

## “Between Us and Them”: National Identification, Refugee Locus of Control, and Attitudes Toward Syrian Refugees in Türkiye

### “Biz ve Onlar Arasında”: Ulusal Kimlik Özdeşimi, Mülteci Kontrol Odağı ve Türkiye’de Suriyeli Mültecilere Yönelik Tutumlar

<sup>1</sup>Deniz ANTMEN 

1 Osmanlıye Korkut Ata Üniversitesi, [antmedeniz@gmail.com](mailto:antmedeniz@gmail.com)

#### Özet

Suriyeli mültecilerin Türkiye’deki uzun süreli varlığı, ev sahibi toplum içindeki sosyo-politik sınırları yeniden şekillendirmiş ve mültecilere yönelik kamusal tutumları önemli bir inceleme konusu hâline getirmiştir. Önceki araştırmalar, güçlü ulusal kimlik özdeşiminin mültecilere yönelik olumsuz tutumlarla ilişkili olduğunu tutarlı biçimde göstermesine rağmen, bu ilişkinin altında yatan sosyal psikolojik mekanizmalar yeterince açıklığa kavuşturulmamıştır. Bu boşluğu gidermeyi amaçlayan mevcut çalışma, Türkiye’de Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik tutumlar ile ulusal kimlik özdeşimi arasındaki ilişkiyi biçimlendiren temel bir düzenleyici mekanizma olarak mülteci kontrol odağını incelemektedir. 42 şehirde yaşayan 552 yerel katılımcıdan elde edilen anket verilerine dayanan bulgular, ulusal kimliğin Suriyeli mültecilere yönelik olumsuz tutumların güçlü ve pozitif bir yordayıcısı olduğunu göstermektedir. Daha da önemlisi, mülteci kontrol odağı bu ilişkiyi anlamlı biçimde düzenlemektedir: Mülteciler içinde buldukları koşullardan kişisel olarak sorumlu algılandığında, ulusal kimlik özdeşimi ile olumsuz tutumlar arasındaki ilişki güçlenmektedir. Bu düzenleyici etki özellikle düşük ve orta düzey ulusal kimlik seviyelerinde daha belirgindir; bu durum, kimliğe dayalı dışlamanın koşullu niteliğine işaret etmektedir. Batı dışı ve göçün yüksek risk taşıdığı bir bağlamda konumlanan bu bulgular, mültecilere yönelik tutumların oluşumunda sorumluluk atfetme süreçlerinin önemini vurgulamakta ve mültecilere yönelik kimlik temelli düşmanlığı azaltmaya yönelik müdahaleler için uygulanabilir çıkarımlar sunmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Türkiye, Mültecilere yönelik tutumlar, Kontrol odağı, Suriyeli mülteciler, Ulusal kimlik özdeşimi

#### Abstract

The prolonged presence of Syrian refugees in Türkiye has reshaped socio-political boundaries within the host society, rendering public attitudes toward refugees a critical object of inquiry. Although prior research consistently demonstrates that stronger national identification is associated with negative refugee attitudes, the social psychological mechanisms underlying this relationship are less well understood. Addressing this gap, the present study examines refugee locus of control as a key moderating mechanism shaping the link between national identification and attitudes toward Syrian refugees in Türkiye. Drawing on survey data from 552 locals residing across 42 cities, the findings reveal that national identification is a strong positive predictor of negative attitudes toward Syrian refugees. Crucially, refugee locus of control significantly moderates this relationship: when refugees are perceived as personally responsible for their circumstances, the association between national identification and negative attitudes is amplified. The moderating effect is particularly pronounced at low to moderate levels of national identification, highlighting the conditional nature of identity-based exclusion. Situated within a non-Western, high-stakes migration context, the findings underscore the importance of responsibility attribution processes in the formation of refugee attitudes and provide actionable insights for interventions aimed at mitigating identity-based hostility toward refugees.

**Keywords:** Türkiye, Refugee attitudes, Locus of control, Syrian refugees, National identification

Editör: Mehmet Fatih GÜLOĞLU

Sorumlu Yazar: Deniz ANTMEN

Gönderim Tarihi: 21.02.2026

Revize Tarihi: 09.04.2026

Kabul Tarihi: 02.12.2024

Yayınlanma Tarihi: 04.05.2026

Antmen, D., (2026). “Between Us and them”: National identification, refugee locus of control, and attitudes toward Syrian refugees in Türkiye. *Ortadoğu ve Göç*, 16, 1-15. <https://doi.org/10.31834/ortadoguvegoc.1894716>

**Copyright:** © 2026 yazarlar tarafından [Creative Commons \(CC BY\)](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/) lisansı kapsamında açık erişim olarak yayınlanmıştır.

## 1. Introduction

A societal uprising that began in the Middle East in 2010 initiated a profound socio-political transformation across the region (Agdemir, 2016). By 2011, this wave of political unrest—commonly referred to as the Arab Spring (Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, n.d.)—had escalated into a complex civil war in Syria, with devastating consequences for both the country and its population (Karovska-Andonovska & Dovichinski, 2024). The conflict resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands, rendered large portions of housing uninhabitable, and severely disrupted both economic activity and social networks (World Bank Group, 2017). These conditions led to the displacement of approximately 5.5 million Syrians to neighboring countries, including Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, Egypt, and Türkiye. Consequently, by 2019, Türkiye had become the country hosting the largest number of Syrian refugees worldwide, with 3,614,108 individuals officially registered by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2019).

What initially emerged as a temporary settlement in Türkiye has gradually evolved into a protracted refugee presence, triggering a deep societal transformation across the country. At the economic level, this long-term coexistence has been associated with both emerging opportunities (e.g., increased labor demand and redirected postwar investments) and mounting challenges (e.g., rising housing costs and inflation in refugee-dense regions) (Aslan & Savranlar, 2025; Orhan & Gündoğar, 2015). In the political sphere, migration governance in Türkiye has evolved through a series of legislative reforms, particularly changes concerning work permits and citizenship regulations (Akcapar & Şimşek, 2018). At the societal level, cultural and linguistic differences between the local population and Syrian refugees have contributed to growing tensions, especially within national identity-centered discourses (e.g., constructions of “us” versus “them” within the nation-state) (Baban & Rygiel, 2018).

Amid the uncertainty generated by such large-scale restructuring, social scientists have sought to identify the key intergroup processes that shape host society responses to refugees. In this context, a substantial body of research has focused on local attitudes toward refugees (e.g., Alakoc et al., 2021; Çirakoğlu et al., 2019; Morgül & Savaşkan, 2021), given the well-established role of attitudes in intergroup relations, including discrimination, levels of social cohesion, and conflict dynamics (Ajzen & Fishbein, 2005). Moreover, refugee attitudes have been regarded as a critical early indicator, as examining them before they escalate into xenophobic behaviors or hate crimes is essential for the development of preventive and intervention-oriented policies (Ünal, 2014). This dual concern—advancing theoretical understanding while informing practical responses—is also reflected in the growing literature on Syrian refugees in Türkiye, particularly in light of the shifting trajectories of public attitudes over time.

