Anti-immigrant attitudes

Most frequently been studied in the “developed” Western world, in countries such as Denmark, England, U.S.A., and Canada (Freeman et al., 2013).

Diversified immigration patterns:
Many migrants do not end up in the “West” or “North”. “East” to “East” and “South” to “South” migration is possible (Kleemans and Klugman, 2009).

Populism
Radical Right
Islamophobia
Terrorist attacks
Threat as the Key Factor - Fear

- Economic: Competition for scarce resources
- Symbolic: Threat to the cultural values of the host country
- Physical: Threat to the bodily existence
Contact

Positive: true/intimate acquaintances

Negative: if acquaintances are casual

Security: Terrorism and Everyday Violence

People are less threatened by true/intimate acquaintances but feel more threatened and less secure by the frequency of casual contact.

Scapegoating
Method and the Field

- November 17- December 20, 2017
- F2F interviews with 2004 people (18+ population of Turkey from 16 cities in rural and urban regions)
- Under the assumption of SRS, margin of error is +/-3%
- Survey conducted by Infakto RW
- 4 Focus groups in Istanbul- supporters of political parties (AKP, CHP, HDP and MHP-each separately)
- Funded by the Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation - a project of the German Marshall Fund
Quotes - Focus Groups:
Their sufferings should not cause us to suffer

I am from Antep, Kilis, very close to Syria. Everywhere is Syrian in Kilis. For example our relatives own a shop, they own houses, they pay taxes but when Syrians own shops, they do not pay taxes. They rent house and they receive salary. They are paid and they have more rights than we have, I see them as a major problem. (CHP)

In our own country now we are second class citizen. They all came and settled here, they benefit from all services. Wages are paid to them, we are trying to live with minimum wages. (HDP)

My personal view, I donot want them. I see that after they arrive, number of divorces increased. I witnessed with some of my friends. They left their wives and get Syrians. Unemployment also increased. Monthly payment to them, they are all taken from us. (AKP)
Quotes- Focus Groups: Their sufferings should not cause us to suffer

Doctors also give the Syrians as examples. As there is not vaccination, the illnesses are more contagious, even doctors are uneasy. In Southeast there emerges a disease, which has disappeared for the last three generations’ (AKP)

Our citizens are unemployed, OK they are also human, I am not saying these for discrimination, we are sorry particularly for children and women, but they have more opportunities in education, in material benefits, they are positively discriminated... I don't know they will be more crowded (HDP)

Syrians live more luxurious lives...they consume more...Turks are thinking five hours even buying one, shall I buy this, may I find cheaper but they directly buy, I men, they do shopping so easily, 5 or 6 they just buy. I cannot stand, I leave, I mean I have to think twice in order to get a present to my kid or to my nephew, they leave the shops with full bags so easily. (MHP)
## Demographics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Details</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>48.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>51.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td>18-29</td>
<td>29.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30-45</td>
<td>37.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>46-87</td>
<td>33.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Settlement</strong></td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>87.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td>Primary school and lower</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Secondary education</td>
<td>51.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Higher education</td>
<td>15.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Employment status</strong></td>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>54.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>27.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Threat and Positive Perceptions

% of “I agree” Answers

- Syrians are taking jobs away from people in Turkey: 71.4%
- Syrians are raising crime rates in Turkey: 67.4%
- Moral values and traditions in Turkey are in danger because of the increasing Syrian population: 66.4%
- The number of terrorist incidents are rising because of the Syrians: 58.1%
- Syrians pose a danger for the health of people in Turkey: 55.5%
- Syrians contribute to the tolerant atmosphere in our country: 17.2%
- We need Syrian workers to work in different sectors in our country: 16.3%
- Syrians are enriching our culture: 13.3%
Positive Perceptions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Party Preference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>18-29</td>
<td>&gt; Primary School</td>
<td>Working</td>
<td>AKP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>30-45</td>
<td>Secondary Education</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>CHP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>46-87</td>
<td>Tertiary Education</td>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>HDP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-0.60 to 0.60

