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Research Article

Social Media Use, Socialization, and Perceptions of Syrians among Turkish Youth: Findings from a National Survey

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ABSTRACT

Young people's attitudes towards Syrians will play a decisive role in Turkish society's future as a significant proportion of the population consists of Syrians today. As of June 2022, there are approximately 3,7 million Syrians in Turkiye. The literature shows that social media and socialization are important factors affecting individuals' attitudes towards immigrants. This article explores how (1) the amount of time spent on social media, and (2) self-reported adequate socialization in daily life affect perception toward Syrian immigrants among young adults in Turkiye. We used data from the Turkish Youth Survey (TYS), which was conducted in 2018 by interviewing 7,949 individuals between the ages of 18 and 30. We measured anti-immigrant perception by using answers given to the question of whether the study participants would live in the same neighborhood as Syrians. The findings indicate that young adults become less open to the idea of living with the Syrian immigrants in the neighborhood as they spend more time on social media. We also find that those who say they are adequately socializing in their daily lives are less likely to say they do not want to live in the same neighborhood as Syrian immigrants.

Keywords: Social media use, socialization, anti-immigrant attitudes, Syrians in Turkiye, youth



1. Introduction

The territory of today's Türkiye has seen numerous migration flows throughout history and the history of the Turkish Republic is not an exception. However, since its establishment in 1923 as a nation state, the Turkish Republic has not received mass international migration from non-Turkic ethnic groups. Exceptions to this were the flow of Iranians and Iraqi Kurds between 1980 and 1991 (Kirisci, 2003). In 1923, Türkiye signed a treaty with Greece and agreed to exchange the Greek Orthodox population living in Türkiye with Turkish Muslims living in Greece. More than 400,000 people came to Türkiye within a few years after the signing of the treaty (Çapa, 1990). In 1989, more than 350,000 Muslims of Turkish ethnic origin migrated from Bulgaria to Türkiye. The fact that those who came from the Balkans and who migrated from Greece in the early 1920s and from Bulgaria in 1989 were ethnically Turkish and that they spoke the Turkish language made them relatively more advantaged at least in receiving citizenship and settling into Turkish society (Danış & Parla, 2009). However, the period of the Syrian civil war saw Türkiye receiving large numbers of international immigrants who were from non-Turkic ethnic origins. The first wave of Syrians came in 2011 and the numbers kept increasing as the civil war ensued and expanded into different parts of Syria. In 2019, the number of Syrians living in Türkiye surpassed 3.5 million. As of June 2022, there are 3,763,652 Syrian refugees¹ in Türkiye (Ministry of Interior of Türkiye, 2022). Most of the Syrians live in metropolitan cities like Istanbul and Ankara and the major cities near the Turkish Syrian border such as Şanlıurfa, Mardin and Gaziantep. Other regions and cities received large numbers of Syrians as well.

In the beginning, there was a general understanding in Türkiye that the Syrians were "guests" who would go back to their own countries when the Syrian civil war was over. As the number of Syrians has increased in recent years, many people have started thinking that perhaps Syrians would stay in Türkiye longer and even permanently. Such a shift in the general understanding of the status of the Syrian refugees has also led to a visible increase in anti-immigrant and anti-Syrian attitudes and behavior although many non-governmental and governmental agencies are trying to help accommodate the Syrians in different ways. Within this context, it is important to understand the attitudes of young people toward Syrian refugees in Türkiye. This will have an impact on how Syrians and the members of the host society will interact in the near future as adults. Our current knowledge of young people's attitudes vis-a-vis immigrants will have important societal implications on the future cohesion of Turkish society and we can understand the risks of intergroup conflict better through the study of young people's attitudes. There is a need to understand the factors, including the ideological position and perception of cultural differences, which may potentially affect young people's perception of the threat posed by Syrians. According to Erdoğan's study (2019) on the perception of Turkish society on Syrians, a considerable majority (89.5%) of the participants think that Syrians are culturally different or very different from them. The number is also high for the participants between the ages 18-24 (80.5%) and those between the ages 25-34 (82.1%) (Erdoğan, 2019).

¹ Syrians do not have official refugee status in Türkiye but were given "temporary protection" status in 2013 by Article 91 of Law on Foreigners and International Protection (No. 6458). The term "refugee" is used for convenience in this study. Article 91 of the Law No. 6458 indicates that "Temporary protection may be provided for foreigners who have been forced to leave their country, cannot return to the country that they have left, and have arrived at or crossed the borders of Türkiye in a mass influx situation seeking immediate and temporary protection." (See UNHCR, 2017 for the English translation of the Law.)