Accordingly, early research on refugee attitudes in Türkiye suggests that the initial arrival of Syrian refugees was approached through a humanitarian lens, characterized by hospitality toward war-affected populations and relatively unpolarized public attitudes (Tolay, 2013). Consistent with this framing, some segments of the local population evaluated the presence of refugees as beneficial to the broader community (Topal et al., 2017) and expressed empathy for the severe living conditions they endured (Yitmen & Verkuyten, 2017). However, emerging concerns regarding the perceived permanence of refugee populations, cultural integration, and threats to economic well-being began to foster negative evaluations (Alakoc et al., 2023; Genç & Özdemir, 2015). As the refugee presence became more prolonged, negative public attitudes intensified, driven by refugees' perceived failure to integrate into society and the resulting pressures on urban life (Düşündere & Çilingir, 2017). More recent public opinion trends indicate that these negative attitudes have continued, with growing skepticism and concern among the population (Kınıklioğlu, 2020). Research in the early 2020s shows a rising proportion of locals favoring restrictions on refugee stays or advocating return to Syria, often in association with economic concerns, competition over resources, and compassion fatigue, as initial empathetic responses appear to have given way to feelings of exhaustion and strain over time (Alakoc et al., 2021). This trend has been mirrored in periods of heightened social tension, including the 2024 anti-refugee riots in multiple cities, where xenophobic sentiment and calls for border closures gained public visibility (Agos, 2024; Al Jazeera, 2024; Bianet, 2024).

Qualitative evidence that provides a deeper understanding of public attitudes toward Syrian refugees in Türkiye indicates that these attitudes are multidimensional and dynamic. The findings help explain the emergence of specific patterns of prejudice and discrimination by revealing the influence of economic, social, and cultural factors, thereby offering a richer understanding of the processes underlying these perceptions. For example, Özenç-Ira et al. (2023) show that refugee students experience high levels of prejudice and marginalization, with labeling as “other” undermining their sense of belonging, participation, and engagement within university life. Similarly, Tapan et al. (2024) and Şafak-Ayvazoğlu et al. (2020) find that Syrian refugees face discrimination across professional and social contexts; even those who are highly qualified frequently receive lower wages and differential treatment compared to their local counterparts. Negative media narratives further reinforce adverse perceptions,

portraying refugees as competitors for scarce resources (Şafak-Ayvazoğlu et al., 2020), alongside depersonalized portrayals (Pandir, 2022).

Importantly, the local population in Türkiye does not hold uniformly negative views toward Syrian refugees; rather, they also evaluate them through positive lenses (Şeker, 2023; Alakoc et al., 2023), such as valuing the cultural diversity that emerges from co-existence (Girgin & Cebeci, 2017). However, negative perceptions—particularly those related to economic competition, pressure on social services, and perceived challenges to cultural norms—tend to be more salient among the local population. In this context, Syrian refugees are often associated with security risks, including crime and terrorism. Moreover, their growing numbers, along with the public expenditures allocated to them, are perceived as additional societal burdens. These concerns are further exacerbated by the presence of undocumented refugees, which has been shown to intensify security anxieties and, in turn, heighten negative sentiments (Girgin & Cebeci, 2017). At the same time, refugees' employment, residence, or language acquisition does not necessarily reflect meaningful social integration, as many remain in Türkiye due to lack of alternatives (Imrie-Kuzu & Özerdem, 2023). Consequently, Syrian refugees' cultural adaptation in Türkiye is often limited, resulting in constrained integration that reinforces host community anxieties (Şafak-Ayvazoğlu et al., 2020; Biçer, 2017).

While the literature reviewed highlights that attitudes toward refugees are shaped by a wide array of contextual factors, a consistently observed *psychological pattern* is the role of *national identification* as a robust predictor of exclusionary evaluations. In particular, strong national identification among locals emerges as a key predictor of hostility, with individuals who closely identify with the Turkish nation being more likely to perceive refugees as threats to national cohesion and security (Aktas et al., 2018; Gülyaşar, 2017; Yitmen & Verkuyten, 2017). These negative attitudes, in turn, are associated with diminished empathy toward Syrian refugees (Aktas et al., 2018), a higher likelihood of engaging in adverse behaviors (e.g., protesting against them), and a lower likelihood of positive behaviors (e.g., providing assistance, socializing, or advocating on their behalf) (Yitmen & Verkuyten, 2018). Qualitative evidence further suggests that such attitudes are often legitimized through nationalist discourses, portraying Syrian men as individuals who “flee from the war” and “fail to defend their country” (Güney & Konak, 2016). Notably, these patterns resonate with broader international literature, which similarly highlights the role of heightened national identification in shaping negative perceptions and exclusionary behaviors toward refugees (e.g., Brylka et al., 2015; Grigoryan, 2016; Wieners, 2017).

Despite this empirical regularity, the *social-psychological* processes through which national identification translates into negative attitudes toward refugees remain insufficiently specified. Addressing this gap is critical not only for advancing theoretical precision but also for informing interventions, as without a clearer understanding of the underlying mechanisms, it remains difficult to explain for whom and under what conditions national attachment fosters hostility rather than solidarity. The social-psychological approach offers a valuable lens in this regard by unpacking the processes that convert broad feelings of national belonging into concrete intergroup evaluations. Thus, the present study aims to examine the role of a relatively overlooked social psychological factor in the relationship between national identification and attitudes toward Syrian refugees in Türkiye, namely the immigrant locus of control (LoC), drawing on the work of Harell et al. (2017).

Harell et al. (2017) anchor their conceptualization in Rotter's (1954) original theorization of locus of control as a generalized expectancy regarding whether outcomes are self-determined (internal control) or governed by external forces such as chance or powerful others (external control). Extending this intrapsychic construct to the intergroup level, they reconstrue locus of control as an attributional judgment through which members of a host society assign responsibility to an outgroup. Specifically, Harell and colleagues (2017) distinguished between an “immigrant internal LoC,” in which people see immigrants as responsible for migration outcomes and perceive that immigrants themselves can exert increasing influence over the situation, in contrast to “immigrant external LoC,” in which migration outcomes are attributed to external factors rather than to immigrants themselves.

