olarak üniversiteye girebilmesini adil bulmuyorum.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Suriyelilerin gelmesi ile birlikte sağlık hizmetlerine erişim zorlaşmıştır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Suriyelilerin gelişi ile Türkiye'de yasadışı evlilikler artmıştır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Suriyeli erkekler genç kızları ve kadınları rahatsız ediyorlar.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Sembolik Tehdit (Kürt ve Suriyeli dış-grupları)

Lütfen Türkiye'deki Kürtler/Suriyeliler ile ilgili aşağıdaki ifadelere ne kadar katıldığınızı belirtiniz. Size en uygun cevabı seçiniz.

	Kesinlikle katılmıyorum				Kesinlikle katılıyorum		
1. Kürtler/Suriyeliler, aile ilişkileri ve çocuk yetiştirme tarzları açısından Türklere benzemezler.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Kürtlerin/Suriyelilerin örf ve adetleri Türklerinkinden farklıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Kürtlerin/Suriyelilerin dini inanışları Türklerinkinden farklıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Kürtler/Suriyeliler yaşam tarzları açısından Türklere benzemezler.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Kürtlerin/Suriyelilerin ahlaki değerleri Türklerinkinden farklıdır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Kürtler/Suriyeliler Türkiye'nin kültürel değerlerine karşı bir tehdit oluşturmaktadır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. Kürtlerin/Suriyelilerin kendi örf ve adetlerini yaşatmaya çalışması Türkiye'ye zarar verir.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. Kürtlerin/Suriyelilerin aile ilişkileri ve çocuk yetiştirme tarzları Türk toplumuna zarar verir.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. Kürtlerin/Suriyelilerin yaşam tarzları Türk toplumu için tehdit oluşturmaktadır.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7



## Duygu Termometresi

Türkiye'deki Kürtlere/Suriyelilere karşı hislerinizi tek bir cevap ile belirtecek olsanız ne derdiniz? Cevabınızı bir ısı termometresi gibi düşünün: 0°C soğuk, yani çok olumsuz hissediyorum; 100°C sıcak, yani çok olumlu hissediyorum anlamındadır. Size en uygun cevabı seçiniz.

SOĞUK	20°	30°C	40°C	50°C	60°C	70°C	80°C	90°C	SICAK
0°C									100°C
10°C	C								Çok
Çok olumsuz									olumlu

## Sosyal Mesafe

Şimdi ise, Kürtler/Suriyeliler ile çeşitli sosyal ilişkiler kurmanın sizde uyandıracığı hisleri ölçmek istiyoruz. Lütfen aşağıda verilen durumların sizde yaratacağı etkiyi belirtiniz. Size en uygun cevabı seçiniz.

	Hiç rahatsızlık duymam						Çok büyük rahatsızlık duyarım
1. Kürt/Suriyeli bir patronunuz olsa	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Kürt/Suriyeli biri ile aynı yerde çalışıyor olsanız	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Kürt/Suriyeli biri ile aynı sokakta yaşıyor olsanız	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. Kürt/Suriyeli bir kapı komşunuz olsa	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. Kürt/Suriyeli bir yakın arkadaşınız olsa	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. Kürt/Suriyeli biri ile evlenseniz	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

## Örtük Önyargı

### İsimler

Türk		Kürt		Suriyeli	
Kadın	Erkek	Kadın	Erkek	Kadın	Erkek
Ayça	Alparslan	Berfin	Baran	Bana	Ammar
Çağla	Hakan	Berivan	Jiyan	Feyruz	Beşar
Gizem	Kaan	Rojda	Rojhat	Haya	Nizar
Öykü	Oğuzhan	Zozan	Şiyar	Sabin	Yasser

### Kelimeler

Olumlu	Olumsuz
Sağlık	Acı
Sevgi	Cinayet
Dost	Pislik
Mutluluk	Hastalık
Zevk	Ölüm
Günışığı	Kaza
Gökkuşığı	Zehir
Mucize	Felaket

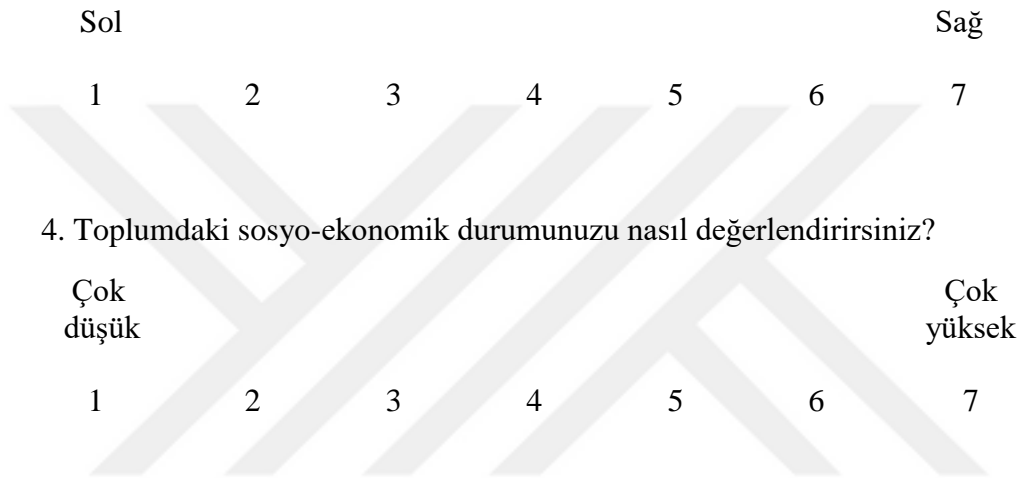
## Demografik Bilgiler

Şimdi de sizinle ilgili son birkaç sorumuzu yanıtlamanızı rica ediyoruz.

1. Cinsiyetiniz: .....

2. Yaşınız: .....

3. Siyasi konularda “sol”dan ve “sağ”dan bahsedildiğini sık sık duyuyoruz. Aşağıda bir sol-sağ cetveli verilmiştir. Burada “1” en solu, “7” ise en sağ gösteriyor. Sizin kendi görüşleriniz bu cetvelin neresinde yer alır?



5. a. Kürt/Suriyeli kaç kişi tanıyorsunuz? Lütfen size en uygun cevabı seçiniz.

- Hiç tanımiyorum
- 1
- 2-4
- 5-7
- 8-10
- 11-14
- 15'ten fazla

b. Bu Kürt/Suriyeli tanıdıklarınızla ne kadar sık görüşüyorsunuz? Lütfen size en uygun cevabı seçiniz.

- Hiç görüşmüyorum
- Yılda birkaç kez
- Ayda bir kez
- Ayda birkaç kez
- Ayda bir kez
- Haftada birkaç kez
- Her gün

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