Although young people usually hold less prejudice against immigrants compared to older generations, they sometimes express negative views due to the perception that immigrants pose an economic and cultural threat (Keating & Janmaat, 2020). Several factors may contribute to this perception of threat. Based on the analysis of a comparative youth survey conducted in 14 European countries, ethnic nationalism, resource stress on jobs and money, poverty, general social trust, and frequent use of different media channels were found to increase negative attitudes towards immigrants (Mierina & Koroleva, 2015). Young people's perception of the threat posed by Syrians was found to be high in Erdoğan's study (2019). 72% of young people aged 18-34 think that Syrians harm Türkiye's socio-cultural structure and 76% think that Syrians harm Türkiye's economy (Erdoğan, 2019, p. 84). These findings reveal that a considerable proportion of young people perceive Syrians as a threat in different ways.

Being exposed to anti-immigrant sentiments may have detrimental effects on immigrants' well-being in general (Sayas, Aron, & Gurrola, 2013) and immigrant youth's well-being in particular. From a developmental perspective, adolescence and young adulthood years are crucial for identity formation. Consequently, negative stereotypes against immigrants may particularly damage immigrant youth's identity formation (Schwartz, Meca, Cano, Lorenzo-Blanco, & Unger, 2018; Rogers, Niwa, & Way, 2017).

1.1. Young People's Attitudes toward Syrians in Türkiye

The research body on Turkish youth's stance toward Syrians in Türkiye shows inconclusive results and the findings exclusively come from university students (Afyonoğlu & Buz, 2021; Ozaydin, Tanyer, & Akin, 2021; Baş & Eti, 2021; Şen & Keskin, 2019; Çimen & Quadır, 2018; Ankaralı, Pasin, Karacan, Tokar, Künüroğlu, Çaça, Özislam, & Şahingöz, 2017; Topkaya & Akdağ, 2016). While some of these studies (Afyonoğlu & Buz, 2021) revealed positive attitudes, others (Çimen & Quadır, 2018; Topkaya & Akdağ, 2016) found that negative attitudes prevailed. Afyonoğlu and Buz (2021) found that the students' scores on having negative thoughts toward Syrians subscale were low ($X=2.85$ on a Likert scale). The same study also revealed that positive family attitudes toward Syrians, positive peer attitudes toward Syrians, and having a Syrian acquaintance increase students' scores on the "attitudes toward Syrians" scale, where higher scores indicated lower prejudice. The study by Şen and Keskin (2019) on university students also demonstrated that the students who had Syrian friends and whose families had positive attitudes toward Syrians increased positive student attitudes. Another study (Ankaralı, Pasin, Karacan, Tokar, Künüroğlu, Çaça, Özislam, & Şahingöz, 2017) on university students also demonstrated that family's attitudes toward Syrians affected students' attitudes. Two of the studies (Çimen & Quadır, 2018; Topkaya & Akdağ, 2016) showed the majority of the sample agreed with negative statements about Syrians. One of these studies (Çimen & Quadır, 2018) showed that students' level of civic participation was positively correlated to their support for moderate solutions, advocacy for Syrians' rights, and providing help. An intervention study found that having contact with refugees in the form of an internship and receiving training on refugee health improved the students' attitudes toward refugees (Ozaydin, Tanyer, & Akin, 2021).

The afore-mentioned studies show that the following socialization-related factors predict positive attitudes toward Syrians among youth: Having Syrians in their circles, positive peer attitudes toward Syrians, positive family attitudes toward Syrians, and having contact with refugees in the form of civic participation.

1.2. Social Media and Anti-Immigrant Attitudes

Social media is one of the most prominent factors influencing perceptions today, and perceptions toward immigrants are no exception. Due to the rise of rightist populism in the last two decades, anti-immigrant and anti-refugee sentiments had already been on the rise in the Western world even before the start of the Syrian refugees' flow of immigration after 2011 (Lazaridis, Campani, & Benveniste, 2016, Perrineau, 2002). These anti-refugee sentiments accelerated with the Syrian refugee crisis. In the news media, it became very common to portray refugees as threats to society (Pennington, 2019), and racism and anti-immigration rhetoric have been prominent in the European media (Ekman, 2019). Social media has increasingly become a ground for the quick spread of racist, anti-immigrant, and anti-refugee discourses (Ekman, 2018; Rettberg & Gajjala, 2015). There were multiple instances where refugees were represented as terrorists through hashtags such as #refugeesNOTwelcome (Kreis, 2017; Rettberg & Gajjala, 2015), or even as potential criminals who pose threats to public safety through neologisms such as "rapefugee" (Wurschinger et. al, 2016).