While prior research conceptually suggests that such perceptions can shape attitudes toward immigrants, empirical evidence—particularly regarding Syrian refugees in Türkiye—is relatively scarce, and the potential moderating role of LoC in the link between national identification and refugee attitudes has yet to be examined. Thus, the present study specifically aims to examine whether immigrant locus of control plays a moderating role in shaping the relationship between national identification and attitudes toward refugees. However, it should be noted that although Harell et al.'s (2017) conceptualization was broadly framed in terms of immigrant locus of control, the present study specifically adapts and refines it as *refugee locus of control*. The term *refugee* is deliberately preferred over *migrant* to acknowledge the forced nature of displacement (Abdelaaty & Hamlin, 2022) and to reflect the specific legal and political context of Syrians in Türkiye (Ineli-Ciger, 2018). Further, instead of preserving the

internal–external dichotomy, the present study conceptualizes refugee locus of control as a general attributional tendency indexing the degree to which refugees are perceived as responsible for their own situation.

Focusing on refugee locus of control is particularly important because large-scale social transformations—such as forced migration—constitute not only material disruptions but also interpretive challenges for host societies. In contexts characterized by heightened uncertainty, rapid demographic shifts, and perceived pressures on resources, individuals may feel compelled to render complex social realities intelligible by attributing responsibility to those directly affected by the humanitarian crisis. Within this interpretive process, locus of control may function as a core attributional schema through which individuals make sense of both the origins and consequences of displacement. It may shape whether refugees are perceived as autonomous agents accountable for their circumstances or as individuals whose trajectories are constrained by structural forces. This distinction carries significant implications, as responsibility attributions are known to organize broader intergroup evaluations, including moral judgments (Weiner, 1995) and assessments of deservingness (van Oorschot, 2000). Accordingly, believing that refugees are to blame for their situation may be associated with lower levels of empathy, increased support for exclusionary policies, and a diminished sense of their deservingness of assistance.

Drawing on the theoretical and empirical foundations outlined above, the present study pursues two interrelated objectives. First, it aims to replicate and extend existing research by examining the association between national identification and attitudes toward Syrian refugees in Türkiye. Second, it seeks to illuminate the underlying dynamics of this relationship by investigating the potential moderating role of refugee locus of control (LoC). Specifically, the study tests two hypotheses: Hypothesis 1 predicts that higher levels of national identification among local residents are associated with more negative attitudes toward Syrian refugees in Türkiye. Hypothesis 2 predicts that refugee LoC moderates this relationship, such that greater attribution of responsibility to refugees strengthens the association between national identification and negative attitudes. In doing so, the study offers an integrative account that links a specific socio-political context to individual-level analysis in ways that inform policy and intervention efforts.

The present study not only advances theoretical understanding of the social-psychological mechanisms shaping host society responses to refugees but also makes a novel contribution by incorporating a well-established personality construct into the study of intergroup attitudes within a non-Western, high-stakes migration context. In settings such as Türkiye, where refugee populations represent a highly visible and enduring presence, distinguishing whether the valence of local attitudes arises from structural explanations emphasizing broader socio-political conditions or from attributions of responsibility to the refugees themselves offers a conceptually grounded framework for interpreting host society reactions. More specifically, differentiating structural explanations (e.g., economic scarcity) from individual-level perceptions could illuminate how host populations cognitively and emotionally construct the “other.” Theoretically, this focus enriches social-psychological scholarship by highlighting how responsibility attributions shape intergroup evaluations, emphasizing the psychological pathways that mediate prejudice and exclusion. Practically, it provides guidance to policymakers and practitioners in designing more targeted strategies to reduce hostility in contexts marked by prolonged refugee presence.

## Method

### 1.1. Participants

The total number of participants prior to the analysis was 667. However, 98 individuals did not complete the survey. In addition, because the current study aimed to measure the attitudes of locals in Türkiye, 9 participants residing abroad were removed from the dataset. Finally, 1 multivariate and 7 univariate outliers were excluded from the study. As a result, data from 552 participants were retained for the analysis. The sample comprised 294 females (53.3%) and 258 males (46.7%), with ages ranging from 16 to 70 years ( $M = 34.45$ ,  $SD = 12.58$ ). Participants reported residing in 42 different provinces, with the majority living in larger metropolitan areas in Türkiye, including İstanbul ( $n = 90$ ), Ankara ( $n = 86$ ), and İzmir ( $n = 43$ ). Additional concentrations were observed in Adana ( $n = 72$ ), Osmaniye ( $n = 56$ ), and Mersin ( $n = 49$ ). The number of participants from the remaining provinces were as follows: Afyon ( $n=2$ ), Aksaray ( $n=2$ ), Antalya ( $n=8$ ), Artvin ( $n=1$ ), Aydın ( $n=8$ ), Balıkesir ( $n=1$ ), Bolu ( $n=1$ ), Bursa ( $n=15$ ), Çanakkale ( $n=1$ ), Düzce ( $n=4$ ), Edirne ( $n=1$ ), Eskişehir ( $n=3$ ), Gaziantep ( $n=9$ ), Gümüşhane ( $n=1$ ), Hatay ( $n=20$ ), Kahramanmaraş ( $n=5$ ), Kayseri ( $n=3$ ), Kırıkkale ( $n=1$ ), Kırklareli ( $n=5$ ), Kocaeli ( $n=10$ ), Konya ( $n=5$ ), Kütahya ( $n=2$ ), Malatya ( $n=4$ ), Manisa ( $n=2$ ), Mardin ( $n=2$ ), Muğla ( $n=10$ ), Ordu ( $n=5$ ), Sakarya ( $n=1$ ), Samsun ( $n=2$ ), Şanlıurfa ( $n=10$ ), Şırnak ( $n=1$ ), Tekirdağ ( $n=5$ ), Trabzon ( $n=1$ ), Tunceli ( $n=2$ ), Van ( $n=2$ ), and Yalova ( $n=1$ ). For a visual representation of participants’



reverse-coded. Responses were recorded on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree), with higher scores indicate stronger responsibility attribution toward refugees. The subscale demonstrated moderate internal reliability in the current sample ( $\alpha = .61$ ,  $N = 552$ ).

### 1.3. Procedure

Ethical approval was obtained from the XXX Ethics Committee prior to data collection. Data for the present study were collected in 2019, when displacement from Syria had shifted from an emergent to a protracted condition in Türkiye (see Saygı, 2024). The survey was administered using two methods. First, a portion of the data was collected from university students in classroom settings using a paper-and-pencil format. Participation in this portion was voluntary, and students received extra credit for their involvement. Given the recruitment method, this subset represents a convenience sample, reflecting readily accessible participants. Second, an online survey was prepared using Qualtrics and disseminated through social media platforms (including Facebook and Instagram) and email invitations sent to relevant online groups focused on immigration studies. Participation in the online survey was entirely voluntary, and respondents self-selected to participate. Therefore, this portion of the sample constitutes non-probability sampling, specifically self-selection sampling. Following initial data collection, it became evident that male respondents were disproportionately represented relative to female respondents. To mitigate potential gender-related response bias and enhance the representativeness of the sample with respect to gender, a targeted recruitment notice was subsequently circulated online, inviting only female participants to complete the survey, until parity was reached.