Gender: Male, Female
Age: 18-29, 30-45, 46-87
Education: > Primary School, Secondary Education, Tertiary Education
Employment: Working, Housewife, Retired, Student, Unemployed
Party Preference: AKP, CHP, HDP, MHP, İYİ Party
Contact with Syrians

- Do you come across Syrians in your neighborhood?
  - Yes, I do (69.1%)

- Do you come across Syrians at your school/workplace?
  - Yes, I do (58.2%)

- Do you speak or have a conversation with Syrians when you come across in markets or bazaars?
  - Yes, I do (16.0%)

- Do you have any close Syrian friend?
  - Yes, I do (12.7%)

- Do you shop at places owned by Syrians?
  - Yes, I do (11.7%)

- Do you go on a visit to Syrians' houses?
  - Yes, I do (5.7%)
Turkish Perceptions of Syrian Refugees - 2017

Social Distance

Marrying my daughter with a Syrian: 87.1% (I would not like), 10.5% (I would like), 2.4% (Don't know/No answer)

Doing business with a Syrian: 80.3% (I would not like), 17.4% (I would like), 2.3% (Don't know/No answer)

Hiring a Syrian: 76.0% (I would not like), 21.9% (I would like), 2.1% (Don't know/No answer)

My children to make friends with Syrian children: 74.5% (I would not like), 24.2% (I would like), 1.3% (Don't know/No answer)

Having a Syrian neighbor: 72.3% (I would not like), 26.2% (I would like), 1.5% (Don't know/No answer)
Turkish Perceptions of Syrian Refugees - 2017

Social Distance

- Gender
  - Male
  - Female

- Age
  - 18-29
  - 30-45
  - 46-87

- Education
  - => Primary School
  - Secondary Education
  - Tertiary Education

- Employment
  - Working
  - Housewife
  - Retired
  - Student
  - Unemployed

- Party Preference
  - AKP
  - CHP
  - HDP
  - MHP
  - İYİ Party
Turkish Perceptions of Syrian Refugees - 2017

Rights to Syrians

- Syrians living in our country should have free access to health services. 51.3% Against, 46.1% Not against, 0% Don’t know/No answer.

- Syrians living in our country should be able to receive education in their own language without charge. 60.1% Against, 37.1% Not against, 0% Don’t know/No answer.

- Syrians should be allowed to have Turkish citizenship if they wish. 79.1% Against, 18.6% Not against, 0% Don’t know/No answer.

- Syrians should be allowed to have the job they like and to start their own business. 73.4% Against, 24.4% Not against, 0% Don’t know/No answer.
All the Syrians should be sent back to their country when the war is over.

- AKP: 83.2%
- CHP: 92.8%
- HDP: 75.9%
- MHP: 88.9%
- İYİ Party: 94.9%
- General: 86.2%
Determinants of Opinions about Syrians’ Return to Their Country
Determinants of Rights to Syrians

- Partisanship effect seems to be powerful,
- Including attitudinal variables suppresses the effect of partisan affiliation;
- Threat, Positive Perception and Social Distance matters
Contact matters,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>18-29</th>
<th>30-45</th>
<th>46+</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Employed</th>
<th>Housewives</th>
<th>Retired</th>
<th>Student</th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
<th>AK Party</th>
<th>CHP</th>
<th>HDP</th>
<th>MHP</th>
<th>IYI Party</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Contact with Syrians</strong></td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Threat</strong></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Positive Perceptions</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social Distance</strong></td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Points to discuss:

* Importance of the right conceptualization: ‘immigrant’/‘guest’/‘refugee’/‘temporary protection’

* Importance of ‘contact’

* Projects that aim increasing the true contact

* Populism, language of ‘fear’ and ‘we, the people’
Thanks and Questions