The rise of anti-Syrian discourses and even hate speech have been apparent in the social media in Türkiye as well and there are studies analyzing these discourses (Özerim & Tolay, 2021; Küçük & Koçak, 2020; Yaşa & Öksüz, 2020; Bozdağ, 2019; İşçi & Uludağ, 2019; Toprak, 2018; Kardeş, Banko, & Akman, 2017; Özdemir & Öner-Özkan, 2016; Yıldırım & Yurtdaş, 2016). A study (Bozdağ, 2019) analyzing discursive positions about Syrian refugees on Twitter showed how a discussion on Syrians' citizenship gave way to pro- and anti-Syrian discourses simultaneously. The majority of the tweets were against giving Syrians citizenship status in Türkiye.

The findings of the literature on the relationship between social media use and attitudes toward immigrants are inconclusive. Studies show that mediating variables or the type or reason of social media use may influence the effects of social media use on attitudes toward immigrants. A study (Ahmed, Chen, Jaidka, Hooi & Chib, 2021) on the relationship between social media use and anti-immigrant attitudes in Singapore showed that consumptive use of social media, defined as reading rather than posting comments, and anti-immigrant attitudes were negatively related. Tsai, Phua, Pan and Yang's (2020) study on anti-Asian attitudes during the pandemic in the United States analyzed the relationship between social media use and the level of prejudice. The findings showed that the relationship was mediated by the level of trust in social media: the negative correlation between social media use and prejudicial attitudes was higher for those with higher levels of trust in social media. In another study (Ahmed, Chen, & Chib, 2021) on anti-Chinese attitudes in Singapore during the pandemic, the use of social media for news was identified to increase stereotyping and prejudice.

There is only one experimental study (Van Het Hof, Bakır & Birol, 2018) on the effect of the media on attitudes toward Syrians among university students in Türkiye. After watching a video on the experiences of Syrians, the experimental group was found to have more empathy and tolerance toward Syrians compared to the control group.

1.3. Socialization and Anti-Immigrant Attitudes

Few studies on prejudice against immigrants include socialization as an independent variable. A study (Ahmed, Chen, & Chib, 2021) conducted in Singapore on anti-Chinese attitudes during the pandemic found that stereotyping and prejudice were less common in participants with more extensive social networks. However, studies that analyze the relationship between contact with minority groups and prejudice are more common. Based on the assumptions of intergroup contact

theory, which proposes that prejudice can be reduced and tolerance can be increased by contact with individuals from ethnic groups under certain conditions (Allport, 1954), the effect of contact with the immigrant or ethnic minority groups on attitudes toward immigrants have frequently been studied. Studies that include “contact with the outgroup” or “intergroup contact” as independent variables in their analysis demonstrate that intergroup contact reduces intergroup prejudice (De Coninck, Rodriguez-de-Dios, d’Haenens, 2020; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). This means that increased contact may reduce prejudice against ethnic minorities in society. Consequently, intergroup contact has been suggested as a means of preventing conflict among different groups (Ramiah & Hewstone, 2013). For example, a longitudinal study (Binder et al. 2009) conducted on school children in Germany, Belgium, and England showed a bidirectional causal relationship between contact and prejudice: Contact reduced prejudice against ethnic minorities among ethnic majority children, and prejudice was found to reduce contact. However, the nature of contact seems to make a difference. Random contact is not always found to reduce prejudice nor intergroup conflict, and the quality of contact is found to be more important than its frequency (De-Coninck et al, 2020). In addition, the perceived size of the immigrant group affects negative prejudice against immigrants (Strabac, 2009) and frequent contact may have an adverse effect on attitudes toward immigrants by creating the illusion of a larger immigrant group size. For example, Tsai, Phua, Pan and Yang’s (2020) study on anti-Asian attitudes during the pandemic showed that frequent contact with Asian people in daily life increased negative attitudes against Asians in the United States after controlling for sociodemographic variables.

The most frequently studied socialization related issue is the effects of friendships on adolescents’ attitudes toward immigrants. One study (Miklikowska, 2017) showed that adolescents with immigrant friends were affected less by their peers’ or parents’ anti-immigrant attitudes. A longitudinal study on German adolescents showed that gaining an ethnic German immigrant friend from the former Soviet Union over the course of three measurement points reduced negative prejudice among native German youth (Titzman, Brenick, & Silbereisen, 2015). Therefore, it can be argued that socialization with the outgroup in the form of friendships may decrease prejudice against the outgroup. On the other hand, having friends with high levels of prejudice against other ethnic groups was identified to have the opposite effect. For instance, a study conducted in Sweden showed that being surrounded by prejudiced peers increases the possibility of being involved in ethnic harassment (Özdemir, Sun, Korol, Özdemir, & Stattin, 2018). Similarly, friends’ tolerance predicted increased tolerance toward immigrants in another adolescent sample in Sweden (Van Zalk, Kerr, van Zalk, Stattin, 2013).