The purpose of the study was presented to participants as research on attitudes toward Syrian refugees in Türkiye. At the beginning of the survey, participants were provided with an informed consent form, which briefly explained their ethical rights, the study's objectives, and contact information for the researchers. The second part of the survey collected demographic information. This was followed by the administration of the attitude scale, the national identification scale, and the refugee-specific locus of control (LoC) scale, presented in that order. The sequence of the scales was deliberately chosen to minimize potential priming effects: by first measuring attitudes toward refugees, participants' spontaneous evaluations are captured without immediately triggering reflections on national identity. Subsequently, administering the national identification scale allows for the assessment of identity-related self-concepts without contamination from explicit attributional reasoning, while the refugee-specific locus of control scale is placed last to avoid influencing responses on both prior measures. This design ensures that each construct is measured with minimal order-induced bias, thereby enhancing the reliability of the data. At the conclusion of the survey, participants received a debriefing, which offered a more detailed explanation of the study's objectives and expressed gratitude for their scientific contribution. The online survey took approximately 10 minutes to complete, whereas the paper-pencil version generally required about 20 minutes.

## 2. Findings

Participants reported relatively high levels of national identification ( $M = 4.73$ ,  $SD = 1.81$ ) alongside moderate to high levels of negative attitudes toward Syrian refugees ( $M = 3.20$ ,  $SD = 0.94$ ). Scores on refugee locus of control ( $M = 3.09$ ,  $SD = 0.86$ ) were slightly above moderate, indicating a tendency to ascribe personal responsibility to refugees for the hardships they face. Mean scores, standard deviations, and the reliability statistics of the scales are presented in Table 1.

**Table 1. Means, Standard Deviations, and Reliability Statistics**

Variables	Likert Scale	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	$\alpha$
Negative Attitude	1-5	552	3.20	.94	.94
National Identification	1-7	552	4.73	1.81	.96
Refugee LoC	1-5	552	3.09	.86	.61

Note. LoC = Locus of control; N = Sample size; M = Mean; SD = Standard deviation;  $\alpha$  = Cronbach's alpha.

Correlation analyses indicated that negative attitudes toward Syrian refugees were strongly and positively correlated with national identification ( $r = .60, p < .01$ ), and with refugee LoC ( $r = .66, p < .01$ ). National identification was moderately and positively correlated with refugee LoC ( $r = .46, p < .01$ ). These results suggest that, in Türkiye, higher levels of national identification are associated with stronger negative attitudes toward Syrian refugees. Furthermore, the significant correlation between refugee LoC and negative attitudes indicates that participants who perceive refugees as more personally responsible for their hardships also tend to hold more negative attitudes toward them. Finally, the positive correlation between national identification and refugee LoC demonstrates that stronger identification with one's nationality is linked to a greater tendency to ascribe responsibility to refugees for their circumstances (see Table 2).

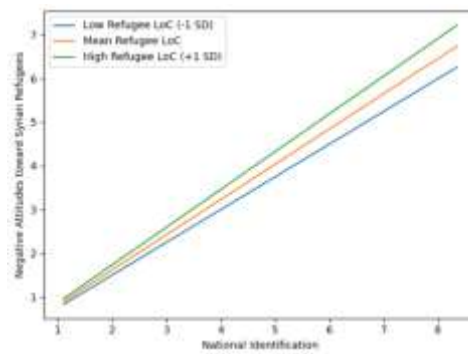
**Table 2. Correlations among Study Variables**

Variables	1	2	3
1 Negative Attitude	1		
2 National Identification	.60*	1	
3 Refugee LoC	.66*	.46*	1

Note. LoC = Locus of control; \* $p < .01$ , two-tailed.

A simple linear regression analysis was conducted to test the first hypothesis, which proposed that national identification would predict negative attitudes toward Syrian refugees. Negative attitudes were regressed on national identification, and the model was found to be significant ( $Adj. R^2 = .36, F(1, 550) = 311.18, p < .001$ ). National identification emerged as a significant positive predictor of negative attitudes toward Syrian refugees ( $\beta = .60, p < .001$ ), explaining 36% of the variance in negative attitudes. These findings support the first hypothesis. To test the second hypothesis, which proposed that refugee locus of control (LoC) moderates the relationship between national identification and negative attitudes toward Syrian refugees, a moderation analysis was conducted using hierarchical regression. In the first step, national identification and refugee LoC were entered as predictors of negative attitudes. In the second step, the interaction term between national identification and refugee LoC was added to the model. The overall regression model was significant ( $Adj. R^2 = .56, F(3, 548) = 233.90, p < .001$ ). Importantly, the inclusion of the interaction term resulted in a significant increase in explained variance ( $\Delta R^2 = .01, p < .01$ ), indicating the presence of a moderation effect.

The moderation hypothesis was further examined using Hayes' PROCESS macro for Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (Model 1), with 5,000 bootstrap samples and 95% confidence intervals. Results revealed a significant interaction between national identification and refugee LoC in predicting negative attitudes toward Syrian refugees ( $b = .067, t(548) = 3.62, p < .01$ ). Thus, the second hypothesis, which predicted a moderating role of refugee LoC, was supported. Inspection of the interaction plot indicated that higher levels of refugee LoC strengthened the positive relationship between national identification and negative attitudes toward Syrian refugees, compared to lower levels of refugee LoC. In other words, when individuals perceived refugees as being more responsible for their circumstances, the association between national identification and negative attitudes became stronger. Further examination suggested that the moderating effect of refugee LoC was particularly evident at low to moderate levels of national identification (see Figure 2).



**Figure 2.** Refugee Locus of Control (LoC) in Predicting Negative Attitudes Toward Syrian Refugees

### 3. Discussion

By 2019, Türkiye hosted the largest refugee population worldwide, making it an important non-Western context for examining intergroup dynamics between refugees and the host society. Against this backdrop, this study aimed to deepen understanding of the social-psychological mechanisms that shape local populations' responses to Syrian refugees in Türkiye. Specifically, it sought to illustrate how individual-level psychological processes—such as national identification and refugee locus of control—can shed light on macro-level socio-political dynamics, including public attitudes and intergroup tensions. To this end, two hypotheses were tested: first, that stronger national identification would predict more negative attitudes toward Syrian refugees (Hypothesis 1); and second, that attributing personal responsibility to refugees would strengthen the relationship between national identification and negative attitudes (Hypothesis 2). The results supported both hypotheses, indicating that negative attitudes in Türkiye are influenced not only by identity-related concerns but also by attributional judgments regarding refugees' perceived role in shaping their circumstances. Overall, the study offers a nuanced framework for understanding the interplay between individual psychology and societal processes, underscoring the value of social-psychological approaches in analyzing host society responses to displaced populations and guiding interventions aimed at promoting more inclusive intergroup relations.