Political socialization may also play a role in anti-immigrant attitudes. A longitudinal study (Lundberg & Abdelzadeh, 2021) on the relationship between adolescents’ engagement in voluntary work and anti-immigrant attitudes in Sweden showed that the length of volunteer work had a positive impact on the decrease of anti-immigrant attitudes among adolescents.

The reviewed literature on the relationship between socialization and anti-immigrant attitudes suggests that random contact with the members of immigrant groups may increase prejudice and create the impression, in the eyes of the majority group, that immigrants are higher in number than they are. On the other hand, having close contact with immigrants such as in the form of friendships may decrease anti-immigrant attitudes. Close contacts probably help the individuals go beyond the category of “refugee” and perceive minority group members in a more holistic way.

2. Methodology

2.1. Data

We used data from the Turkish Youth Survey (TYS) which was conducted by the Youth NGO's Platform (*Türkiye Gençlik STK'ları Platformu*) in 2018. TYS completed 7,949 face-to-face interviews with individuals between the ages of 18 and 30 in the 12 NUTS-1 regions of Türkiye using a random stratified sampling method. Among other things, the questionnaire includes questions about the participants' socio-demographic characteristics, and about cultural and political attitudes and behaviors. Our findings suggest that where the amount of time spent using social media was high anti-immigrant attitudes increased. On the other hand, respondents who said that they were adequately socializing in their daily lives were less likely to claim not to want to live in the same neighborhood as the Syrian immigrants.

2.2. Measurements

2.2.1. Dependent Variable

TYS asked the participants if they would live with ten different groups of people in the same neighborhood. These ten groups were (1) alcoholics, (2) LGBT individuals, (3) drug users, (4) Syrian immigrants, (5) people from other religions, (6) criminals, (7) people who speak different native languages, (8) people who have AIDS, (9) people from other races and nations, and (10) people with different political opinions. Responses to these questions were (1) Yes, I would, (2) No, I would not, (3) Undecided and (4) No Response. The last category (No Response) was coded as missing values in the data set. In the final analyses (Multinomial Logistics Regression) we compared the odds of saying "No, I would not" and "Undecided" to the odds of saying "Yes, I would." Therefore, the response of "Yes I would" was the reference category in our analyses.

2.2.2. Independent Variables

There were two major independent variables of this research. The first was the time spent using social media. TYS asked respondents how many hours on average they spend using social media. Therefore, the theoretical range of this variable was 0 to 24. We looked at the distribution of the responses and observed that 48 respondents (0.7 % of all cases) reported more than 12 hours of social media use daily. Of these 48, 14 said that they use social media 24 hours a day. We merged values between 13 and 24 to the category of 13 hours or more. Therefore, the final social media usage variable ranged from 0 (never) to 13 (13 hours or more). In further analyses, we used this variable as a numerical scale. The second major independent variable was the adequacy of participation in daily social life. TYS asked the young adults if they thought they were adequately socializing. Responses for this question included "Yes" and "No." In the regression analyses, we used "No" as the reference category.

2.2.3. Control Variables

The control variables were gender, age, employment status, educational level, household income, satisfaction with financial situation and political ideology spectrum. We used age as a continuous variable, ranging between 18 and 30. The gender variable included the categories of male and female. We use females as the reference group in the regression tables. Employment status included five categories: (1) Student/Not working, (2) student and working (3) unemployed but not looking for a job, (4) unemployed and looking for a job, (5) employed. For further analyses, we merged the categories of "unemployed but not looking for a job", and "unemployed and look-

ing for a job” as the category of unemployed. Therefore, the new employment variable had four categories. These were: (1) student/not working, (2) student and working (3) unemployed, and (4) employed. In regression analyses, we used the category of “employed” as the reference group. In the TYS data set, household income was measured using 12 monthly income brackets (1 = 0 to 2,000 Liras, 12 = 7,500 Liras or more). To test the impact of relative perception of income, we used satisfaction with household income levels. In the TYS data set household income satisfaction level was included as a 5-item Likert-scale variable: (1) very unsatisfied, (2) unsatisfied, (3) neither satisfied nor unsatisfied, (4) satisfied and (5) very satisfied. We used both household income and the satisfaction with income variables as scale variables in other analyses without any transformation. The education of the respondents was another demographic variable we used as a control variable. Interviewees were asked about the highest educational degree they had earned. Responses to this question ranged from 1 (Illiterate, no formal schooling), to 7 (Master’s or PhD). We also included information about the education of the respondents’ parents. TYP asked the respondents about the highest degree their mothers and fathers had earned. Like the individual level education variables, the education level of both mothers and fathers ranged from 1 to 7.

Because we were interested in how socialization characteristics of young adults affect their attitudes towards immigrants, we wanted a control variable for the type of family and type of residence. In TYS, respondents were asked to indicate their family type from three options. These were (1) nuclear family, (2) extended family and (3) separated family. We used the nuclear family as the reference in this research. TYS asked the respondents the question “Where are you staying and with whom are you sharing this place?”. Eight response categories were presented to the study participants for this question. These were: (1) with my family, (2) with my friends in an apartment/ house, (3) living alone at a place I rent, (4) living alone at a place I own , (5) with my relatives, (6) at a state-owned dormitory, (7) at a university dormitory, (8) at a private dormitory. We merged the categories of “living alone at a place I rent”, and “living alone at a place I own ” into a single category of “living alone.” Similarly, we combined the responses of “at a state-owned dormitory”, “at a university dormitory”, and “at a private dormitory” into the category of “living at a dormitory.” Therefore, we reduced the type of residence categories from 8 to 5: (1) with my family, (2) with my friends, (3) living alone (4) with my relatives, and (5) in a dormitory. We use “living with family” as the reference group.

TYP asked the respondents to locate themselves on the left to right political ideology spectrum, ranging from 1 to 10. On this scale, 1 indicates far left and 10 indicates far right. We used these variables as a numerical scale in the regression analyses.

3. Findings

Figure 1 represents the frequencies of responses to the question of whether the respondents would live with Syrian immigrants in the same neighborhood. The vast majority of young adults in Türkiye (69.5%) said that they would not want to live in the same neighborhood as Syrian immigrants. Only one-fifth of the same population (20.5%) responded positively. A smaller proportion (10%) said that they were undecided. Figure 2 depicts the proportion of those who said they think they adequately socialize and the proportion of those who said they do not. Exactly three-quarters of the participants (75%) said that they think they are adequately socializing. However, the remaining 25% reported that their socialization is not adequate.

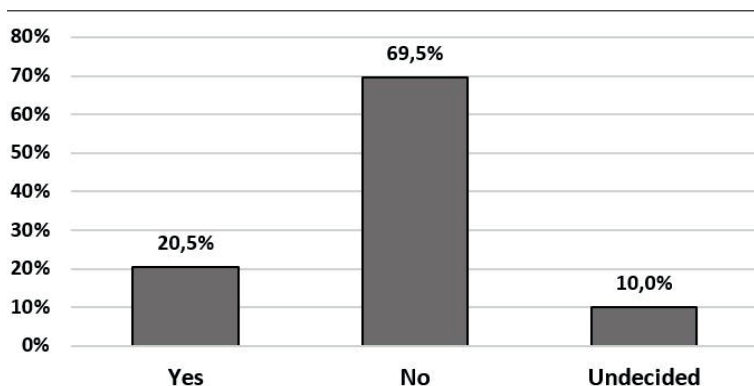


Figure 1: Attitudes towards living with Syrian immigrants in the same neighborhood