Consistent with prior research, participants reported generally high levels of national identification (see also Bilali et al., 2018; Sayılan et al., 2024; Yitmen & Verkuyten, 2017) alongside moderate to high negative attitudes toward Syrian refugees (see also Düşündere & Çilingir, 2017; Karaman, 2022; Kınıkloğlu, 2020; Özdemir et al., 2023). These findings underscore the persistence of identity-based concerns within the host society, potentially reflecting broader socio-political anxieties regarding national cohesion and security. Supporting this expectation, correlation and regression analyses revealed a robust positive relationship between national identification and negative attitudes, indicating that individuals with stronger national identification are more likely to hold unfavorable views of Syrian refugees.

Interpreting these findings in the context of the broader literature requires considering theoretical perspectives on the psychological and social foundations of *national identification*. Kelman (1997) suggests that at the core of national identification lies a universal human need: to be protected in terms of interests and rights, alongside the need to uphold dignity, which, in this context, can be meaningfully construed as pertaining to the nation. As individuals develop attachment to their nation, they cultivate loyalty toward fellow members of the same national community. In this way, people gain an opportunity to define themselves as part of a distinct population committed to safeguarding the country's independent existence and territorial integrity, rather than as members of an undifferentiated collective. This specified relationship between the population and the nation fosters feelings of self-respect and perceived control over one's life (Kelman, 1997).

More specifically, identification with the nation establishes a form of psychological control over one's roles and social position, as it is formed through a conscious, willful act (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000). During this process, individuals construct their

self-concepts partly based on shared elements of the nation—such as language, religion, collective memories, history, traditions, customs, and societal values—which provide members of the ingroup a foundation for secure and comfortable interaction (Kelman, 1997). These common cultural and material elements, together with the sense of connectedness forged through bonds among group members and the resulting feeling of belonging, not only foster ingroup cohesion but also, as a corollary, serve to distinguish ingroup members from outgroups in a meaningful way (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000). This dynamic of ingroup–outgroup differentiation becomes particularly consequential when ethnic culture emerges as a defining feature of the nation. In such cases, minorities—including immigrants or refugees—face an elevated risk of social exclusion, since they may be perceived as lacking the nation’s core defining traits (Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2014).

Moreover, some researchers emphasize that social categories are often structured by the state as a governing institution to manage populations more effectively, rendering the influence of state power on national identification unavoidable (Kertzer & Ariel, 2002). Similarly, Grotenhuis (2016) argues that state policies promoting homogeneity among members of the same nation play a central role in shaping a dominant national identity. These policies are driven by the goal of fostering cooperation among co-nationals, thereby enhancing societal security and stability. Within this framework, the assimilation or integration of minority groups, such as refugees, is rendered a justified and rationalized process (Grotenhuis, 2016). Supporting this politically grounded premise, Aydemir (2023) argues that political parties in Türkiye predominantly frame forced migration in negative and often exclusionary terms, with a notable decline in the initially supportive discourse toward Syrian refugees. Notably, ethnicity emerges as a central factor shaping party positions in Türkiye, influencing the interpretation and politicization of migration. More broadly, debates on refugees in the country are rarely considered in isolation; instead, they are situated within wider political conflicts, foreign policy concerns, and critiques of government performance (Aydemir, 2022).

Taken together, insights from the relevant literature provide a compelling backdrop for interpreting the present findings. The observed positive association between national identification and negative attitudes toward Syrian refugees may reflect deeper socio-psychological processes, whereby strong national attachment reinforces ingroup cohesion, defines boundaries with outsiders, and legitimizes exclusionary tendencies toward those perceived as lacking core national traits.

Importantly, present findings further suggest that refugee locus of control significantly moderates the relationship between national identification and attitudes toward Syrian refugees. Specifically, perceiving refugees as personally responsible for their hardships amplified the association between national identification and negative attitudes. This finding highlights the central role of attributional processes in shaping intergroup perceptions: when refugees are seen as accountable for their circumstances, negative attitudes may be framed as legitimate or deserved, thereby reinforcing the link between identity-based concerns and exclusionary evaluations. The moderation effect was particularly pronounced at low to moderate levels of national identification, suggesting that attributional beliefs about refugees’ responsibility may function as a catalyst for negativity especially among individuals whose national identification is not strongly consolidated, effectively elevating their attitudes to levels comparable to those observed among highly identified individuals.

These findings align with broader evidence indicating that attributing responsibility to disadvantaged outgroups is associated with a stronger endorsement of exclusionary responses (e.g., Harell et al., 2017; Van Oorschot, 2000). As noted earlier, national identification encompasses a concern with safeguarding collective interests, preserving social cohesion, and upholding the nation’s dignity (Kelman, 1997). When refugees are construed as survivors of uncontrollable external forces (e.g., war), nation-based concerns may be mitigated by humanitarian norms and empathic considerations. By contrast, when refugees are perceived as agents of their own misfortune, identity-based concerns can be reframed through an exclusionary lens, such that restrictive or punitive responses come to be seen as fair or justified reactions to presumed irresponsibility. Further, Hirsch et al. (2021) argue that attributing broader societal problems to outgroups—such as immigrants—enhances perceived ingroup control by, in the authors’ interpretation, “reinforcing beliefs in collective agency.” In this light, construing refugees as responsible may

serve a dual function: it not only legitimizes their marginalization but also restores a sense of order, coherence, and control within the national ingroup.

The present findings underscore the powerful role of social-psychological processes in shaping perceptions of social reality, regardless of structural circumstances. Structurally, the initial drivers of migration from Syria were rooted in the political crisis and widespread instability caused by the war, including deaths, the rise of illegal groups, and the intensification of ethnic divisions exploited by radical organizations (Harunoğulları & Cengiz, 2014). Subsequently, many Syrian refugees' return aspirations became largely conditional: while most express a willingness to return if conditions improve, many nonetheless experience involuntary stays due to limited migration options, destroyed homes, and insufficient income opportunities (Kayaoglu et al., 2021). These structural constraints notwithstanding, the findings suggest that refugees may still be held psychologically responsible for their situation by the local population in Türkiye, a perception that in turn predicts negative attitudes with a high potential to escalate into intergroup conflict.

Within the specific context of Türkiye, attributional processes concerning refugees appear particularly consequential. In Türkiye's recent socio-political climate—marked by prolonged economic strain, rising living costs, and visible competition over employment (Coskun, 2022; Çelik & Lüküslü, 2018; Dev et al., 2025; Doğan et al., 2025)—responsibility attributions to refugees may function as cognitive shortcuts. Economic crises are inherently complex and difficult to grasp at the individual level (Leiser & Shemesh, 2018). Under such conditions, individuals may experience heightened uncertainty and vulnerability (Marta, 2025). This, in turn, can make them more sensitive to questions of who is to blame and when (Bal & van den Bos, 2012). Attributing responsibility to “refugees” may direct attention to a concrete group, thereby rendering the situation more cognitively manageable. In this sense, responsibility attributions may operate as a simplifying mechanism that translates structural crises into outgroup-based blame.

The present findings suggest that the interplay of strong national identification and attributions of personal responsibility to Syrian refugees in Türkiye functions as a key mechanism in constructing a salient ‘us versus them’ distinction between the local population and refugees. Specifically, when refugees are perceived as accountable for their hardships, identity-based concerns are reframed through an exclusionary lens, legitimizing negative attitudes and reinforcing social boundaries between ingroup and outgroup members. In this context, responsibility attributions toward disadvantaged outgroup members do not merely reflect attitudes; they actively shape how structural crises are cognitively organized and socio-politically interpreted. These insights point to the need for interventions that go beyond individual attitudes and address systemic and interactional dimensions of coexistence.

From this perspective, well-planned and coordinated refugee integration policies in Türkiye appear essential to reduce ‘us versus them’ divisions among the local population and refugees. For instance, investments in local infrastructure and services can ease competition over housing and employment. Similarly, targeted job training programs or local employment initiatives that include both refugees and residents can help reduce economic tensions and foster shared economic opportunities. At the same time, initiatives that encourage sustained and meaningful interactions—such as community volunteering programs, joint cultural events, or language exchange workshops—can foster mutual understanding and collective goals. These interactions may create opportunities for dialogue, reduce prejudice, and build shared experiences that strengthen social cohesion.

### **3.1. Limitations**

Despite the study's contributions, several limitations should be acknowledged. First, although regression analyses were conducted to examine predictive relationships, the method is inherently correlational and cannot establish causality. Additionally, regression models may be sensitive to unmeasured variables and assume linear relationships, which could limit the precision and generalizability of the findings. Second, the reliance on self-report measures may introduce social desirability, especially given the

sensitive nature of attitudes toward refugees. Third, the sample was drawn using a non-probability convenience sampling method, which limits the generalizability of the findings. Since such a sampling strategy is inherently prone to selection bias, it constrains the generalizability of the findings to the broader population. Fourth, while demographic information was collected, these variables were not analyzed in relation to the study's central constructs. As such, the current study cannot provide insight into how national identification, negative refugee attitudes, or attributions of personal responsibility are distributed across different demographic groups. Fifth, the absence of ethnic identity data precludes examination of potential differences in responses based on social background. Sixth, the internal reliability of the refugee locus of control scale was moderate ( $\alpha = .61$ ), which may limit the precision of the findings related to this construct. Finally, the study focused exclusively on Syrian refugees in Türkiye, so the findings cannot be directly applied to other refugee groups or countries, given the distinctive socio-political characteristics of each setting.

### **3.2. Implications for Future Research**

Future research could address the above-stated limitations by employing probabilistic sampling strategies to enhance the generalizability of findings. In addition, analyses should examine how demographic variables—including education, age, income, gender, and ethnic identity—relate to national identification, refugee locus of control, and attitudes toward refugees, providing insight into the distribution of these constructs across subgroups. Complementing survey-based self-report measures with multiple data sources—such as behavioral tasks, peer reports, and experimental or longitudinal designs—would allow for a more precise and causally informative understanding of the processes under investigation. Ultimately, combining qualitative and quantitative approaches—such as integrating in-depth interviews, focus groups, or narrative analyses with survey and behavioral data—could provide richer, more nuanced insights into how structural crises, economic pressures, and intergroup dynamics shape attitudes and perceptions, while strengthening the overall robustness and applicability of the findings.

### **4. Conclusion**

This study provides a nuanced understanding of the social-psychological mechanisms that shape host society responses to Syrian refugees in Türkiye. By demonstrating that national identification predicts negative attitudes and that these attitudes are further intensified when refugees are perceived as personally responsible for their circumstances, the research highlights the critical role of both identity-based and attributional processes in intergroup evaluations. The study's contribution is twofold: theoretically, it extends the application of locus of control to a non-Western, high-salience refugee context, offering a novel lens for examining how perceived responsibility can amplify exclusionary tendencies; practically, it underscores the importance of policy and community interventions that address not only structural and economic pressures but also the attitudinal dimensions of host-refugee relations. In doing so, the findings provide evidence-based guidance for strategies aimed at reducing prejudice, fostering empathy, and promoting more inclusive intergroup interactions in contexts marked by prolonged refugee presence and socio-economic challenges. Ultimately, this research advances both scholarly understanding and practical approaches to managing complex migration dynamics, emphasizing the interplay between individual psychology and broader societal processes.

## 5. References

- Abdelaaty, L., & Hamlin, R. (2022). The politics of the migrant/refugee binary. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 20(2), 233–239. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2022.2056669>
- Agdemir, A. M. (2016). The Arab Spring and Israel's relations with Egypt: A view from Turkey. *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, 10(2), 223–235. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23739770.2016.1221154>
- Ajzen, I., & Fishbein, M. (2005). The influence of attitudes on behavior. In D. Albarracín, B. T. Johnson, M. P. Zanna. (Eds.), *The Handbook of Attitudes* (pp. 173-221). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Akcapar, S. K., & Simsek, D. (2018b). The Politics of Syrian Refugees in Turkey: A Question of Inclusion and Exclusion through Citizenship. *Social Inclusion*, 6(1), 176–187. <https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v6i1.1323>
- Aktas, V., Tepe, Y. K., & Persson, R. S. (2018). Investigating Turkish university students' attitudes towards refugees in a time of Civil War in neighboring Syria. *Current Psychology*, 40(2), 553–562. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12144-018-9971-y>
- Alakoc, B. P., Göksel, G. U., & Zarychta, A. (2021). Political Discourse and Public Attitudes toward Syrian Refugees in Turkey. *Comparative Politics*, 54(3), 547–571. <https://doi.org/10.5129/001041522x16263065025324>
- Alakoc, B. P., Zarychta, A., & Goksel, G. U. (2023). Public attitudes about integration and citizenship for refugees: Evidence from Turkey. *Politics & Policy*, 51(5), 775–799. <https://doi.org/10.1111/polp.12551>
- Antmen, D. (2019). *The relationship between national identification and attitude towards Syrian refugees in the context of Turkey: The role of social contact and locus of control factors* [Unpublished master's thesis]. Middle East Technical University.
- Aslan, A., & Savranlar, B. (2025). The economic effects of migration movements from Syria to Middle East: Evidence from Host Countries. *Ortadoğu ve Göç*, 15(1), 10–42. <https://doi.org/10.31834/ortadoguvegoc.1621350>
- Aydemir, N. (2022). Framing Syrian refugees in Turkish politics: a qualitative analysis on party group speeches. *Territory Politics Governance*, 11(4), 658–676. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2021.2012247>
- Baban, F., & Rygiel, K. (2018). *Living together: Fostering cultural pluralism through the arts* (Cultural Policy Studies Report). Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts. <https://www.iksv.org/en/reports/living-together-fostering-cultural-pluralism-through-the-arts>
- Bal, M., & van den Bos, K. (2012). Blaming for a better future: Future orientation and associated intolerance of personal uncertainty lead to harsher reactions toward innocent victims. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 38(7), 835-844. <http://doi.org/10.1177/0146167212442970>
- Balaban, Ç. D. (2013). *The roles of intergroup threat, social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism in predicting Turks' prejudice toward Kurds* [Unpublished master's thesis] Middle East Technical University.
- Bilali, R., Iqbal, Y., & Çelik, A. B. (2018). The role of national identity, religious identity, and intergroup contact on social distance across multiple social divides in Turkey. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 65, 73–85. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2018.04.007>
- Bıçer, N. (2017). The views of Syrian refugees migrating to Turkey on the Turkish language and culture: Kilis case. *Journal of Education and Training Studies*, 5(3), 97. <https://doi.org/10.11114/jets.v5i3.2100>
- Brubaker, R., & CooperSource, F. (2000). Beyond "Identity". In *Theory and Society* (Vol. 29, pp. 1-48). Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Brylka, A., Mähönen, T. A., & Jasinskaja-Lahti, I. (2015). National identification and intergroup attitudes among members of the national majority and immigrants: Preliminary evidence for the mediational role of psychological ownership of a country. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 3(1), 24–45. <https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v3i1.275>
- Coskun, Y. (2022). Housing affordability crisis and vulnerable social groups in Turkey. *Open House International*, 48(2), 258–284. <https://doi.org/10.1108/ohi-12-2021-0267>