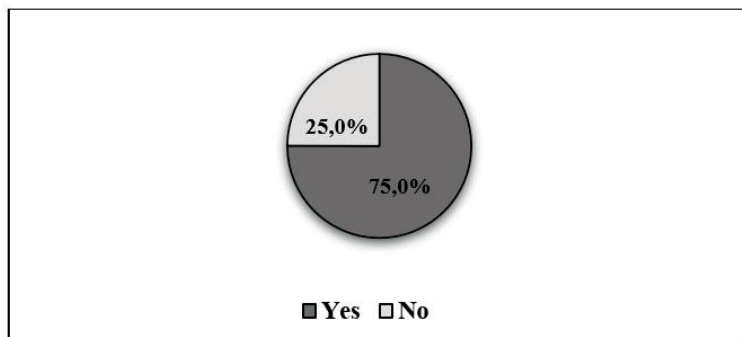


Figure 2: Feeling adequately socialized

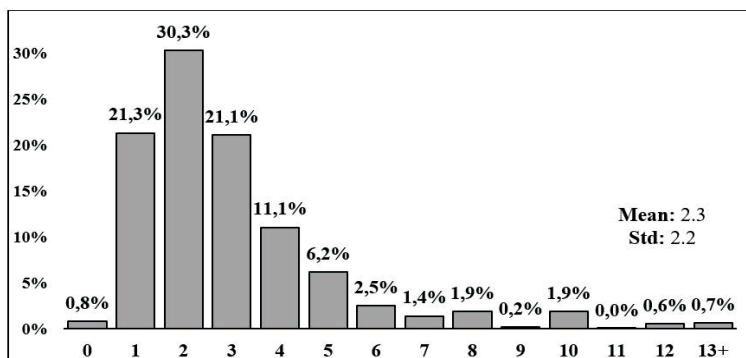


Figure 3: Number of hours spent on social media

Figure 3 shows the frequency distribution for the number of hours young adults spend using social media. The same figure also includes the mean and standard deviation for the same variable. This figure shows that only a very small fraction of the sample (0.8%) said that they never use social media. Most of the respondents (70.7 %) said that they spend up to one (21.3%), two (30.3%) or three hours (21.1%) on social media during a typical day. Around 20% reported that they spend between 4 to 6 hours for the purpose. Around 10% said that they usually spend more than 7 hours or more on social media.

Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics for the control variables. More than half of the same are males (53.3%). The vast majority of the young adults (88.1%) are living with their families. The second largest group are the respondents who are living with their friends (4.6%). Most of the young adults in Türkiye are part of nuclear families (81%). Smaller proportions belong to extended (14%) or separated families (4%). Slightly more than half of the sample (51%) consists of students who do not work. Around a quarter of them are employed and are not students (27.1%). Closer to one-fifth (18.1%) of them are currently unemployed.

Table 1: Descriptive statistics for the control variables

		%	Min	Max	Mean	St. Dev.
	Female	46.7	-	-	-	-
	Male	53.3	-	-	-	-
Employment	Student Not Working	51.0	-	-	-	-
	Student Working	3.9	-	-	-	-
	Employed	27.1	-	-	-	-
	Unemployed	18.1	-	-	-	-
Family Type	Nuclear Family	81.0	-	-	-	-
	Extended Family	15.0	-	-	-	-
	Separated Family	4.0	-	-	-	-
Residence	Dormitory	2.0	-	-	-	-
	With Friends at an Apartment	4.6	-	-	-	-
	Living Alone	4.2	-	-	-	-
	With Relatives	1.1	-	-	-	-
	With Family	88.1	-	-	-	-
	Age	-	15	30	21.9	4.5
	Education	-	1	7	4.8	0.9
	Family Income	-	1	12	3.9	2.5
	Income Satisfaction	-	1	5	2.9	1.1
	Mother's Education	-	1	7	3.5	1.2
	Father's Education	-	1	7	4.0	1.2
	Political Ideology	-	1	10	6.0	2.5

Table 2 presents multinomial logistic regression results that predict the odds of saying “no, I do not want to live with the Syrians in the same neighborhood” and saying “I am undecided” in comparison to saying, “yes, I would live with the Syrian immigrants in the same neighborhood”. This table reveals that among the young adults in Türkiye, men and women are not significantly different in terms of their attitudes toward the Syrian immigrants. However, age is a significant predictor. As the young adults grow older, the odds of saying “no” and saying “I am undecided”

decrease in comparison to saying “yes.” This means that on average anti-immigrant attitudes are more prevalent in the earlier stages of adulthood in Turkish society. On the other hand, increases in household income and income satisfaction levels reduce the likelihood of saying “no,” but increases in these variables do not make any significant difference in terms of saying “I am undecided” in comparison to saying “yes”. These findings imply that individuals with higher income levels and individuals with higher levels of satisfaction with their economic resources are less likely to have negative attitudes towards Syrian immigrants in Türkiye.

Table 2: Multinomial logistic regression results predicting anti-immigrant attitudes

	No				Undecided				
			Lower Bound	Upper Bound			Lower Bound	Upper Bound	
Intercept	1.817	***			.199	*			
Female	-.017		.984	.860	1.125	-.035	.966	.790	1.181
Male	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Age	-.025	**	.975	.957	.993	-.029	* .971	.944	.999
Education	.010		1.010	.931	1.097	-.012	.988	.874	1.116
Household Income	-.034	**	.966	.941	.993	.003	1.003	.963	1.044
Income Satisfaction	-.165	***	.848	.796	.904	.023	1.023	.929	1.126
Student Not Working	.074		1.077	.873	1.329	-.116	.890	.651	1.218
Student Working	-.086		.917	.627	1.342	-.298	.742	.407	1.353
Employed	-.219	*	.804	.657	.983	-.103	.902	.669	1.218
Unemployed	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Political Ideology	.095	***	1.099	1.071	1.129	.055	* 1.056	1.015	1.099
Mother’s Education	.106	**	1.111	1.036	1.192	-.059	.943	.849	1.047
Father’s Education	-.078	*	.925	.862	.992	-.004	.996	.897	1.105
Separated Family	-.136		.873	.609	1.251	.171	1.187	.696	2.023
Extended Family	.130		1.139	.940	1.381	.147	1.158	.877	1.530
Nuclear Family	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dormitory	-.074		.928	.570	1.512	.224	1.251	.635	2.464
With Friends at an Apartment	-.348	*	.706	.533	.935	-.593	* .553	.338	.904
Living Alone	.146		1.157	.794	1.686	.071	1.073	.613	1.878
With Relatives	-.473		.623	.346	1.123	-.126	.882	.376	2.070
With Family	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Time Spent on Social Media	.055	**	1.056	1.023	1.091	.016	** 1.016	.968	1.066
Adequate Socialization (Yes)	-.165	*	.848	.722	.996	-.333	.717	.569	.904
Adequate Socialization (No)	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-