- Çelik, K., & Lüküslü, G. D. (2018). Unemployment as a chronic problem facing young people in Turkey. *Research and Policy on Turkey*, 3(2), 155–172. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23760818.2018.1517449>
- Çirakoğlu, O. C., Demirutku, K., & Karakaya, O. (2019). The Mediating Role of Perceived Threat in the Relationship between Casual Contact and Attitudes towards Syrian Refugees in Turkey. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 34(3), 2984–2999. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fez118>
- Dev, M. A., Barca, O., Arlı, N. B., & Gürsakal, S. (2025). Examining the financial well-being in challenging economic conditions: structural equation modeling evidence from Türkiye. *Future Business Journal*, 11(1). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s43093-025-00676-7>
- Doğan, H. G., Ağızan, K., Bayramoğlu, Z., & Candemir, S. (2025). Long-term interactions among food prices, exchange rate and household real income in Türkiye. *Emirates Journal of Food and Agriculture*, 37, 1-8. <http://doi.org/10.3897/ejfa.2025.127736>
- Düşündere, A. T., & Çilingir, Y. S. (2017). *Turkey's changing attitude towards foreigners since the influx of Syrian refugees* (Evaluation Note No. N201707). The Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey (TEPAV).
- Genç, H. D., & Özdemirkıran, M. (2019). Paradoxical perceptions on Syrians' forced migration to Turkey: A case study of Istanbul muhtars. *Alternative Politics*, 11(1).
- Girgin, S. Z. S., & Cebeci, G. T. (2017). The effects of an immigration policy on the economic integration of migrants and natives' attitudes: the case of Syrian refugees in Turkey. *Zenodo (CERN European Organization for Nuclear Research)*, 11(4), 1065–1071. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.1131771>
- Göçmen karşıtı gösteriler diğer illere de yayıldı, çok sayıda kişi gözaltına alındı.* (2024, 1 Temmuz). Agos. 6 Aralık tarihinde <https://www.agos.com.tr/tr/haber/gocmen-karsiti-gosteriler-diger-illere-de-yayildi-cok-sayida-kisi-gozaltina-alindi-30570> adresinden erişilmiştir.
- Grigoryan, L. K. (2016). National identity and anti-immigrant attitudes: The case of Russia. In *Dynamics of National Identity* (pp. 206-228). Routledge.
- Grotenhuis, R. (2016). Nation-building: Identity and identification, process and content. In *Nation-building as necessary effort in fragile states* (pp. 109-124). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. <http://doi.org/doi:10.2307/j.ctt1gr7d8r.11>
- Gülyaşar, M. (2017). Suriyeliler ve Vatandaşlık: Yerel Halk ve Suriyeli Sığınmacılar Çerçevesinde Bir Değerlendirme. *Opus Uluslararası Toplum Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 7(13), 678–705. <https://doi.org/10.26466/opus.341263>
- Güney, Ü., & Konak, N. (2016). Syrian and Iraqi refugees in Bolu: Perception of the other based on nationalism, masculinity, and citizenship. *Alternative Politics*, 8(3), 505-535.
- Harell, A., Soroka, S., & Iyengar, S. (2017). Locus of control and anti-immigrant sentiment in Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom. *Political Psychology*, 38(2), 245–260. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12338>
- Harunoğulları, M., & Cengiz, D. (2014). Suriyeli göçmenlerin mekânsal analizi: Hatay (Antakya) örneği. *TÜCAUM VIII. Coğrafya Sempozyumu*, 23, 24.
- Hirsch, M., Veit, S., & Fritsche, I. (2021). Blaming immigrants to enhance control: Exploring the control-bolstering functions of causal attribution, in-group identification, and hierarchy enhancement. *Journal of Theoretical Social Psychology*, 5(2), 114–131. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jts5.73>
- Imrie-Kuzu, D., & Özerdem, A. (2023). Keeping Syrian refugees in Turkey is not a good idea: a new concept of 'reluctant local integration.' *Third World Quarterly*, 44(7), 1606–1624. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2023.2197205>
- Ineli-Ciger, M. (2018). Protecting Syrians in Turkey: A legal analysis. *International Journal of Refugee Law*, 29(4), 555–579. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ijrl/eex042>
- Karaman, E. (2022). Suriyeli mültecilere uygulanan ayrımcı-dışlayıcı twitlerin Bert modeli ile sınıflandırılması. *Ortadoğu ve Göç*, 12(2), 428–456. <https://doi.org/10.31834/ortadoguvegoc.1148440>

- Karovska-Andonovska, B., & Dovichinski, M. (2024). The impact of the civil war on the civilian population in Syria: A review of primary and secondary effects. *Contemporary Macedonian Defense/Sovremena Makedonska Odbrana*, 24(47).
- Kayaoglu, A., Şahin-Mencütek, Z., & Erdoğan, M. M. (2021). Return aspirations of Syrian refugees in Turkey. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, 20(4), 561–583. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2021.1955172>
- Keleş, S. Ç., Aral, T., Yıldırım, M., Kurtoglu, E., & Sunata, U. (2016). Attitudes of Turkish youth toward Syrian refugees in respect to youths' gender, income, education, and city: A scale development study. In D. Eroğlu, J. H. Cohen, & I. Sirkeci (Eds.), *Turkish migration 2016: Selected papers* (pp. 155–163). Transnational Press London.
- Kelman, H. C. (1997). Nationalism, patriotism, and national identity: Social psychological dimensions. In D. Bar-Tal & Ervin Staub (Eds.), *Patriotism: In the levels of individuals and nations*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers.
- Kertzer, D., & Ariel, D. (eds.) (2002). Censuses, identity formation, and the struggle for political power. In D. Kertzer & D. Ariel (eds.), *Census and identity: The apolitics of race, ethnicity, and language in national censuses* (pp. 1-43). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kımkıloğlu, S. (2020). *Syrian refugees in Turkey: Changing attitudes and fortunes* (SWP Comment No. 5). Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik – German Institute for International and Security Affairs. <https://doi.org/10.18449/2020C05>
- Leach, C. W., van Zomeren, M., Zebel, S., Vliek, M. L. W., Pennekamp, S. F., Doosje, B., Ouwerkerk, J. W., & Spears, R. (2008). Group-level self-definition and self-investment: A hierarchical (multicomponent) model of in-group identification. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 95(1), 144–165. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.95.1.144>
- Leiser, D., & Shemesh, Y. (2018). *How we misunderstand economics and why it matters: The psychology of bias, distortion and conspiracy* (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315675343>
- Marta, R. (2025). Permanent uncertainty and social vulnerability in contemporary risk society. *Discover Global Society*, 3(1). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s44282-025-00277-3>
- Morgül, K., & Savaşkan, O. (2021). Identity or interests? Religious conservatives' attitudes toward Syrian refugees in Turkey. *Migration Studies*, 9(4), 1645–1672. <https://doi.org/10.1093/migration/mnab039>
- Oorschot, W. V. (2000). Who should get what, and why? On deservingness criteria and the conditionality of solidarity among the public. *Policy & Politics*, 28(1), 33-48.
- Orhan, O., & Gündoğar, S. S. (2015). *Effects of the Syrian refugees on Turkey* (Report No. 195). Center for Middle Eastern Strategic Studies (ORSAM). <https://orsam.org.tr/dosya/195eng.pdf>
- Özdemir, F., Malatyalı, M. K., & Sakallı, N. (2023). Anti-refugee attitudes towards Syrian people living in Turkey: Culture dimensions and motivational personal dispositions. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 94, 101809. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2023.101809>
- Özenç-Ira, G., Üzar-özçetin, Y. S., & Çelik, S. (2023). “What doesn't defeat me makes me stronger” A Qualitative Study drawing on the Perspectives of Syrian Refugee University Students in Turkey. *Psychology Health & Medicine*, 29(3), 615–630. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13548506.2023.2177782>
- Pandır, M. (2022). Social exclusion of women refugees in public imagination: Underrepresentation and depersonalisation. *Ortadoğu ve Göç*, 12(2), 260–284. <https://doi.org/10.31834/ortadoguvegoc.1188207>
- Protests and arrests as anti-Syrian riots rock Turkey*. (2024, July 2). Al Jazeera. 6 Aralık tarihinde <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/7/2/protests-and-arrests-as-anti-syrian-riots-rock-turkey> adresinden erişilmiştir.
- Rotter, J. B. (1954). *Social learning and clinical psychology*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Saygı, F. N. G. (2024). The self-settlement of Syrian refugees in Türkiye: Dynamics, challenges, and refugee agency. *PERCEPTIONS: Journal of International Affairs*, 29(1), 110-133.

- Sayılan, G., Çoksan, S., & Can, M. (2024). Differences in acculturation orientations of advantaged and disadvantaged members of the host community in Türkiye toward newcomers: The roles of ethnic and national identification and perceived outgroup threat [Dataset]. In *Università del Salento*. <https://doi.org/10.1285/i24212113v10i2-2p46>
- Şafak-Ayvazoğlu, A., Kunuroglu, F., & Yağmur, K. (2020). Psychological and socio-cultural adaptation of Syrian refugees in Turkey. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 80, 99–111. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2020.11.003>
- Şeker, B. D. (2023). Attitudes of the Host Population towards Syrian Refugees: A New Theoretical Perspective. *Journal of Psychological Research*, 5(4), 36–49. <https://doi.org/10.30564/jpr.v5i4.5985>
- Tapan, M. G., Aka, M., & Kalaycı, E. (2024). Experiences of Prejudice and Discrimination from the Perspective of Syrian Migrants: A Qualitative Study in Türkiye. *Journal of Social Service Research*, 50(6), 1017–1030. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01488376.2024.2391833>
- The toll of war: The economic and social consequences of the conflict in Syria*. (2017, July 10). World Bank Group. Retrieved June 23, 2019, from <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/syria/publication/the-toll-of-war-the-economic-and-social-consequences-of-the-conflict-in-syria>
- Thousands of Syrians forced to leave Kayseri following anti-refugee violence*. (2024, August 28). Bianet. 6 Aralık tarihinde <https://bianet.org/haber/thousands-of-syrians-forced-to-leave-kayseri-following-anti-refugee-violence-299089> adresinden erişilmiştir.
- Tolay, J. (2013). Deconstructing Turkish public attitudes towards refugees: Empowering rights over politicization and self-gratification. *USAK Yearbook of Politics and International Relations*, 6, 1-29.
- Topal, M. H., Ózer, U., & Dokuzlu, E. (2017). Public perception of Syrian refugees in Turkey: an empirical explanation using extended integrative threat theory. *Problemy Polityki Społecznej. Studia I Dyskusje*, 3(38), 35–58.
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2019). *Syria regional refugee response: Operational data portal* [Data set]. UNHCR. <https://data.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria>
- Ünal, S. (2014). Turkey's unexpected guests: Foreign immigrants and refugees experience in the context of "other". *Journal of World of Turks*, 6(3), 65-89.
- Van Oorschot, W. (2000). Who should get what, and why? On deservingness criteria and the conditionality of solidarity among the public. *Policy & Politics*, 28(1), 33–48. <https://doi.org/10.1332/0305573002500811>
- Weiner, B. (1995). *Judgments of responsibility: A foundation for a theory of social conduct*. Guilford Press.
- Wieners, L. C. (2017). *The EU in the refugee crisis: How national and European identity influence public opinion on immigration policies and threat perception* [Unpublished bachelor's thesis] University of Twente.
- Yitmen, Ş., & Verkuyten, M. (2017). Feelings toward refugees and non-Muslims in Turkey: The roles of national and religious identifications, and multiculturalism. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 48(2), 90–100. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12493>
- Yitmen, Ş., & Verkuyten, M. (2018). Positive and negative behavioral intentions towards refugees in Turkey: The roles of national identification, threat, and humanitarian concern. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 28(4), 230–243. <https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.2354>
- Yogeewaran, K., & Dasgupta, N. (2014). Conceptions of national identity in a globalized world: Antecedents and consequences. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 25(1), 189-227. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10463283.2014.972081>