In the same table, we see that being employed in comparison to being unemployed reduces the likelihood of saying “no” but it does not significantly reduce the odds of being undecided as opposed to saying “yes”. Being a working or non-working student does not make a significant difference. Therefore, the main difference is between the employed and unemployed in terms of saying “yes, I would live with Syrian immigrants” and saying “no, I do not want to live with them”. These findings indicate, not surprisingly, that unemployed younger adults are less welcoming of Syrian immigrants in comparison to employed young adults.

Political ideology is a significant predictor of anti-immigrant attitudes. The positive significant coefficients of the political ideology variable reported in Table 2 indicate that there is an increase in anti-immigrant attitudes as we move from leftist ideologies to the right. Therefore, young adults who are closer to right-wing ideologies are less welcoming of Syrian refugees in Türkiye.

Respondents' education does not make a significant difference. However, their parents' education does, albeit in different ways. Increases in fathers' educational levels reduce the likelihood of saying 'no.' On the other hand, increases in mothers' education are associated with the odds of not accepting to live with Syrians in the same neighborhood. In this research, we also investigated if family types hold a significant impact on the young adults' attitudes towards Syrians. Table 2 reveals that respondents from nuclear families are not different from the members of extended families or separated families in this regard. As for the type of residence, only those who are staying with friends in an apartment are significantly different from those who are living with their families. The first group is more likely to say "yes, I would live with the Syrians in the same neighborhood" in comparison to saying "no" or "undecided". In other words, young adults who stay with their friends are more welcoming of Syrians.

Time spent using social media is a significant predictor of anti-immigrant attitudes. Controlling for all the other independent variables included in the model, an increase in the amount of time young adults spend using social media increases the likelihood of saying "No, I do not want to live in the same neighborhood as the Syrians" and the likelihood of saying "undecided" in comparison to saying "yes." Put differently, those who spend less time on social media are more likely to be open to the idea of living with Syrians in the same neighborhood.

The findings indicate that those who say they are adequately socializing are less likely to have negative attitudes towards immigrants. The odds of saying "no, I do not want to live with Syrian immigrants in the same neighborhood" are lower for those who say that they think they are adequately socializing in their daily lives. Yet, the odds of saying "I am undecided" are not significantly different from the odds of saying "yes."

4. Discussion and Conclusion

Confirming the findings of several previous studies (Çimen & Quadır, 2018; Topkaya & Akdağ, 2016), our findings indicate that the vast majority of young adults in Türkiye have negative attitudes towards Syrian refugees, as only 20.5% of the sample said they wanted to live in the same neighborhood as them. Until the arrival of Syrian refugees, Türkiye did not have a visible immigrant population. The TYS questionnaire did not ask the respondents if they would live with immigrants, but they only asked the respondents if they would live with Syrian immigrants. This is an indication that Syrians are perceived as a broad category of immigrants in Türkiye. However, a more detailed study exclusively on attitudes towards immigrants and refugees in Türkiye should include other groups such as Afghans, Iraqis, or Turkmens.

Our findings indicate that young people who spend more time on social media are more likely to have negative attitudes against Syrian immigrants in Türkiye. This finding is in contrast with one previous research study which found that consumptive use of social media (the use of social media in the form of reading comments) and anti-immigrant attitudes were negatively related (Ahmed, Chen, Jaidka, Hooi & Chib, 2021). However, another study conducted during the Covid-19 pandemic in Singapore showed the use of social media increased prejudice against Chinese people (Ahmed, Chen, & Chib, 2021). Based on this contradictory finding, we can argue that the relationship between social media use and anti-immigrant attitudes may be context-bound. The social media platform could also make a difference in anti-immigrant attitudes. However, the survey questionnaire data we used in this paper does not allow us to explore what social media platforms the young adults are using and how they are using them. We also do not know what young people see or say about Syrian immigrants on these platforms. Furthermore, the data set

did not provide us with the opportunity of analyzing any mediating variables such as the type of social media use or the level of trust in social media, which were identified as important factors in previous research (Ahmed, Chen, Jaidka, Hooi & Chib, 2021; Tsai, Phua, Pan and Yang, 2020). The analysis only revealed that the more time young people spend on social media, the more unwelcoming they become towards these groups of immigrants. Future research should include other potential mediators, moderators, and interaction effects in their research design.

Higher household income levels and satisfaction with economic resources are negative predictors of anti-immigrant attitudes. Being employed in comparison to being unemployed has a similar impact. This finding is supported by some previous research, which suggests that higher socioeconomic status reduces anti-immigrant sentiments (Gálvez, Pérez, Cousinou, Azkona, & Domínguez, 2020) and stress regarding resources, jobs and poverty increases negative attitudes towards immigrants (Mierina & Koroleva, 2015). On the other hand, immigration-related social and cultural (sociotropic) concerns might be shaping the attitudes, not the socioeconomic status per se (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014). Therefore, further research is warranted to explore the relationship between socioeconomic status and anti-immigrant sentiments in Türkiye.

Our findings revealed that parents' education also affects the participants' attitudes toward Syrians. Where the level of education experienced by fathers is high participants are more open to living with Syrians in the same neighborhood. However, higher education levels experienced by mothers indicated a negative predictor of hospitality towards the Syrians. This might be related to modernization and secularization. Respondents whose mothers are highly educated in Türkiye come from more modern and secular backgrounds because women living in cities had earlier and easier access to education. Because the vast majority of Syrian immigrants are of Muslim and Arabic background, some secular and nationalist groups seem to have negative attitudes towards the presence of Syrians in Türkiye. This might be the reason why being open to the idea of living in the same neighborhood as Syrians is lower among the young adults whose mothers have higher levels of education. Nonetheless, these unsystematic observations and assumptions should be investigated further.

The factor of socialization has limited capacity to explain the large proportion of the young adults' negative or positive attitudes towards Syrians; at least in the way the survey we used (TYS) measured it. Our socialization analysis is based on the survey question "Do you think you are adequately socializing?" The majority of the respondents said that they think they are adequately socializing. The regression analyses indicated that adequate socialization tends to reduce negative attitudes towards immigrants in line with the previous research (Ahmed, Chen, & Chib, 2021). We also see that the majority of the respondents displayed negative attitudes towards the Syrian immigrants. This is an indication that a large proportion of those who think they are adequately socializing also have negative attitudes. Yet, we understand from the multinomial regression analysis results that the proportion of those who have negative attitudes towards the Syrians is higher among those who think they are lacking in the area of socialization. The survey used in the present study has limitations regarding how socialization is measured. One question is not sufficient to analyze the socialization construct, which has different dimensions. The term "adequate socializing" needs further elaboration. Particularly, the participants' level and type (random contact, friendship) of contact with Syrians would provide valuable insight for the current study's research question. Socialization in the current form provides a thin relationship between participants' understanding of their socialization and their perceptions regarding Syrians. The actual social or psychological mechanism by which inadequate socialization in daily life leads to an-

ti-immigrant attitudes requires further systematic investigation. It is worth exploring the relevance of intergroup contact theory (Allport, 1954), and seeing if increased contact with Syrians reduces the negative attitudes of the youth toward Syrians. Several studies on university students' attitudes in Türkiye (Afyonoğlu & Buz, 2021; Ozaydin, Tanyer, & Akin, 2021; Şen & Keskin, 2019) support the argument that contact with refugees reduces anti-refugee sentiments, but further research is warranted. Future research should include different dimensions of socialization such as the quality and frequency of the contact. The interactions of factors such as socialization, the perceptions toward immigrants (perceived threat or perceived size of the minority group), and anti-immigrant attitudes should be explored. Lastly, political socialization should be included as an important aspect of socialization.

Lastly, there is a need for more recent data as the data was collected in 2018. Türkiye has been going through several social and political developments such as the 2019 local elections, the Covid-19 pandemic, and the war in Ukraine. Erdoğan (2019) identifies 2017 as the year in which Turkish public opinion towards Syrians turned from positive to negative. It is worth exploring whether and in what ways recent societal changes have transformed public opinion again.

Ethics Committee Approval: We used secondary data for this manuscript. The data is quantitative survey data and does not include any identifiable personal data. Therefore, we did not need an ethical approval.

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